THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

SUCCESSFUL LEADERS OF FIRST NATIONS SCHOOLS IN ALBERTA

by

BRIAN D. J. WILDCAT

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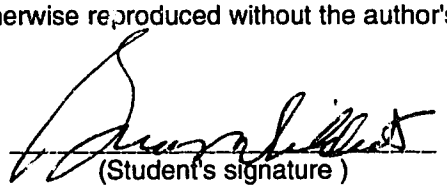

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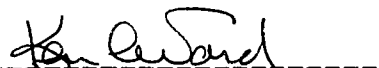

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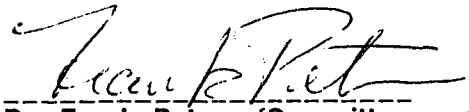

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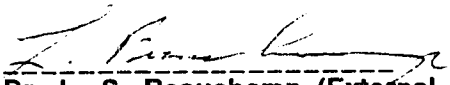

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ABSTRACT

Over the last twenty years First Nations in Canada have become responsible for the administration of their own educational systems. In this study six educational leaders of First Nations schools discuss their thoughts and feelings on the importance of educational leadership in the development and transformation of federal schools into successful Indian schools.

The literature review is divided into two sections beginning with a historical review of Indian education. The second part of the literature review begins with a brief look at traditional Indian leadership characteristics. The rest of the section spans the classical leadership ideas of writers such as Max Weber and Frederick Taylor, to the inspired work of James MacGregor Burns, and to those who espouse more democratic and participatory concepts such as Sergiovanni, Barth, and critical theorists like Maxcy, Foster and others.

There is very little research on Indian educational leadership and the little that is out there indicates leadership in First Nation school systems is a highly complex and political venture at best.

This study uses a qualitative approach and is believed to be the most appropriate for studying Indian education, as it follows closely in nature to the holistic philosophies of many First Nations.

This thesis discusses the essence of Indian educational leadership as described by the educational leaders themselves. The study retells their stories of how their personal experiences and beliefs have shaped and influenced their own leadership styles.

The leaders discuss the importance of understanding First Nations history and the leadership challenges they face. They discuss leadership and power in an Indian community. Another main theme is the process of change, that of transforming federal schools into successful First Nations schools. The participants also reflect on what they saw as the essential qualities for leadership, ideas such as a philosophy of caring and, vision building are emphasized.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of my late father.

Samuel Baptiste Piché 'Wildcat

(Dec. 19, 1933 - May 8, 1993)

I would like to remember him for the lessons he taught me:

- to love my family;
- to work hard and finish whatever I decided is important to do;
- to know myself;
- to laugh often and make others laugh also;
- don't waste your time being angry;
- don't be a burden on others.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

"I have a dream" Martin Luther King, Jr.

"The basic difference between an ordinary man and a warrior is that a warrior takes everything as a challenge" he went on, "while an ordinary man takes everything either as a blessing or as a curse." Don Juan (Carlos Castaneda, Tales of Power, 1974)

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

For centuries the governments and churches of North America have deliberately used the schools as weapons of cultural genocide. Their hope was that the schooling of Indian children would assimilate Indians into mainstream society and in so doing would get rid of the Indian Nations and solve their Indian problem (Jaenen, 1986; York, 1989; Wright, 1992; Manuel & Posluns, 1974; Cardinal, 1977). Over twenty years ago Harold Cardinal (1969) wrote *The Unjust Society: The tragedy of Canada's Indians.* In this poignant commentary on the state of Indian life in Canada, Cardinal delivered this stinging criticism on Indian education in Canada:

> Indians sometimes think that if government authorities became convinced they could solve the Indian problem by purchasing gallons of white paint and painting all of us white, they would not hesitate to try. In fact, government's education almost seems aimed in that direction. . . . the white man apparently believes that education is a tool for implementation of his design of assimilation. (p. 51)

Cardinal sums up the entire history of Indian education policy and philosophy in these forty-five words. Little more can be added to improve or better explain the situation.

Over the last hundred years Indian governments and leadership have been under great pressure from outside their society. Over this time pressures were slowly pushing Indian leadership practices underground and in many cases the Canadian government through the Indian Act was replacing traditional leadership with weaker, ineffective, legislated leadership. Marie Smallface Marule (1986) explains:

> The Canadian government, very deliberately and systematically, is seeking to undermine our tribal identity by imposing policies on Indians that emphasize individualism and materialism. This policy of detribalization subverts our consensual political system. . . . In traditional Indian society, whether band or clan, authority was a collective right that could be

> temporarily delegated to a leader, under restrictive conditions, to carry out essential activities. But the responsibility and authority always remained with the people. (p. 36)

Smallface Marule offers the reader a clear definition of the role and authority of the Indian leader, particularly for the Plains Indian cultures. She asserts that:

> In situations where the collectivity temporarily delegated authority to a leader, that person had to have the respect of the entire tribe, not merely the support of the majority of voters. Obedience to the leader derived from the respect that the people had for him. (p. 36)

At the present time there is little written about Indian educational leadership, but the importance of this subject is clear in the Indian community (Matthews, 1990; Pauls, 1984). Most of the discussion of leadership is left to the political arena especially on the debate of Indian self-government.

The close relationship between Indian self-government and Indian education is well documented and meaningful to the discourse of the topic of leadership. In many ways the development of Indian self-government is rooted in the development of Indian control over education. Cassidy and Bish (1989) support this view in the following statement. "One of the earliest demonstrations of the renewed sense of Indian self government in Canada was the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) policy paper *Local Control of Indian Education*" (p. 10). In 1972, The National Indian Brotherhood's (now known as the Assembly of First Nations) position paper became the catalyst for the Indian controlled school movement in Canada. The paper proposed the development of Indian education authorities that would control education in First Nation communities across Canada (Bezeau, 1989; Green, 1990; Pauls, 1984; Ward, 1986). In February 1973, the Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) made a symbolic gesture by adopting the National Indian Brotherhood's proposal as the government's new Indian education policy (Longboat, 1987; Yuzdepski, 1983). In November of the same year DIAND received approval from the Treasury Board to operationalize the NIB policy, creating the first step towards the revitalization of Indian self-government and Indian leadership in general.

The literature suggests that school system administrators, principals in particular, play a central role in the successful implementation of innovations (Leithwood, 1992; McLaughlin, 1976). The reforming of Indian schools through local control provides the means for improving the educational success of Indian students. To accomplish this Indian educational leaders must have the confidence and courage to explore the uncharted waters of redesigning Indian schools. In the book *In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best-Run Companies* Peters and Waterman write:

> We are fairly sure that the culture of almost every excellent company ... can be traced to transforming leadership somewhere in its history. While the cultures of these companies seem today to be so robust that the need for transforming leadership is not a continuing one, we doubt such cultures ever would have developed as they did without that kind of leadership somewhere in the past, most often when they were relatively small. (1982, p. 82)

This certainly applies to the development of Indian controlled schools in Canada over the last twenty years. This type of transformative leadership is needed to change federal schools into successful First Nation schools that meet the needs of Indian children.

To date, band controlled school systems have experienced their share of successes and failures in their transformation from federal schools. This movement towards First Nations operated schools in the last twenty years has made the issue of educational leadership a critical issue in many First Nations communities. This study will focus on Indian educational leaders who have experienced a great degree of success in their vocations in hopes of gaining a better understanding of the role leadership plays in the successful transition to First Nation controlled schools.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This thesis explores the role educational leadership plays in the transformation of Indian schools in Alberta. The purpose of this study is to describe the essence of successful Indian educational leadership and to gain insight into what six acknowledged successful educational

leaders see as their leadership roles in the development and maintenance of successful First Nation school systems. Parallels will be drawn between the two areas of Indian political and educational leadership whenever appropriate.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To reflect the perceptions of the educational leaders the following research questions are used to guide the study:

1. What expectations does the community have for the schools?
2. What values and approaches characterize successful Indian educational leadership?
3. What are the community leadership roles to be in First Nations Schools?
4. How do Indian educational leaders relate to and work with parents, principals, teachers, students and others in the school community?
5. How do leaders translate their beliefs into daily actions and decisions?
6. How do successful Indian educational leaders approach decision making and problem solving situations in their organizations?
7. What are the future challenges facing band operated schools in Alberta?

These questions were modified and other questions were also used during the course of the research.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Many First Nations in Alberta, frustrated by their children's lack of success in the federal and provincial school systems, and feeling the pressure by the federal government's devolution policy, have taken over the federal schools in their communities (Pauls, 1984; Yuzdepski, 1983). Margaret S. Ward (1986) concludes her work by saying, "the strategy of the Federal Government

regarding Indian education appears to have been one which continually forced Indians to respond to government proposals and government policies developed with little or no Indian input" (P. 19).

First Nations controlled schools are an inevitable fact whether they are purposefully taken over by Indian communities or are pushed onto Indian communities by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC, successor to DIAND). This assertion is supported by Green (1990), who states:

> The natural progression of such involvement is full takeover of the operation of Native schools by Native parents. Of the 370 so called Indian Affairs schools, only 108 are still being operated by Indian Affairs. If the present trend continues, it is expected that by 1992 almost 100% of all 'Indian Affairs schools' in Canada will be band operated (parentally controlled). (p. 37)

It is noteworthy that two years later Green's prediction is very close. "At the present time there are only four federal schools operating in Alberta" (cited in Wildcat & Littlechild, 1992, p. 13). In 1992 there were thirty-six Band operated schools in Alberta.

One of the results of a Band takeover of a federal school is the development of local administration and leadership. The federal government provides inadequate funding and little to no training in this area before and after a Band takeover (Pauls, 1984; Yuzdepski, 1983). INAC usually prefers to avoid the whole educational matter and provides only what they are required to by law. This "sink or swim" philosophy is the result of the INAC devolution policy towards Indian education. This leaves First Nation school systems operating without any support from a central authority like Alberta Education.

Sergiovanni (1991) writes that "Successful leadership and management . . . are directed towards the improvement of teaching and learning for students" (p. 16). The results of this study are intended to provide insight into the important part that leadership plays in the development of a successful school and ultimately in greater success of First Nations students.

This study may also provide some guidelines to help in the development of leadership training for Indian educational leaders. Pauls (1984) clearly identifies this need as a major problem of Indian controlled school systems. He states that:

> It is a pity that there is no national policy to provide training to Indians which would enable them to manage their own educational system. One of the primary effects of lack of training is that of bands taking over control of the schools and not knowing how to manage the school. As a result, band control fails . . . . The failure of the bands to effectively manage their school has posed a challenge to their claim to control their school systems. (p. 35)

This study should be useful for Band Councils, school boards, and school administrators to read. The benefit to them would be a better understanding of the process of successful leadership in First Nations education systems and to encourage individuals to reflect on their own educational leadership beliefs and practices.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

For the purpose of this study, the basic assumptions are: (a) That the participants of this study willingly share their true thoughts, feelings, experiences and insights with the researcher and that their perceptions will be accurate and useful; (b) That the use of semistandardized interviews (Berg, 1989) is the most appropriate approach to collecting data for this study; (c) That leadership is an important element of a successful school organization; (d) That leadership is a diverse and complex process that can be experienced in many different ways.

DELIMITATIONS

The study is delimited to a volunteer, reputational, purposive sample of Directors of Education and school principals identified by reputation in Alberta as successful educational leaders. The project timeline is delimited to the time period from June 1993 to December 1994.

LIMITATIONS

The data collected will be descriptive of a select population and, therefore, will be limited in its applicability to the personnel and communities involved in the study. It is further limited by the researcher's ability to effectively use the naturalistic, qualitative approach to research and data analysis.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Significant terms that are frequently used in this study are operationally defined here:

Values -- Hodgkinson (1978) defines values as: "a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action" (p. 121).

Moral Action - Maxcy (1991) states that morals are one aspect of values. "The most challenging form of moral action involves the quest for those transformations of people and communities in the pursuit of those end values of justice, freedom, and community *equality* (italics added)" (Sergiovanni, Starratt, 1988, p. 229).

Empowerment -- Sergiovanni (1991) states that, "empowering principals, teachers, parents and others by giving them the discretion they need to function autonomously on behalf of school goals and purposes;. . ." (pp. 136-137). He qualifies this by pointing out that "empowerment has to do with obligation and duty. One is not free to do what he or she pleases, but free to make sensible decisions in light of shared values" (p. 137).

Power -- is the ability to influence the decision making process (Sergiovanni & Starratt, 1988). Power is used to gain compliance over followers. Maxcy (1991) defines power as something that happens to us over which we have no control.

Authority -- Maxcy defines authority as something we exert on others. Sergiovanni and Starratt (1988) define authority as the right to act or require others to act based on the belief that it is legitimate for the leader to impose his will on the followers.

Transformational Leadership - "Transformational leadership . . . is and must be socially critical, it does not reside *in* an individual but in the relationship between individuals, and it is oriented toward social vision and change, not simply, or only, organizational goals" (Foster, 1989, p. 46), and ". . . can move followers to higher degrees of consciousness, such as liberty, freedom, justice, and self-actualization" (Bennis & Nanus, 1985, p. 218).

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The remainder of this thesis consists of an examination of the crucial role that leadership plays in developing successful Indian schools. This thesis is organized into six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction to the study. Chapter two is the literature review on Indian education and leadership theory. These two topics provide a context for understanding the topic of Indian educational leadership. Chapter three is a discussion of the methodology. Chapter four profiles each educational leader. Verbatim comments of the leaders are used to illustrate the leaders' beliefs and understanding of their roles as leaders. In chapter five the study results are discussed as themes that emerged from the data. The final chapter concludes this study with a personal and scholarly reflection.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

There are two major parts in the literature review. The first deals with Indian education. The second part reviews the literature on the evolution of administrative and leadership theory over the years. The literature review is organized in this fashion in order to facilitate an understanding of Indian educational leadership for later discussion.

The section dealing with Indian education consists of three parts: (a) a brief discussion of traditional Indian education; (b) a historical presentation of the evolution of Indian education from the 1600's until the present, based on the work of Wildcat and Littlechild (1992); and (c) a description of the three major reasons for the recent growth of Indian controlled schools in Canada.

The second major section is a review of literature on different leadership approaches and theories. This section is divided into seven parts: (a) a discussion on Indian leadership characteristics; (b) an examination of the development of administrative theory; (c) a survey of leadership theories and their development; (d) a look at transformational leadership; (e) a description of Indian educational leadership in change; (f) the characteristics of successful change; and (g) a look at successful educational leadership.

The review considered periodicals, journals, books, government documents, unpublished reports, and other theses on the subjects of Indian education and leadership.

TRADITIONAL INDIAN EDUCATION

In the discussion of traditional Indian education it is necessary to distinguish between the Indian perspective on the educational process and the formal European schooling experience. Armstrong (1987) explains these differences by saying "The modern definition of education (*the practice of schooling*) (italics added) standsd [sic] in sharp contrast to the traditional indigenous

view, which centered on education as a natural process occurring during everyday activities" (p. 14). Harold Cardinal (1969) describes traditional Indian education in the following manner:

> In the old days the Indian peoples had their own system of education. Although the system was entirely informal and varied from tribe to tribe or location to location, it had one great factor going for it - it worked. The Indian method, entirely pragmatic, was designed to prepare the child for whatever way of life he was to lead. (p. 52)

The literature on traditional Indian education identifies five pillars in its foundation. These are: (a) a holistic philosophy including the ideas of lifelong learning and the total education of the person; (b) the natural and inclusive process of education; (c) the emphasis on societal values and rules; (d) emphasis on high expectations; and (e) celebrations of life accomplishments.

Chalmers (1970) writes that, "in most Indian societies edu' 'ion was commonly intricately structured and frequently extended well into maturity and old age" (p. 2). This educational philosophy of life long learning is one of the major tenants of traditional Indian education. Other writers on the subject add that the holistic approach toward education considered the physical, mental, social, emotional and spiritual component of every child and is part of a total way of life (Mckay & Mckay, 1987; Gresko, 1986; Armstrong, 1987; Jules, 1988).

The second principle of First Nations' education is its inclusive and natural process. Writers describe traditional Indian education as a natural educational process emerging from daily activities (McCaskill, 1987; Armstrong, 1987). Armstrong explains that "the daily lifestyle is a cultural process contained within the social unit" (p. 15), including the family or clan working in a cooperative and efficient system. In her opinion this style of learning had many positive elements such as "incorporating a means to protect and strengthen the family and, thus, the social order" (p. 16). It is common in the extended Indian family to have Elders taking an important and active role as teachers (Jules, 1988).

Gresko's work with the Plains Cree and the Coast Salish depicts how traditional and societal values were the keystone of the daily educational process:

> Learning emphasized such values as respect for all living things, sharing, self-reliance, individual responsibility, and proper conduct. Children also had to learn to utilize the environment most effectively for economic survival. (1986, p. 3)

Some other very important values were: to live a disciplined lifestyle; to respect and live in harmony amongst themselves and with the environment, and the spiritual world (Armstrong, 1987; Jules, 1988; Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991).

The traditional community was an important influence on the development of its members. In many cases "the Indian child grew up in a highly organized society and had to learn his role in it as well as how to function as an individual" (Chalmers, 1970, pp. 2-3). These community rules were well understood and contributed to the successful and positive education of the society's members. Acceptable societal behavior or acceptance of the community's values and norms were adhered to because of the close, interdependent nature of the traditional community.

People who broke the rules or acted in an unacceptable way were ostracized by the group. "It had many different forms according to the nature and seriousness of the offense. A child might be ignored by his parents for an hour if he was insolent; a thief might be banished from the village by the elders for some months" (Manuel & Posluns, 1974, p. 51). In times when survival depended on hard work, cooperation and sharing, this was a very effective means of gaining compliance to the traditional norms.

The Indian community held high expectations for their youth and placed great emphasis on achievement. On this topic Chalmers writes that, "expectations were established for children, a very high form of motivation, as educational psychologists are finally discovering" (1970, p. 12). This is supported by Armstrong (1987), who states that, "Parental expectations motivated learning in children" (p. 16). The underlying philosophy of this approach was the Indian community's belief in the goodness and innocence of the child. "In Indian families, children are treasured, valued, coddled, and spoiled" (Chalmers, p. 52).

Another significant part of the life cycle was the celebration of the students' achievements. A main event in the life cycle of the child is explained by Chalmers:

> The achievement of those who reached their expectation levels was publicly recognized in songs, depiction of their accomplishments on robes and tipis, privileges of dramatizing them and of participation in sundance ceremonies, and for an exemplary boy, the honor of wearing colored badger hair in his coiffure. The education of girls proceeded along parallel lines (p. 12).

Gresko also writes that:

> Integral to all aspects in the education of the young was the spiritual, and events in the life cycle from birth to death were marked with ceremonies stressing the individual's link to the spiritual and the sacred. Cultural continuity was thus ensured. (1986, p. 3)

Armstrong says, "the answer for quality education lies outside the parameters of the process for schooling. We must examine our own indigenous educational methods as a means by which to understand and change what is happening" (1987, p. 19). Manuel (1974) also wrote that:

> We do not need to recreate the exact forms by which our grandfathers lived . . . . we need to create new forms that will allow the future generations to inherit the values, the strengths, and the basic spiritual beliefs - the way of understanding the world (p. 4).

Hampton's (1993) definitive research describes the need for a self-determined Indian model of education:

> No aspect of a culture is more vital to its integrity than its means of education. . . . The creation of Native education involves the development of Native methods, Native structures for education as well as Native content and Native personnel. . . . Indian education will not be truly Indian until we develop our own research, our own philosophies of education, our own structure, and our own methods. (pp. 267-270)

A BRIEF HISTORY OF INDIAN EDUCATION IN CANADA

The Early Contact 1600 - 1867

The earliest attempts at providing some formal schooling experiences for Indian people took place in the early seventeenth century in the area referred to as New France. The purpose of these early attempts to school Indians was not based on altruism or any real concern for the indigenous nations of North America, but rather, was promoted to support the newcomers greedy self-serving pursuit for gold, furs and other natural resources that the Indians owned. Often the education of Indians was done under the guise of Christianity and conversion by the church of the time. Jaenen (1986) writes, "this education was sponsored by the Catholic church missions of the Recollets and Jesuits and was designed to christianize and civilize the Indians of

New France" (pp. 45-61). These early attempts to assimilate the Indians into the European culture by the French missionaries proved to be unsuccessful.

The church and the state became concerned about the tendency of Frenchmen adopting Indian ways. In reality it was the newcomers who were the ones changing -- embracing new ideas and skills, and unconsciously becoming "Indians or North Americans" (Weatherford, 1991), a tendency that was interpreted as having barbarous consequences and leading to colonial degeneration (Jaenen 1986). This period established the concept of church sponsored Indian missionary education.

As the British took control of the continent, new approaches aimed at providing schooling for Indians emerged. Daniels (1973) notes that the responsibility for providing Indian education was being undertaken by the British military in Upper Canada between the period of 1735 - 1819, in response to the request of their Indian allies. "This marks the first time any government money was used to finance any aspect of Indian education" (Daniels, 1973, p. 59). This was in large part due to the work of chief Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant).

After this period Egerton Ryerson, the influential chief superintendent of Upper Canada schools between 1844 - 76 left his mark on the direction of Indian education in Canada (Carney, 1978, Chalmers, 1970). "Ryerson was responsible for the development of vocational (manual labor) schools, which became referred to as industrial schools, and concentrated on providing common school learnings and the acquisition of agricultural skills. . ." (Chalmers, p. 52). It was his belief that Indians would not find any value in a formal education so he recommended that:

> . . . the school's curriculum be based on plain English education which is adopted to the working farmer and mechanic, in order for the Indian to adopt the habits espoused within the Anglo-Saxon work ethic, and to enable the school to be self sufficient. (Daniels, 1973, p. 63)

By the 1840's in Western Canada, Indian education was beginning to take root. Once again it was the church that played the most important role of sponsoring and developing the Indian missionary and industrial school system in the West:

> By the 1840's itinerant missionaries of both Catholic and Protestant backgrounds were involved in teaching Indian and non-Indian children in the fur trade posts stretching from the

> United States to the Arctic . . . The names of Father Lacombe (Catholic) and Rev. James Evans (Methodist) are synonymous with the beginnings of the Northwest Territories. (Friesen, 1983 p. 43)

Similar things were going on in all parts of Canada at this time in the area of Indian education. This review confines itself to the treaty areas.

During this later part of the 1800's, the major responsibility for Indian education remained in the hands of the churches in the Northwest, and in the East with the governments of the soon to be new provinces of Canada. However, "In 1867, the provinces happily surrendered the responsibility of Indian education to the Federal government under the BNA Act" (Chalmers, p. 49).

After the signing of the treaties with the Indian Nations and the passing of the 1867 BNA Act, Indian education in Canada became the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal government. Section 91(24) enacts federal jurisdiction over Indians and land reserved for Indians. It is this section that allows the Government to legislate the Indian Act in which section 114 to 123 deal with the education of Indian children (Assembly of First Nations [AFN],1988, Bezeau, 1989).

Treaties And Education

The treaties between the government of Canada and the plains Indian people establish the federal government's legal and moral responsibility for providing treaty Indian education. Cassidy & Bish (1989) cite the Prairie Treaty Alliance statement that says, "financing education . . . is 'an integral part of Canada's trust responsibilities' as laid out in the treaties" (p. 37).

The treaties are more important to Indian peoples in Alberta than the British North America Act or any other subordinate legislation. Treaty Indians interpret the treaties by the spirit and intent in which treaties were originally presented to them. This position is supported in *Nowegijick v. R. (1983)* 1 S.C.R. 29, 36. The Supreme Court of Canada stated that:

> . . treaties and statues relating to Indians should be liberally construed and doubtful expression resolved in favor of the Indians. . . . Indian treaties must . . . be construed, not according to the technical meaning of their words, but in the sense in which they would naturally be understood by the Indians.

The treaties are regarded as the definitive documents on the Indians' relationship to the government of Canada, and are believed to be as much in force today as on the day they were signed (Prairie Treaty Alliance cited in Cassidy and Bish, 1989). According to Cassidy and Bish:

> England, France, and then Canada engaged in treaty making for several reasons. At first, the aim was to secure the assistance or neutrality of Indian nations in warfare between the European powers. Eventually, treaties were used as a device for enabling settlement and resource development by non-Indians and to extinguish the land claims of Indian people. (1989, p. 13)

The Indian Nations of central Alberta signed Treaty No. 6 in 1876, which clearly provides Indians living within the treaty boundary, the right to an education. This intent is embodied in Paragraph 15 of Treaty No. 6, which reads: "And further Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to Her Government of the Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it" (Duhamel, 1964, p. 3).

The phrase "maintain schools" implies that schools shall be constructed as required and as requested by Indian Bands. The spirit and intent of this paragraph is that the Crown will be responsible for funding the education of treaty Indians (Macklem, 1991). Cardinal adds that "The Indian position is that all education, irrespective of level, was prepaid by our treaties and consequently we are entitled precisely to that . . ." (1977, p. 35), and section 35 (1) of the Constitution Act 1982 recognizes and affirms the existing treaty and aboriginal rights of aboriginal people in Canada.

The Indians had their understanding of the treaty and the government had their understanding that is best stated by the racist dogma of Alexander Morris who wrote:

> Let us have Christianity and civilization to leaven the masses of heathenism and paganism among the Indian Tribes; let us have a wise and paternal government faithfully carrying out the provisions of our treaties . . . . They (Native people) are wards of Canada, let us do our duty to them. . . .(1880:296-97) (cited in Frideres, 1983, p. 2).

The BNA Act and signing of the treaties opened a new era of Indian education in Canada. From this point on, the federal government is totally responsible for Indian education. The government, in attempting to fulfill its responsibilities, contracted and funded the Protestant and Catholic missionaries to continue operating the Indian residential schools. These institutions

remained dominant and destructive social forces in Indian communities across Canada until the 1960's.

Indian Residential Schools

The residential schools became the mainstay of Indian education during the period between 1867 and 1969. York (1989), explains the way the church and government viewed the residential school system during this time:

> The federal government allowed the churches to assume complete control of Indian education on reserves from Nova Scotia to British Columbia. The Government like the church, believed the Indian culture was "barbaric" and "savage". The federal authorities were determined to transform the Indian children into faithful Christians (p. 23).

The role of the residential schools was to change Indians into Canadians that would place them on the bottom rung of the social ladder. This idea was expressed by Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, who (circa 1920), stated:

> 'Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian department ...' There is little doubt that the federal government regarded the Indian residential schools as a key weapon in a long - term plan to destroy all vestiges of the Indian culture ... From the viewpoint of the missionaries, the schools were a great success. (York, pp. 23-32).

The federal government also believed this to be so (York, 1989, p.33).

However, Harold Cardinal (1969) expresses the Indian perspective of these schools and their effect on the Native communities and on the Indian people in Canada:

> ... the residential schools ... alienated the child from his own family; ... his own way of life without in any way preparing him for a different society; ... his own religion and turned his head resolutely against the confusing substitute the missionaries offered. Perhaps worst of all was the illogical misconceived approach that was used. The way in which discipline was enforced, and the failure to relate this new education in any pragmatic way to the Indian child's life, turned him against education, and prevented him from seeing or appreciating the benefits of a real education. (pp. 54-55)

Another Indian writer Manuel (1974) stated his perspective in this way, "the greatest gift the Dominion of Canada made to the church was the control over education. The residential schools [illegible] ratory and the production line of the colonial system" (p. 63). He continues:

> [illegible]e contributed so much to the destruction of the Indian people as a nation as the [illegible]em run by the churches and supported by the government. It was the perfect [illegible]t for undermining both our values and our economic base. (p. 67)

Clearly Indians viewed the residential schools were there more for the benefit of Canadian society than their own.

This was definitely a dark period in Indian history. First Nations during this period suffered great losses such as: decreased populations from disease; the loss of their local economies; the near extinction of buffaloes; the decline in the fur trade and the sudden influx of European settlement. All led to a shift in the balance of power, away from the First Nations to the invading hordes and their colonial governments. After confederation, the new Canadian government no longe[illegible]led the support of the Indians and now viewed them as a hindrance to the development of Canada. The Indians were left to the mercy of the church and the residential schools, who easily took control of them at their weakest point. Federal government policies such as the Indian Act provided the foundation for Indian residential schools with total disregard to the needs of the Indian people.

[illegible]overnment and the churches continued to operate residential schools until the 1950's and 60's. During this period, the federal government adopted a new policy forcing the integration of Indian students into the regular provincial school system. The government started administering the residential schools heralding the end of an era in church controlled Indian schools.

The Era Of Integration And Federally Controlled Schools

By the end of the 1960's, almost all residential schools were closed and funding for the education of Indian children was now done in either one of two ways: (a) by paying tuition to provincial education departments or to individual school boards, or (b) by funding federal Indian residential or day schools.

In 1951, the federal government began amending the Indian Act to allow for the integration of Indian students into provincial schools and "between 1956 and 1970 there was a dramatic rise in Indian enrollment in provincial school systems" (Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, 1982, Annex C, p. 7). This process was supported by the Hawthorn Report of 1967 which, "recommended

that Indian students should be integrated with the rest of the school population strengthening the government's resolve in pursuing this policy" (Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, 1982, Annex C, p. 7). The integration of Indian students was relatively successful in terms of Indian students entering provincial schools (Yuzdepski, 1983). Harold Cardinal (1969), explained this success by saying:

> Indian children have been forced to attend provincial schools before adequate arrangements have been completed to look after their interests. Local school boards piously open their schools for integration, ostensibly to offer Indian children greater opportunities. What they really want is the per capita school payments they earn from federal coffers by opening their doors to Indians (p. 57).

Federal Indian schools make up only a small portion of the history concerning Indian education in Canada. This period starts in earnest in the 1960's until today. However, the era of Indian education under direct federal control is coming to a close. The intent of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada is to transfer these schools to Band control sometime in the near future. As part of their devolution process, INAC is currently taking steps to remove themselves from direct involvement in the administration of Indian schools. These steps fall in line with the government's acceptance of the 1972 National Indian Brotherhood's Education policy.

Indian Control Of Indian Education

These 1951 changes to the Indian Act were received with suspicion by Indian leaders across Canada, who began to suspect that the federal government sought to renege on certain treaty rights. In 1969, the Federal government produced the White paper, which promoted the transfer of all services for status Indians to the province, including Indian education. This move confirmed the Indian leaders' views of government intentions to extinguish Indian rights (Yuzdepski, 1983; Pauls, 1984; Ward, 1986; Longboat, 1987).

Two position papers were written in opposition to the 1969 White Paper. In 1970 The Indian Association of Alberta prepared *Citizens Plus,* or as it was dubbed, the "*Red Paper*" and in 1972 the National Indian Brotherhood wrote *Indian Control of Indian Education* . These documents contained the basic proposition for the right of Indian people to control the education of Indian children, based on two principles: (a) local control, and (b) parental

responsibility (Longboat, 1987; Yuzdepski, 1983). In order to implement these ideas, the paper proposed that the practice of using Indian Education Committees (with little if any influence) give way to new Education Authorities that had decision making power, control over funds, and could make educational efforts more responsive to local needs. In February 1973 Jean Chretien, the Minister of Indian Affairs adopted the *Indian Control of Indian Education* paper as government policy (Longboat, 1987; Bezeau, 1989; Green, 1990; Pauls, 1984; Ward, 1986). An official framework now existed, making local control of education a reality in Canada.

The move toward Indian control of Indian education started with a bang, in 1970, with a sit-in at Blue Quills school that led to one of the first band controlled schools in Canada (Green, 1990; Persson, 1986; Yuzdepski, 1983). This was followed by a school boycott in Kehewin reserve in 1970-71 (Cardinal, 1977), and in 1971 by the Dogrib tribe from Rae-Edzo in the Northwest Territories, who took over their school using the Navajo school model developed at Rough Rock Arizona in the 1960's (Yuzdepski, 1983; Carney, 1978). Many others were soon to follow, and in 1990 Charlie Green estimated that "of the 370 so called Indian Affairs schools, only 108 are still being operated by Indian Affairs" (p. 37).

THE IMPETUS FOR LOCAL CONTROL

The reasons varied from community to community but in many cases three major concerns were the driving force behind the movement to take over schools. The most often reported on is the frightening demographics of Native students: (a) high dropout rate, (b) poor academic achievement, and (c) low graduation rates. A second is the devastating effect of the residential school experiences on the cultural, social, and spiritual lives of Native communities, families, and individuals. The final point is the rejuvenation of First Nations in Canada and their wish for political and community reforms in such developments as Indian self-government.

First Nation Student Demographics

Frideres (1983) illustrated the lack of success being experienced by Native students in Canada. According to him; in 1966, "fewer than 10 percent of Indian students remained in school throughout the twelve or thirteen years" (p. 164). This trend changed very little in the 70's and 80's.

In 1990 the Standing Committee On Aboriginal Affairs reported similar findings to Frideres. The committee used 1986 Canadian census figures to make their point.

The 1986 census figures for persons over 15 years having some high school education:

Status Indians (on-reserve)	22%
Status Indian (off-reserve)	38%
Inuit(with a certificate)*	3%
Inuit (without certificate)	23%
Metis (with a certificate)	6%
Metis (without certificate)	39%
Canada	56%

(1990, pp. 6-7)

It is interesting that the committee also reported that:

> The federal Department of Indian Affairs acknowledges the seriousness of these statistics but maintains that educational levels have been gradually rising over time. . . . percentage of students remaining in school to graduation (grade 12 or 13. . .), has increased from 17.2% in 1978/79 to 44.4% in 1988/89.

It is generally acknowledged that the trend in recent years to shift control of on reserve schools to local administration has had a positive effect on reducing the drop-out rates (Standing Committee On Aboriginal Affairs, 1990, p. 7). Changing these statistics and improving the success of Indian students has fueled the development of local control.

Residential School Syndrome

Disclosures of the residual effect of Indian residential schools on the Indian community are just now being brought to light. The loss of language and culture has resulted in a distinctive set of symptoms described as the "residential school syndrome". Gresko reported in her study that, "native response to both Qu'Appelle and St. Mary's was mainly negative, though some Indians welcomed the missionary concern for their well being in a time of government and societal indifference" (p. 97). In many cases the "coastal as well as Plains Indians often refused to send

their children to school, sent them irregularly, or sent only expendable youth: the orphaned, mixed blood, female, or ill" (p. 98). According to Persson (1986) "when pupils entered residential school, they underwent admission procedures designed to dispossess them of their previous roles and isolate them from the reserve" (p. 152). Persson writes "children were either brought to the school by their family or, more often, were 'rounded up' by a priest and transported to the school" (p. 152). The Indian students at these many residential schools across Canada were forbidden to speak their own language and coerced into assimilating into an alien language, culture and religion, which forcibly destroyed their own culture and identity (York, 1989; Persson, 1986; Gresko, 1986; Pauls, 1984). The result of this treatment and the loss of culture and language has left many people and communities with continuing painful memories and deep emotional and psychological scars.

The effect of the residential school experience on students in their later adult lives is known as the " 'residential-school syndrome' - a term coined by psychologists who are beginning to notice a distinctive set of symptoms in their Indian clients" (York, 1989, p. 37). This set of symptoms are described by Maggie Hodgson (an expert on sexual abuse) who estimates that 80% of the residents of these schools were abused, leading to generations of alcoholism, suicide, abuse and violence in many Indian families (York, 1989).

Many First Nations have started down the long road of personal, family and community healing. A major part of this healing process has been to take control of their own lives, to empower themselves and their communities. The local control of education is part of this process and education can become as powerful in recreating Indian nations as it was in destroying them.

Self-Government And Local Control Of Indian Education

The third impetus for local control is the fast paced development of Indian self government. Paulo Freire (1972) theorizes that in order for the liberation of the oppressed to take place,

"They must perceive the reality of oppression not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which they can transform" (p. 34).

The movement towards Indian operated school systems is related to the inherent nature of Indian self-government. For Indian nations "self-government" is an inherent aboriginal and treaty right. Although manifestations of this idea may be realized in many different forms, it usually includes Indian institutions such as schools, a territorial base, and a resource base all supporting the language, culture and society (Little Bear, Boldt, and Long, 1986). First Nations believe this inherent right is derived from the Creator, who gave this authority to all Indian nations and predates confederation and the arrival of Christopher Columbus (Lyon, 1986; Porter, 1986). Cardinal discussed the issue of the government's acknowledgment of the inherent nature of self-government at a conference on Indian-Provincial Government Relations in 1986. At this gathering Cardinal (1986) said:

> From our perspective, if our rights are already entrenched in the *Constitution Act, 1982*, it is not for the Canadian government or any other provincial governments, individually or collectively, to decide that they're going to recognize Indian self-government. Because for us, Indian self-government is already entrenched in the constitution as a treaty or aboriginal right. (p. 50)

Developments in education will not rise from the advancement of self-government but rather will develop simultaneously. In many cases the local control of education is not a precursor to the idea of self-government but is an example of its application.

Educational leadership has had a crucial effect on the development of Indian controlled schools and is examined in the second part of this literature review. This next part of the literature review has seven sections examining the following topics: (a) Indian leadership characteristics; (b) theories of administration; (c) leadership approaches; (d) transformational leadership; (e) Indian educational leadership in change; (f) characteristics of successful change, and (g) successful educational leadership.

CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN LEADERSHIP

"It is frequently asserted that Native Indian leadership is different from non-Native Indian leadership" (Jules, 1988, p. 4). This section examines this assertion. I will consider Indian leadership styles and characteristics as discussed in the related literature.

The nature of leadership in many First Nations is greatly influenced by the nature of the First Nation community itself. Leadership can be seen as a continuation of the extended family, as is illustrated by Manuel (1974) who states that:

> In a society where all are related, where everyone is someone 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 the society. It is the society as a whole, not merely a part of it, that must survive. (p. 7)

In a similar way to education, leadership emerged from a communal and naturalistic process which focused on the good of the family and the interest of the society.

Jules (1988), writes that in Native communities Indian leaders were selected because of their accomplishments and their character. This was judged by the community through the potential leaders' actions and behaviors (Jules, 1988). In some cases this process included their behavior as infants and as children (Porter, 1986). Jules cites Malloch (1984) to illustrate how this selection process might occur:

> She observed that leaders were not elected or appointed through a formal process, but rather they were 'recognized' or 'chosen' inasmuch as other people looked to them for leadership. . . . Leaders emerged from among those who demonstrated exceptional skills and understanding grounded in their experience of life and the natural order. (1988, p. 8)

According to Mandelbaum (1979), in plains Cree society "the number of chiefs was not fixed, nor was there any prescribed procedure for attaining the rank. A man became a chief by virtue of his accomplishments in battle, . . . as a hunter, his liberality, . . . as an orator and executive" (p. 106).

The authority of the leaders is derived from the people he or she serves. The importance of this concept is made clear by George Manuel, who, said in reflecting on traditional Indian leadership:

> 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. (1974, p. 142).

Manuel continues by voicing that, the ideal form of true Indian leadership is when , "a leader who stands no taller than the rest of his people stands in the center of the circle and speaks the voice of the minds and souls he hears around him" (p.246). Similarly in Cree societies, ". . . when several families . . . choose a leader. . . the obedience paid to the leader is purely voluntary since anyone may leave at his pleasure. Once the enterprise is over the leader may not presume to any authority. Merit alone gives to the position" (Mandelbaum, 1979, p. 290).

Although Indian nations across Canada vary in different cultural and linguistic ways, there are still many traditional, spiritual and philosophical similarities among them, enough to generalize to the majority of Indians in Canada. Their ideas and values for nationhood and self-government are defined from their spiritual relationship to the Creator and to the land that they occupy (Cardinal, 1977; Manuel & Posluns, 1974; Little Bear et al. 1986). Another domain of great importance, that is shared among tribes and is vital to the discussion of Indian leadership is the decision-making process. Decisions were arrived at through consensus and not by majority rule (Porter, 1986; Smallface Marule, 1986; Jules, 1988; Manuel & Posluns, 1974). Smallface Marule illustrates this with the following story from her days at the National Indian Brotherhood in the 1970's:

> The few times that the executive council attempted to use majority-rule system of decision making, it resulted in the abstention of those who didn't agree with it. They would not directly oppose it, but they did not pay any attention to it either. Thus, it was possible to work together only on those things where they all agreed. On matters of disagreement, each was left up to his own approach. (1986, p. 37)

Indian leadership can be summarized in the following ways. Leaders were chosen because of their personal character and credibility. Traditional Indian leadership was by example. Authority was delegated, limited and defined by the group. The Indian leader did not possess any mystical regal power or divine right to lead like Kings and Queens in European cultures (Weatherford, 1990), but had power based on their ability to influence others with their

knowledge, wisdom, and skills as an orator, diplomat, listener, and warrior. Indian leadership is democratic and participatory in nature. Leadership can be shared and moved among the group depending on the situation and circumstance.

BRIEF HISTORY OF ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY

To begin this section a brief history of the development of administrative theory is appropriate. Chance (1992), Thom (1993), Owens (1991), and Hanson (1991) describe the theories of administration in four distinct eras: (a) the classical theory era, (b) social systems period, (c) the open system phase, and (d) the modern era.

The classical era begins in the late 1800's and reaches into the 1930's and 40's and is dominated by the writings of Frederick Winslow Taylor who is referred to as the father of scientific management (*Taylorism*). William Foster (1986) writes that Taylorism is concerned with work place efficiency and is made up of five major elements:

- Time motion studies - discovering the specific time and body motions needed to accomplish a particular job.
- The standardization of the job - developing a particular routine that every worker could follow.
- The setting of particular tasks to be itemized, accomplished, and recorded during the day.
- The development of 'functional foremanship' - training foremen to effectively supervise their workers' daily tasks.
- The addition of planning departments to analyze the jobs in the organization and develop them in conformity to the principles of scientific management. (pp. 37-38)

Thom (1993), Hanson (1991) and Owens (1991) refer to the work of German sociologist Max Weber and his "ideal-type" construct as the beginning of the study of bureaucracy. Because bureaucracy has such a stranglehold on schools, Thom devotes a whole chapter in his book to bureaucratic theory and asserts it must be understood if organizational improvements are going to be made. He advises administrators and aspiring administrators to gain a solid grasp of bureaucratic theory in order to understand the majority of educational institutions they will work in. Owens (1990) writes:

> Max Weber, produced some of the most useful, durable, and brilliant work on . . . *bureaucracy*. . . . Weber saw hope in bureaucracy. Essentially, the hope was that well-run bureaucracies would become fairer, more impartial, and more predictable -- in general, more rational -- than organizations subject to the caprices of powerful individuals. . . For Weber, the bureaucratic concept was an attempt to minimize the frustrations and irrationality of large organizations in which the relationship between management and worker were based on traditions of class privilege. (pp. 5-6)

Hanson summarizes Weber's five principles of universal maximum organization efficiency: "(1) Hierarchical structure: . . .; (2) Division of labor: . . . ; (3) Control by rule: . . .; (4) Impersonal relationship: . . .; (5) Career orientation: . . . . All of these elements contribute to the formation of career employees" (pp. 20-21).

Thom pointed out that all types of governments, democratic or communist and all organizations from sports to religion and the military operate in a bureaucracy. Taylor and Weber's theories of bureaucracy still influence many of today's school systems. This was especially true for federal Indian Affairs schools, that have a chain of command starting from Ottawa, to the provincial regions, to the districts to the bands and to the schools on each reserve.

The second era is referred to as the social system approach and is most notably recognized by the human relations and the organizational behavior movements. This period begins with the work of Mary Parker Follet who, "first, viewed management as a social process and, second, saw it inextricably enmeshed in the particular situation" (Owens, 1990, p. 8). However, the hallmark of this period is probably the work of Elton Mayo and Frizt Roethlisberger in the 1930's with their research on the Western Electric Company's Hawthorne plant in Chicago. These writers and others of the time discovered and espoused the idea that people worked hard when they are happy and are well treated. The results of their work became known as the Hawthorne effect and created the human relations movement that greatly influenced the development of administrative and leadership theory.

The organizational behavior movement is considered to have started with the book entitled *The Functions of the Executive* by Chester Barnard in 1938 (Owens, 1991; Foster, 1986). Foster (1986) writes that, "Barnard had the foresight to examine the total organization as a

complex system made up of interdependent parts" (p. 42). Foster (1986) also remarks, that the importance of this era was to provide a necessary opposition to scientific management as espoused by Taylor and others of the time. It also uncovered the existence of informal cultures and informal leaders in an organization. However, more importantly it stressed the importance of the human factor in organizations and therefore opposed the mechanical approach of the scientific management era (Chance, 1992; Foster, 1986).

The third era is referred to as the open systems phase. Hanson writes that:

> The earlier two traditions of classical and social systems theory tend to view organizational life as a closed system, that is . . . isolated from the surrounding environment. Open system theory conceives of an organization as a set of interrelated parts that interact with the environment almost as a living creature does. (p. 9)

This period is identified by the concepts of input, output, cyclical events, environmental exchange and information theory (Hanson, 1991; Thom, 1993). However, Hanson writes that, "organizations are neither open or closed systems in an absolute sense. . . . it is more appropriate to think of organizations as maintaining degrees of openness and closedness with respect to specific decisions, pressures, or materials . . ." (pp. 142-143).

The fourth era is the modern or future theories era. This is usually marked by a discussion on contingency theory. In short, contingency theory is a continuation of the open system theory with the added twist of situational and environmental circumstances. "Contingency theory stresses the variability in environmental needs and demands requires variability in organizational responses" (Hanson, p. 154). In other words "there is a plan A, B or C."

Each era has produced a different approach and theory of leadership, which will be discussed in the next section.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LEADERSHIP THEORY

Organizational theories gave birth to many approaches and ideas of leadership which have moulded and influenced and directed the way schools and school systems leaders behave. Owens (1990) states that leadership has:

> literally hundreds of definitions in the literature. Among those definitions, however, two things are agreed on: Leadership is a function of groups, not individuals . . . In the interaction process, one person is able to induce others to think and behave in certain desired ways. Leadership involves intentionally exercising influence on the behavior of other people. (p. 132)

Many writers on the subject of leadership begin with an overview of the four main leadership approaches. The first is the "great man" theory -- leaders are born to lead. The second is the "trait theory of leadership" -- leaders rise to their position because of their superior qualities or traits such as intelligence, imagination, self-confidence, etc.. Both theories are part of the classical organizational period (Chance, 1992; Hanson ,1991; Maxcy, 1991; Owens, 1991). The third theory moved away from the psychological traits approach and began looking at leadership behavior. This period is marked by the work of Ohio State University in the 1950's and their now famous LBDQ (Leadership Behavior Description Questionnaire) (Hanson, 1991; Maxcy, 1991). The fourth theory is the contingency approach to leadership. It is considered to be a major improvement to the one best way of leadership, but still leaves us with many unanswered questions (Sergiovanni, & Starratt, 1988; Owen, 1990). The contingency approach includes but is not limited to House's Path Goal Theory, Hersey and Blanchard's Situational Leadership Model, Fiedler's Leadership Contingency Model, and Vroom & Yetten's Contingency Theory or Normative Model (Chance, 1992; Hanson, 1991; Owen, 1990; Sergiovanni & Starratt, 1988). Sergiovanni and Starratt describe this fourth definition of leadership as instrumental theories which they consider to be reductionist in their view of leadership. The primary focus of these theories is on social and management skills and concepts that can help improve an administrator's leadership style or help leaders choose the right style for the right situation (Chance, 1992; Hanson, 1991; Owen, 1990; Sergiovanni & Starratt, 1988).

These theories have certainly advanced the development of leadership beliefs and assisted in the training and preparation of many school administrators, but it is time to look at new ideas for dealing with the changing and complex world.

The next section describes a newer idea about charismatic leadership first discussed by James MacGregor Burns and which is viewed by Thom as a revival of the traits approach to leadership research.

TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Transformational leadership takes a wider view of leadership and administration and is more substantive in its approach to leadership and the whole organization (Sergiovanni & Starratt, 1988).

The Roots Of Transformational Leadership

James MacGregor Burns (1978), political scientist and Pulitzer-prize winning historian, in his seminal work *Leadership,* explains the historical origins of transformational leadership in the following passage:

> In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries however, the concept of authority was undermined . . . Spreading through Europe and America powerful new doctrine proclaimed the rights of the individual against rules, set forth goals and values beyond those of simple order or security, and called for liberty, equality, fraternity; even the pursuit of happiness . (p. 24)

Burns writes that influential American leaders like, "Jefferson and Jackson espoused and orated the idea of government by the people" (1978, p. 26). However, Jack Weatherford (1990) in his writings uncovers that "when Americans try to trace their heritage back through the writings of French and English political thinkers of the Enlightenment, they forget that these people's thoughts were heavily shaded by the democratic traditions . . . of the American Indians" (Weatherford, 1990, p. 129). The development of transformational leadership theory owes a lot to the Indians of North America. In Weatherford's own words:

> During this era the thinkers of Europe forged the ideas that became known as the European Enlightenment, and much of its light came from the torch of Indian liberty that still burned brightly in the interregnum between their first contact with the Europeans and their decimation by the Europeans. (Weatherford, 1990, p. 124)

and that:

> The discovery of new forms of political life in America freed the imaginations of old world thinkers to envision utopia, socialism, communism, anarchism, and dozens of other social forms. Scarcely any political theory or movement of the last three centuries has not shown the impact of this great political awakening that the Indians provoked among the Europeans . . . the Indian love of liberty, freedom, and individuality have also spread. Even though the Indians never had a monopoly on these values, they did achieve the highest cultural development of them. (Weatherford, 1990, pp. 130-131)

These ideas are now more important than ever for the success and development of Indian communities in Canada. Our communities are struggling with many serious issues such as local control of education, Indian self government, and the understanding and utilization of our treaties, not to mention the sometimes overwhelming social problems. In order for Native communities to cope with and understand these complex issues, leadership must focus on transforming peoples' attitudes from dependency to those of liberation and empowerment. "Indeed, the interests of the oppressed lie in changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them" (Freire, 1972, p. 60).

A Definition Of Transformational Leadership

Burns describes leadership as divided into two forms, transactional leadership and transformational leadership. In Burns opinion, transactional leadership "is based on an exchange of services ... for various rewards... that the leader controls, at least in part" (Leithwood, 1992, p. 9). The transactional leader tries to deal with the needs and wants of the individual in a bargaining process (Sergiovanni & Starratt, 1988, Foster, 1986).

On the other hand, James MacGregor Burns (1978) defines transformational leadership in the following way:

> ... leaders inducing followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and in which leaders see and act on their own and their follower's values and motivations. Leadership unlike naked power-wielding is thus inseparable from follower's needs and goals ... Transforming leadership ultimately becomes moral in that it raises the level of human conduct and ethical aspirations of both leader and led, and thus it has a transforming effect on both. (p. 19)

To summarize transformative leadership is a purposeful and moral action of sharing power with followers, that provides a vision of a just and equal society, and is essentially the process of empowerment and transformation (Foster, 1986; Burns 1978), and "... can move followers to higher degrees of consciousness, such as liberty, freedom, justice, and self-actualization" (Bennis & Nanus, 1985, p. 218).

The Source Of Power For Transformational Leadership

The power behind transformational leadership is learning. Bennis, & Nanus (1985) found that leaders of successful organizations, "talked about persistence and self-knowledge; about willingness to take risks and accept losses . . . But above all they talked about learning" (pp. 187-188). Burns confirms this research by writing, "leaders who teach and are taught by their followers - acquire many of their skills in everyday experience, in on-the-job training, in dealing with other leaders and with followers . . ." (p. 169). According to Bennis and Nanus (1985), "learning is the essential fuel for the leader, the source of high-octane energy that keeps up the momentum by continually sparking new understanding, new ideas, and new challenges" (p. 188). Burns goes further and claims that:

> Leadership is a special form of power...that power is first of all a relationship and not merely an entity to be passed around like a baton or hand grenade; that it involves the intentions or purpose of both power holder and power recipients. (1978, p. 12)

Burns adds:

> The essential strategy of leadership in mobilizing power is to recognize the array of motives and goals in potential followers, to appeal to those motives by word and action and to strengthen those motives and goals in order to increase power of leadership thereby changing the environment within which both follower and leader act. (p. 40)

Transformational leaders are concerned with change and improvement, they view leadership as a process of learning and participation in the development of the group. The power of leadership:

> is not just the property of enlightened individuals. ...but occurs with in a community of believers. . . . Indeed, history will identify an individual as the leader, but in reality the job is one in which various members of the community contribute. Leaders and followers become interchangeable. (Foster, 1989, p. 49)

Transformational Leadership In Schools

Leithwood (1992) contrasts transformational leadership with instructional leadership to show the reader that school administrators have a much greater role to play in the success of school innovation than just monitoring classrooms for improvements in technical and instruction activities. Leithwood writes that "transformational school leaders are in more or less continuous pursuit of three fundamental goals: (1) helping staff members develop and maintain a collaborative, professional school culture; (2) fostering teacher development; and (3) helping them solve problems together more effectively" (pp. 9-10). He also suggests that principals focus their attention on facilitating second order change in their schools. Poplin (1992), agrees with Leithwood's idea that school administrators view of themselves as instructional leaders is changing. In her words, "as a result of these changes in the basic assumptions about the teacher/learning enterprise, administrators are called to shed the role of instructional leader and define new roles" (p. 10), and that:

> Instructional leadership having outlived its usefulness, our profession now calls on administrators to be the servants of collective vision, editors, cheerleaders, problem solvers, resource finders. We must not only be self-conscious about change, but we must also encourage it in others (pp. 10-11).

Sagor (1992), identified some interesting trends related to transformational leadership:

> In schools where teachers and students report a culture conducive to school success, a transformative leader is the principal. These principals consistently use what we call the three "building blocks of transformational leadership": 1) A clear and unified focus. 2) A common cultural perspective. 3) A constant push for improvement (p. 13).

The three principals described by Sagor have very different personalities, but they share a common thread. They have, "a transformational effect on the professionals who work within the shadow of their leadership" (p. 18). Sagor points out the following behavior that "the three principals share: classroom visits everyday, the view of teaching as an experimental science and making their faculty feel empowered" (p. 18).

This theory of transformational leadership is supportive and encouraging of change, seeks continual improvement based on the sharing and building of common values for the achievement of the organization's goals, and it empowers and encourages followers to become

the leaders of change in their own right. As Burns so perceptively wrote; "followers armed by moral inspiration, mobilized and purposeful, become zealots and leaders in their own right" (p. 34).

Another important consideration for transformational principals, Directors of Education and teachers involves understanding the different factors that affect the change process. The ideas of transformational leadership must be taken as a serious alternative in dealing with the dilemmas of change. In the next section I will discuss the ideas of change in relation to the changes occurring in Indian schools today.

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND CHANGE

The issue of reforming Indian schools is a relatively new idea to Indian communities. According to Matthews (1990):

> Many First Nations leaders and . . . education authorities are becoming more aware of their inherent right to make decisions about the schooling of their young people without having to use federal or provincial government policies as reference. It is only with this kind of awareness that First Nations schools can develop in a way which truly reflects the needs and aspirations of their respective communities. (p. 102)

Boloz and Foster (1980) add, ". . . principals on the reservation must be guided not by what someone, elsewhere, has done well, but by what is appropriate in the immediate environment" (p. 24).

Restructuring Indian schools requires a belief that change has to occur across many different levels in what Fullan calls "second-order" change. "Second-order changes seek to alter the fundamental ways in which organizations are put together, including new goals, structures, and roles" (Fullan, & Stiegelbauer, 1991, p. 29).

Lynch and Charleton (1990) write that there is a new wave of Indian educational leadership, which is focused on change. They stated that, "the *Indian* graduates were committed to an

agenda of change instead of just simply replacing older non-Indian administrators. New roles had to be created if Self Determination were to be something more than just a slogan" (p. 9).

Boloz and Foster (1980) suggest that , ". . . reservation schools have expectations, which range from formally recognized policies of the school to the informal needs of the students and the community" (p. 25), such as learning to cope with drug and alcohol abuse, suicide, high unemployment rates, the lack of employment opportunities and economic development on the reserve, racism, hopelessness, the loss of First Nations cultures, languages, and values (York, 1989, Cardinal, 1969). Boloz and Foster refer to McNeil who calls these informal issues the "hidden curriculum" (1980, p. 25). "McNeil further stressed that the principal must be continuously aware of this hidden curriculum in order to offer content that will be of value to the student" (Boloz, & Foster, 1980, p. 25).

Understanding the change process becomes important in meeting the challenges that First Nation operated schools face. Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1991) write that, "Educational change is technically simple and socially complex" (p. 65), and that the change process is teeming with intrinsic dilemmas that the implementor must choose between (Fullan & Stiegelbauer 1991; Miles, 1980). This coupled with inflexibility of some factors and the nature of the individual setting make it almost impossible to achieve a successful innovation (Fullan & Stiegelbauer 1991).

In the First Nations context Boloz and Foster point out to Indian educational leaders that, "failure of the reservation principal to be aware of the school community as a highly complex political society may lead towards misunderstanding and friction with the end result being some form of termination or isolation" (1980, p. 27). Boldt (1993) writes:

> Indian leaders confront daunting challenges. . . . Their people will survive as Indians only if. . . leaders, make totally selfless commitment . . . to the survival of traditional philosophies, principals, social systems, and languages. . . . leaders with a vision and a mission to put their people on the path to survival and well being as Indians. (pp. 165-166)

CHARACTERISTICS OF SUCCESSFUL CHANGE

Fullan reminds us to be aware that complex restructuring requires a sophisticated array of activities in order to work. Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1991) suggest that an innovation must address some prioritized needs and that the goals and meaning of the change must be clear. They also tell us that people involved must perceive both that the needs being addressed are significant and that the changes are practical.

Vision Building

Innovation usually requires attention to developing a vision for the change. Fullan and Stiegelbauer say that vision building must permeate the organization with values, purpose and integrity for both the what and how of improvement. According to Bennis and Nunas (1985), vision building is a dynamic and interactive process. Fullan and Stiegelbauer suggest that the vision must address a broad agenda and must always work at increasing the number of people aware of and committed to the vision. This means communicating with others about the idea and building credibility through symbols and public dialogue. Barth (1990), writes that, "without a clear sense of purpose we get lost, and our activities in school become but empty vessels of our discontent" (p. 516). There must be a shared vision of the change process and a general plan or strategy on how to get there (Fullan & Stiegelbauer).

Flexible Planning

Successful schools employed evolutionary planning techniques, "adapting their plans as they went along to improve the fit between change and conditions in the school and to take advantage of unexpected developments and opportunities" (Louis & Miles, cited in Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991, p. 83).

Role Of The Principal

McLaughlin,(1983) writes that support and encouragement from the central administrator is critical for successful change. The central administrator's role is to signal the importance of an innovation. Perceptions of the central administrator's attitudes towards a new idea help

stakeholders in the system gauge the priority level of the innovation. This in turn determines how much time and commitment they will invest into the new venture. A positive perception results in a high level of receptiveness by the school staff. Fullan refers to the principal as the main blocker/agent of change. When it comes to implementation "power sharing" is crucial. The principal must empower the teachers and encourage and support their initiative-taking (Fennel, 1990). Developing a collaborative working culture in the schools is central to this theme. This refers to the quality of working relationships or collegiality among the teachers and teachers and principal. Barth offers this definition of collegiality by Judith Warren Little:

> Collegiality is the presence of . . . specific behaviors, as follows: Adults in school talk about practice . . . Adults in schools observe each other engaged in the practice of teaching and administration. . . . Adults engaged together in work on curriculum by planning, designing, researching, and evaluating . . . (Warren Little, 1981, cited in Barth, 1990, p. 31)

Staff Development

Fullan writes that "educational change is a learning experience for the adults involved" (Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991 p. 66). McLaughlin also identifies ongoing training as one of the three critical components for implementation strategies. According to Fullan staff development must become a central theme of change. Teachers and administrators must work together to develop staff training that can add to the successful implementation of a new idea. It should include a combination of pre-implementation, implementation training and includes follow through features (Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991).

These themes of change are essential parts of the learning that is needed to develop and or encourage leaders to take risks and push for improvement in schools.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SUCCESSFUL LEADERSHIP

Sergiovanni and Starratt (1988) describe leadership as an abstraction to label a complex reality, and in order to understand it we must make the following three assumptions about successful leadership:

1. Leadership implies a relationship to other people. . . . That relationship involves strong bonds of loyalty, commitment, and a shared sense of humanity.
2. . . .leadership is exercised over time. . . it cannot be exercised in a single act or event.
3. . . . leadership takes place in relationship to some organizational institution, agency or community (pp. 201-202).

Bennis and Nanus (1985) characterize the nature of successful leaders as having positive self-regard and emotional wisdom. These two characteristics are reflected in the way people relate to each other. Ninety leaders that participated in the Bennis and Nanus study on leadership strategies, identified the following five key skills:

1. The ability to accept people as they are, not as you would like them to be.
2. The capacity to approach relationships and problems in terms of the present rather than the past.
3. The ability to treat those who are close to you with the same courteous attention that you extend to strangers and casual acquaintances.
4. The ability to trust others, even if the risk seems great.
5. The ability to do without constant approval and recognition from others (pp. 65-67),

and Sergiovanni (1983) identifies five leadership forces for excellence in schools:

- Technical -- derived from sound management techniques
- Human -- derived from harnessing available social and interpersonal resources
- Educational -- derived from expert knowledge about matters of education and schooling
- Symbolic -- derived from focusing the attention of others on matters of importance to the school
- Cultural -- derived from building a unique school culture. (p. 6)

Sergiovanni (1983) pursues these ideas further and concludes by offering this advice. "As leaders better understand and incorporate each of the five forces, they must be prepared to accept some additional burden. Symbolic and cultural forces are very powerful influences of human thought and behavior" (p. 13). He continues that ". . the burdens of leadership will be less if leadership functions and roles are shared" (p. 13).

Reavis and Blase (1994), identified eight actions or strategies that successful school leaders use to influence teachers. These were:

1. Rewarding . . . teachers for participating in formation of the school goals and developing creative responses in pursuit of those goals . . .
2. Communicating expectations . . . the principal should emphasize the jointly derived expectations of the school community . . .
3. Supporting . . . rather than offering advice and direct intervention, they should support creative instructions originated by teams of teachers.
4. Relying less on formal authority. . . authority should be shared more widely in the school . . .
5. Modeling . . . principals should promote growth and development in teachers . . .

6. Being visible . . . in terms of helping teachers work out their solutions to the knotty problems of professional practice.
7. Stimulating thought rather than suggesting - Principals will need to reduce the number of direct suggestions they give . . .
8. Sharing decision making . . . The difference will be in the types of roles teacher play and the types of decisions they are encouraged to make. . . . (pp. 13 -14)

Rallis (1990) examines two educational administrative phenomena in recent literature on school reform. The first deals with the idea of the principal as the instructional leader/educational manager of the school. The second is teacher professionalism, which in its most self actualized form would imply teacher committee run schools without principals. According to Rallis, like many other things the answer to restructuring schools probably lies somewhere in-between these two alternatives. In her opinion the relationship between the principal and the teachers is the crux of school reform and restructuring schools means restructuring leadership. She points out that transformational principals must create a supportive and safe environment for teachers to collaborate, take risks, and create solutions that will lead to school restructuring. However, Rallis reminds us that schools are bureaucratic structures that will make achieving successful school reform a very difficult task.

"The mark of effective leadership is that it can adapt to changing conditions and create new possibilities for its people. The extent to which Indian leadership in education can accomplish that will demand creativity and energy in a difficult social environment" (Lynch and Charleton, 1990, pp. 9-10).

In the current discussion of Indian education, traditional sharing of leadership becomes a powerful concept in developing a model of Indian education. In traditional Indian leadership, power is delegated, limited and defined by the group. The Indian leader did not possess any regal power or divine right to lead like Kings and Queens (Weatherford, 1990), but had power based on their ability to influence others in the group. It is democratic and participatory in nature and it can be shared and moved within the group depending on the situation and circumstance. These ideas of leadership are foreign to non-Native organizations like INAC and church run residential schools that oppressed people. Hampton writes:

Euro-Americans summed up their difficulty in understanding and dealing with Native forms of organization by saying 'Too many chiefs and not enough Indians.' The individual Indian's sense of personal power and autonomy is a strength that lies behind the apparent weakness of disunity. . . .Our survival rests on the fact that *each* Indian is at heart a king or queen who owes allegiance only to the people. (1993, p. 294)

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides a description of the methodology used to conduct the study. The purpose of the study was to gain insight into how six acknowledged successful Indian educational leaders view their own leadership. Bogden & Biklen (1982) write that , ". . . reality comes to be understood to human beings only in the form in which it is perceived" (p. 32). It is the perceptions of these educational leaders that this thesis is trying to capture in order to describe the essence of successful leadership in First Nations schools.

The chapter is presented in seven sections. The first part deals with the design of the study. The second section is a brief discussion of the pilot study. The third section describes the source of the data and how participants were selected. The fourth part discusses how the main study was conducted and provides a description of the procedures for data collection. The fifth section describes the procedures used in the data analysis. The final two sections discuss ethical considerations and issues of trustworthiness that arise from a study of this nature.

DESIGN OF STUDY

This is a qualitative study of Indian educational leadership written from the perspective of the educational leaders involved in this project. Berg (1989), writes:

> Qualitative researchers, then are most interested in how humans arrange themselves and their settings and how inhabitants of these settings make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social structures, social roles, and so forth. . . . As a result, qualitative techniques allow the researcher to share in the understandings and perceptions of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives. . . . and make sense of themselves and others. (p. 6)

This is accomplished by observing or talking to the people involved in the process you are studying (Berg, 1989, p. 6).

For the purpose of this study the researcher decided that the most appropriate format would be a semistandardized interview approach, using open-ended questions (Berg, 1989).

This decision was made because the researcher was looking for an approach that would suit an Indian style of research. Jules supports this idea:

> The author 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. (p. 12)

This study is a descriptive-naturalistic (qualitative) mode of inquiry. The philosophy behind this research approach is explained by Owens (1982), who writes, that:

> . . . naturalistic inquiry . . . essentially holds that one cannot understand human behavior without understanding the framework within which the individuals under study interpret their environment, and that this, in turn, can best be understood through understanding their thoughts, feelings, values, perceptions, and their actions. (p. 5)

PRELIMINARY (PILOT) STUDY

There were three main reasons to conduct the pilot study. The first reason was to test the interview questions. The second purpose was to practice my interviewing technique and to become more comfortable with this activity. The third purpose was to gain some insight into the topic of Indian educational leadership (to help me focus on the main study).

The pilot study was a convenience sample of three educational leaders in Hobbema. All three volunteers were very helpful in reviewing my interview schedule, which was done at the end of each interview. The participants and I discussed the interview schedule and identified any ambiguity and/or any duplications in the questions. Overall the pilot study was very useful in refining my interview guide and in helping hone my interviewing skills and allowed me time to reflect on the questions that I had originally prepared. The pilot study also produced useful information which was incorporated into Chapter Five: Data Analysis.

SOURCE OF DATA: THE PARTICIPANTS

The primary source of data was obtained from semistandardized interviews with three Directors of Education, one educational consultant (previously a Director of Education) and two

principals. They are a purposive reputational sample of educational leaders in First Nations schools in Alberta. There were male and female, Native and non-Native participants involved in this study.

According to Berg (1989), "When developing a purposive sample, researchers use their special knowledge or expertise about some group to select subjects who represent this population" (p. 110). The participants were selected because of their reputations as successful educational leaders.

The selection procedure was conducted in the following manner. A letter was sent to the Director of Education, Alberta region of INAC who is familiar with First Nation school systems and their administrators in Alberta. In the letter he was asked to recommend six successful Indian school systems and/or educational administrators and explain the criteria for his selections.

From the list received I selected one school system which provided three participants. The three other individuals are either widely known as educational leaders in First Nation schools or were recommended by the Director of Education for INAC .

The recommended candidates were contacted by phone to discuss the thesis and request their participation. Consideration was given to interviewing only the voluntary participants. The interested parties were then sent a letter of transmittal describing the nature and purpose of the study and confirming their willingness to participate.

DATA COLLECTION

The main method of data collection was a semistandardized interview using open-ended questions. I also used a secondary approach of informal observation to support the interviews but did not use this data.

An informed consent was obtained from each participant prior to each interview. This was done through a verbal presentation detailing and explaining what was involved in the interview.

At this point I also obtained permission to tape record the interview. The interviews varied in length from 60 to 160 minutes.

Interviewing

I interviewed the six participants. Borg and Gall (1989), state that in "the naturalistic inquiry perspective . . . Humans are the primary data gathering instrument" (p. 385). According to Berg (1989) the semistandardized interview:

> . . . involves the implementation of a number of predetermined questions and/or special topics. These questions are typically asked of each interviewee in a systematic and consistent order, but allow the interviewer sufficient freedom to digress; that is, the interviewers are permitted (in fact expected) to probe far beyond the answers to their prepared and standardized questions. (p. 17)

The following questions were used as a guide for gathering the information for this study:

1. How long have you worked in this community school system?
2. How long have you been involved with Indian education?
3. What major developments in First Nations education, that you have been involved with, are you most proud of?
4. What does local control of Indian education mean to you?
5. What expectations do you believe the community has for the education system or of you as a leader?
6. In your opinion what does being a successful Indian school mean?
7. Where does the community leadership come from and what role does it play?
8. Has leadership in Indian Schools changed over the last twenty years?
9. What kind of leader do you want to be or what does leadership mean?
10. Are there differences in leadership between Indian and non-Indian educational organizations?
11. What special issues face educational leaders in Indian schools?
12. How would you translate your beliefs about leadership into daily practices?
13. As the leader what is your role in achieving student growth and success?
14. What are two or three personal values that you strongly believe in?
15. What is your vision for the schools you lead?
16. What would your educational leadership motto or creed say?

These questions were not always asked in the exact order of the schedule and some of the questions may not have been asked of all the participants.

The wording of the questions did vary from person to person as the study progressed. I tried to follow the lead and interest of the interviewee and then decided on what questions were most appropriate. I sometimes would refer to the interview schedule when the interviewee seemed to be done with a certain topic or to encourage further discussion.

Only two participants were involved in brief follow-up telephone interviews to clarify or expand on ideas from the first audio taped interview. Notes were written with the participants permission.

The interview schedule was very detailed. Gitlin (1990) suggested , "If research is going to help develop participants' voices, as opposed to silencing them, researchers must engage in dialogue with practitioners at both the level of question-posing and the interpretation of the findings" (p. 446).

Interviewing And Informal Observation

I spent two days in the school system selected for this study. The first day was spent with the Director of Education making informal observations of his daily activities. I witnessed this leader in action, exercising his beliefs at the day to day practical level. I observed the director interacting with teachers, principals and community members as he discussed administrative problems and educational issues. I then interviewed him on the second day.

Two principals became interested in the project and wanted to participate in the interview. I interviewed them together on the second day. Though this was not part of the original plan it proved to be a very interesting and valuable session. They were able to add to each other's comments and provide different perspectives to the study.

On the second day I also toured and made informal observations at the schools. My observations are recorded in my field notes and provide further insight into the role of educational leadership. Although I did not use the field notes directly in the data analysis I did find them very useful in jogging my memory of the experience in the field.

I have also maintained a journal as suggested by Owens (1982). He writes that, "the naturalistic inquirer . . . strives for validity through personal . . . stressing, 'close in' observations to achieve factual, reliable and confirmable data" (1982, p. 10).

DATA ANALYSIS

A naturalistic analysis was used to examine the data. I started to analyze the data right away by listening to the tapes as I drove home from my interviews. I personally transcribed all the tapes to become familiar with the data. Some editing was done to help in the flow of the transcripts. However, neither the substantive content of the interviews nor the respondents' ideas or thoughts were altered. The field notes were also typed during this time.

The transcripts and a personal letter thanking the participants for their help was sent to each person. This member check asked the participants to examine and react to the researcher's edited transcript of their interview. The participants were given three weeks to respond. Each participant was contacted by telephone during the third week and their informed consent was received, allowing me to use the information in their interview transcripts. Only three participants returned their transcripts with minor changes.

Berg (1989) describes the process of data analysis as putting together a "complicated jigsaw puzzle" (p. 111). Berg says that, "broadly defined, however, content analysis is any technique for making inferences by systematic and objective identifying special characteristics of messages" (Holsti, 1968, p. 608, cited in Berg, 1989, p. 106).

Bogden and Biklen (1982) say, " analysis involves working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others" (p. 145).

Armed with this understanding of data analysis the following steps were taken:

1. The transcripts were read and re-read many times to become familiar with the data. Any ideas, usually phrases or whole sections, were highlighted and notes were jotted down in the margin of the transcripts. These notes were later used to develop categories for the data analysis.

2. After the transcripts were read and initial notes made the data were further analyzed using a Macintosh computer and a word processing file (Microsoft Word). At each stage printouts were made and kept in a binder for reference purposes.

3. A coding system was developed to identify the source of each theme that emerged. For example, the code 103:3:152-157: , can be interpreted in the following manner:

- 103 refers to the number of the interview transcript. In this case it is interview number 3, with Nick;
- the second number, in this case 3, represents the page number of the transcript from which the quote is taken.
- the third set of numbers, in this case 152-157, indicates the line number where the quotes can be found.

4. The transcripts were cut and pasted by computer into groups of individually interpretable understandings (phrases and whole paragraphs or answers to questions) that were brought together into categories by aligning them with the questions in the interview schedule. This is referred to by Bogden and Biklen (1982) as a preassigned coding system.

5. The margin notes from the first analysis of the transcripts were used to add another twenty-four categories to the original sixteen questions in the schedule for a total of forty categories. The data was sorted into these categories. This created a new MS Word document which I named "data analysis".

6. These forty categories were further analyzed and sorted into two main groups.

7. The first group contained data on the participants views on: leadership styles and roles, educational philosophy, personal values, and their thoughts on working in a successful school system. This information was sorted, analyzed and rearranged into individual profiles and became chapter four. The data are presented in a holistic style in an attempt to recreate the stories of the participants and their understanding of successful leadership. The profiles use direct quotes from the data. The quotes are not presented in any particular order but are rearranged and slightly modified to create a congruous picture of each leader.

8. The second group of categories was also sorted, analyzed and rearranged into major themes which describe the essential concepts of successful Indian educational leadership

(Wolcott, 1990; Bogden & Biklen, 1982). This meant reading and re-reading the transcripts. The remaining themes in the "data analysis" document were then renamed "themes that emerged". This work became Chapter five. Berg (1989) refers to this process as latent content analysis. It is an "interpretive reading of the symbolism underlying the physically present data" (p. 107).

9. The themes that emerged were then grouped and re-grouped under new headings using the outline feature in Microsoft Word. The main headings changed several times as new information or different understanding of the information arose. In the end four main themes emerged from the content analysis and are presented in Chapter five. These themes are grounded in the data. The final quotes used in Chapter five were slightly modified to correct grammar and to help in the flow of the writing.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical considerations for this study are very important since each participant was encouraged to freely express personal opinions. An ethics review form was completed and accepted that assured the University of Alberta that my research would follow ethical guidelines.

Prior to each interview, the participant was fully informed as to the intent and purpose of the study. They were informed that their participation was completely voluntary and if at any time they felt threatened or expressed reluctance to continue, they had the opportunity to opt out of the study. They could also decline to answer any question if they so wished. Each participant was informed that responses would be treated with confidentiality. In Chapter four each leader is given a pseudonym to ensure their personal anonymity as agreed to during the interviews. Each of the participants reviewed Chapter four and five and returned a signed consent form.

TRUSTWORTHINESS

Gitlin states that:

> The 'truthfulness' of the data can no longer be understood as something extracted by an individual armed with a set of research procedures, but rather as a mutual process between researcher and subject, that recognizes the value of practical knowledge, theoretical inquiry, and systematic examinations. The researcher's knowledge is not assumed to be more legitimate than the subjects, nor is their role one of helping the needy other. Rather, the researcher and the subject attempt to come to a mutual understanding based on their own strongly articulated positions. (1990, p. 446)

To ensure trustworthiness of the data and to facilitate the interview process the interviews were tape recorded. To further ensure accuracy all the interviews were personally transcribed, reviewed and edited.

The interviews transcripts were sent to the participants for their review. These member checks allowed participants to verify and correct their responses to the edited versions of their interviews to make sure that their perceptions were accurately represented. The participants also reviewed the fourth and fifth chapters of this thesis and were allowed the opportunity to change any of the quotes used if they wished. However, I did not allow the participants full veto power over the interpretation of my findings as suggested by Wolcott (1990).

To further increase the trustworthiness of the study all information (field notes, transcripts, tapes, journal, copies of the different stages of the data analysis and any other information collected) was kept to substantiate the research findings in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: LEADERS' PROFILES

The purpose of this chapter is to present a holistic view of the leaders who participated in this study. The information is presented as six individual profiles using their own words, to create personal portraits which allow the reader to gain insight into the individual's views on successful educational leadership.

Each participant has his or her own distinct leadership approach. However, what they have in common is the fact that they are all perceived by others to have achieved a measure of success in their experiences as educational leaders in First Nations schools. They all entered the field of Native education seeking challenges and looking for an opportunity to leave their mark on education and to help improve other people's lives.

In the profiles each participant describes his or her style of leadership and role as an educational leader. They discuss their beliefs and values, educational philosophies and their personal experiences and views on being successful school leaders. Each leader is given a pseudonym.

CARL

Carl is the principal of one of the must successful Indian operated schools in Alberta for the last seven years. He moved from the security of a provincial school system into the uncertainty of a band operated school looking for a challenge. "That's the way I was hired." He says, "I gave up a secure job to come into a situation that said if you can make it work you keep your job. If you don't you might lose it. The expectation was clear. It never crossed my mind that this would not be successful. . .." Carl is a strong leader who believes in himself and is confident about his ability to lead.

Carl makes it clear to others that he is in charge and that he will lead the way for school improvement. When asked about his motto he states, "That's easy. I've got mine already. It's

'Lead, follow or get the hell out of the way'." After meeting Carl and watching him in action, one feels his conviction and enthusiasm for his work, which is a mission to help students improve. Carl inspires teachers to join his crusade. His staff are very comfortable with him and his approach.

Carl can best be described as a Field Marshall but is as he puts it more at home in the trenches working with his staff and students.

Carl's Profile:

OK! To start off I was the kind of leader who said, "we should do things this way," and I would provide the way for them. I would look around and find one or two or three people that were influential peers in their groups and consult and brief them and then I would put it back out as something that we should do in the community or for the school.

Then as we go through some leadership training, on things like managing change, I have changed my philosophy just a little. Before, I would collate a package on some area that should be discussed using my influential peers. I am now using all my teachers as a sounding board for ideas. Hopefully some of these people are taking these ideas, and instead of coming through me before doing something, they run with it themselves.

Our school went from a principal centered approach to a team management approach. It wasn't very successful at first because we weren't doing some things well enough. It got to a point where the teachers were saying, "Take back this situation. We don't want it any more. Why do we have to have team management"? Then with some reworking of the idea, it seems like the team management is going much better this year.

It's our job as principals to blend the dream with the reality and when we are successful at doing it, this reality leads us to the dream. I do this by motivating staff and students, PR work with the community, and by empowering people to do things for themselves. It's treating the teacher as the expert in the field. These are my key roles.

I personally believe that when you walk the trenches every day with the men and women and you live the life out there and they see you working, living and walking beside them as a colleague they will go to all ends for you. I strongly believe that those people that you work with have to respect you and in return you have to do that for them. When you reach that situation you can battle anything. The message is easy to get across when you have that situation.

In our system we have principals in the trenches with a more practical point of view that are able to take the organization's vision and philosophy and turn them into reality for the benefit of the students and teachers. This and the absolute belief that we will be successful, we will accomplish our goals, we will set extraordinary goals that other people wouldn't even dream of doing is what makes us who we are. This is how we approach things.

Success to us means we have got to encourage Native people to be the best they can be. We have to be able to show we're doing this. It's what I call a living philosophy. Basically what I mean by that is you should be able to come into our school and see our students being encouraged to learn their language, to learn their ways. That gives them definition, their values as a Native person, but also they have to learn the necessary activities to be able to compete outside the reserve. At our school assemblies you should hear our students being encouraged to attend colleges and universities and trade schools, and you should hear them motivating one another to do that kind of thing to see what it's like off the reserve. That's what I mean by a living philosophy of the school.

There are four basic rules to making any school successful that everyone would buy into. One is that we need great leadership at the principal level. You need great teachers to work with you. You need a good curriculum and in a Native school that curriculum has to be sensitive to Native needs. The fourth thing is that you have to have a board and a Director of Education that will support you. With those four things we can be effective, we can be successful.

Now the perception of being successful comes from the community that you serve. You need good PR to show them good success. If you show them well behaved students, if you

show them students on task, if you show them students speaking their language, the community is going to perceive that you are successful in that school. Which it is.

You see the message with successful schools is always the same, the messenger may be different. When one messenger leaves that doesn't change the message. The promotion of it may be spoken in different words by different leaders and even spoken in different languages but the message is the same. The messenger can change. He can even influence directly the situation but the message is the same. The message is the cornerstone of the school, "Kid, you will be successful because I won't let you fail." This is what made the difference between us being recommended to you to look at, over others.

On the topic of being successful the elders have defined success this way. When they walk into our school and see students sitting up straight with a smile on their face, walking tall, speaking their language, understanding their language, showing off their school. To them that defines a successful Native school. The perception is just as important as the fact.

Let's backtrack a little bit. We got our reputation from what happened in the past. We have a vision in this community of what we could do and we have people in leadership in our schools that make sure that those kids got the best opportunities. They actually believed that they could be all that they could be and there is no reason to have a 97% drop-out rate, but instead we will have a 97% graduation rate. Well the school helped, the director helped, the support of the board certainly helped, but it's the teachers and the principals in those schools that fought the daily battles, that made the difference and what we are doing now is fine tuning it.

You know to give everybody a great first year and then forget about the kids who come down later on, just because you've paid your dues, sorry it doesn't work like that. Today's kids need exactly the same if not more pushing, encouragement and expertise in delivery of education as did the first ones. So sustaining a good system is what it's all about and gradually moving up a step each time is what it is all about. Anyone can put together a flash in the pan. A good successful program has to be worked on every year.

TREVOR

Trevor has just recently joined the ranks of school principal after a long and successful career as a teacher in both provincial and band operated schools. Trevor can best be described as a teacher of teachers.

Although Trevor does not see himself as a philosophical person, when asked about his motto he states, "The closest thing I have to that are two little mottoes that may take some time to explain. One is this notion of trying not to get caught up on making a decision that ends with 'once and for all'. For instance, 'now we've solved this problem once and for all'. It's never that easy. It's more like you chip away at this problem and that might help and then you chip away at this and that might help. So 'once and for all' is something I try to avoid."

His second motto is, "what gets me through adversity in any one given day, is a philosophy that's developed out of the Sufi's mystical tradition, which is 'this too shall pass'. I try to approach a tough day, with ' this too shall pass.' So I get along that way."

Trevor clearly cares for his students and teachers in his school. He is the pragmatist of the group. He does what works and he uses his many years of classroom experience as his research for what works and he is strongly influenced by ideas such as instructional leadership. "I try to look at the school in an evolutionary sense. It evolves over time and we must avoid these notions that we are going to fix things 'once and for all' for our students."

Trevor's Profile:

My leadership could be described as "flexible". Flexible, practical, and geared towards helping children be the best they can given the social circumstances and problems we find ourselves facing. I would be lying if I said that I go to my job every day and follow some kind of script that plays out according to some philosophical assumptions. Because many, many times in a community like this, a crisis will come roaring in here the same way the west wind comes roaring in and you simply had better start dealing with it.

I believe my job is empowering teachers, cutting through the bureaucracy or whatever else is getting in the way of them doing their jobs, letting the teacher define what needs to be done in the classroom and giving them the tools to do it, and helping them take on more responsibility in running the school. I think of myself as supporting the staff and the students and the parents in helping them achieve what they believe is best.

The teachers do a wonderful job with their classrooms but by the nature of their job they can't always see the big picture. Another role is making some of the bigger administrative decisions, meaning being in the position to paint the bigger picture. Sometimes as a teacher, there is a tendency to think in terms of your own classroom, and if your classroom is running effectively, it is sometimes difficult to feel sympathetic to your neighbor who might not be running as well. It is a matter of consciousness raising on behalf of the staff to begin to see the whole school as part of their jurisdiction and responsibility. They are responsible for all the kids in the school, not just the ones in their room.

And sometimes my job is more practical like dealing with the fact that a teacher may say that student X should be tossed out on his or her ear because they are beyond hope. I may know a bit more about other factors at work in the life of that child. I must also take into consideration what the school can do and how that decision will be viewed in the community. I have to take in many more factors in making a decision.

What I try to do is go out there each and every day and I hope that our staff would do the same and work as hard as we can on behalf of the children that we have been given charge of. I don't know that we spend too much time thinking philosophical kinds of thoughts. We are much more practical people. We have to deal with the everyday problems and crises that the kids bring with them to school, and we try to help those children solve those problems based on the wealth of experience we have as a staff in our schools here. We have staff that have been here in some cases twenty two years. That's a lot of expertise to bring to a problem. We pride ourselves on dealing with some children that other schools would probably toss out on their ear very quickly.

We don't give up on them. We keep at it and keep at it and do what we can to help that child, and that family to achieve success.

In my way of thinking the values of trust and respect are crucial for leadership. You can't be dictatorial. It's not even an option. I feel it's all about human relationships. You can't talk it. You just [illegible] live it It's an existential philosophy, one the teachers see played out in decision after decision and in face to face kinds of meetings. It's this notion that you're a trustworthy person worthy of their respect and if they have to follow you where they don't necessarily want to go, they will give you the benefit of the doubt and say, "Well he hasn't led me too far astray in the past. I think I will go with him on this one." When it comes to management I don't think of myself as an ideologue. I have no preset assumptions on what way is the best way. What I do is based on the situation I am faced with, sort of the nature of the beast.

I can say I am a beneficiary of instructional leadership. I started here as a teacher, then Carl and others in the organization perceived some leadership qualities in me and chose me as an assistant principal. At a certain point it became necessary to have two separate schools and now I am a principal. That was not part of this school environment to go outside to look for leadership. Leadership is developed from within the system.

My administration reflects what I believe about the classroom. I demand the very best from each child but I know the very best from each child can be quite different. Hence, it's the same thing with the staff and the same thing with the community. With some parents I can really expect an awful lot, with others I have to take into account where they are coming from. I try to be reflective about my approaches to school decisions and management. I will ask myself when I am making a decision, "Am I acting in the best interest of the students or am I just looking at what is in the best interest of the staff member or am I trying to appease some member of the community." To the best of my ability I try to come on the side of what is best for the students. I am not saying I am a 100% perfect. Sometimes you bow to political pressure but generally speaking I try not to.

The strength of this organization is that we can get together over a beer or a cup of coffee and argue our fool heads off and it doesn't get personal. I don't say, "Oh my God, I've disagreed with Glen and Glen is going to get me." It doesn't happen like that here.

In our school there is a wider ownership of the idea of taking responsibility for all of the children and achieving a high level of success. It becomes more widely owned and the teacher teams can take more responsibility. In my opinion they are what really make the school a success. I don't know if it was ever an articulated goal by any one person in the organization, but it has become that way now.

I have never approached my role in this organization with the notion that I am teaching something that is radically different than what I would experience if I was in a non-Native community. If I did teach there I wouldn't treat it any differently. I want my students to be as successful as they possibly can. If there are things that I can change then I am quite happy to change it. If I can't change it I will seek help to find those who can help me.

I think that if I have any sort of parting thoughts on leadership it's that we must avoid adopting any one philosophical set that says, "This is the way." We've got to try and develop a culture of diversity within administration, within schools and classrooms and within our decision making models. I really think that's crucial. We mustn't go in there saying "This is what is good for us for all time."

GLEN

Glen is a visionary leader. His distinct vision permeates through the whole organization and has won him great respect and admiration in the field of Native education. Glen has been involved in Indian education for 17 years, as a teacher and principal in northern BC and then as a principal and Director of Education in Alberta.

Initially, he began teaching in a middle class school in a large urban center in BC. He says of that time, "I could do this for the rest of my life and never have a stressful day" and one day he said, "Gee I don't know if this is why I worked all these years to become a teacher of middle class kids. My whole life is the city. I was born here. I went to school here and now all of a sudden I am working here. Is this it"? He continues "I didn't even know that Indian children had their own school system, I decided to look into this and I eventually ended up here."

Glen has enjoyed the challenge of helping people develop their own educational systems ever since. He is now a successful Director of Education in Alberta.

Glen's Profile:

I believe that I have worked towards the goal of understanding cross-cultural education and understanding and respecting cultural differences. My personal background in terms of university is cultural geography.

My fascination has always been the relationship between "human beings and the land." But the concept is, "How does the people's relationship with the land evolve into a culture"? That relationship with the land always has a perfect and empowering nature in order for a society to survive and evolve. Any society that exists today has been successful. "What are the reasons for that success"? It becomes an examination of human systems. And every system deserves respect, because it has preserved life and life is the greatest gift we are given by the Creator.

So, what is it that preserves life in Native communities? Once I got into Native communities, I realized so many problems existed, how do they manage to survive? I learned great respect for the survival instincts and systems that exist within Native communities. You learn where the strength of the culture is and how they have preserved the community over time. I have great respect for elders because they represent the epitome of survival. If you can last in today's world and the world that they've lived in, then they have to be strong and have systems that work. We can learn if we want longevity in our own lives and we want a good life for our children, we need to learn the system that preserves us and pass it on.

My educational philosophy is that you have to love children. And if you love children, then you have the number one ingredient to be a teacher. Secondly, you have to believe every child has a right to their full potential and it's our responsibility as an educator to find the best way of fulfilling that right of that child. We need to be committed for the child's learning and we must believe that every child has to be respected for their individuality.

My main role as it relates to the Board of Directors is to make sure that we interpret our practices as being consistent with the goals of the organization. I would like to be seen by the entire organization as someone who has the greatest responsibility to achieve these goals and at the same time make sure that the board stays focused on their primary task, which is making policies and decisions. We follow three rules to make the right decision. The first step is asking yourself, "Is this decision beneficial for children"? The second step, "Is this decision beneficial for the staff"? The third question we ask, "Is this decision beneficial for the program"? If we can make a decision that meets all three of these, then we will make that decision. The priority is on what is best for the children. The most common problem I see, is that people are making decisions which are not in the best interest of the children and are making decisions on what is in their own best interest.

Another job I have is to empower the board, by making sure they have enough information so that they can make the right decisions. It's my job to get them the information. In this role my job is to protect the society and make sure that the board operates consistently within the goals and operational standards as set out by the society. I am in fact an officer of the society, not an officer of the board.

On the staff side, my primary role is to ensure that the staff works within parameters that are acceptable to the board. It's my job to let staff know if they exceed those parameters, both positively and negatively. When they do an exceptional job it's my job to recognize their commitment. I encourage the school managers to recognize those teachers and tell me what is happening.

Our role as leaders is to help the teachers work through a problem. Like, the easy solution to a problem is kick the kid out of school. But what are the consequences of that solution? Well, one of them is on Friday night the kid will get high and come to the school and break every window here. Subsequently we haven't helped that child and we've in fact added to our own problems. Or that kid will get depressed and start seeing himself as a failure. I want to do things that will make him successful. I want kids to ask for help. Even if the child leaves school on their own, do it in such a way as to leave the door open for his or her return.

The same thing has to apply to teachers. One of the rules I follow in terms of conduct is that if a staff member is to be criticized, we do it privately. We never embarrass employees. It's always done in a private way. We try to do it in such a way where the employee recognizes and agrees to work within our standards. And if they don't, then we have to dismiss that employee. We can't tolerate people who say, "I don't have to do what the board tells me." The board represents the community and we are responsible to act in accordance with the rules set out by the community. My main job is to reward and discipline the staff honestly and fairly in accordance with the standards set by the board.

It's very important for us to take risks, but not to the point where someone gets hurt. If something happens that's not right or bad we don't criticize, we study. We say why did that go wrong? We as an organization let you do that, so, we have a responsibility for what went wrong.

One thing I have never forgot is this saying, "A leader in some cases may walk in the front of the pack, he may also walk in the middle of the pack and he may also walk in the back of the pack." As a leader you always have to remember to make sure you're in the right position for your organization to survive or to move ahead. That means sometimes you're in the front to take the shots or clear the path for others. Sometimes you have to be in the middle of the pack to recognize that there are others in your organization that have certain skills and really should provide the leadership for that time. And sometimes you have to be at the back of the pack to recognize that your greatest responsibility in leadership is to empower others to become leaders

in their own areas. So every situation you get into, it's up to you to find that right position to be in. Ultimately if you are at the back of the pack, most of the time you have fulfilled your mandate as a leader. You will only be called to the front when a new situation arises or during a time of uncertainty. That's the greatest empowerment an organization can get is when they don't need you. But when they do need you, you're there. That's something I've really worked towards here. In terms of my leaving, it will be the final act of transformation of this community. Because at that point, when we choose the right time for me to be out of this organization, it's the point where the organization is ready for the final stages of its transformation.

There are certain types of leaders that are great at the transformation process but not great at the maintenance process and now I am asking myself "am I the maintenance person"? And I am saying, "Truly in my heart, I have to say no I am not." I feel really good about my role in what's happened here, but I believe that changes in leadership are important in the growth of any organization because new leaders bring with them different sets of ideas and new directions.

The thing that I am most proud of is the fact that I was able to become very close to the elders in this community and earn their trust and learn from them. The elders and many of the bundle owners and spiritual leaders of this community have taken the time and given me great gifts of knowledge that you would never gain in university if you went all your life. That's what I am most proud of, the relationship I have developed with these very special people in this community.

There is another thing I am very proud of. One time before I came here, someone at Indian Affairs told me, "Those Indians are a bunch of losers. They are never going to amount to anything. They like to fight amongst themselves. They're the poor sister of the treaty area community." Well, low and behold this board is seen in high respect and have been the true leaders of the treaty area . This board learned how to operate a system like this and they are able to transfer these skills to other areas in the band where they work.

I was very proud about building the high school under budget. All the money that would have gone to outside contractors was brought here. We did it through effective management. The board had opportunities to abuse the extra money. They could have said, "Let's take out $100,000.00 and go travel and see what wonderful places are out there." But no, they said we are going to take that money and buy more computers. We were able to build a day care, we landscaped 27 acres on site, created a building for the police station, built the board office, all out of one project fund and that's all from the money we saved. The board believed we are going to make this school so wonderful that it will be beyond our dreams and the board fulfilled that. I can look at all the work that this board has done and really they have done it from their hearts, from the goodness of their souls.

Within a school organization, the "higher up", you move in the organization supposedly, the more you can do. But in fact it's the least you can do. The most you can do is work as a teacher, a teacher aide and help a child learn how to read and learn about math and learn about the world and help them enjoy learning. The least you can do is set up the conditions for that to occur. Hire the best staff, find the best resources, build the best school, create the best community relationships. Really the most good you can do is being a teacher working with children and affecting the lives of those children.

Now I've been here for thirteen years. I've seen maybe twenty teenage suicides. Just absolutely tragic. It's just completely sickens me to think of all these tragedies. I feel some responsibility to those kids committing suicide and yet I couldn't do anything about it. I am in the position of least able to affect a life. I didn't have an affect on twenty lives, that I knew. As director I am always humbled by the fact that I do the least important work. Really the most important work is done by the teachers who work directly with kids. It's not working at the board office.

NICK

Nick does not come out and say it, but he is a political organizer. He is strongly influenced by writers like educator Paulo Freire, negotiator Gerald I. Nierenberg, and psychologist William Glasser. Nick has been involved in the transition of federal schools to band operated schools in Native communities for about nineteen years. He has worked as a school principal, an assistant superintendent, a superintendent and a Director of Education. He has worked for thirty communities throughout British Columbia, Manitoba and more recently in Alberta.

Nick describes himself as a cheerleader, facilitator and mediator. Nick is a strong believer in school discipline and in building strong ties between parents and the community and the school. He is now a Director of Education on a small newly established band operated school in Alberta.

Nick's Profile:

My role has generally been as cheerleader for community members who take responsibility and take the chance to control their own futures. The cheerleader is encouraging, focusing the group on their strengths, looking at your own extended network of family members and knowing who you must influence in the community to get things done. When you do something new the least you can do is neutralize the opposition, and the best you can do is harness their energies to achieve your goal.

As a facilitator I help people pick up new skills, because it's not enough to just want to do it. The facilitator's main task is to focus on time restraints, delivery and organization. And at the end of anything I am big on debriefings, reality checks, to help the group focus on what happened and on what they learned from the experience.

I've also tried to be a mediator because during change the old order feels threatened and you need some long term working arrangements for all the groups involved in the change. Those are basically the three roles I play.

I remember in BC on one reserve where I worked, my house was across from the Band hall. After the tribal council had their meeting, they would often come to my place, let their hair down and we would talk. One night at about two or three in the morning, I just got this idea. I said, "Well if the Nishkas did it (develop their own school system) why can't you"? And of course they gave me all the reasons. They had a Member of Parliament, they've got more resources, they have less white people around.

I told them, they still had to have the energy to do it. It's just that you guys don't want to take on that big task. It was more of that friendly stuff, you can't do at a formal meeting, because you don't want to embarrass anybody. But privately, you know, we were taking jabs at each other. Finally some days later it was the hereditary chief's wife, who took up the challenge of getting a member elected to the local provincial school board. She got people organized and then I did the cheer leading. It was always deferring back to them, they were asking, "Persuade us." That was my job.

As a leader you must face the consequences of the choices you make. I trust that human beings can regenerate themselves and that all people have the potential to continue growing, to make intelligent decisions and choices and are willing to live with the consequences.

For me leadership means knowing when to let go. Everywhere that I have gone I always left the school with local leadership. For example, at the end of my latest job, they have a local guy running their school for the first time in their history. The teachers who were tribal members that weren't ever given any responsibility have very well defined responsibilities now. Leadership means letting go, harnessing energies and accepting that skills, expertise and commitment are going to come from a variety of sources. Leadership is focusing all the individual skills in our group on one major vision.

I believe that you have to have quiet order, cooperation and harmony to get to the academic agenda. I have always run schools like that. I believe that you have to get beyond the rhetoric to deliver the goods. The school leadership needs to have a vision of the end results they are

trying to bring about through their everyday activities, but the school principal and staff must also have values that are accepted by the community.

People laugh at me because I am more of a high law and order discipline type, in a nice way. The way my discipline program works is by having the teachers pick three values like respect, caring, honesty and then all the rules and procedures must reflect these values. Then all the rules that apply to the children must apply to the staff. To tell you the truth it don't really matter what you call these values. It could be loyalty it doesn't really matter, as long as there are very well defined values of the group.

I think that the new educational leadership needs to figure out two central problems. One is how to make the school an integral part of the self-government movement, to create and help define good citizenship in the new Indian world. And two, how to integrate the school into the economic base of the community, whether it's tourist based or whether it's some other activity. The most successful schools will ultimately have some kind of economic base that they are connected to.

In the end local control means local decision making. It's not just getting anybody elected. There has to be an investment into your child's education. So any school board that I have been involved in setting up has had as a condition that most of the board must have children in the school. The rest are what I'd call political appointments, the influential members or the key decision makers of the community. So, let the parents participate.

PETER

Peter has been an influential individual in Indian education for seventeen years in Alberta. He has been a teacher, a vice-principal, a principal, an Education Coordinator, a Director of Education and an education committee member, mostly in the community in which he was born

and raised. Peter is best described as an engineer. He believes in the blueprint and is able to build from these ideas.

Peter quotes from Neil Postman, "Children are living messages we send to a time we will not see." Peter explains why he chose this as his motto:

> This particular statement is saying to us, the children that we now have in our care, whatever we give them as far as morals and values, the outcome of our educational system, these kids, are like the message that we send into the future to a time that we will not necessarily see. Hopefully as treaty First Nations the messages we send are going to be good ones.

Peter was a principal in the federal system when his band became interested in taking over the schools around 1982. He established and coordinated the task force, which studied the takeover of the federal schools and was selected as the Education Coordinator to implement it. Peter explains, "I guess if anything it was just a follow through process. At that time in our community, I was seen as the person who could do the best job." After the takeover in 1989 Peter became the Director of Education in charge of the Kindergarten to Grade 12 program. He remained as the director until 1993 when he left to pursue a position as the Chief Executive Officer of a large regional Treaty organization in Alberta, which he still holds.

In 1984 Peter assisted in the development of a Treaty Education Steering Committee. Peter's wish is to see all three treaty areas in Alberta establish similar organizations.

Peter's Profile:

I would say that leadership is this whole business of knowing all the parts and pieces of education. You have to serve in the trenches, to know the business of education and with that knowledge you proceed into a supervisory position. You have to be recognized in that light, so that you can lead the staff in the hope of improving education.

To do this you have to establish a clear vision and set clear goals with the help of the staff and the community. You never do that in isolation. You have to lead your group through a planning process. So another characteristic is you have to be a good planner. This is a very critical part in setting the direction for the whole organization.

As the leader of the system, the director, the superintendent, it's your full responsibility to carry out the goals and the policies that have been accepted by the board. That's a tall order. You have to remember you're dealing with parents, students, staff, and other organizations. These are clearly some of the major responsibilities of the leader in the business of education.

What is very critical in educational leadership is the area of supervision. You have to bring out the best in people and be able to develop a good sound organization. How do you do that? It's getting to know who your workers are, along with their strengths and weaknesses. One of the tools you need is an effective performance assessment process. Teachers need to know that the assessment is not there as a hammer but as a tool to help them become better. In that light, it's a great benefit to you. I think the other part of this process is when the whole organization establishes goals all the employees need to align themselves to the goals and work towards those goals. Good supervision will do that.

I think the other part is getting down to the notion that the director is at arm's length from the school most of the time. The principal is really the key leader of the school system. The director may not really have that great an influence on the everyday life of the students *per se*, as opposed to a principal. Because you're not at the schools all the time, your relationship with the principals is key. You show up once in awhile. That's pretty well the nature of the business.

And finally it is important to operate a school that provides a safe and orderly environment for children to learn. School is all about learning and children. That would be what most communities want from their leadership and maybe to clearly show student outcomes, that they are progressing and actively learning in the core subject areas. That's the leadership's responsibility.

My philosophy on this whole business of education is to give all treaty First Nation students a quality education that allows them to do two things, to succeed in their own community as well as to operate successfully in the non-Native community and not feel uncomfortable in either world. I would also add that anytime a child steps into the school, for some it's just a short time,

maybe only for a day, regardless, that school must make a difference. It's our job to make sure that child will learn something, instead of saying, "Oh sorry Johnny, you have been gone for ten days. We can't help you. Here's a comic. Go sit in the corner and when the feeling passes it's time to say good-bye." We have to learn how to operate in chaos the best way we can in the school setting. That's why I say, "This school is going to make a difference in this child's life within one day." We no longer have an excuse to say the parents are a bunch of drunks or bingo freaks, etc. As an educator, that's a cop-out. We are professional educators and we are given the tools to deliver education. Amidst all this chaos, we're going to establish a safe environment that is conducive to learning for our children.

I am most proud of three things. One is assisting my home community in taking over the administrative control of the K through Grade 12 program.

The second area is assisting in the formation of the Treaty Education Steering Committee. The reason for its development was to assist each member band in my treaty area to coordinate activities related specifically to education. It was a process to train boards to be more effective and then later on it assisted the education administrators in training and networking with each other. Finally it was to help in the training of school personnel within our school systems and to develop a networking system for our students to do activities within the area.

And the third major development was to help establish a provincial body representing treaty First Nations in Alberta. Treaty First Nations Education Secretariat (TFNESA) was officially formed in 1991-92.

Every First Nation is unique in its own way, so they will develop education under their own parameters. In that sense no one can ever say, "This is what it should be and this is how it should look." Local control of Indian education is a framework that First Nations go through in order to develop their own schools. When you look at all the development that's exactly what has happened. Everyone has developed an education system that meets their own educational needs at this point in time.

The other idea that has to be restored is that there is a Creator. You need a spiritual foundation if you want to rebuild the values. It also means having curriculum and schools that would enable our children to come out of their school experience knowing their language and culture and at the same time knowing all the technical, academic skills needed for the non-native world and being able to bring the three of them together, making them strong. That's what I'd like to see. That's my vision of Indian education.

RENA

Rena views her educational leadership experience not only as a job but as part of her personal journey and growth. Rena's motto is "commitment and management". Rena explains, "If I'm not committed I wouldn't have made it this far. All of us have a service in mind. We have a function to fulfill and no matter which way you look at it I want to do any job that I do to the best that I can."

Rena has struggled to overcome many obstacles to arrive where she is today. She was raised in a large city with occasional visits to her mother's reserve. She recalls a time in Grade 6 and 7 when she became aware of the differences in the way Indians were treated by other students and the school system. It was this experience and her desire to be with other Indians that led her to teaching and her journey of self-discovery. After graduating from high school Rena married and moved to the reserve. She recalls this experience as being a real cultural shock for her.

Over the next ten years she worked on her education degree and graduate diploma and raised two children. Rena has worked in the area of education both on the reserve and for a large city Catholic school system for twenty years, as a teacher aide, teacher, a department head, Native education consultant and vice-principal. She co-authored a Grade 7 textbook *Canada's*

People the Metis. She eventually returned to the reserve as a principal for four years before taking on the challenge of her current position as Director of Education in a new community.

Rena's Profile:

"I heard an interesting story when I was back at school in the summer about geese. When they gather themselves to fly south, they always have a lead goose and when that lead goose gets tired he drops back and someone else picks up the lead somewhere along the line. When one got sick the others would look after it and try to help it back up." That's the way I see leadership. In fact I don't see myself as a leader. I see myself as a facilitator there to bring out the strengths of other people, to pull them together, to organize them, and to get the best out of everybody for the purposes identified. To me a leader is an open-minded person who is accessible to others. Management by wandering around if you like. As a director you have to know what's going on in the schools. You have to be visible to the staff and the students.

When I was a principal, I always kept my door open and this would shock kids and some parents. Young kids would come in and just say hello and teachers would come in to talk to me. Even if all you are is a sounding board, that's often enough for teachers. Teachers need to feel comfortable, that they won't be reprimanded, that whatever they say will be kept in close confidence. Teachers need to know you will offer support to them.

That was one thing I really noticed when I worked in Indian schools. Many of the teachers were isolated from each other. There was a feeling that they were working by themselves. As a principal I always made a point of recognizing the teachers' efforts and I still do. I believe in a lot of positive feedback because teachers need a pat on the back once in a while. I think if you have happy teachers you have happy kids. To me it is very important to be supportive because if teachers know that you will support them even if they slip up once in awhile, that's where you get commitment in return. I found that very important for myself when I was teaching. I really appreciated it. However, teachers must also know what your expectations are. They are hired to be responsible for the success of those kids and it should be reflected in their work.

I believe in respect, but that you have to earn it. It's a respect for yourself and for others. If you are feeling good about what you're doing, then people will see that. You aren't hired for your degrees or your good looks. You're hired to do a job. This is especially so with Indian people and then some. You have to work doubly hard in an Indian school and the community has to have confidence and trust in what you are doing. In my mind that's gaining respect. I think respect among your staff is also important. You have to show that you can get to the resources and facilitate whatever needs to be done. This affects how well they do their job.

Another thing, although sometimes I am knocked for it, is my candidness. I'll say it the way I see it. I will voice my opinion. The way I've seen it in Indian communities, people won't speak their mind and after the meeting they will go off into their little corner and mumble and grumble rather than putting the issues forward and dealing with them. I would sooner deal with it head on, than deal with the rumors after the fact.

I think it has to do with setting ground rules. When I started here, I met with the board and told them I prefer to have things out on the table. If I'm doing something wrong, tell me and I'll improve it, but if you don't then I don't want to hear any grumbling after the fact. This is how I do my business. I will be the first to admit my mistakes.

My educational philosophy would be total involvement from everyone. It means dedication to what you are here for. There must be a genuine interest in what you are doing. It means learning the ins and outs of what a school system should be.

Local control means total community involvement. I am talking about involving the teachers, the parents, the elders, the community leaders, the board members and the students, all working toward developing the school. It is important that they have in their minds what they want from education. What is it going to do for the students? First and foremost it should give the children a sense of who they are, so they will be able to go out and do whatever it is that they want.

I think one of the most important things that happened to me was as a teacher. One year I got a letter from one of my students who had become a teacher. In the letter she thanked me for making a difference in her life. She had come to us from a provincial school. She expressed that she had no direction or plans for her life and when she came to the school, I guided her somehow and this motivated her to be a teacher. You deal with kids all the time and some will come back and say thank . But it was much more special for her to take the time to write this letter and express how she felt. That was a proud moment for me when I received that letter.

Children should find schools a safe place to be. For some of our kids that's what is first and foremost in their lives. If they feel comfortable here then good things will happen. That feeling of security and ownership has to be established. Then the learning environment is much more relaxed and some real learning and teaching can go on.

When I reflect back to my experiences I often ask myself what is unique about what we are doing? What I want to see is kids going to school achieving, being successful, being happy because our communities are not happy right now. I'd like to see a school where parents can come into the school at anytime and feel good and feel free to express themselves. I'd like to see a system where we have winners. I would like to improve the students' skill levels, all of the students.

SUMMARY

Although they used different words, all the participants held strong convictions that the fundamental purpose of educational leadership is to nurture the growth and well being of children in their care. They believe that every decision made in the school system must be focused on what is in the best interests of the child.

There is also a consensus that successful leaders need a clear vision for the organization which is shared by its members. Their vision is one engulfed by caring for others. They all

emphasize the idea that understanding the community they work in is important to their success. There was also a strong call for the development of an Indian school system based on a return to traditional values. The importance of learning and personal growth for everyone from the children to the adults in the system is a key element in their reflections.

The participants see a bright future for Indian education but urge educators and community members alike to use a critical approach when thinking about education in First Nations communities.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS

In this chapter leadership themes that emerged from the data are organized under the following four headings: (a) Understanding the history and the challenges, (b) Leadership and power , (c) Transforming leadership: the process, (d) The essential qualities of a leader.

Each heading is then further divided into sub-headings. Each theme and sub-theme is grounded in the data, - -participant responses - - and in some cases is further supported by current literature on the topic. This chapter is written with an analytical approach to the data.

UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORY AND THE CHALLENGES

Bureaucracy surrounds all of us in our daily lives but nowhere is the oppressive power of bureaucracy more prevalent than on an Indian [illegible] Nations communities have suffered under the weight of three great bureaucracies for more than a century in Canada. The military, the churches, and the government have all left [illegible] devastating effects on Indian organizations leaving many in a state of disarray and chaos (Daniel, 1972; Chambers, 1978; Wright, 1993). All the participants in this study mentioned that successful First Nations educational leaders need to understand this history and the prevailing challenges faced by Native communities. In their opinion it takes a great deal of hard work and patience to change a federal school into a successful First Nations school community (Barth, 1990). Boldt (1993) summarizes some of these challenges that face Indian leadership in his work entitled *Surviving As Indians: The challenge of self-government*:

> Indian leaders are faced with a daunting challenge: they must begin to correct the consequences of generations of Canadian political and bureaucratic oppression, misdeeds, mismanagement, and neglect and then must start the process from a base of inadequate resources and powers. This challenge to Indian leadership is magnified by complex social and cultural changes that have occurred and are presently occurring in Indian communities. (p. 118)

This first section is presented under two sub-headings entitled a brief history and the challenges of leadership. A brief history provides us with a background on the effect of racism and the effect of the government's educational policies towards Indians. Challenges deal with the community's high expectations for their schools to achieve results, why parental involvement is important in education, the strong desire for an integrated academic and cultural curriculum and the concern to achieve legitimacy almost overnight.

A Brief History

The two most important ideas that emerge from this theme are how racism affects the community and how the government's imposed educational agenda negatively influences the way many Indian communities in Canada take over the operation of their own schools. These historical forces have molded the Native reality.

Racism

In many Indian communities isolation has more to do with the racism that prevents them from participating in the larger society, than geography. One of the directors summarizes the effect of racism on First Nation peoples:

> Native communities have been destroyed in terms of being sources of initiative, vision and innovation. The Native community has responded to changes made on their behalf and to the racism of society at large, so they have gotten into a bunker mentality. It's this, "we and them". And so they end up stereotyping the forces that are negating them. They are correct in their analysis of the force negating them but instead of thinking creatively they are thinking re-actively.

These pressures consume so much energy that little remains for creative thinking and the solidification of new ideas to solve problems.

Rena, a new Director of Education whose school recently went from a provincial jurisdiction to Band control, sees racism from a school and parent perspective. She recounts the parents' feelings, "It was the community's view that their kids were getting second rate education. . . Who is the system working for? . . . They didn't have a say in the school. No one was listening to them and their concerns." In her opinion the parents felt the transfer of the school to band control would address these concerns and "work for their kids."

The Imposed Agenda Of Indian Affairs

The chronic stress of racism is exacerbated by additional pressure from the federal government which wants to hand over the business of education to the bands.

Glen, a Director of Education, says that, "the greatest responsibility or treaty right that was taken away from us was the ability to take care of ourselves. As soon as we became dependent on the federal government, we were at their mercy." After a century of paternalistic policy, the government is now reversing its behavior by divesting itself of the responsibility for administering Indian education.

Peter, a former Director of Education, continues by saying, "We are a minority and so the majority keeps pushing things down our throat. When you see the bigger picture, the federal government is implementing the white paper." Peter explains how the government's devolution policy affected his band's decision to take over local control of education:

> We did a task force study to take a look at the advantages and disadvantages of local control back in 1985. And within that report one of the recommendations cited clearly that it was inevitable that bands or communities had to take over their own education program. We said, we might as well get as ready as we can and prepare for that time. And that was really the motivating factor. . . that in the very near future more bands would be coerced into taking over their programs. . . We didn't have an option.

Thus, "local control" is a double edged sword, initiated by Indian developed policy in hopes of improving a desperately inadequate educational system, but implemented by a bureaucratic and opportunistic government which wants out of their responsibility for running Indian schools. The process has been carried out with minimal preparation and planning, leaving resource poor bands on their own.

The Challenges of Leadership

Great Expectations

> It's because of the enormous pressure on the community to deliver the goods right away. There isn't a concept like "bread", where you have to give time for the leaven to rise and take form. There are demands for the quick fix. . . . The temptation is to go for the knockout punch because of the community pressure to get results right away. (Nick)

> The other real challenge is the chaos that our communities are in and as leaders, as educators, it is so hard for us to say no. When we can't say no, we become everything for everybody in the community. For example, the teachers become the disciplinarian, the parents, the cooks, the social workers, councilors. After a while the whole business of

> learning is thrown out the window because you are taking care of everyone else's issues. We are clearly operating in a state of constant chaos within the community and the byproduct of this ends up in the school. These are the things, we have to deal with in First Nations schools. (Peter)

> It's something that Indian people have learned, to drag themselves down and other people so quickly, when things don't work right away. And if they're going to turn around those feelings that they have learned from the residential school time, that whole colonial attitude that Indians are not able, and to come back to what they are really about, they must learn to feel good about who they are. (Rena)

Parents want a system that treats them and their children with respect and dignity especially with regards to student discipline. Nick says, parents ". . . want their children to be treated more respectfully." Rena recalls a parent's comment from a community survey, ". . . 'If I were to change one thing I would change suspending of students. There are different ways to deal with our children without always being suspended' ." The above statements reflect the enormous community pressures and expectations educational leaders face when trying to respond to the community's demands for "the quick fix".

Increasing Parental And Community Involvement

"Local control means parent involvement."

In the early stages of Band control educational leaders must deal with the community's ambivalence towards their ability to run the school successfully. Peter remembers how difficult it was to persuade the community and the Chief and council that it was possible for them to run the schools. He says that one of the most difficult things to do was " to change the mind set of our community people, for them to believe that we could . . . operate our systems." Rena further explains the initial resistance to this change. She says:

> When you look at . . . a smaller community like a reserve, everyone had a role and responsibility and at some point these roles and responsibilities were taken away in the Native community. So they're sucked into a system that didn't allow them to participate.

Now after years of dispossession we are asking parents to become active partners in their children's education. However, many parents are struggling with more urgent concerns, making local control a distant issue.

One of the pilot study participants explains that parent involvement can simply mean getting your children ready for school (Maslow's basic needs of survival):

> Parent involvement is high level decision making at the board or being a resource in knowing the history or the culture right down to assisting in the classroom. But I think that is a very small area of parent involvement. It's parent involvement just to get your children up in the morning and on the bus and into school with breakfast in their belly.

Another pilot study participant feels parent involvement will increase as a sense of community ownership of the schools occurs. He explains:

> People concentrate on this all the time, how to get the community in the school? It's more of a bi-directional thing. You have got to get the school out into the community, and in doing that you get the community into the school. . . schools should be a resource to the community, . . . schools should be involved in the community . . . in the broad sense, not just a narrow academic. . . It has to do with people . . . contributing their skills to the community beyond doing their formal job.

Community and parental involvement is a process that is affected by many factors from family stability to years of being dispossessed from their own schools. Recognizing this helps explain why there is a lack of community and parental involvement in reserve schools. The school must be patient as parents become accustomed to their new relationship with the schools.

Integrating An Academic And Cultural Program

Parents are asking band operated schools to deliver quality Indian education. Native parents hold diverse expectations of new band operated schools. They want their children to succeed in school and prepare for a successful life in mainstream society, while at the same time maintain and foster knowledge of their own traditional language and culture. Kluckhohn's (1961) Theory of Value Orientations would explain that parents can be placed into two different time positions. Parents exhibit both a strong past orientation (maintain culture and language) and a strong future orientation (success in mainstream society). It is also evident that Native parents hold the same feelings as other cultures towards the purpose of schooling. Stephen Arons (1986), states, ". . . schooling has become the most publicly accessible and pervasive institution of cultural transmission in a democratic society" (p. 134). These ideas are confirmed by three participants. Peter believes:

> The challenge facing educational leadership is the attempt to deliver quality Indian education while knowing that one of our major problems within Indian country, is having our students below acceptable levels in reading, comprehension etc. And at the same time our people want our students to learn and speak the language . . . Quality, should allow a student to move through the post-secondary educational institutions and to establish themselves with a good educational background, graduate and then go out into the work force and be able to be a productive member of society. At the same time, the community wishes to see our students being speakers of their language, knowing their culture and their history and applying it into their daily life.

Carl reinforces the idea of what quality education means, when he states that:

> The community is adamant that our school is competitive in the core subjects, but that we also promote the language. . . Sustaining a good system and gradually moving up a step each time is what it is all about. Anyone can put together a flash in the pan. A good successful program has to work every year.

The other principal agrees that parents:

> certainly want their kids to learn about their language and about their culture, but the most often asked question is this program the same as what my children would get if they were in other schools and that their children will do well in what they perceive to be the regular Alberta education type courses.

Peter points out that culture and academics do not have to compete with each other in order to be successful:

> It's having to establish the traditional language, culture and history across the curriculum. It should be part of everything but some say 'Why should we mess up the education experience of the child to accommodate culture?'. . . It will only confuse them. You have to have believers of the fact that you can do both at the same time and be successful.

Nick gives examples and suggestions on how this can be achieved:

> The tension between the cultural imperative and the academic imperative is still there. . . the cultural paradigm . . . I really believe that if the language and culture are going to be promoted you have to start your culture program in preschool and build it from there and you can't just let the school do it. It has to include the parents. I would work very closely with the health services, the clinic, the elders group. You have to get a support network for the mother and get the cultural thing going twelve months a year. It can't be just under the school. It has to be from nursery and after school. . . Take advantage of summertime, holidays, weekends and evenings, then you can have a very strong cultural program.

Curriculum development is another part of this issue. Peter points out that:

> We lack resources and . . . there is not enough funding available for the development of curriculum . . . There are not enough educators training in *First Nation languages.* That's an area that has to be developed. We need more of these type of people.

In summary, an integrated curriculum is essential for First Nations schools.

Searching For Legitimacy

A perception often exists that an Indian school is inferior. Because of this perception, band operated schools often struggle with legitimacy. Trevor explains:

> There's this belief that a school in the Native community is somehow going to be less than a school in the public system. Maybe it's even a built in inferiority complex that people have about their schools. They think that anything good is certainly not going to derive from a community like this.

Glen makes it clear the community wants quality and usually measures that quality against provincial standards:

> There's no question about the fact the people want an accredited school . . . on any of the studies we've done . . . 98 % of the time parents say that they want the same quality and standards that they would get if their kids were going off reserve.

Nick adds:

> For legitimacy purposes the safe way is the provincial way. . . . What they *(parents)* expect are provincial standards. It's the only standard. They say, 'Now you have taken away the federal system, so it's going to be a real school.' They have this idea of provincial standards being the measure.

Rena points out that formal standards are yet to be developed for First Nation schools. She says, "Of course there has to be standards set, I guess expecting the provincial standard is the norm for all Indian controlled schools at this point, because there is nothing else to use or replace it." Peter elaborates on the situation, "Because standards are set up by the province, what they do is what we will be forced to do because Indian Affairs has no standards for education."

Peter goes on to caution us to be aware of the fine line between emulating provincial schools and creating an Indian system of education. He warns educational leaders:

> If we are not careful, we are going to be absorbed into the white world, where basically we'll say we're Indian but we truly are not because our system will be exactly the same. And that's the contradiction. We know today that the Canadian education system is not working for us and because it isn't working a lot of our educational institutions are failing. What other models are out there? Because we are forced to follow their standards we are forced basically to send our children to their post-secondary institutions. We're caught in this dilemma. There is a potential that our systems may just get swallowed up by the provincial process.

Clearly leaders in First Nation schools face many challeges. Parental involvement is slowly taking root and Native parents have even higher expectations of their schools. They want their children treated with respect; they want their children to succeed in a school that is preparing

them for their future careers and they want their children to develop a strong sense of their cultural identity. The Directors of Education are expected to make their schools unquestionably Indian in the eyes of the First Nation community. School leadership must be prepared to have a vision and a plan for a brighter future and develop a sense of hope for their students.

LEADERSHIP AND POWER

Four respondents talk about the ideas of leadership, power and the structures of power in this section (Maxcy, 1990), which sets the context for a better understanding of the idea of empowerment, which is the main focus of the next section. They discuss how these factors affect the transition of a federal school into a successful First Nations school.

The first part is a comparison of western and traditional indigenous concepts of power and leadership. The second discussion is about how leaders must exercise their power in a responsible manner for the benefit of the school community. The participants caution us about the potential for abuse if proper checks and balances are not in place.

Leadership And Power In First Nations Communities

Glen discusses how Native communities misunderstand the original purpose of the hierarchy and how power is distributed in a bureaucracy. In many instances the community perceives the power to be in the position or the title and not in the policies and motions of the board or more importantly in the dialogue and interactions of the members of the school community of which they are members. He says:

> The hierarchy was originally designed to ensure that there is responsibility along the way, so that people that have conflict with the system are responded to in a fair and a judicial manner. . . . . I think it's this confusion about how a school system should operate that makes people misunderstand the role of the hierarchy, the role of the board. . . People will ask me, "What does your board do"? And I say, "They make policies and pass motions." And they say, "What does that mean"? And I say, "As a Board of Directors they give all of us employees the authority to operate in certain ways and conditions. And as the senior administrator of this organization it's my job to interpret the board motions and policies to the school staff, so they act accordingly." What people see is that the board has ultimate power to make all decisions and they are final. People who do not know the system often . . . come straight to . . . the director or the board.

Glen gives an example:

> What may seem to be an irrational statement from a parent saying, " Well you're the reason my child got hurt," is because the parent has confused the different concepts of power both traditional and western. If you understand those differences, you can work with them so that we can clear up where power and responsibility lie. . . . I think as a system we need to move more towards the traditional concept of power.

Parents instead of dealing with problems or conflicts at the source will frequently go directly to the board or the director because they perceive themselves as being powerless to solve their problems. This is a direct result of the community's history of being disempowered from their schools and their reliance on authorities to solve their problems. Richard King (1987) refers to this situation as "role shock":

> Role shock evolves as a cumulative set of frustrations and escalating stresses. It occurs when an individual accepts a status with a feeling of assurance that he or she can provide appropriate role behaviors, only to discover that others in the social situation do not accept those role behaviors as appropriate. Further, no corrective feedback is given, no 'successful' models are available. There are only recurrent, consistently negative messages. . . . Role shock is . . . associated . . . with the dynamics of rapid social change. (pp. 44-45).

However, this relationship between the community and the school can be understood and changed if traditional views of leadership and power are examined and used in Band operated schools. Leadership and power are perceived differently when viewed from a traditional thought frame. Nick explains how power is exercised and maintained in First Nations communities:

> . . . the Native community is run by influence. It's not the authority of the position. It's the influence you can exercise in your network. This is why in order to be a leader you have to go to the people that give you the strength or the power to act . . . . You are building coalitions most of the time. . . In order to maintain power over a long period of time any decisions you make will be re-evaluated constantly and if you make too many decisions that have a negative impact . . . you lose your influence which is the only important thing in a Native community. . . . The formal authority or position doesn't mean as much in a Native community and that's very frustrating for outsiders to deal with.

Glen describes the pragmatic nature of leadership and power in a First Nation community:

> In a Native system we have a different type of structure. I would describe it as situational leadership. Meetings are held by the community and they decide on what type of action has to be taken. Leadership is determined by the decisions made at these meetings and someone rises to the responsibility of being the leader. One of the things that is unique about this position is that persons who rise to leadership recognize that their leadership is always granted by the community. In other words whatever power is given to the leader by the group or the organization is always affirmed by meeting. So power is never possessed internally in the position or person. It's always something that is granted to you.

Glen defines power as it is understood by Native people and compares it to a western definition in the following statement:

> *(Native people believe that)* Power in itself is . . . like a gift. You have been given this gift and now you have to exercise this gift for the benefit of the group . . . . In the western system people recognize that you contain power, you have power to do things by virtue of your position. . . . While, within the Native system, you can't say "This is the way it's going to be done." You basically organize a gathering and listen to the people and the people agree that this is what has to be done and usually the leader will work to achieve that goal.

However, Glen warns us not to confuse the two views of power and believes that, "When we have confusion over the understanding of power, leadership within Native education becomes a challenge." He continues by putting this power issue into context by explaining the symbolism and power of the medicine bundle in the plains Indian culture. The bundle is a powerful symbol that provides the holder with responsibilities and obligations to intervene and resolve disputes in a community:

> Parents . . . see the board as a bundle, that the board unto itself has power. This is where we get confused because of our understanding of power concepts. We have to stress with the community that the board makes policies and motions and the employees interpret those decisions for the best solution. When a board hears an appeal then they must go back to their policies and motions of the past and ask why did we enact those decisions for our organization. There is always an interpretation. . . I don't get personally offended if someone appeals my interpretation and the board upholds the appeal. We constantly are clarifying the meaning of that policy . . .So, there is no way that I can do whatever I want.

Leaders in a Native community must understand that power lies less in the formal position than in the power delegated to them by their community and in their ability to meet the needs of the group and return the community to a state of harmony. Nick explains the importance striving for harmony:

> The basic protocol in a white community is conflict and judgment. In a Native community it's hear me and let's work towards consensus and harmony. If we can't agree on something let's think about it. Let's pretend that everyone doesn't understand it so everyone saves face. We can come back to it later. The closing of the meeting usually ends with a prayer.

Rena agrees that the "approach is not to point fingers, but to put our energies into working at trying to fix it, trying to solve the problems." Ross (1992) describes his perception of group decision-making by Native people:

> . . . The meeting ends and the decision, though perhaps never articulated, is agreeable to all. In this way it becomes a group decision. Most importantly, it is arrived at without anyone 'losing', without anyone having his or her opinion ignored or discounted. (p. 23)

Ross continues:

> When Native people use the phrase 'consensus decision-making' I believe they are referring less to the fact everyone agreed in the end than to the fact that the process of arriving at the decision was communal. It is akin to a process of 'joint thinking' as opposed to one where competing conclusions are argued until one prevails. (1992, p. 23)

Glen provides a fascinating insight for the final remarks of this section:

> Now learning about the concepts of power in the Native community has been fascinating. . . I see western culture as evolving new concepts of mediation and conflict resolution that Native people have always had. Native people are still here because they had those powers of conflict resolution within their medicine bundles that survived and they were able to pass them on.

What Glen has learned over the years is that educational leaders should tap the potential power of the community's own traditional knowledge of leadership, power and conflict resolution in school improvement.

Leadership, Power And Responsibility

Three participants suggest that local control has the potential for corruption if the new leadership is not held accountable for its actions. Peter warns that the abuse of power is a very real possibility in a small community like a reserve:

> You can have power and be able to steer the school for the benefits of the children. At the same time it's also possible to steer it for the benefit of the people themselves, inward, so that it degenerates to being corrupt, making the power work only for yourselves. There is great potential for being corrupt. It goes on both sides, not just in our Native communities but also off the reserve too.

He continues his discussion by explaining that power in itself is not enough to improve Indian schools:

> It's not having a lot of power. It's a matter of how you handle it or what you do with it. So I'd say the Indian agents and the Indian Affairs told us what to do, when to do it but now that power has been handed back to us. We now have the ultimate responsibility and decision making power, so that gain is really critical for us. . . . The education boards need to know their responsibilities. It really has to be placed in perspective for them, because if it isn't, then their whole focus could easily not be for the kids. It's going to be something else.

Glen agrees:

> What people don't realize is that we must move towards the more traditional Native concept, where it's not what you have, it's how you use what you have and that you believe in the goodness of all people and the goal is survival of your own society.

One approach to deal with the issue of accountability to the community is discussed by Rena. She explains that her system is incorporated as a separate entity outside the band government:

> I think the reason behind it was to ensure that the education money would be kept separate and that the board would not be interfered with. At the band level there is sometimes a tendency to have funds moved from one area to the next. The main reason was to give the board financial control. . . They agreed that political interference was not in the best interest of what's happening in the school. The local political bodies, the board and the community agreed to try and minimize the community politics in the school.

Peter summarizes this discussion by saying, " In our communities there is a lot of politicking, abuse of powers. It's been because of our history, so it's just another chapter in our history we can change."

Understanding the differences between traditional and western perspectives of power and leadership helps set the tone for a discussion on transforming leadership in First Nation schools. The next section deals with the process of transforming the federal school into what Barth (1990) calls a "community of learners and leaders".

TRANSFORMING LEADERSHIP: THE PROCESS

Glen says, "I think you have to love change. I love change. I love things growing and developing."

All the participants saw their main assignment as transforming or changing the school from a federal to a band operated system. Trevor describes the change process this way:

> Sometimes it's been an evolutionary type change, just a natural progression of management philosophy moving in different directions. Other times it's been revolutionary, I mean radical. It's been a complete turnaround. Sometimes we've gone down a few blind alleys in terms of the directions we've chosen, but we are a very dynamic organization not afraid to try innovative sorts of things both in the classroom and in administration.

Although many of the band controlled systems are still organized in a bureaucratic manner the leaders interviewed believed that the goal of a First Nations school is to become more democratic and to change the structure from a hierarchy to a more flattened organizational form.

Or as Trevor says, "I see it as, democratizing it. It's just the realization, the common sense realization that ten heads towards a problem is going to be better than one head trying to solve a problem." And Glen adds:

> The board's role is to help move the organization towards "flattening the organization," so that we all participate in the decision making. The question was 'How can we better organize ourselves so that we are more effective and efficient at doing what is in the best interest of the kids?'

He further explains the broader purpose for the transformation of Indian schools:

> In the long run a smaller self sustaining community will protect the environment, will care for and educate their children and will ensure that their society is preserved through an effective education system that they develop through the community. One of the principles here is that the school is helping to build the community.

This part of Chapter five is divided into the following themes that the participants identify as the work of reforming Indian schools. The first part deals with the importance of reemphasizing traditional First Nation values. The second part is a discussion of the director's role in developing an effective Board that will achieve the goals of the community. The third area of discussion is on shared leadership and empowering teachers. This section ends with an examination of how team building develops a sense of school community.

Reemphasizing First Nations Values

The transformation from a federal to a successful band operated school begins with an assessment of values. The First Nations school community must first identify traditional values that can be used to transform the system.

Peter says, ". . . Native communities are into this phase of healing and one of the qualities you need to get started in your healing is being able to have some values and beliefs that you can follow or fall back on in tough times." The leaders all talked about a return to the traditional values of caring, respect, fairness/honesty, harmony, sharing and humility. Peter believes the healing or transformation of the community is "grounded" in those re-emphasized Native values.

Peter says, "you can then start looking at the whole idea of humility and those type of things will return." Examples of modesty (humility) are found in Glen's statement, " I believe that conflict is important because it helps challenge and clarify our beliefs and practices in the organization. I

don't mind admitting that I am wrong," and when Rena says, "I will be the first to admit my mistakes. If I'm doing something wrong, tell me and I'll improve it."

Rena continues, "We are talking about all those basic Indian principles or moral values, like sharing, caring, respect for knowledge and wisdom." Nick declares his involvement in traditional ceremonies as part of his affirmation of traditional values when he says, "I participated in sweat lodges with some of the local traditional tribal members."

Glen points out the awakening of First Nations to their cultural values:

> I see Native leaders returning to their roots and saying, "What were we as a people" and realizing what we were as a people is what those white guys want to become down the road. Native leadership has to look back for their ideas on self-government, on things like smaller tribal communities that function independently and can support themselves, believing in the goodness of all humankind, that our children are our most precious resource and the land that we walk on is the land we have to care for.

In Peter's words building an Indian organization starts by:

> going back to our traditional beliefs and teachings. It's like the whole business of being honest and respecting each other, respecting mother earth, and whatever else. The other idea that we have to work on, is accountability to oneself and to the community. Because today, we are into this business of oneness *(individualism)*, like everything is mine and I will keep taking till it's all gone. . . . The other idea that has to be restored is that there is a Creator. You will have a spiritual foundation and you can go back to rebuilding these values.

Rena adds that "If you believe in that communal system, the kids are everyone's responsibility. . . . If the kids are doing well, it's only a benefit to the whole community." Glen also says that:

> I have great respect for elders, not only because in my own culture are elders equally respected, but also because elders to me represent the epitome of survival. So we can learn from that, if we want longevity in our own lives and we want a good life for our children, we need to learn the system that preserves us and pass it on.

Identifying and establishing values individually and for the entire organization creates the foundation for reconstructing Indian schools.

Importance Of Protocol

Protocol plays an important role in Native communities as it provides rules for the way people interact and treat each other. Nick begins by explaining the importance of protocol:

> Protocol is the way we carry out our public functions. There is a certain logic to human relationships. Protocol is like making sure the water is not too hot before getting into the tub. It's a formal procedure for dealing with issues. Like, every leader knows they have to

> go about carrying out the group vision in a very systematic kind of way. You are exposing yourself, your ideas, your plan in a way that is socially acceptable. . . . In the Native community the protocol is based on sharing and on fairness.

Nick explains protocol in the example of running a meeting in a Native community:

> . . . We never had a public meeting without the singers with their drum and we would explain we are trying to bring the group together under one heartbeat. . . . For the prayer, always get different people. One opens and the other closes. Not just one spiritual group should be represented in the community. . . . if you are going to run a meeting you have to give a gift. The gift can be food and you have to ease into the meeting. The protocol is not to crowd anybody, . . . you don't have anything between you and the rest of the community members. . . The rule is keep the opening statement short and follow through on anything you said. The protocol as the leader is just pick up the positive messages. Do not prove anybody wrong in a public meeting. The final protocol that is expected from you as a leader in the community is they want to know that you heard them . . . . You don't have to agree, they just want to be heard. The best way is to break them into groups. . . . The groups will come up with solutions and you let them discuss the issues. The tendency for most leaders is to be the only ones running the meeting and then have individuals grandstand.

The protocol or behavior for leadership in a Native community is non-confrontation. Followers are allowed to be aggressive but leaders are expected to set a standard of behavior, which is to listen and allow people to vent or to be heard.

How Traditional Values Are Used In Conflict Resolution

Group consensus and the power of the medicine bundle are two strong be[illegible] community disputes and conflicts. In Native societies punishment is rarely us[illegible] controlling group behavior or for seeking compliance to the community's position of the elders on punishment as an aspect of discipline:

> When I listen to the elders, they say they don't mean it in a cruel v[illegible] people are mean and that they always punish. They didn't believe punishment. I've heard this from other tribes as well, that the conc[illegible] very distasteful one to the elders.

Rena reinforces this idea, when she recalls a parent's comment, "If I were to change one thing I would change suspending of students. There are different ways to deal with our children without always being suspended."

Glen, Trevor and Carl incorporate traditional values of the community in as many aspects of the school as possible. An example of this is how their schools resolve conflict using traditional approaches. Glen contrasts two ways of counselling:

> A child may have a problem in school where other kids are picking on him. He goes to the councillor and the councillor says, "Don't listen to them. Avoid them. Do this or that." But now the councillor could say, "We should have a meeting about this. How would you feel if you as the host would come into the meeting and I as the sponsor will say to the group, this person is being picked on, people tease him. He is feeling down and wants to quit school. What do we need to do to keep this person in school"? When the meeting is called everyone is advised on the problem. You can choose to be there or not, but if you choose to be there, you have to help solve the problem.

Glen explains how group decisions can use the power of the bundle in dealing with conflict in the school:

> The community could use their abilities and the powers of the bundle. These bundles today might be a policy manual and by the power from within that manual help that student or that child or that person. . . . So you have all the technical side, teachers, social workers, principals, elders, and you might even have chief and council there. You also invite the students there and you talk about the situation and come up with a solution. We all agree to the solution. Now if some of the instigators of the problem refuse to attend the meeting, they choose not to be part of the solution, but at the same time they have to abide by the solution arrived at by the group and they will be advised of the group's decision and are obliged to follow it. The people that were there have to help make sure it happens, so the people who caused the problem know that the whole group knows about what they were doing and they know the group does not approve of it. The ceremony then takes on a therapeutic aspect of resolving a dispute or conflict in the community realm.

Glen applies the concepts found in traditional values to student discipline and to other policies and procedures in the daily life of the schools that he leads.

Celebration And Recognition

The topic of celebration and ceremony and its important role in First Nation schools is discussed by four of the leaders. Barth explains the role of the administrator in a community of learners this way. "The more crucial role of the principal is as head learner, engaging in the most important enterprise of the schoolhouse -- experiencing, displaying, modeling, and celebrating what it is hoped and expected that teachers and pupils will do" (p. 46).

Rena recalls how schools failed to recognize the uniqueness of Indian students:

> They were stamped without recognition for their special abilities or gifts, except maybe, "Oh you are an Indian, you can draw." So everybody is an artist and the schools never really wanted to see what they were really good at. I can see change in the education system, especially among the Indian community being more effective . . . at recognizing those talents and dealing with those special gifts.

Or as Nick puts it, "number one is the student, that's why discipline, that's why curriculum, that's why celebration. . . . The more things you can do to make people successful, the better."

Initially Glen's school had a large scale annual ceremony to recognize students. As time passed they realized a single ceremony was inadequate. Glen explains:

> We need to have celebrations on a daily basis . . . the good things that are happening. I really want to know about them. . . . I have tried to encourage staff to use the Electronic mail to list things that they are feeling good about. When a child achieves success in the school we should all celebrate it. . .Stories about student achievement have to be part of the staff room dialogue. . . . we should know about these breakthroughs in our organization.

Teacher recognition is also a very important aspect of a successful school. Rena says, "Teachers are rarely recognized for what they do in the classroom." Glen also talks about the important need to recognize teachers' efforts:

> I want the principals to tell me about the teachers' work, so I can write a letter to that teacher as well as going to see them, to congratulate them if I can. This is the type of thing that makes it worthwhile to come to work. If you look at front line workers, teachers, councillors and teacher aides, the only reward that they get is their pay cheque and that's a real tragedy. They really do great work and we don't give them enough recognition for it . . . we need to celebrate more.

It is vital for schools to encourage and support the recognition of its community members. We must celebrate our daily successes as they happen. Ceremonies are a vital part of Native culture and an expression of traditional values, and as such should be an important part of the school culture in a band operated school.

Developing An Effective Board

Peter says that, "every community must determine what they are all about and what they want." The participants of this study point to the importance of the director's positive relationship with a stable and committed board. Nick says, "as a leader it doesn't matter how good your vision is if you don't keep the community and the individual community leaders on side."

Glen describes an effective board as one that understands it's powers and limitations. He summarizes the essence of an effective board this way:

> People will ask me, "What does your board do"? And I say, "They make policies and pass motions." And they say, "What does that mean"? And I say, "As a Board of Directors they give all of us employees the authority to operate in certain ways and conditions. And as the senior administrator of this organization it's my job to interpret the board motions and policies to the school staff, so they act accordingly."

Glen elaborates on the theme that the Director of Education's main role is to interpret the board's decisions and facilitate the achievement of board goals.

> My main role as it relates to the Board of Directors is to make sure that we interpret our practice as being consistent with the goals of the organization, at the same time making sure that the board stays focused on their primary task, which is making policies and decisions . . . and making sure that the board works within the parameters they have been granted by the community.

Carl credits Glen with educating the board about their role. He says, "He taught them that . . . at a regular meeting you have power. . . away from this table you're an individual. Decisions about the school are made at the board table, not by individuals standing around at the post office." Glen goes on to say how an effective board exercises its power and authority conscientiously within the school and community:

> The board has one standing rule that they live by. As the board they have authority to act on behalf of the community but as individuals, they have no authority . . . . One of the things that our board never does, is go into the school and say to the principal, "This is a motion we passed and I want you to do it right now." That's beyond the authority of a board member and all our staff is aware of that.

Rena concurs:

> They will stop in and talk to you, they will give you a call, but when it comes down to decision making it is done collectively. There is no one board member who will make the decision. They talk it out.

All the directors interviewed emphasized the board's role in setting the direction for the schools. Glen says, "I empower the board . . . It's my job to get them enough information so that they can make the right decisions. . . We go through some tough times . . .*but* it's still up to the board." Carl agrees that access to information is the key to empowering the board. He also describes the value of having diverse opinions on any particular issue:

> The key to our success is that we could sit down and argue back and forth. . . Here are the advantages of one idea. Here are the disadvantages. The board listens and asks questions and then they take the direction they want. Sometimes they take Glen's direction. Sometimes they take mine.

An effective board must understand board member roles and take responsibilities seriously in order to lead a successful school.

Empowering The Board Through Learning

The director empowers the board through an ongoing process of education and training. Glen states:

> The reason I think the board is strong is because people come to this board because they will learn something about how to operate in a board. They all are involved with other boards or they are self-employed business persons or a director of some other band operation. . . The reason why they want to be on this board is because they are gaining something personal and they are gaining a great deal of satisfaction from working on this board. And one of my jobs is to make sure that they feel good about the decision making process.

An effective director will educate the board on education issues so that they can make the best decisions possible. Rena is a strong believer in this role, " I . . . like to bring them along so that they can learn too. Helping the board learn their role is important."

Glen, Trevor and Carl hold a retreat with the board every summer, where they get together and as Glen puts it "really hash out issues". Nick also talks about the importance of holding board retreats, "We have three major board retreats and that's both board members and PAC members. And it's basically training." Nick also encourages and supports the personal development of board members:

> Training is for special skills, like for our board members, I encourage them to go to things like Dale Carnegie for public speaking. Others want to take a one or two day course or an extension program from a local college or university. Or sometimes it's going to a conference.

Nick also encourages new board members to visit and observe other school boards in the surrounding area:

> The other thing we do is encourage them to visit other school sites . . . So what we did was give a small honorarium if they attended another school district's board meeting. It may sound a little crazy but it worked. It helped the board members to see other school board meetings. We also wanted them to visit the schools. It was another reality check. It's important for them to see how we stack up against others, before we start criticizing our own staff.

Educating the board is an empowering act that Directors of Education must view as one of their main leadership tasks. Effective board members will also bring their knowledge into other areas of the community.

Sharing Leadership And Empowering Teachers

Foster (1986) writes:

> Leadership can spring from anywhere; it is not a quality that comes with an office or with a person. Rather, it derives from the context and ideas of individuals who influence each other. Thus, a principal may be a leader and other times a follower. A teacher may be a leader, and the principal a follower. Leadership is an act bound in space and time; it is an act that enables others and allows them in turn, to become enablers. (p. 187).

Smyth (1989) adds; " If leadership has little to do with hierarchical impositions, then it has a lot to do with enabling the 'best' ideas to emerge wherever they come from . . ." (p. 191).

Like other institutions, schools are very bureaucratic and are built on a hierarchy of authority. Schools as bureaucracies are often what Robert Starratt (1993) calls flawed institutions that dominate and oppress their members. One of the participants discusses how important it is for educational leaders to understand the nature of school bureaucracies. In Glen's experience western organizations are dictatorial in nature and as a concept are losing favour with many. In contrast Glen believes in recognizing and using the professional experience and craft knowledge (Barth) of his teachers and other members of the organization. He puts it this way:

> Really, the western system is very dictatorial, there is a top and there is a bottom. The reason why we have that system is because there's an assumption that there are only so many educated people, the white collars. Then there are the blue collars and they only know a little bit. And the white collars are really responsible for telling the blue collars what to do. Well, that idea is no longer acceptable in society, especially among a highly professional staff like teachers. You have to come up with a model that respects the fact everybody in your organization knows a lot about their aspect of the organization and we have to use that knowledge when we make decisions.

Trevor describes the move towards shared leadership as a "growth process of the school staff." He recalls:

> When we started Carl, myself and the other teachers were all brand new here in the school. . . We didn't known what kinds of paths we would take. Because you are going into uncharted waters there is a tendency to want a strong captain at the helm. But as we developed, we were all able to take increasing turns at the helm of the ship. And it's getting better because of that.

When responsibility is shared teachers become empowered to be leaders themselves.

Trevor defines empowerment as:

> letting the teacher define what needs to be done in the classroom and giving them the tools to do it, cutting through the bureaucracy or whatever else is getting in the way and letting them get on with what they do best, which is teaching those children.

As the director of this system Glen has deliberately encouraged others to take on more responsibilities:

> Once the foundation was in place, we started to ask how is the school evolving? We weren't sure how well we were doing. It was like building a house on your own. We weren't sure when we were to do certain things. What we are saying now is it doesn't make sense for one person to direct every activity. What made more sense was to have everyone take responsibilities and find the best way to do it. I believe that our organization, in Canadian Indian education, is at the leading edge of this experience.

Glen and his administration are trying to change the bureaucratic nature of their schools by introducing an idea they refer to as quality teams. This idea promotes the empowerment of teachers to deal with school issues and allows them the authority to make decisions. Glen describes how he is sharing leadership with his principals and teachers:

> To us this meant empowering our teachers to be part of the decision making process. We believed that this would be quicker and more responsive at meeting the kids' needs. At that point we were starting to get very bureaucratic. We couldn't do some things until a decision was made higher up the line. . . . We didn't move to the quality teams as fast as I would have liked, mostly because the staff became very distrustful. They thought that they were having something extra being dumped on them. So, it became a negative experience. . . . We were trying to do something quite revolutionary within the school system. The teachers had not been trained . . . . Most of them had basically come out of education systems that were your usual chain link type of bureaucracies, where you had to go to A to B to C and at the end you got a car. We were going to a different system, that said, "We want you to build a car. Here's the stuff. We will help you any way we can, but here you are. You build the car. There's no greater responsibility we can give you." So, initially we had resistance . . . *but by* the second year they said, "This is for real" and we are starting to build trust.

Glen believes that empowering students, teachers and parents to achieve greater success together is part of making an Indian school and he campaigns for this concept to be adopted in other Native schools.

Quality Teams

Quality teams are used to empower teachers to take on more leadership roles and increase their participation in the system. However, Glen explains that first of all the administration had to convince teachers that the benefits for the students would outweigh the perceived increase in their amount of work, "The resistance was related to the fact the teams wanted to make decisions, but they didn't want to make decisions that they perceived would make them do more than their jobs."

Glen explains that once teachers are reassured that their decisions will be respected they become willing to take risks. The director and the principals also discuss the empowering effect of pushing, nudging and encouraging teachers to take on more responsibility within the school:

> Where we have to get to, is empowering teachers to know we believe in them, in their skill and in their ability to do the best they can for the child. If teachers believe this then they need your support. . . We assign the teachers to teams who meet and make decisions in

the best interest of the kids on a day to day basis. Our responsibility as administrators is to support their efforts.

Trevor says that quality teams are allowed:

a fair degree of latitude to make decisions, as long as they are not too far off the mark. I encourage it and fully applaud their efforts. On occasion I will whisper into the appropriate ear, what kind of things might be done. On occasion I am relatively straightforward about what should be done . . . Teachers can make things happen.

He continues by giving an example of how quality teams solve problems:

Usually they are not any sort of grand ideas. The kids were simply getting into too much trouble at lunch recess. . . They threw around lots of ideas on how to deal with it. Basically it works out to a common school solution. They put forth a variety of intramurals some of which were of a physical education nature and some of which were clubsy craftsy types of things. In effect, they told themselves that they would have to take on more supervision duty and they have done that. This wasn't something that came from me. It was something they recognized because they are closer to the problem.

Trevor describes the outcome of quality team activities:

There is a wider ownership of the idea of taking responsibility for all of the children and looking to achieve a high level of success . . . the teams can take more responsibility. I am seeing so many more ways the teachers can and are taking responsibility for the whole school.

Teamwork: Building A Successful School Community

"It's the teachers and the principals in those schools that fight the daily battles that make the difference." Carl believes teamwork is part of his school's success.

Rena recalls one of her first concerns in her new job:

We began the process last fall. I met with the teachers to do some team building, because it was important to get a cohesive group together that shared a common philosophy and the same vision of providing quality Indian education for the kids.

Nick says, "You've got to build a team." He describes a successful team as, "the outpouring of energy into the community institution. You are successful when the individuals on your team come up with their own initiatives on how to improve the school. If you have a team up their minds better be ticking."

Building a successful team that looks at longer range goals with shared commitment increases the strength of the school community. This helps teachers feel more secure and more willing to become part of the team. Trevor talks about how this sense of community is so important to the success of his school system:

> It is important to have the staff work together over a long period of time. . . This builds a sense of community. They need to know that they and their colleagues will be back. Building teamwork and commitment for each other is important. It also builds up resources and programs that work. If teachers don't have this type of security they develop what I call a "survival mentality". When this happens you stop thinking long range and stop making decisions for the interest of the children. You approach issues and planning short term. You begin to hear things like if I can only make it until Christmas. The idea of what's best for the children goes out the window. When the board, the director, principal and teachers are working together you build trust. This trust and understanding then works with the community. The parent and the teacher trust each other and work for the children first.

Transformation begins with re-evaluation of our personal and organizational values and in successful First Nation schools this means a return to traditional First Nation values. One of the main roles of an educational leader is to develop an effective board that is empowered to make the right decisions. Successful school leaders enable others to take on leadership roles and responsibilities. Teachers become risk takers and leaders in their own right. In the system studied this is done through what is referred to as quality teams. Building a school community requires the development of longer term goals and relationships. It means allowing the people closest to any problem or issue to be directly responsible for coming up with a solution. It requires dialogue and debate among the school members. It requires the leadership and commitment of the central office. Most important it results in shared responsibility for the success and failure of the entire school.

THE ESSENTIAL QUALITIES OF A LEADER

In this section the participants discuss five essential characteristics of leaders, beginning with a philosophy of caring for others and a commitment to include all members of the organization in decision making. Second they believe that leaders must develop credibility with their coworkers. Leaders also need to have a clear vision of what can be. The fourth quality of leaders is that they must be flexible and willing to adapt their plan to fit the circumstance or the situation. Finally, leaders must be visible and be an example to others.

A Philosophy Of Caring And Commitment

The participants of the study spoke a great deal about the importance of caring and commitment. They all felt that they had to go beyond the conventional way of running a school in order to make a difference in the lives of First Nations students. There was a sincere commitment to respond to the needs of others. In this section we will hear the voices of leadership discuss how they work in partnership with students, teachers, parents, the board and the community at large. They talk about sharing their knowledge and serving their clients. There is a strong desire for the success of others.

As Glen puts it :

> Teachers feel a need to have children succeed. When children are successful then you feel good as a teacher. You feel that you are contributing to that child's growth. When a child is not doing well, then teachers, I believe, feel bad about themselves.

Glen uses a metaphor of a grocery store to embody his belief in caring:

> Children have to be looked at as customers of our service. They are not products of our service. As customers we have to treat them with respect and we have to provide them with an environment so they can get what they have come for. It's just like grocery shopping. Some kids come in here and pick up math, social studies and science, and other kids need love, hugs and food. If they are coming in for love, hugs and food and they are being given math, social studies and science, they are going to be unhappy customers. . . . You have chosen us and we are going to give you what you have come for. And like a grocery store, there are all kinds of goods to present to you.

He strongly believes that a First Nations school must go beyond the standard curriculum to successfully meet the needs of the children:

> We also want you to know that you're a child and as a child we have a responsibility to help you become a successful adult and a successful adult needs a balance of goods. Some customers come into our store and they know exactly what they want . . . empowering things like math, social studies and science. And if that's what you need, then that's what we're going to give you. If you come in here, needing love, hugs and food then that's what we're going to give you and we're going to give you the best that we can. Because when you don't need that any more, we want you to come back for the other stuff.

This philosophy of caring begins at the director's and principal's level and permeates throughout the whole organization. It provides the leaders with a moral framework that guides how they make decisions and how they treat others.

Caring About Children

"Doing what is in the best interests of the child" is a fundamental principle of all the leaders that was frequently repeated during the interviews. Trevor elaborates:

> By and large our teachers are a very caring staff. . . who believe in our philosophy. During our meetings the focus is always on what is best for the child. Teachers are encouraged and supported to think like this. So if a question comes up, we ask how will this impact on the student? I am going to look at the students' needs before the staff's needs, not that I see the two as being mutually exclusive but if it comes to deciding between . . .staff . . . *and* student, I will err on the side of the student every time.

Every one of the participants felt that focusing on the best interests of the child is paramount to the development of successful schools.

Glen believes:

> We have rules in our organization that say there are three steps to making the right decision. The first step is asking yourself, "Is this decision beneficial for children"?. . . We put the priority on what is best for the children.

Nick says caring about students, "means staff members must care for all students regardless of the students' ability levels. . .The teachers, the teacher aides and the secretaries, every staff in the school have to become student advocates." Carl adds:

> Our teachers expect to work harder here because we are starting further behind with many of our students. Teachers come here prepared to work for students. . . We have to know what Native people do to be successful and we have to know what non-Native people do to be successful, because our children have to be good in both areas. Therefore we have to do double the work of a public school.

Peter also believes caring means accepting where your students come from:

> We need to be able to operate with some basic principles like, "this school is going to make a difference in this child's life within one day, for the time that child is here." We no longer have an excuse to say because the parents are a bunch of drunks or bingo freaks, etc., that a cop-out. We are professional educators and we are given the tools to deliver education and a midst all this chaos, we're going to establish a safe environment that is conducive to learning for our children.

Glen gives an example of how his teachers showed their caring and commitment for their students. He relates two stories. The first one is about a summer school program for high school students:

> Last year the quality teams made a decision for the kids who were marginal fails in their high school courses. There were fourteen of them. We could have just failed them but the teachers decided to give them a set of homework to do over the summer and we'd test them at the beginning of the school year. Do you know what the teachers did? . . . They

made sure that the kids got tutored . . . in their homes. . . At the end of the summer, nine of the fourteen kids passed all their tests and moved on to the next grade.

Carl continues:

We have to come up with so many more programs. For example our teachers stay an hour after school to work with students, that come to our staff for help. They don't have people at home that can help them with Math 30, or Chemistry 30, or Bio. 30, or English 10, so they can come after school to work with any of our teachers.

The second story is about a science fair:

Last year the elementary school won three medals in the regional science fair. This is the pride and joy of all the science teachers. We only had four entries and the kids won a gold, a silver, a bronze and the other one got an honorable mention. I went to the science fair and talked to the teacher and the students . . . What I was really proud of was that these kids understood the project. The teacher or the parents did not do the project for them. . . . The judges picked up on that because . . . these kids aced the oral interview. The teacher didn't do the work for them, but I do know he was there evenings and he encouraged families to bring the kids in on weekends.

Glen believes that caring extends from the board to the custodial staff in his schools:

This school is always extremely clean. Everyone participates and makes sure we maintain the standards. . . In our school we rarely ever have any serious injuries. . . . Our staff are very committed to the idea that we are all responsible for the health and safety of our kids, not just the person on supervision.

Rena summarizes, "It's always students and program first." To Peter caring about students means:

I guess one of the main areas that comes to mind is that students need to see leaders, especially First Nation leaders, within our communities as models. I think that's really key to your job as a leader of a First Nations school because in terms of the other duties you have to do in the school, this role model is a very important element. You are an example for them.

Caring About Teachers

"We must also care about our staff if we want them to care about the students."

Trevor captures the essence behind caring for employees in the above sentence. He elaborates:

The board and the director respect and support and listen to the staff. They care for them as employees and as people. They respect that we have bills to pay and sometimes have problems to face outside of school. This system gives out long term contracts to its employees. It gives to them not just asks from them. Commitment here is a two way street. . . That mutual thing means a lot to a teacher over the years. We have teachers who look upon this job as a place they will stay for many more years, because they know it's the place to be.

Rena remembers a caring principal who influenced her career as a teacher and later as an administrator:

> I also had worked with a good principal here in the city. I learned a tremendous amount from him, things like fairness, taking the time to listen to people's concerns and problems, teachers, parents, kids' concerns. He taught me about being patient and trying to be fair.

For Nick, caring is respecting people's feelings. When dealing with teachers, he says, "I am up front with . . . staff members privately, never publicly in front of school staff or the community."

Three of the leaders interviewed felt very strongly that professional development was vital to their school's success. These participants state that a leader must care about the professional growth of the staff. Glen believes that a caring leader is obligated to foster an organizational environment where this can happen:

> I always remind my teachers, one of the things we have to do is always grow. We never grow up because as we live in our society that society always changes. And we always change too. And as professionals we have to recognize that change is part of our responsibility and so is growth. I am really proud of my staff in that they all recognize that change is part of the process and is part of the nature of our organization. If you are not changing your practice, then you're beginning to be dated and you are no longer an effective teacher. Effective teachers don't do the same things over and over again.

Trevor and Carl agree. Carl adds:

> We do three times more training of staff here, than probably any other schools do. Our director is keen on that idea, that you can't possibly know all there is to know. Therefore we have to bring people in. We have to go to conferences. We have to talk to our brothers and sisters in the public school system in order to know what the competition is doing.

The participants also believe that teachers make the best decisions about their professional development. Administrators must respect their needs and craft knowledge (Barth). Trevor proudly points out that:

> Professional development needs are almost exclusively handled by the quality teams. It's more and more devolving now to the teams to make the decisions. They know what they need. Some of the quality teams have arranged their own in-service based on their perceived needs. They have often proven to be the most successful, because it addresses what the teachers perceive to be their weaknesses or it's viewed as a challenge for some of them.

Trevor talks about the importance of recognition, support and caring from the community:

> We have had the chief stand up on many occasions and speak highly of the staff and the school. It makes you feel like you are part of some organization that is really serving the community. You know it makes people feel proud, because they are part of it. The other area where we are getting an increasing amount of support is from the elders and some of their organizations. They are now coming into the school more. They are more comfortable

> to come into the classroom and . . . speak with some moral authority with the children and staff.

A Commitment To Parent And Community Involvement

Nick feels, "You are successful if you keep having the community involved. You know you are successful because you don't need a crisis to get people involved." To gain commitment from parents their role has to be meaningful.

To build parent support, the school system must foster a positive and encouraging approach. Nick recalls, "One time we collected a whole bunch of pictures and displayed them at the school. It was not your direct parent teacher interview, we originally avoided those." Nick observes that many Native parents avoid schools because it usually means bad news:

> My feeling is listen. They will come to the first meeting in September and then after that it's bad news, except for the ones who are doing well. . . . As a human being you don't go to bad news. So you have to keep it positive and they will bring things up when they're ready. Again you don't initiate anything, just the positive.

Nick likes to organize social events that bring parents and teachers together to develop school and community relationships. "It was more of a social night. For example I would buy twenty pounds of spaghetti and there was always a lot of salmon there and we cooked! . . . It was a fun barbecue gathering."

Rena describes how a positive relationship between parents and teachers who commit to working together can be useful in meeting the goals of education. Rena recalls how parents and teachers, "started conflict management teams" for playground and school disputes. She describes what happened:

> What they did was they brought a consultant in who trained the kids and the teachers. I don't know how effective it will be but it was something that was deemed to be necessary by the teachers and the parents through our parent advisory committee. They said we needed to do something so these kids could learn how to resolve their problems. We have student representatives that are trained to do this.

Parents should be encouraged and supported to take on leadership roles in the school. Rena points out, "I guess there has to be total involvement and the community needs to know and be able to develop a trust relationship with these teachers." Nick tells us about the important role parent advisory committees play in Native communities, "On the reserve, the way the system

was set up, there are seven board members and only two board members are elected at large. The rest have to come from the schools. In other words, they come out of the parent advisory committees."

Carl continues, that sometimes the best way to be involved is by not being involved. "We have had very little interference from the chief and council in how we run this school. . . Basically chief and council has not got involved in the running of this school. "

Peter points out the importance of having positive support from the chief and council and the tribal community:

> It basically has to start with the leadership within the community. You have to have a clear directive from the community, that the community wants to improve their quality of life. From that you need the leadership's support. From that kind of environment, progress can develop and it can be pursued.

Establishing Credibility

The participants feel that the leader's credibility with professional staff and the reserve community is a critical issue because people need to have faith in the leader's ability to accomplish change in the schools.

This becomes even more important for First Nations educators seeking to become leaders. They often have two constituencies to satisfy and influence, the first being their fellow band members and the second being the professional staff of the school. Peter reflects:

> One word comes to mind and that's "credible", to be credible in the eyes of certain groups. One is that you've got to be credible in the eyes of the profession of education. I had to serve as a teacher, a V.P. and a principal. In that way, I had to be credible in the eyes of my colleagues and the board that I service and the students and the teachers that you supervise and then the parents, and then the community and then the elders.

Peter further explains his ideas on credibility:

> People see you as a good person. They can trust you and you have to be honest in your dealings with people. And because you have those qualities the people will say, 'Yeah I believe in what he is doing. In turn, I will trust him with my children.. . . Credibility means . . . one that you're knowledgeable in the business of education, the second part of that is you're credible as a person, that you're a person who is fair.

Why is credibility such an issue for Native leaders? Nick thinks it's because:

> Community members . . . know each other inside out. So some members who want to be group leaders have to really search into their souls whether they have credibility in the

> community at large. Like we had one board member who was a pot smoker when he was younger and he wanted to be chairman and it just didn't work.

Reputation becomes an important factor in one's credibility due to the close knit nature of First Nations tribal communities. Peter explains, "I think for some of the Indian educators, the base is the home community. So that credibility, whatever you have established historically follows you."

Three of the participants explore the question of how one gains credibility. In their opinion the essence of credibility as a professional and as an individual seems to revolve around the idea of lifelong learning and personal achievements.

Glen reflects on gaining credibility through learning:

> Really, as educators, we don't know everything we need to know. The science of education is still discovering new things and challenging old beliefs and coming up with new beliefs. We must always be able to react to those changes. A classic example is if a doctor didn't change his techniques for twenty five years, would you think he'd have any patients and the answer is of course no. Yet in teaching, we accept this resistance to change as part of the normal process.

Credibility is not something you acquire and never have to worry about again. It is an ongoing and dynamic process that leaders must continually work at and maintain.

Having A Vision

"Visionary leaders are pathfinders, less concerned with prestige or glory than with causing movement towards some larger purpose" (Leavitt, 1987, cited in Chance, 1990). All six leaders in this study believed in having a clear personal vision or direction. Seeing the bigger picture is part of leadership success. Nick says, "I believe the school leadership needs to have a vision." Peter adds:

> To do this you have to establish a clear vision and set clear goals with the help of the staff and the community. You never do that in isolation. You have to lead your group through a planning process. So another characteristic is you have to be a good planner. This is a very critical part in setting the direction for the whole organization.

Rena says, "A sense of direction is very important for me." Carl puts it this way:

> No new school organization can be successful without a clear direction, without good leadership in the school, without creative teachers who are allowed to take chances, without useful curriculums or support from the board and the director. . . . If you don't think so, all you'll have is a hodgepodge hoping to happen.

Trevor felt that in the beginning of a takeover, "You need that visionary and hands on leadership." His colleague Carl adds, "The director, has dreamed dreams for the school which no one thought were possible for a school like this." Peter continues this train of thought, "You have to see the big picture . . . based on the current philosophies of education and the needs and wants of the community and bring those two together. You have to be a person with vision." For Trevor it means:

> The teachers do a wonderful job with their classrooms but by the nature of their job they can't always see the big picture and that is part of my job to help them see the bigger picture . . . One of the most often heard expressions in this organization was "create a wish list", "create the best class you can think of," but not just in terms of tape players or whatever else you need. But whatever you think would be the perfect Grade six class or perfect Grade nine class. We were encouraged to think along this line and it helps.

Glen explains the importance of developing and maintaining a vision by sharing leadership with others:

> When you look at our organization, the vision hasn't changed. The goals we wrote in 1986 are the same goals we use today. What is different is we had to go down to the depth of our souls before we could rise up the valley. We are still somewhere in that valley. It's like being at the edge of the forest and saying, "We have to get to the other side to be successful." Well, we're now somewhere in the middle of that forest and we are saying to each other, "Listen guys let's break up into smaller groups and if someone makes progress let the rest of us know." That's essentially what's happening in our organization.

Nick expresses his ideas on the process of vision building:

> You harness the leadership energies of community members into a coherent vision. That's one of the first activities we do, whenever we are engaging in a great enterprise . . . A vision harnesses all your energies for a common cause. Your energies come from different sources. . . A common vision will focus all our different interests in achieving a task. There are many ways to get to the same destination. . . . You are sharing your world with others as a leader but the way you give your message is to try to get a positive response.

Glen tells us that vision building includes everyone and allows you to measure your success:

> Is the director or superintendent achieving his or her goals"? It can be measured by looking at the board's vision or the staff's vision or the community's vision, or even the children's vision of what the school is. If you go into a school and children really love being in that school I think that school is really successful.

Peter adds that the vision process includes a plan:

> That's with the idea of developing an organization like a school system. If the school system is able to go through a planning process, a strategic planning process, they would establish clearly a community vision statement and then following that, establish a clear mandate of

> our educational system. It's critical that you have everyone as part of the process, the community, students, staff.

Peter concludes by saying the vision of a successful school emerges from within individual First Nations communities:

> Every First Nation is unique in its own way, so they will develop education under their own parameters. In that sense no one can ever say, "This is what it should be and this is how it should look." Local control of Indian education is a framework that First Nations go through in order to develop their own schools. When you look at all the development that's exactly what has happened. Everyone has developed an education system that meets their own educational needs at this point in time.

Finally, Barth (1990) supports Peter's belief that each leader must develop their own unique vision:

> I traveled a thousand miles to find a vision. . . . I found visions. Many of them. They came in all sorts of shapes and sizes. They were large ones and modest ones. There were complex ones and simple ones. They all seemed to fit - yet none of them fit me. Why? . . . And I discovered that I can look to myself. That I am rich in resources and thoughts and ideas. That the future, my future, lies not out there but inside me. (pp. 158-159)

Being Flexible In A State Of Change

One of the participants described the initial years of band control as a state of chaos. He was relating to a common state of affairs for many First Nations communities. Peter admits, " We have to learn how to operate in chaos the best way we can in the school setting." While other participants did not use the word chaos they mostly agreed that band operated school leaders must be very flexible to changing situations. They cannot afford to have any single rule to live and die by. Nick puts it this way:

> The problem with leadership is you tend to focus on one aspect and people and society are too complex. You have to be able to keep shifting, shifting, shifting. It's the accumulative impact of leadership. It's not any one thing that you do that makes the difference.

Rena describes the kind of employees needed for band operated schools:

> They are the kind of people who would accept that challenge and look forward to it. With that kind of staff that's here, it allows you that flexibility to try different things. It's going to take an awful lot of extra time and commitment to make a change because there are so many factors there we have to look at.

Nick feels that it is important for a leader to show the staff and the community that, "You respect others, that you can handle differences. . . that you can handle stress. . . and can stay open and live in ambiguous situations for long periods of time."

In the participants' opinions, flexibility is the key to thriving in First Nations education. Nick says, "The tendency is my way is the only way, which is well forget it. That's not real leadership, that's a very destructive kind of leadership." Trevor agrees that there is no such thing as the one best way. He gives an example:

> "It's like having a fixed rule." For example, "All kids will do their homework tonight." Now the flexibility comes in at a simple kind of level by knowing not all kids in all circumstances can do their homework tonight. Therefore, we have to provide something in the school that will allow for that. It is the same thing when I work with staff members. Some staff I can be fairly formal with and say this is the way it is done and this is what is expected. With others if I did that I would crush them and I am sensitive enough to what they can do now and what should be left undone for another day. That is how I view flexibility.

Nick captures flexibility with a clever analogy:

> A leader needs to see the pattern and needs to deal with the ambiguity of the situation. It's a skill you learn. What does it mean? It's what lies behind the ambiguity. This is why I say it's not so important to take a position. What's really important is seeing the pattern and being able to adjust your position to different circumstances. "Being a willow rather than an oak tree. Willow bends, changes with the season but it's always there. An oak tree stands firm but if the forces are strong enough it gets blown away." It's knowing when to bend.

Leading By Example And Being Visible

Administrators have a responsibility to set a standard of behavior for the organization by leading by example and by being visible to others. Rena says, "As director you have to know what's going on in the schools. You have to be visible to the staff and the students."

Peter says, "You have to serve in the trenches, . . . so that you can lead the staff in the hope of improving education." Carl also refers to working in the trenches:

> I personally believe that when you walk the trenches every day with the men and women and you live the life out there and they see you working, living and walking beside them as a colleague they will go to all ends for you. I strongly believe that those people that you work with have to respect you and in return you have to do that for them.

Glen continues this thought of leading by example:

> We have a responsibility to set an example and a standard of behavior for the whole organization. It's because we have decided that we will set a standard of behavior and an expectation that we are going to always look at how can we do things better?

He gives an example:

> As an organization we have to maintain our commitment. Sometimes we have to barter. Managers must accept their responsibility and if we expect workers to take a cut, then we must also do the same. The cut should be at least the same if not more.

Nick states that it is very important in a Native community to establish standards of behaviors for its leaders, "For Native leadership to be truly Native leadership, they have to develop a system of protocol and behavior."

Finally, credible leaders who care about others must have a clear vision and plan to follow. They must lead by example and inspire teachers, students and parents to become leaders in their own right and they must be flexible enough to work in the chaos of many First Nations communities.

SUMMARY

In this analysis I have tried as Nick says, "to get beyond the rhetoric to deliver the goods." The content analysis reveals four aspects of First Nations educational leadership.

The first aspect discussed by the participants is that successful leaders need to understand the history of First Nations and the challenges they face. First Nations are in a transitional phase teeming with many obstacles to success, such as how oppressive government policy, racism, and their historical circumstances have shaped the First Nation reality. Leaders face a daunting task if they choose to meet the challenges of changing Indian schools for the better and meeting the great expectations placed on Indian schools by parents and community alike.

The second area is understanding how power and authority are perceived in First Nation communities and how this affects leaders' abilities to create effective groups. In Indian communities we must understand that authority is delegated by a group and that power is found in the group not in the position one holds. The participants talked about being accountable and using power in a responsible way.

The third aspect discussed by the respondents is the idea of transformation beginning with a renewed commitment to traditional First Nations values. These values become the foundation of a successful school. Educational administrators in First Nation communities must look at the abilities of community members and teachers as a source of power for school improvement. This

means building teams of parents and teachers committed to a vision of improvement and hope for the future. But in order to make these changes, leaders need to understand the bureaucracy in which many schools operate today and must "flatten the hierarchy" to allow members the freedon. to make decisions and to take on more responsibility for the success of the students and the school. This section also dealt with the concept of empowerment and shared leadership.

The fourth aspect of leadership this study revealed is that success is possible when administrators work on school improvement grounded in a philosophy of caring for what is in the best interest of the children they serve and in a commitment to parent and community involvement in the school. Leaders must have credibility with the community and with their colleagues. They must be flexible and committed to building a vision for improvement. Successful leaders lead by example and work with their staff.

An Indian organization must be concerned with developing leadership not a leader.

CHAPTER SIX: REFLECTIONS

During the course of my research and my continuing involvement in First Nations education there were many occasions to reflect on the topic of successful leadership in a First Nations school. I began the study unsure of what I was looking for but wanting to know more about the qualities and styles of a successful leader. In the end I began to realize that leadership is a process and that good leaders are successful because they view leadership and administration as a moral responsibility to others. It is their ability to translate their personal values and philosophy into everyday administration that makes them successful (praxis).

This chapter is presented in five main sections. The first section is a summary of the purpose of the study and also consists of my reflections on the literature review, the methodology, data collection and analysis. It also repeats the headings of Chapter five. The second section is a discussion of how the findings relate back to the original research questions. The third section deals with the implications and recommendations for further research. The fourth section consists of my parting thoughts on educational leadership. It is entitled *A Personal Vision Of Leadership*. The final section consists of my concluding remarks on this experience.

SUMMARY AND REFLECTIONS OF THE STUDY

This section deals with my thoughts on: (a) the purpose of the study, (b) the literature review, (c) the methodology, (d) the data collection and analysis, and (e) a listing of the major findings.

Purpose Of The Study

This thesis is focused on the essence of Indian educational leadership as described by the educational leaders themselves. The study reveals how their personal experiences and beliefs have shaped and influenced their own leadership.

Literature Review

The literature review is divided into two sections beginning with a historical review of Indian education. The Assembly of First Nations and writers like Eber Hampton, Harold Cardinal and George Manuel give the literature review a First Nations perspective. Much is written about Indian education, but very little is available on First Nations educational leadership. The little that is available indicates leadership in First Nations school systems is highly complex and is a political venture at best (Boloz & Foster, 1980).

The second part of the literature review begins with a brief look at traditional Indian leadership characteristics. The rest of the section spans the classical leadership ideas of writers such as Max Weber and Frederick Taylor, to the inspired work of James MacGregor Burns, and to those who espouse more democratic and participatory concepts such as Sergiovanni, Barth, and critical theorists like Maxcy, Foster and others.

I found the great volumes of literature on leadership overwhelming and frustrating on many occasions. It was difficult to choose what was most important and relevant to my literature review and Chapter five. Another area of frustration was that writers on leadership used a wide array of terminology and often only focused on one aspect of leadership (i.e.. vision, transformational leadership, team building, empowerment, being visible, change, supervision, motivation, etc.). They seem to focus on what Sergiovanni and Starratt called instrumental theories as opposed to the more substantive holistic views of leadership. Clearly we need a First Nations perspective on educational leadership that is more holistic and relevant.

The challenge was to try and blend the two separate topics of Indian education and leadership into a coherent and focused thesis, that would make sense and create interest for the reader.

Methodology

This is a qualitative study written from the perspective of the educational leaders involved in this project. The primary source of data was obtained through interviews with six participants: (a) three Directors of Education, (b) one educational consultant (previously a Director of Education), and (c) two principals. This group was a purposive reputational sample of educational leaders in First Nation schools in Alberta. The method used in the data collection was a semistandardized interview using open-ended questions. The data were subject to a content analysis using a word processing program to gather a collection of statements that referred to similar themes and ideas.

Data Collection And Analysis

For the purpose of this study I was looking for the most appropriate research method for studying Indian education. I decided that a qualitative research technique which follows most closely in nature to the holistic philosophies of many First Nations was the most appropriate format.

Due to the qualitative nature of this study I found it very difficult to get focused on my thesis. Because of my own experience in the 1991 takeover of the Ermineskin schools, I knew leadership was a critical aspect of First Nations schools, but I was still unsure of what I was looking for.

The concept of leadership was a vague notion when I began my interviews in October 1993. The interviewing process was an exciting and enlightening event that I will not soon forget. However, I went into the interview phase of my study with little confidence in the original questions. The questions were too vague and some were double barreled making it difficult for the participants to answer. Some questions were not distinct enough causing a repetition of

answers. During the course of the interviews I changed the questions or reworded them on many occasions. I found the richest descriptions and most robust information occurred during the more informal sections of the interviews, when I was asking questions as they arose naturally in the course of my conversations with the participants.

The arduous process of typing out over one hundred single spaced pages of the transcripts took place between February - April 1994. The transcripts were mailed out for member checks only hours before I boarded the plane for a Phoenix Easter break!

The data analysis daunted and intimidated me right from the beginning. I lost track of how many times I read and re-read the transcripts and listened to the tapes and made notes. As I became familiar with the data from the transcripts I began to discover the themes of leadership. The themes and the results of my study did not become a reality until August 1994 after completing the first phase of the content analysis. However, I continued to analyze the data and streamline the themes, which changed and were reorganized several times until January 31, 1995.

When I started this process I likened the exercise to prospecting for gold. You spent hours, days and months sifting the sand and gravel of your transcripts looking for the gold nuggets. It is a painstaking process but when you eventually uncover an idea or theme it is an exhilarating moment. Analyzing your data can become a trap if you do not at some point stop and say this is done. I found this to be a very difficult thing to do.

I stopped writing in my journal after my first draft of Chapter four. That was a mistake because it was difficult to reflect on my thoughts and recall information, ideas and events needed for the writing of Chapter six. If you decide to do a qualitative research project you need the discipline to continue writing a journal right to the end.

Another suggestion for future research would be to combine observation with each interview to as Hampton says, "improve the data by systematic checking" (1993, p. 272).

Major Findings

The findings of this study are prepared and presented in two chapters. Chapter four, which is the individual profiles of the leaders provides a setting and a context for the discussion of the major research findings that are presented in Chapter five. The data are organized into themes which represent the major issues identified by the participants. The four sections and the sub-headings of Chapter five are restated below:

1. UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORY AND THE CHALLENGES
   - (A) A Brief History
     - (i) Racism
     - (ii) The Imposed Agenda Of Indian Affairs
   - (B) The Challenges Of Leadership
     - (i) Great Expectations
     - (ii) Increasing Parental And Community Involvement
     - (iii) Integrating An Academic And Cultural Program
     - (iv)Searching For Legitimacy

2. LEADERSHIP AND POWER
   - (A) Leadership And Power In First Nations Communities
   - (B) Leadership, Power And Responsibility

3. TRANSFORMING LEADERSHIP: THE PROCESS
   - (A) Reemphasizing First Nations Values
     - (i) Importance Of Protocol
     - (ii) How Traditional Values Are Used In Conflict Resolution
     - (iii) Celebration And Recognition
   - (B) Developing An Effective Board
     - (i) Empowering The Board Through Learning
   - (C) Sharing Leadership And Empowering Teachers
     - (i) Quality Teams
     - (ii) Teamwork: Building A Successful School Community

4. THE ESSENTIAL QUALITIES OF A LEADER
   - (A) A Philosophy Of Caring And Commitment
     - (i) Caring About Children
     - (ii) Caring About Teachers
     - (iii) A Commitment To Parent And Community Involvement
   - (B) Establishing Credibility
   - (C) Having A Vision
   - (D) Being Flexible In A State Of Change
   - (E) Leading By Example And Being Visible

A RETURN TO THE ORIGINAL RESEARCH QUESTIONS

For the purpose of this final chapter and completeness of the study I have returned to the seven original research questions. The data from Chapter five are summarized and regrouped under each question to satisfy the requirements of qualitative research.

1. What expectations does the community have for the schools?

It's because of the enormous pressure on the community to deliver the goods right away. . . There are demands for the quick fix. . . . The temptation is to go for the knockout punch because of the community pressure to get results right away. (Nick)

Native communities have "great expectations" for "a quick fix" in their schools and are very impatient for change to occur. They want their children treated with respect, they want their children to succeed in a school that is preparing them for their future careers and they want their children to develop a strong sense of their cultural identity. The community expects the school to provide a strongly integrated academic and cultural curriculum. The community also expects their schools to be as legitimate as provincial schools. However, the leaders foresee a need to develop Indian models of education and Indian standards of education .

Directors of Education are expected to make their schools unquestionably Indian in the eyes of the First Nations community. Clearly leaders in First Nation schools face a daunting challenge.

2. What values and approaches characterize successful Indian educational leadership?

The leaders all talked about a return to the traditional values of caring, respect, fairness/honesty, harmony, sharing, humility. Peter believes the healing or transformation of the community is "grounded" in the revitalized Native values.

He says, ". . . Native communities are in a state of healing and one of the qualities you need to get started in your healing is being grounded, have some values and beliefs that you can follow or fall back on in tough times."

The participants of the study also spoke a great deal about the importance of caring and commitment. "Doing what is in the best interests of the child" is a fundamental principle of all the leaders that was frequently repeated during the interviews. As one participant put it, "This school is going to make a difference in this child's life within one day, for the time that child is here."

3. What are the community leadership roles to be in First Nations Schools?

The most important role of the community's leadership is to decide what they want from the school. As Peter says, "Every community must determine what they are all about and what they want."

The participants of this study point to the importance of the director's positive relationship with a stable and effective board and the importance of having support from the Chief and Council and the tribal communities, "as a leader it doesn't matter how good your vision is if you don't keep the community and the individual community leaders on side."

The board is the main source of community leadership. An effective board exercises its power and authority conscientiously within the school and community. As the board they have the authority to act on behalf of the community but as individuals they have no authority.

4. How do Indian educational leaders relate to and work with parents, principals, teachers, students and others in the school community?

Empowerment is the underlying theme of how educational leaders should relate to the school based membership. Empowering students, teachers and parents to achieve greater success together is part of making an Indian school successful.

It is important to give parents a meaningful role in the organization by developing an effective board that represents the community's interests and needs. Educating the board is an empowering act that a Director of Education must view as one of his main leadership tasks.

Leadership must be shared with principals and teachers. This means empowering our teachers to be part of the decision making process. To quote one participant, "It's the teachers

and the principals in those schools that fight the daily battles that make the difference." Leaders must care about their staff if they want them to care about the students. When responsibility is shared teachers become empowered to be leaders themselves.

Caring about students means staff members must care for all students regardless of the students' ability levels. The principals, teachers, teacher aides and secretaries, all the staff in the school have to become student advocates.

5. How do leaders translate their beliefs into daily actions and decisions?

A philosophy of caring and a sincere commitment to respond to the needs of others has to be reflected in the decisions of leaders. A leader has to establish a clear vision and set clear goals with the help of the staff, the board and the community. They must facilitate the planning process. A leader has to go beyond the conventional way of running a school in order to make a difference in the lives of First Nations students.

A Director of Education's role is to interpret the board's decisions and facilitate the achievement of board goals. An effective director will educate the board on educational issues so that they can make the best decisions possible.

Another role of a leader is to build a team, to become more democratic and to change the structure from a hierarchy to a more flattened organizational form. Administrators must respect the teachers' craft knowledge and care about the professional growth of the staff. When teachers are reassured that their decisions will be respected and are supported for trying they will become innovative and focused on improvement. A caring leader is obligated to foster an organizational environment where this can happen.

A leader must respect people's feelings. Nick says, "I am up front with . . . staff members privately, never publicly in front of school staff or the community." The board and the director need to care for the staff as employees and as people.

Leaders are expected to set a standard of behavior and apply the concepts found in traditional values to policies and procedures in the daily life of the schools.

It is vital for leaders to encourage and support the recognition of its community members. We must celebrate daily successes as they happen. Ceremonies are a vital part of Native culture and an expression of traditional values, and as such should be an important part of the school culture in a band operated school.

A leader must show respect for others, handle differences, handle stress, remain open and live in ambiguous situations for long periods of time. Band operated school leaders must be very flexible to changing situations. They cannot afford to have any single rule to live and die by.

6. How do successful Indian educational leaders approach decision making and problem solving situations in their organizations?

This question is grounded in the ideas of shared leadership and empowering others in the school community. It is also answered in the section dealing with re-emphasizing traditional values and traditional approaches to decision making and conflict resolution. In this case decision making must be participatory and democratic. There must be a belief that the best results will be achieved by the people facing the challenges in the school. The power of the bundle becomes a metaphor for how the director and the board must relate to the community. Group decisions can use the power of the bundle in dealing with conflict in the school. Leaders have to encourage all the stakeholders in the school to become involved in the decision making process. The participants describe the process of shared leadership as becoming more democratic.

7. What are the future challenges facing band operated schools in Alberta?

The two main challenges that face Indian education are: (a) transforming the bureaucratic federal school system into a successful First Nations school, and (b) the development of programs which are both academically and culturally appropriate. Both these challenges revolve around the idea of making a First Nations school truly a unique and legitimate school for the community it serves.

All the participants saw their main assignment as transforming the school from a federal to a band operated system. Trevor describes the change as an evolutionary process, a natural progression of management philosophy moving in different directions. Other times it's been revolutionary with changes that require risk taking and experimentation before finding the right method. This requires a dynamic organization that is not afraid to be innovative both in the classroom and in administration.

Although many of the band controlled systems are still organized in a bureaucratic manner the participants believed that the goal of a First Nations school is to become more democratic and to change the structure from a hierarchy to a more flattened organizational form. Glen explains the long term purpose for the transformation of Indian schools:

> In the long run a smaller self sustaining community will protect the environment, will care for and educate their children and will ensure that their society is preserved through an effective education system . . . One of the principles here is that the school is helping to build the community.

Many Indian communities also face the challenge of developing an alternate educational program. As one of the respondents stated:

> I think sooner or later you will have to go on a dual track. One is to go on a heavy experimental track and the other is to keep the traditional, because you can't get away from it, given the way things are structured. The new generation has an incredible opportunity with the new technology. I think that in Native education the leadership is finally ready to get away from the concept of schooling and into the concept of education where they get a better understanding of how all institutions help in preparing an individual to assume their roles in life.

These two challenges are surrounded by the struggle for legitimacy in band operated schools. Peter warns us to be aware of the fine line between emulating provincial schools and creating an Indian system of education:

> If we are not careful, we are going to be absorbed into the white world, where basically we'll say we're Indian but we truly are not because our system will be exactly the same. And that's the contradiction. We know today that the Canadian education system is not working for us and because it isn't working a lot of our educational institutions are failing. What other models are out there?

We must see our legitimacy and leadership coming from within our communities with a willingness to try different methods and approaches to Indian education based on Indian cultures, values and philosophies.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study serves to illustrate the scope of research available to others. Each of the themes identified in this study could easily become a research topic on its own. Of particular interest would be an exploration of traditional First Nations beliefs on leadership and power. How can these beliefs be better understood and translated into a theory of Indian leadership with practical approaches to administration and school leadership? Another study could explore First Nations use of symbolism and traditional decision making in the context of developing school culture and climate. A study on empowering teachers and parents would also be very interesting. How First Nations are dealing with the tremendous amount of change in their educational system would also be worth someone's time and effort. This study could provide a starting point for many avenues of further research.

A PERSONAL VISION OF LEADERSHIP

In this study I have identified through the leader profiles and the data analysis the visions of six highly respected educational leaders in First Nation schools. I will now reflect on some of the significant ideas that have developed during the research and writing of this thesis. Here are some of my thoughts on what educational leadership in First Nations schools means:

1. Local control of Indian education has three distinct eras. During the 70's, Native communities awakened to the idea of taking greater responsibility for their own lives, as embodied in the political movements and thinking of the time. The 80's was a period when Indian communities took over their schools en mass. The 90's is a time for First Nations to examine questions of quality and educational expression. Who are we? What do we believe in?

How are we distinct and unique from the rest of Canada? What can we contribute? Where do we go? What is Indian education?

2 One of the leadership challenges in First Nation schools is to develop models and standards of Indian education that are grounded in First Nations' values and cultures. Hampton states:

> Indian education will not be truly Indian until we develop our own research, our own philosophies of education, our own structure, and our own methods. . . The recognition of the uniqueness of Indian education and the contribution it has to make to society . . . indicates a legitimate desire of Indian people to be self-defining, to have their ways of life respected, and to teach their children in a way that enhances consciousness of what it means to be an Indian and a fully participating citizen of the United States *and Canada* (italics added). (pp. 270-271)

3. The focal point for the future of First Nations education should be on developing First Nations approaches to school administration, that focuses on shared leadership and mutual respect among the various stakeholders in the school system. The closest philosophy to Indian administration that I have found is in the theory of school based management. This theory believes in a leadership process that is based on three principles: (a) empowering staff and parents, (b) encouraging participatory decision making, and (c) believing that the best solutions are made by the people who are most affected in the school.

4. The role of an educational leader is complex even in the best situations. The most important aspect of successful schools is empowering the relationships between all members of the school community. This can only be done in a collaborative and secure working culture at the school. Directors of Education and principals must provide a collaborative environment that supports and empowers teachers to participate in decision making and encourages risk taking at creative planning that leads to student success. Therefore, leaders must move towards some form of shared leadership and responsibility. Whenever possible it is important to involve the students in discussion on school changes in meaningful ways. The process of shared leadership should focus on organizing and supporting staff dialogue on new ideas, school policy and on the development of local curriculum and materials. This means developing policy that

supports the professional development of teachers and links it with supervision and formative evaluation approaches that focus on improvement.

5. Empowering alone does not make a successful educational leader. Leaders must create clear visions for their organization and be examples to others of how this can be done. It is incumbent on leaders to involve all the stakeholders in building a vision of improvement and hope. This educational vision is needed to accomplish the enormous task that lies ahead. This vision for education must be publicly displayed and believed in and articulated by the school principals and teachers. Leaders must get out into the community, become visible and engage in dialogue with the community about the school vision.

6. ". . . The concept of the school as a community of learners, a place where all participants -- teachers, principals, parents, and students -- engage in learning and teaching" (Barth, 1990, p. 43) is how I believe a school should be. As Barth says "In a community of learners, learning is endemic and mutually visible . . . everyone is a teacher and everyone is a learner" (p. 43). This idea includes the development of an effective board and a board training program. It also includes an education process for the community and the parents to help them in their new role as partners in the education of their children.

7. Directors of Education must develop a network linking band operated school systems where ideas are shared and a new model of Indian education can grow.

CONCLUSION

This research project was of great personal value to me. I have been able to use the ideas expressed in this study in my own work as Director of Education for Miyo Wahkohtowin Community Schools (Ermineskin Reserve, Hobbema Alberta). I have developed a great respect for the six leaders that shared their thoughts, feelings and beliefs with me.

Leaders must understand and have empathy for the challenges that face First Nation communities. First Nation schools are in a period of transition and change where local control of education is moving from a political activity to one focused more on the needs and successes of the child. Indian education is being redefined.

There was no single theme that emerged as the secret ingredient to successful leadership in First Nation schools. It is clear that leadership is a complex process. It is not any one quality of a leader but rather the cumulative effects of leadership that contribute to success. Aspiring leaders need to view leadership in a holistic manner to understand all the pieces of the leadership puzzle. Leadership is a group process, sometimes political, that evolves over time and varies from situation to situation. Leadership and followership are interchangeable. An Indian organization must be concerned with developing leadership not leaders. It must be based on strong Indian values and a commitment to caring for others. The more these ideas are practiced and respected as significant parts of the leadership process the easier it will be to achieve success. Educational leaders must take time to reflect on their values, what is working and not working in their schools and on what they desire for the future.

The future of First Nation education holds excitement and adventure just like any frontier. The challenges for First Nations educational leaders is to make schools a place of hope for the future, to rekindle the strengths and culture of the community and to facilitate the development of future leadership and greater success for our students.

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