Healers And Helpers, Unifying The People: A Qualitative Study Of Lakota Leadership.

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HEALERS AND HELPERS, UNIFYING THE PEOPLE: A QUALITATIVE STUDY
OF LAKOTA LEADERSHIP

by

Kem M. Gambrell

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of
The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska
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The purpose of this critical grounded theory qualitative study was to explore Lakota Leadership from a Native perspective. Interviews were conducted with enrolled members of a Lakota tribe in an urban setting as well as on the Rosebud reservation to gain better awareness of leadership through a non-mainstream viewpoint. Previously, in order to understand leaders and followers, research limited its scope of discernment to dominant society, implying that non-mainstream individuals will acquiesce, or that differences found are inconsequential. Leadership scholars also have implied that leadership theory is “universal enough”, and can be applied globally regardless of influences such as race, gender or culture. The purpose of this study, therefore, was to bridge the gap between what is known in the leadership field with non-dominant society perspectives.

Participants shared their perceptions of Lakota leadership and the characteristics, qualities, and traits that were needed to be successful leaders. Additionally, participants shared their perspectives of what the Lakota tribe needs in its leaders to continue building as a nation. From the data, six major categories emerged: Traditional Values and Behaviors, Putting Others First, Leadership Qualities, The Red Road, Nation Building, and Barriers. In addition, five minor categories also surfaced: Men as Leaders, Women as
Leaders, and Fallen Leaders, from the category Leadership Qualities, and “Real” Native and Bi-cultural, from Nation Building.

Findings determined that Lakota leadership is not completely defined or explained by current leadership theory. While aspects of Lakota and leadership theory may be similar in some dimensions, there is not a strong association to mainstream theories. Therefore, the findings from this study indicate that researchers should broaden the contextual aspects of their research to include non-mainstream cultures to adequately characterize leadership.
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When I began my doctoral studies seven years ago, I did so more out of a desire to stay connected intellectually with academics and the field of leadership than anything else. To have thought that one day I would actually finish the program was more like a fanciful daydream than a steadfast goal. To the credit of the faculty (and colleagues!) at the University of Nebraska, I continued to feel engaged, intellectually stimulated and challenged to the point where the thought of ending this leg of my personal journey brings a bittersweet thought of….“well, now what?”

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Mitakuye oyas’in

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

To the Lakota, virtues such as humility, respect, sacrifice, and honesty carry a different weight and substance than they do in western culture. For the Lakota, these qualities are not so much elusive goals as they are an essential part of everyday life. They are instilled in the Lakota as firmly and as specifically as American courtesies like saying “please” and “thank you,” or “bless you” after someone sneezes. The Oglala Lakota Crazy Horse was born to be a warrior and a leader. He had an ability to stay calm in the midst of chaos and confusion, and lead by example. Acts of bravery on the battlefield earned him honors within his warrior society as well as status with the people. Crazy Horse’s steadiness under fire and ability to make good tactical decisions earned him more combat honors by his early twenties than most men achieved in an entire lifetime. For all of his achievements, Crazy Horse was painfully shy and humble—although he was entitled to wear symbols of his achievements, he was known to dress plainly, and rarely spoke in public. Crazy Horse didn’t ask or volunteer to be a leader, but his reputation brought people to him, and endeared him to many.

Joseph M. Marshall III (2001); Lakota Author

Leadership has been a well studied topic. From the writings of Machiavelli and Lao-tzu to the more recent writings of researchers such as Greenleaf and Bass, leadership has become one of the “hot” topics in prevalent mainstream consciousness (Homrig, 2001). While there is a widespread perception of a lack of quality leadership practice in society, the characteristics of good leaders and the understanding of superior leadership are as diverse as the theories themselves (Wren, 1995, p. ix). The “desire for effective leadership is hindered by a lack of understanding about the phenomenon of leadership” (Wren, 1995, p. x). Many mainstream researchers have approached leadership from a Western model, believing that leadership conveys that a central authority controls not
only the use of rewards and sanctions, but also influence and power over others (Porter, Angle & Allen, 2003).

Bass (1996) argued that some leadership theories, and more specifically leadership behaviors, can be relevant everywhere. Prior to Bass (1960), Stogdill (1948; 1970) concluded that there were some personal “dispositions associated with leadership such as energy level, cognitive ability, persistence, and sense of responsibility” that were universal (as cited in Bass, 1996, p. 732-733). Stogdill (1970) also argued that there needed to be a compatible attitude between the leader and the needs of the individual or group. Bass (1996) asked the question “how much of the variance (in leadership) is due to three sources: person, situation, interaction of person and situation” (p. 733)? In his article regarding transformational leadership and universality, Bass (1996) admits that the “three parameters of leader-follower relations…may vary across cultures from very little to a great deal”, but continues to contextualize all of his research in the mainstream organizational framework, even if the studies were done outside of the United States. In structuring the vast majority of leadership research either in conventional organizations or applying current theory to under-represented groups such as people of color and women, it is quite likely that researchers remove the possibility of exploring new insights in the field. Thus, it is evident that mainstream leadership theory, especially as it is applied to non-business oriented systems, may be notably lacking in terms of ways to influence a variety of individuals. There are some researchers that posit current leadership theory has developed a rather myopic view of research due to the homogeneity of study practices (Lumby, 2006).
Focus of Study

Despite a growing body of leadership research, scholars and society currently have a limited understanding of some under-represented groups’ leadership qualities and preferences. Studies in cross-cultural psychology have noted that many “methodological problems” encountered have lead to “spurious evidence of behavioral differences”, and when similarities are found, they are often taken at face value in spite of biased and existing methodological problems (Best & Thomas, 2004, p. 299).

In contrast, differences in behaviors of various cultural groups are interpreted more cautiously and are not considered “true cultural differences” (Best & Thomas, 2004). They are often pushed aside with the supposition that cultures can and should assimilate to the “primary” mainstream practice; especially with regard to leadership. In addition, many people of color are fearful that if they don’t conform, repercussions, not only on themselves, but others will follow. For instance, leadership studies with people of color have found that “an overwhelming majority has worried deeply that if they failed in their jobs, others of their race/ethnicity would be penalized” (Woods & Conklin, 2007, p. 12). Hagedorn and Laden (2002) used a national data set on community college faculty to evaluate whether or not a “chilly climate” existed at community colleges for women and minority faculty. Their major finding was that faculty of color and women were statistically less likely to agree that claims of discriminatory practices against minorities and women have been significantly exaggerated than were men or white faculty. In short, there are perceptual studies that indicate minority and women faculty viewed the community college’s organizational climate differently and generally less positively than
did white male faculty regarding receptivity to minorities and women (Peterson & Spencer, 1990).

A similar perception in research regarding leadership practices has ensued. Leadership studies have primarily focused on white mainstream businesses and organizations, and when they have reached outside of this milieu, researchers have imposed theory developed from this environment onto people of color or women. Alice Eagly’s (2002/2003) work on gender and leadership is one such example. While Eagly’s results show that women more often are recognized as being more transformational leaders than men (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003), they also are not viewed as successfully or as frequently as emerging leaders as their male counterparts (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Bourdieu’s (1973) work on cultural reproduction led the way in demonstrating how schools, through their emphasis on upper-class and middle-class language, reproduce and “legitimize” class structure, thus oppressing lower class students.

Some researchers, like Smith, Matkin and Fritz (2004), posit that “it is possible that, in general, female and male followers have different implicit leadership theories of transformational and transactional leadership for male and female leaders” (p. 62 ). Eagly et al. (2003) meta-analysis showed women to be somewhat more transformational than men. Results also illustrated that men, on the other hand, were slightly more likely to manifest the lesser effective transactional and laissez-faire leadership behaviors. While the differences between men and women were small, “the data attest to the ability of
women to perform well in leadership roles in contemporary organizations” (Eagly, et al., 2003, p. 32).

While there has been some leadership research regarding Native Americans, generally it has been from either a historical perspective or a mainstream perspective. What research has been conducted has been limited to leadership in a medical context (Nichols, 2004) or has used case-study approach to focus on the decision-making process, rather than the actual leadership that guided it. To date, little research has been conducted that has considered contemporary Native leadership from their lens.

Purpose Statement

Based on limited research and historical observations we have some idea of what Native American leadership may possibly look like in the present day. Given the volume of literature and research on leadership, its predictors, antecedents and characteristics, the need for understanding underrepresented groups and their leadership qualities outside of the mainstream framework is a limitation and should be addressed. It is important to understand that any discussion related to cultural aspects of Native American people is, in fact, a discussion encompassing the vastness and spirit of these sovereign nations and differing individuals (Portman & Garrett, 2005).

Therefore, the purpose of this qualitative study was to explore Lakota leadership qualities of Native Americans in urban and reservation settings. Using a critical grounded theory approach (Hatch, 2002, p. 16), participants were asked to discuss their
impressions, opinions, and observations regarding Lakota leadership qualities, and from their perspectives, discuss what they felt constitutes the characteristics of a successful Lakota leader. For the purpose of this study, no definitions were given to the participants regarding the terms “successful” or “leader”, but rather, participants were encouraged to interpret and explain successful and leader as they deemed appropriate.

Method

Sample

Interviews were conducted with enrolled Lakota Sioux living both in an urban setting, as well as on the Lakota reservation of Rosebud in South Dakota. The researcher used a purposeful sampling method for this study, specifically using typical and homogeneous sampling. Since the purpose of the study was to better understand Lakota leadership qualities, enrolled members of Lakota tribes that live on the reservation, and those who continue to interact with Lakota leaders, were interviewed. Participants were identified through personal relationships with the researcher, connections with tribal colleges on the reservations, as well as through local urban community Indian Centers. The researcher contacted the participants by phone and in person, asking if they were interested in participating in the study. Participants varied in age, gender, education, leadership experience and socio-economic status.
Data Collection Procedures

All of the participants were asked to give verbal permission to participate in the study, as well as consented to a digital tape recording and note taking of the proceedings. Open-ended interviews were conducted at locations comfortable to the participants. Interviews lasted between 60 and 150 minutes, and followed an informal question and answer format. While the main interview question was prepared beforehand, the layout of the interview was informal allowing for follow-up and clarifying questions.

The following questions constituted the interview protocol:

Biographical information:

- Please tell me a bit about yourself.
- Where are you an enrolled member?
- Where have you lived including the reservation?

The central question for the study was:

- What leadership characteristics are needed to be a successful leader?

The original sub-questions included:

1. What types of leadership qualities are you drawn to?
2. What are the leadership differences between those on the reservation versus those in the city or urban setting?
3. Do you see Native leadership qualities as being different from other leadership characteristics? (If so, how are they different?)

4. Are there any gender differences in Lakota leadership characteristics?

5. What has been the historical impact on how leadership has changed through the years for the Lakota? For your tribe?

6. What types of leadership qualities do you see as being important in the future?

7. Are there any barriers to Native leadership that you see? Within the Lakota? Within mainstream society?

After initial individual interviews were conducted, several small relaxed “focus groups” were also held using some of the same participants. One of the Lakota cultural practices is that younger Lakota tribal members and women defer to their elders and male counterparts (Deloria, 1944/1998). Therefore, it was suspected that further information could be obtained conducting individual interviews first, then having small group dialogues to encourage participants to further clarify and expand on their initial answers. General questions similar to those above were asked and expanded on.

Three methods of code and theme verification were used to obtain validity in the analysis. According to Creswell (2003), these methods are commonly used in qualitative research. First, verification was obtained by conducting a literature review. Even though current research is limited with regard to the central phenomenon, Lakota leadership, the author used historical information and the case study method to aid in this endeavor. Second, triangulation methods were used to verify codes and themes within the study (Creswell, 1998). Third, coding methods were verified through the use of a separate peer
reviewer who provided an external check of the research process (Creswell, 1998). Last, the researcher has spent a prolonged amount of time throughout the past nine years observing and interacting with the Lakota both on Rosebud and Pine Ridge, as well as in an urban setting. During these interactions, a number of conversations have taken place that included checking for misinformation and scrutiny regarding the researcher’s cultural distortions of Lakota practices.

Assumptions

The underlying assumption of this investigation is the study of the leadership perspectives of the Lakota is a legitimate area of research for the advancement of leadership theory. Historically, the supposition is that leadership among indigenous tribal people has sustained tribal heritage, customs, culture, and language, and helped maintain tribal survival as a whole. This perspective has been promoted, even amid the demise of more than 70% of the indigenous population, and the assimilation of the majority of the remaining population into dominant society (Pevar, 1992). Another assumption is that this investigation will help bridge a wide gap between diverse cultural perspectives and leadership fields of research. Since a strong literature base is lacking in this area, it was assumed that a qualitative research design which employs grounded theory methods of inquiry was the best approach for investigating Lakota leadership perspectives.
Delimitations of the study

This study was confined to interviewing and observing enrolled Lakota members in both urban and reservation settings. Members of one of the five of the reservations were contacted, and urban participants were generally from a mid-western city. Thus, generalities of Lakota leadership may not be applicable to other indigenous tribes or other geographic locations.

Limitations of the study

A critical paradigm grounded theory method and purposive sampling techniques were used, thus, decreasing the generalizability of the study. While the findings of this study are relevant to the individuals and communities where they were conducted, they do not necessarily reflect the nature of leadership perspectives and characteristics for all Lakota, or Native Americans. Currently, there is a general lack of written literature and research on indigenous tribal leadership, and the perspectives and characteristics that are believed to encompass good leaders. While historical and cultural documentation exists on the Lakota and past leaders of the Lakota Nation, there is no known literature on current Lakota Tribal leadership, leadership characteristics, perspectives or leadership practices. Another limitation of this study was that Lakota participants also were limited to those who have or were currently practicing a more traditional spirituality. While several of the participants considered themselves Christians, all of the participants also actively participated in traditional Lakota ceremonies.
Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study, the following terms were used and defined for clarification. The researcher provided definitions for terms not accompanied by a reference. A list of Lakota terms and English translations are provided in Appendix G.

**America or American**: Associated with geography or demography of the current continental United States, but may also be expanded to include Canada and Mexico.

**Ceremony**: Generally understood to be one of the seven sacred Lakota religious rituals. These ceremonies or rituals include: The Keeping of the Soul; The purification lodge (*Inipi*); Vision Quest (*Hanblecheyapi*); The Sun Dance (*Wiwanyag Wachipi*); The Making of Relatives (*Hunkapi*); Preparing a Girl for Womanhood (*Ishna Ta Awi Cha Lowan*); and the Throwing of the Ball (*Tapa Wanka Yap*) (Brown, 1953; White Hat, 1999).

**Collectivist**: Societies in which people from birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups where the interests of the group prevail over the interests of individuals (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005).

**Critical Paradigm**: Critical scholars are most interested in exposing material differences among race, ethnicity, social class, and gender with regard to life chances,
and how historically-situated structures have impacted the oppression of these groups (Hatch, 2002).

**Dominant or mainstream culture:** The cultural society and its governmental agencies, organizations, institutions and communities that make up the majority of the population of the United States; assumed to be mostly white Caucasian of European descent (Hart, 2004).

**Enrolled Member:** An individual who has applied for, and received membership in the Lakota Tribe. Enrollment is usually based on a degree of Indian blood traceable to a specific relative who is on the tribal roll today, and/or on a government roll that recorded members of a tribe at the time that tribe went onto a reservation or drafted a constitution or charter (American Indian Policy Center, 2009).

**Grounded Theory Design:** “A systematic, qualitative procedure used to generate a theory that explains, at a broad conceptual level, a process, an action, or interaction about a substantive topic” (Creswell, 2002, p. 439).

**Indian:** An accepted term given by white European settlers to represent a variety of indigenous people including the Sioux, Cherokee, Hochungra (Hochunk), Umoho (Omaha), and hundreds of other indigenous groups of people. According to Colson (1986), an “Indian is an Indian only by virtue of membership in a recognized tribe” (p. 16).

**Lakota leadership qualities:** Those traits and behaviors that leaders and followers believe are advantageous to individuals in motivating and inspiring those around them.
Lakota: The Lakota are a Native American tribe that are part of a confederation of seven related Sioux tribes (the Oceti Sakowin or seven council fires) and speak Lakota, one of the three major dialects of the Sioux language. The Lakota are the western-most of the three Sioux groups, that occupy land in North and South Dakota. The seven branches or "sub-tribes" of the Lakota are Oglala, Miniconjou, Itazipco, Sicangu, Hunkpapa, Sihasapa, and Ooinunpa (NativeAmericans.com, 2009).

Native or Native American: When referring to a person, this is an individual who is a member of a specific group or tribe(s) of indigenous people (Hart, 2004).

Triangulation: The use of a multiple data collection technique. Creswell (2002) defines triangulation as “the process of corroborating evidence from different individuals, types of data, or methods of data collection in descriptions and themes in qualitative research” (p. 280).

Under-represented groups: Individuals and groups of people not associated with white-Caucasian dominant culture males.

Significance of the Study

The findings from this study can be applied to many different areas. First, organizational and leadership researchers can use this information to further the field of leadership, and include it in the on-going search for how to better motivate, communicate with, develop and retain employees. Since the cultural identities of traditionally
oppressed people are often devalued in the media and society in general, having a non-dominant society leadership perspective may help with intercultural sensitivity, which has been linked to minority employees’ job satisfaction (Matkin, 2005). Another reason further research from a non-mainstream approach is needed is that commonly the dominant cultural group has demanded conformity. This in turn has forced minorities who desire both inclusion and unique identification into a “fight or flight” mode making interactions tenuous (Bennett, 1993). Community researchers and organizers can use this information to work more productively with people from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds, especially those neighboring the five Lakota reservations. Governmental agencies can use this information to work with Native communities to help solve some of the long-standing issues that have come with the historical policies of assimilation and reform. Last, and most importantly, Native Americans can use this information within their schools, community and organizations to develop and sustain more Indian leaders. Therefore, having further leadership research from an under-represented groups’ perspective can enhance a more ethnorelative outlook for organizational, community and governmental agencies.

Summary

Currently in the field of leadership, there is limited understanding of some under-represented groups’ leadership qualities. Given the ever-changing diversity of communities and organizations, developing further insight into non-white minority groups’ leadership characteristics and perceptions can aid in the success of future
societies at the local, community, state, or national level. Thomas (1991) provides a number of rationales why better understanding race, ethnicity and diversity is necessary in today’s world. According to Thomas (1991), white males no longer make-up the majority of mainstream businesses in the United States. Secondly, assimilation is “a dead issue”, due to today’s women and minorities desire to maintain their own cultural identities. Third, prejudice is still a problem in the U.S., but not to the degree it once was. Last, due to the shift in demographics nationally, organizations are attempting to attract the talent they need to increase profitability and organizational success (Thomas, 1991).

In the U.S., after a long policy and practice of attempted assimilation and annihilation, formal efforts to eliminate discrimination started to appear in the late 1960’s in response to societal activism and legislative mandate. Initially it was assumed that if white women, African-Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, Asians and other people of color gained access to jobs, they would advance equally with white men. The “hierarchical progression of a diverse mix of employees” however, is still generally untrue (Ivancevich & Gilbert, 2000). The need to further develop leadership research as it pertains to under-represented groups remains imperative. To continue with the assumption that leadership theory developed from a Caucasian, dominant cultural perspective is generalizable to other groups is a narrow and ethnocentric way of thinking.
CHAPTER II

Literature Overview: Framing the Study

The primary focus of this study was the leadership perspectives and characteristics of the Lakota. In order to provide a framework for this study, it was important to understand the need for a more interculturally sensitive and ethnorelative approach to leadership study, as well as the history of oral tradition within many indigenous tribes. “Intercultural sensitivity is not natural. Cross-cultural contact usually has been accompanied by bloodshed, oppression or genocide” (Bennett, 1993).

Generally, there have been two predominant paradoxical viewpoints about the cultural integration of diverse populations in the United States. One view is referred to as the ‘melting pot’ and proposes that people of different races and ethnicities should blend together and assimilate into a common national culture. This attitude has been explicitly demonstrated historically in regard to the indigenous people of the U.S. The other philosophy is designated as the ‘multicultural society’ and suggests that those of different groups should retain their cultural patterns and coexist with each other (Ivancevich & Gilbert, 2000). According to Bennett (1993), this would necessitate that individuals and society move towards a more ethnorelative perspective.

Traditionally, however, leadership studies have focused on dominant, mainstream individuals and organizations, demonstrating a more ethnocentric outlook (Cox, 1993). Research suggests that using a narrow view of race, diversity and gender results in an incomplete transformation of organizational culture (Thomas, 1991). In cultural research,
the importance of perceiving cultural similarities has “led to the basis for interaction; perceiving differences leads to a basis for out-group rejection” (Bennett, 1993, p. 5). Once new cultural differences are identified, and “once they are defined as cultural, they will be treated in more or less the same way as familiar differences” (Bennett, 1993, p. 7). Awareness of racial/ethnic, gender, and sexual orientation differences has been cited as an important element of relationship development, including professional and therapeutic (Gatmon, Jackson, Koshkarian, Martos-Perry, Molina, Patel, et al., 2001). According to Gatmon et al. (2001) most of the research regarding multicultural supervision and leadership has been theoretical, with little focused on under-represented groups. “People have consistently shielded themselves, segregated themselves, even fortified themselves, against wide differences in modes of perception or expression” (Bennett, 1993). Maintaining a research tradition of theory development exclusively from a dominant cultural perspective only enables more ethnocentric thinking and dominant cultural biased systems. For indigenous people who have been persecuted for their differences, this can be especially true (Deloria, 1970).

Mainstream dominant society has also negated oral tradition, common within the Lakota and other Native people, as a legitimate means of passing on historical, cultural, and traditional teachings. Until recently, researchers have been slow to recognize and value oral tradition (Ambler, 1995). To deal effectively with the history, as well as understand how the historical context has impacted indigenous culture, traditions, leadership and tribal systems, depending solely on literature may be only as accurate as the third party’s written interpretation (Deloria 1970; Hart, 2004; Reinhardt, 2007). Creswell (1998) describes oral history as “an approach in which the researcher gathers
personal recollections of events, their causes, and their effects” from an individual or individuals (p. 49). Fleet (2000) wrote, “during the course of the last several centuries, oral tradition has continued in an unbroken chain for many peoples and this sometimes conflicts with written records documented by settlers, missionaries and anthropologists” (p. 4). Vine Deloria Jr. (1970), a Sioux writer wrote, “we have come from an oral culture” (p. 30). Ella Deloria (1944/1998) described the ‘formal education’ of Native youth as being centered in the tribal ceremonies. These ‘sermons’ recited emphasized the ideals, history, culture and lessons that each generation felt were vital to implant in the minds of the children. Thus, consideration and use of oral tradition and history is crucial to understanding contemporary leadership perspectives of indigenous groups.

**Native American Leadership**

To date, there is very little research pertaining to the leadership qualities of Native Americans. What literature that is available can be characterized as case studies of historical figures including Crazy Horse (Marshall, 2009), Sitting Bull (Utley, 1994), Red Cloud (Paul, 1997), Crow Dog (Crow Dog & Erdoes, 1995) and others; or events such as the siege of Wounded Knee (Lyman, 1991) or the Battle of Little Big Horn (Marshall III, 2007; Donovan, 2008). Recent studies of Native American and Hispanic grassroots leadership observed that many individuals made references to their cultural and racial/ethnic identities and history as being extremely important in their leadership perspectives (Prindeville, 2002). Participants discussed at length the barriers they overcame; a number of them still spoke their native languages at home, while others had
been strongly encouraged not to, having been told “it would interfere with their ability to speak English well, potentially harming their opportunities for success in the dominant Anglo culture” (Prindeville, 2002, p. 73). Participants also conveyed other obstacles, including stereotypes and discrimination on the part of mainstream society, verses the dichotomous juggling they encountered with their own cultural practices. The majority of the participants in Prindeville’s (2002) study discussed their socialization at an early age regarding the cultural importance of individual responsibility, commitment and societal responsibility, and the need to engage in their community’s affairs.

Another aspect of this dichotomous cultural concurrence that many Native Americas deal with is in regard to spirituality. Many Lakota, like other Native Americans, were forced to attend Indian boarding schools to “civilize them” (Adams, 1995). As such, “Christian education and becoming civilized” were the preferred means by the U.S. Government to “advance” Natives and prepare them for “American life” (Coleman, 1993, p. 57). According to Cao (2006), religious institutions have been an important dynamic in the lives of new immigrants, and Indigenous people, both as a venue of ethnic reproduction and as a force for assimilation and change. Thus, many Indigenous people observe both traditional and Christian practices in their daily lives (Pickering, 2000; Brown, 2007).

A longitudinal study by Straus and Valentino (2002) looked at the leadership of an urban Indian community in Chicago. While specific leadership qualities were not considered, the study identified individuals like Theresa Robbins (Sioux) who believed in the need to “bring some Indian people together in an organization of their own to try and
counteract some of the bad influences…and to reduce the suspicion that this group holds towards ‘white people’ and white institutions” (Straus & Valentino, 2002, p. 525). The study noted the shift in Native leadership from men to women in the Chicago Indian community from 1920-1960. While the researchers stated predominantly more women than men currently were serving in urban community leadership roles, they predicted a shift back to a more male dominated regime may be coming. “By 1990, every one of the more than fifteen existing organizations, including the American Indian Center and the Saint Augustine’s Center, was run by a woman” (Straus & Valentine, 2003, p. 530). This may have occurred due to the increase in rates of women as single parents, and the need for women to actively advocate for their families. Pickering (2000), however, observed a different situation on the reservation. “Some Lakota women feel that the current gender inequality on the reservation is a product of Euro-American influences” (p. 79). Pickering (2000) reported that men nominally head several institutions on the reservation, but women with less prestigious titles and lower pay do most of the work. This may be due to the assimilationist belief that women are not to be in the spotlight but rather in supportive positions.

Still, some researchers have recognized the need to better understand and incorporate Native traditions and practices, especially in working with other Natives. The majority of this research has been done in the fields of healthcare and mental health. For instance, Nichols (2004) studied Native American leadership in nursing. Specifically, addressing the necessity for more Indian nurses to be trained and developed as leaders to better advocate for Native healthcare practices. Nichols (2004) wrote “it is important to consider those aspects of Native American culture that may influence leadership styles”
(p. 178). As Nichols points out, there is limited research and information on Native American leadership. In her qualitative study, Nichols (2004) was able to identify three themes through focus group discussions: 1) orientation (point of reference), which she described as “being individual oriented, being ‘personable’, and ‘having good rapport’”; 2) what a leader is, was depicted as being more humanistic and spiritual than others; and 3) what a leader does, was described as being less differentiated by what they do and more by what they are (p. 180-181). Nichols (2004) concluded Native American nurse leaders lead differently than non-Native leaders, and are apt to be more successful in Native healthcare than non-Indians.

**Historical leadership perspective**

Historically, leadership study has evolved through different perspectives, few of which have addressed non-mainstream viewpoints. Initially, leadership philosophers maintained that not only were leaders born into power, but that they also needed to possess specific attributes to be successful (Bass, 1995). Philosophers such as Confucius, Plato, Agamemnon, Aristotle, Lao-tzu, and Machiavelli all deliberated over how leaders must behave in order to be successful and true to their following (Bass, 1995).

W.E.B. Du Bois (1995) in his prose on leadership put forth the idea of the “talented tenth” to further the survival and development of people of color. “From the very first it has been the educated and intelligent of the Negro people that have led and elevated the mass, and the sole obstacles that nullified and retarded their efforts were
slavery and race prejudice” (Du Bois, 1995, p. 79). Du Bois posited that it is the talented tenth that “pulls all that are worth the saving up to their vantage ground” and, therefore, should be educated, not just in college, but also in “human education” from home and those around them. According to Du Bois (1995), these talented individuals must be made the “leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people” (p. 80). While Du Bois was referring to African-Americans, there is some consideration that these ideals apply to other people of color as well.

The scientific study of leadership can be divided into three periods: the trait period, from approximately 1920 to World War II; the behavioral period, from World War II to the late 1960’s, and the contingency period, from the 1960’s to the present (Chemers, 1995). For early leadership scholars, leadership emergence and effectiveness was believed to originate from the differences between leaders’ and followers’ traits. Somehow, researchers felt leaders possessed or developed traits that were uniquely different from others. Thus, the rise of personality tests, measures of dominance, social sensitivity, and self efficacy among others, were employed in search of the “leadership trait” that set individuals apart (Chemers, 1995). Stogdill reviewed a number of these traits studies and determined that there was no pattern or consistency with leadership and traits. Thus, Stogdill concluded that traits alone do not identify leadership, but instead suggested that personal and situational characteristics were integrated (Bass, 1990).

The growing emphasis on behaviorism in psychology as well as the failure of trait theory moved leadership study in a new direction. Lewin’s (1939) research on classic leadership styles helped advance the definition of leadership in terms of leadership styles.
Thus, behavioral studies moved from the emphasis on the internal state of leaders (i.e. their personalities, motivations or values) to a more basic question and study of what leaders actually do. The downfall of both the trait and behavioral research focus was the premise that there is “one best” style of leadership. Scholars had yet to recognize that no single style of leadership is universally best or conducive across all situations and environments (Chemers, 1995). All of the leadership theories to this point were regarded as “leader oriented” approaches, focusing their attention on the leader’s behaviors and attitudes. One of the realizations to come from these two periods of leadership was the legitimization of leadership as a social process or exchange. From this recognition came the development of leader-follower exchange models such as the Vertical Dyad Linkage model (Chemers, 1995).

More recently, perception and cognition have begun to play a role in leadership research. Attribution theory, which is related to cognitive processes that underlie interpersonal judgments, has influenced social psychology and leadership studies. One of the interpersonal judgments is the tendency for followers to develop causal explanations for leaders’ behaviors. These explanations are generally centered on the perception that the behavior was determined by internal factors such as motivation or ability, or external factors such as role demands or situational forces. Followers’ interpersonal judgments are filtered through a variety of factors including their own cultures, past experiences, relationship with the leader, organizational culture, as well as personalities. Ayman and Chemers (1983) found that the structure of “leader-behavior ratings depends more on the culture of the raters than on the behavior of the leader” (as cited in Chemers, 1995, p. 93).
Theoretical leadership perspective

Of late, the more accepted and heavily researched areas of leadership theory are Transformational, Full-Range and Servant leadership (Bass, 2000). As a part of these key leadership theories, a number of other models have evolved filling some of the initial gaps by addressing other facets such as spiritual leadership, leader-member exchange, authentic leadership, and others. In these extended models, more focus has been placed on dynamics such as values, morals, ethics, interaction between leader and follower, as well as recognition of the need to address the “whole” person in organizations.

In transformational and transactional leadership, Burns (1978) originally wrote that leadership is “leaders inducing followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and the motivations - the wants and needs, the aspirations and expectations - of both leaders and followers” (as cited in Wren, 1995, p. 100). According to Burns (1978), the leader is not merely wielding power, but appealing to the values of the follower. Burns (1978) insists that for leaders to have the greatest impact on the “led,” they must motivate followers to action by appealing to shared values and by satisfying the higher order needs of the led, such as their aspirations and expectations (Wren, 1995, p. 102). Bass (1985) said, “. . . transforming leadership ultimately becomes moral in that it raises the level of human conduct and ethical aspiration of both leader and the led, and thus it has a transforming effect on both” (p. 23). The transformational leadership model has four dimensions: individualized consideration, which involves more one-on-one compassionate leadership; intellectual stimulation, or encouraging thinking ‘outside of
the box’; inspirational motivation, which entails exciting the masses and having a shared vision; an idealized influence which requires “walking the walk” (Bass & Avolio, 1994).

Full-Range leadership extends Burn’s earlier work, expanding the “management” functions or behaviors. Included in the Full-Range model are the behaviors of laissez-faire, or hands off leadership; management by exception (passive and aggressive) which generally constitutes actions more focused on ‘putting out fires’ and micromanaging others; and contingent reward, which has to do with an exchange (generally monetary) for work. These leadership behaviors are typically placed in the “management” aspect of leadership, or those behaviors that solicit only the basics from followers (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999).

Another leadership theory which is based more on the followers’ point of view and their agendas is Servant Leadership. This term was coined by Robert Greenleaf (1970; 1977; 1996) in his seminal works where he defined a servant leader.

It begins with the natural feeling that one wants to serve, to serve first. Then conscious choice brings one to aspire to lead. The difference manifests itself in the care taken by the servant—first to make sure that other people’s highest priority needs are being served. The best test is: Do those served grow as persons; do they, while being served, become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, more likely themselves to become servants? (p. 1-2)
Servant leaders are described as categorically wise, and their decision processes and service orientations appear to be vehicles for invoking organizational wisdom, described as the meshing of applied knowledge and informed experience to make optimal and altruistic choices (Barbuto & Wheeler, 2006). In his writings, Greenleaf (1996) identified ten potential characteristics of servant leadership: listening, empathy, healing, awareness, persuasion, conceptualization, foresight, stewardship, growth, and community building. An eleventh characteristic, calling, was operationalized due to the intrinsic implication from Greenleaf’s work (Barbuto & Wheeler, 2006). Barbuto and Wheeler (2006) operationalized these into five subscales: altruistic calling, emotional healing, wisdom, persuasive mapping, and organizational stewardship.

_Gaps in the Literature_

According to Smith (2002), formal written literature on Native American leadership is almost non-existent. In her article, Nichols (2004) argues for “culturally appropriate techniques” for leadership development for those working with Native Americans (p. 182). She goes on to say that because Native American leadership is viewed and exercised differently, traditional (Western) methods for identifying, developing and supporting natural leaders within the Indian community may be inappropriate for a Native tribal health care system. Marshall (2009) believes that society has failed to recognize that there “is a difference between the appearance and the reality of being a leader” (p. 3). Others have called American research, especially regarding psychology and leadership studies as being “culture bound”, and “culture blind”
Chemers (1995) posits that the generalizability of research findings is limited by the fact that the majority of the research is conducted with European or American samples, and that it rarely compares cultures, especially those that are non-Caucasian and not mainstream. Chemers (1995) also points out that “this problem becomes more salient when we attempt to export our theories and training programs to cultures which are different from those in which they theories were developed” (p. 94).

Cross-cultural research can benefit leadership studies in a number of ways. First, comparative studies can show researchers the generalizability of research theories. Second, they can help scholars recognize the inherent limitations in the application to other cultures. Third, comparative studies can help push researchers, and perhaps in turn society, past an ethnocentric view of leadership. Last, cross-cultural studies can provide a much broader range of variables which may highlight relationships and dynamics previously ignored (Ayman, & Chemers, 1983).

To better understand leadership characteristics of Native Americans in urban and reservation settings, this researcher conducted a qualitative pilot study. This preliminary research explored the potential uniqueness of modern Native leadership, without placing the initial bias of previous mainstream theoretical implications on the population. Initial results showed that Lakota leadership may be different than current leadership theory. Currently, little if any leadership research has acknowledged the possibility of sub-cultures having different leadership qualities than their mainstream counterparts. Thus, the intent of this qualitative study was to describe what leadership qualities reservation and urban Lakota think are important for their leaders to possess. This study is unique in
that it focuses specifically on the current leadership qualities of the Lakota. Because participants defined successful leadership for themselves, a more unbiased, non-white, mainstream perspective was obtained. Secondly, the intent of this study was to capture a broader view of leadership. Past research focused on a historical or gender lens regarding Native American leadership, and has typically entailed the use of case study. This study did not adopt a gender or generational approach. For the purposes of this research, Lakota leadership qualities were generally defined as those characteristics, traits and behaviors that leaders and followers believe are advantageous to individuals in motivating and inspiring those around them.

**Literature Limitations**

Despite the dirth of research on leadership processes, and the avalanche of government, corporate, and individual support for encouraging and managing diversity, “there continues to be a clear failure to display rigorous systematic empirical support of its outcomes” (Ivancevich & Gilbert, 2000). To date, no studies have been found which focused solely on the leadership characteristics and perspectives of current tribal leadership.

Additionally, leadership research has experienced a serious case of myopia when investigating cross-cultural issues. Cross-cultural leadership has been explored in organizational contexts (Ayman & Chemers, 1983; House, Wright, & Aditya, 1997; Dickson, Den Hartog, & Mitchelson, 2003; Sullivan, 2006), but the examination of cross-
cultural leadership in communities, or from a minority perspective, has been severely neglected. This neglect has resulted in a sizeable gap in the leadership literature at a time when minority groups are becoming more integrated within mainstream society. Scholars such as Graen (1999) have discussed the need for international, organizational leaders who have the ability to transcend culture, for successful global leadership. While these abilities are believed to be important, some research in political leadership has uncovered difficulties associated with leading multiracial communities (Shaw & Spence, 2004). However, these studies have been limited to urban populations and neglected to conduct the research from the minority perspective.

Summary

Leadership research has made great advancements in understanding the attributes that create and predict successful leadership in organizations and mainstream society. Unfortunately, for those who are on the cusp of dominant society, whether under-represented or unnoticed, being placed into a leadership model developed with and for the dominant society is limiting at best. For organizations who work with and employ a diversity of people, having a better understanding of under-represented groups leadership qualities and preferences will aid in conveying changes that are needed in employee relations and satisfaction, as well as creating a less ethnocentric organizational culture and philosophy. Therefore, it is important to study non-mainstream groups such as the Lakota in a manner which allows for their voice and perceptions to be heard and considered.
CHAPTER III

Methodology

The dominance of white society led to the belief that one method of historical proceeding was better or more reliable than the other, essentially dismissing Native history and custom. Until recently, academics, historians and scholars negated Native American’s long established oral tradition as an inappropriate and insignificant method of chronicling events. This perspective is changing, first, due to academia recognizing the need for other more ethnographic and narrative forms of research (Kidwell, 2009). The second premise is that in historical contact between Native American and European cultures, the story should be told from both perspectives. Recently, this second premise led to an acceptance of oral traditions and oral history as valid sources of historical information about human actions, motivations, and perspectives (Kidwell, 2009).

Qualitative research methodology was used to study Native leadership characteristics, traits, and behaviors from a Lakota perspective. Traditionally the Lakota, like other indigenous tribes, are an oral society. Oral societies pass traditions, language, customs, and practices from generation to generation in spoken form over hundreds of years, and it wasn’t until the influence of Western society that the written word was used (Deloria, 1970; Deloria, 1944/1998; Kidwell, 2009).

Although sociologist Russell Thornton (1998) denied that academic disciplines have any formal structure, Deloria (1970) disagreed, stating that “Western man has systematically divided his knowledge of the world into disciplines having academic
status” (p. 19). Thus, it seems that each discipline establishes an epistemology or a systematic way of defining human knowledge. “Anthropology has generally assumed that there is a basic uniformity in human behavior that underlies the variations of culture. History has assumed that cause-and-effect relationships in past human experience can be revealed through written records. Literary studies assume that the written word carries some coherent meaning” (Kidwell, 2009, p. 3). Due to this limited perspective, using a quantitative method could easily negate or overlook the very nature in which Indigenous peoples have led themselves. Thus, using predefined leadership instruments and theories in this study could have overlooked and ignored idiosyncrasies unique to the Lakota. Due to the nature of the study, and the purpose of identifying Lakota leadership characteristics, qualitative grounded theory research was employed.

**Grounded Theory**

Grounded theory was developed by Glaser and Strauss, two sociologists who devised this process of qualitative research in the late 1960’s (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Grounded theory has evolved over the last forty years and different procedures have emerged in the execution of the design. However, there is a basic purpose inherent in all procedures of grounded theory-they all emphasize the meaning that study participants ascribe to the phenomenon under investigation with the intent of forming or elaborating theory (Creswell, 2008). The strength of the grounded theory design is that although its focus is on allowing the study participants to relate their stories about the phenomenon under investigation, its rigorous, methodical system of execution lends reliability to what
has historically been seen by quantitative researchers as unreliable (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Dey, 1999; Creswell, 2003, 2008).

The intent of a grounded theory study is to “generate or discover a theory that relates to a particular situation” (Creswell, 1998, p. 56). Strauss and Corbin (1998) believe that theories should be “grounded” in the data from the field, stemming directly from the actions, interactions, and social processes of the people. Several major tenets of grounded theory research have been established regarding the role of the researcher in methods, sampling, data collection, and data analysis procedures (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Creswell, 2003). These will be addressed in the following sections.

_Critical Paradigm_

Given the historical oppression of the Lakota by dominant society, the use of a grounded theory, critical paradigm research method was implemented. “For critical theorists, the material world is made up of historically situated structures that have a real impact on the life chances of individuals” (Hatch, 2002, p. 16). As part of the epistemology of this investigative method, it is understood that the values of the researcher will inevitably influence the inquiry (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The purpose of this kind of inquiry is to raise the consciousness of the oppressed “because of historically situated structures tied to race, gender and class” (Hatch, 2002, p. 17). With this consciousness raising comes the opportunity to give participants a voice, but also the potential of providing understandings that can lead to social change. Critical paradigm
research produces “critiques of the perceived material world in an effort to expose the structures that ensure the maintenance of those in power” (Hatch, 2002, p. 17). The object is to reveal to others the kinds and extent of oppression by those that are being studied. With this awareness comes solidarity and transformation.

Approaches to research which focus on cause-and-effect or hypothesis-testing, because of their deductive nature, would not be suitable for a researcher operating from the critical paradigm (Creswell, 2003). Critical researchers need an approach which allows freedom to interpret data based on the meaning ascribed to it by the research participants; they need to induce, rather than deduce (Creswell, 2003). A qualitative approach to research, because of its inductive nature, embodies the spirit of the critical paradigm perspective and is the most suitable approach for the interpretive character of constructivism (Creswell, 2003).

Role of the Researcher

According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), the role of the researcher in a grounded theory is one of scientist as well as artist. As a scientist, the researcher must be vigilant throughout the process, examining the data carefully with an open mind and grounding the analysis in the data, avoiding preconceived notions about the phenomenon under investigation (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). As an artist, the researcher must be able to “…aptly name categories, ask stimulating questions, make comparisons, and extract an
innovative, integrated, realistic scheme from masses of unorganized, raw data” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 13).

As Hatch (2002) discusses, often participants “do not know how to be studied” (p. 51). Thus, the researcher using grounded theory methodology should have the ability to communicate considerately and intuitively with the study participants in order to establish rapport, interpret subtleties, and process all of the visible and invisible contextual variables (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). It is the researcher who must make and implement a plan to help participants “be studied” (Hatch, 2002). This understanding can be enhanced by the personal experiences of the researcher.

Working with Native Americans, and more specifically the Lakota, during preparation and ceremony, has greatly enhanced my sensitivity to the leadership paradoxes involved for reservation and non-reservation Lakota. As a student of leadership, I have observed how few under-represented groups hold key leadership dominant society positions such as elected office, corporations, and other influential roles. As of the 2000 census, there were 4,119,301 individuals who declared racial affiliation with a Native American tribe; 153,360 of which were Sioux (U.S. Census Bureau). In the history of the United States Congress, only six Native Americans have been elected to either the Senate or the House of Representatives (Biographical Directory of the United States Congress). Through personal experiences, I have observed how Native Americans have been forced to walk a paradoxical road: one of their culture and tradition, with responsibility to extended family, and expectations to display humility, generosity, and quiet strength; as well as that of mainstream society, with more emphasis
placed on getting ahead, looking out for self, and being outspoken. These experiences further explain the inconsistent messages that many Native people have to navigate. This disparity between traditional tribal customs and beliefs has long paralleled a life of poverty, oppression, and struggle, to that of mainstream society, seemingly offering more opportunity, at the expense of connection with family. As Charles Eastman (1991) so eloquently pointed out, after living in mainstream society he was seen as being “too Indian to be white, and too white to be Indian” (p. 289).

Strauss and Corbin (1998) recognize that every researcher enters his/her investigation with certain preconceived ideas which help them to become engaged in their studies. Thus, personal experiences generated certain beliefs and values which were likely reflected in this research. These beliefs and values are expressed in the following assumptions from which I approached this study:

1. Though I am a non-Native American I established rapport with Lakota participants in working with Native Americans for the past nine years.

2. Having previously conducted a pilot study on Lakota leadership, I found individuals who were willing to share their perceptions of this phenomenon.

3. Leadership from an under-represented group is a personal process which is constructed by the individuals involved. How that process is interpreted was different for each person and was obtained through individual interviews.
4. Because I established relationships in urban and reservation settings, I could execute data collection and analysis for the particular kind of qualitative study that was conducted.

*Theoretical Sampling*

Sampling in the grounded theory design is purposeful and intentional rather than random (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Creswell, 2003, 2008). Participants were selected because they were actively involved in the process or understood the central phenomenon of the study (Lakota Leadership) and were able to construct narratives that were pertinent in generating theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Creswell, 2003, 2008). Since the purpose of this study was to explore the leadership characteristics of the Lakota, finding participants who were enrolled members of a Lakota Tribe, varied in gender, socio-economic status, and education assisted in obtaining the largest picture of the complex phenomenon. At this time, participants were those enrolled members of a Lakota Tribe known by the researcher. Contact also was made by phone to tribal government employees for potential participants in anticipation of snowball sampling. The initial criteria of research participants was that of an enrolled member, nineteen years of age or older, who had knowledge of Lakota leadership qualities, and who was willing to participate in a digitally-recorded interview. This sampling method is consistent with homogenous sampling, however, the potential for opportunistic and concept sampling also existed in this study (Creswell, 2008).
Data Collection

Data collection and data analysis in the grounded theory design proceed simultaneously through a process called constant comparison (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Creswell, 2003, 2008). In this process, the researcher collects data and immediately initiates data analysis to determine what additional information needs to be gathered (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Creswell, 2003, 2008). This progression of data collection and analysis continues until the new data stops providing novel, useful information. In this study, the data collection and analysis commenced until the data ceased to provide new information on Lakota leadership qualities. In this study, data saturation was reached at nine participants. The tenth participant was interviewed as a means of verifying data saturation. The process of data collection in this study falls into two categories: 1) in-depth interviews with participants that were digitally tape-recorded and transcribed, verified by participants, and then read by an outside auditor to review the thematic content of the interviews, and 2) focus group sessions to further explore leadership qualities identified by the participants. In this study, multiple participants, several sites and two methods of data collection provided opportunity for triangulation which is an important way to increase the accuracy and credibility of theory development in qualitative research.
Research Participants

This exploration into Lakota leadership was conducted in several settings. First, urban participants were contacted in a moderately sized, mid-western city in southeastern Nebraska where the researcher had access to an urban Indian center and enrolled members of a Lakota tribe. A second location on the Rosebud Reservation in south central South Dakota was also chosen. The Rosebud Sioux Reservation is located in south central South Dakota and borders the Pine Ridge Reservation on its northwest corner and Nebraska to the south. The Reservation has a total area of 922,759 acres (1,442 sq. mi.) and covers 5,961 square miles. The Tribal headquarters is located in Rosebud, South Dakota. Included in the Reservation are 20 communities including Ideal, Winner, Butte Creek, Okreek, Antelope, Ring Thunder, Soldier Creek, St. Francis (Owl Bonnet), Spring Creek, Two Strike, Grass Mountain, Upper Cut Meat, Swift Bear, Parmelee, Rosebud, Black Pipe, He Dog, Corn Creek, Horse Creek, Bull Creek, and Milks Camp (Rosebud Sioux Tribe). Prior to the investigation, the researcher had contacted and developed relationships with residents in the towns of Rosebud, St. Francis, and Mission, South Dakota.

Creswell (2008) offers several suggestions for selecting an appropriate research site. First, entry into the research site(s) must be possible providing the necessary participants. Second, processes which contribute to the phenomenon under investigation must be present. Last, the researcher must be able to develop an appropriate role and relationships. Both of these sites fit the research criteria.
As mentioned previously, I have been traveling to the Rosebud Sioux Reservation for approximately nine years. Thus, I was familiar with people on the reservation. To further establish rapport and credibility with the individuals that participated in the study, I spent time with them in community settings, having meals and conversation, as well as participating in ceremony with them. When I approached residents concerning contributing to this leadership exploration, many of the participants were very accommodating. Several even referred me to other individuals to recruit more participants. These long-term positive relationships as well as my willingness to contribute to community helped me establish the necessary rapport with participants in the study.

The participants in this study were all enrolled Lakota tribal members and ranged from 33 to 72 years of age. All spoke Lakota to some degree, with four completely fluent in both English and Lakota, and one having knowledge of a third language, Spanish. While all of the participants have lived off of the reservation, at the time of the study four of the participants were residing on Rosebud Reservation. Of the ten participants, six were female, four male; and all except one participant had received education past high school. Two participants received graduate degrees. Table I shows the demographics for the participants.
Table I

Demographics of Research Participants

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Highest Level of Education</th>
<th>Language Ability</th>
<th>Current Residence</th>
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<td>B.A.</td>
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<td>B.A.</td>
<td>Bi-lingual</td>
<td>Rosebud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant I</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>A.A.</td>
<td>Bi-lingual</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant J</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>English*</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.
*Not fluent in Lakota
**Speaks a third language

Interviews and Focus Groups

Ten semi-structured interviews were conducted; the interviews averaged 69 minutes in length. Interviews started with the central question, and as categories began to emerge from the data, interview questions were modified, consistent with qualitative research methods. When I scheduled each interview, I asked participants to choose a setting in which they felt most comfortable. Of the ten interviews, eight were held in the participants’ homes, one was held in the participant’s place of employment, and one in a city park. I digitally taped the interviews with participants’ permission, as well as took notes recording my thoughts and feelings as the interview progressed. It should be noted that I deviated from the protocol to some degree in every interview, in a conscious effort
to stay open to the flow of the conversation, paying attention to what was important for each participant to discuss, and what was needed in the given situation. This deviation entailed asking the central question, and allowing each participant to discuss their perspective. At times, sub-questions followed if that had not already been covered by the participants’ dialogue. Clarification questions also were asked if needed.

After initial interviews were conducted, two informal focus groups were formed to elicit interaction among participants to further clarify thematic content. Focus groups consisted of individuals who had been previously interviewed, and who were interested in continuing the discussion. Hatch (2002) commented that “the hallmark of focus groups is their explicit use of the group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group” (p. 24). Focus group interviews are often used in qualitative research to further supplement other data (Hatch, 2002). After each interview, recordings were transcribed for future analysis. Interview question modifications included:

1. Sub-question #1: (regarding leadership qualities) was found to be confusing. It was re-worded to “Can you tell me about someone who you feel is a good leader?”
2. Sub-question #2: (regarding differences between reservation and urban leaders) was eliminated due to negligible findings.
3. Sub-question #4: (regarding gender differences in Lakota leadership) was re-worded to “Do you see any differences or similarities between men and women as leaders?”
4. Sub-question #5 was re-worded to “How has leadership changed for the Lakota?”

5. Sub-question #6 was shortened and re-worded to “Do you think there any barriers to leadership for the Lakota?”

6. A sub-question asking about leaders who have met with personal struggles was asked as a follow up to the central question.

Data Analysis

The data analysis phase of this investigation followed the systematic procedures for grounded theory data analysis outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1998). These procedures include the use of open, axial, and selective coding which impart rigor and accuracy to the data analysis process (Creswell, 2008). Initially, interviews were transcribed by a professional transcriptionist (See Appendix E for Transcription Confidentiality Disclosure Agreement). After transcripts were received, all data passed through two stages of coding analysis. First, all interview transcripts were thoroughly read. Then, as a part of second reading, transcripts were coded by hand as recommended by Lincoln and Guba (1985), looking for subcategories following the open coding system of segmenting information. Second, axial coding was used to assemble the data in new ways after open coding (Creswell, 1998). Last, the researcher developed a cultural portrait from the themes; that pulled together all of the aspects learned about the Lakota and their leadership perspectives (Creswell, 1998).
Open Coding

Initially, data analysis consisted primarily of categorizing and sorting the interview data. The process of open coding is one in which the data is read, taken apart and reconfigured through the identification and categorization of the phenomena which emerged from the interview transcripts. During this process each transcript is read to gain a central concept or “essence” of the interview. This central concept emerges and sub-categories flow from the data forming a picture or story surrounding the central concept. Each transcript follows this process of analysis and the researcher bases initial categories and sub-categories on data comparisons. This open coding resulted in the generation of over-arching categories and sub-categories (Creswell, 2008). It is through the concurrent collection and analysis of data that more focused sampling occurred. This, in turn, created more fully developed emerging categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This process is known as a constant comparative analysis and forms the bedrock of the entire grounded theory method (Creswell, 2008).

Axial Coding

In the second phase, axial coding, the researcher selected one open code category, and related the other categories to it. This phase involves drawing a diagram called a coding paradigm, which “portrays the interrelationship of causal conditions, strategies, contextual and intervening conditions and consequences” (Creswell, 2008, p. 434). In this
phase, redundant categories and codes were eliminated, and casual conditions (categories of conditions that influence the core category), context, (specific conditions that influence the strategies), core categories or themes (the idea central to the process), intervening conditions (the general contextual conditions that influence strategies), strategies (the specific actions or interventions that result from the core phenomenon), and consequences (the outcomes of employing the strategies) were evaluated (Creswell, 2008). (See Figure I for coding paradigm.)

Selective Coding

The third phase of coding the qualitative data included creating a cultural portrait. This phase consists of pulling together all the aspects learned from the relationship of the categories from the axial coding model. Glaser (1992) stresses the importance of allowing a theory to emerge from the data rather than using specific, preset categories. The objective for data analysis was to explain a “basic social process”, and more specifically, the views, values, beliefs, assumptions, and ideologies of the individual Lakota participants, “rather than gathering facts” (Creswell, 2008, p. 439). During this third phase of coding, further development of thematic relationships was explored. Thus, it was the role of the researcher during data analysis and verification to maintain an open and objective perspective, as well as attempt to preserve the cultural perspective of the participants.
Verification of Data

A rigorous, reliable, and valid investigation should be the objective of every researcher, especially for the qualitative researcher. Creswell (2008) posits qualitative inquiry is still largely misunderstood by those trained in the strictly positivist quantitative research methods. Thus, it is especially important for the qualitative researcher to carefully demonstrate how the data are validated and verified. Lincoln and Guba (1985), Strauss and Corbin (1998), and Creswell (2008), among others, have methodically explored the issues of validity and reliability in qualitative studies. As such there are various methods used to corroborate data in qualitative inquiry. Creswell (2008) suggests three methods for establishing validity in qualitative research: triangulation, member checking, and auditing. To help assure validity in this study, all three of these measures were utilized.

**Triangulation**

All of the categories or themes were verified through the use of triangulation processes. This procedure entailed corroborating codes and themes from several different individuals. Thus, if a statement was made by one participant, but not found in any of the other interviews, it was not used as verified data. This method ensures the accuracy of the study because the information draws on multiple sources. Of the six major themes, and five minor themes, all had at least three participants that corroborated the findings. Several of the categories had 100% participant confirmation.
Member Checking

Validity for this exploration of Lakota leadership also came in the form of member checking. In this process, the researcher asked several participants from the study to check the accuracy of the data interpretation. A number of discussions regarding the stories, category descriptions and their relationships, verbiage used, and researcher interpretations were made to maintain the integrity of the participants’ perspectives. Due to the nature of this study, not only were category descriptions and relationships constantly being member checked, but use of Lakota terms, their meaning and interpretation, spelling and diacritics, as well as cultural stories were also part of this process. Due to the nature of an oral society, stories that could be verified through published works from Lakota authors were also used where possible. While a number of “Native” books are written about Indigenous people, a number of these were completed by non-Native authors. When available, books by Native authors were used.

External Auditing

The last method of data validation came in the form of an external auditor. A colleague who was not part of the researcher’s committee, but who was knowledgeable regarding the study, reviewed different aspects of the data analysis process. Initial auditing began with the comparison of codes between the researcher and the auditor for validation purposes. It was found that there was 91% consistency between codes for the first stage of the audit. The second stage came in the form of a major and minor code
discussion. Questions such as “Were the findings grounded in the data?”, “Were the inferences logical?”, “Are the themes appropriate?” were considered by the external auditor as recommended by Schwandt and Halpern (1988). Themes and codes were therefore verified as having come from the data. (See Appendix F for external audit form).
CHAPTER IV

Data Analysis Results

Purpose

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore Lakota leadership qualities in urban and reservation settings. Using a critical grounded theory approach (Hatch, 2002, p. 16), this study attempted to extend current leadership theory by giving voice to non-mainstream individuals in exploring leadership from a Lakota perspective. The central question for the study was: What leadership characteristics are needed to be a successful leader?

The sub-questions guiding this study included:

1. Can you tell me about someone who you feel is a good leader?
2. Do you see Native leadership qualities as being different from other leadership characteristics? (If so, how are they different?)
3. Do you see any differences or similarities between men and women as leaders?
4. How leadership has changed for the Lakota?
5. What types of leadership qualities do you see as being important in the future?
6. Do you think there any barriers to leadership for the Lakota?
A total of ten individuals shared their thoughts, feelings, experiences and stories about their leadership observations and encounters. This chapter focuses on the central phenomenon and its aspects that were uncovered during this investigation, as well as the underlying themes, their dimensions, and a detailed description of the dynamics that influence Lakota leadership. These categories, their dimensions, properties, and their interrelationships are depicted in Figure I.

Figure I

Coding Paradigm for Core Category
Central Phenomenon

While the central phenomenon of this exploratory study was Lakota Leadership, several key findings helped shape the final conclusions. First, a major thread embedded throughout the interviews was the concept of cultural identity. All of the participants discussed at length their identification as a Lakota, and as such, all of the answers and conversation concerning any of the other themes and concepts were considered from a Lakota identity perspective. This cultural identification was not lessened depending on where participants lived. Those living in urban settings, were quicker to identify themselves as being Lakota than those living on Rosebud. For all of the participants, discussion of Lakota leadership without including cultural identity was not viable, and would have entailed removing a core element of leadership, rendering it feeble and ineffective.

Initially, there was consideration of making cultural identity its own theme, however, after further reflection the realization that removing “cultural identity” from the other themes would eliminate the richness and color from the other categories, thus negating the connotation of the participants’ comments. Therefore, cultural identity is ingrained in the six major and five minor themes found from data analysis, and will be discussed as a main characteristic within each category.

Secondly, as the investigation into Lakota leadership advanced, there became an awareness of several layers of leadership facets, as well as the ultimate purpose of Lakota leadership. For example, all of the participants talked about core values that they felt leaders should possess, but the čewičaša, the common people, should as well. Four of the
participants also talked about a long-range perspective of leadership, specifically moving the Lakota Nation forward, or “building a nation” with regard to what the future could hold for the oyate, the people. Thus, while Lakota leadership remained the central phenomenon, its components became multi-faceted, and multi-dimensional.

Findings

The qualitative analysis of the ten Lakota participants’ responses regarding leadership qualities resulted in six major thematic categories: (a) Traditional Values and Behaviors; (b) Putting Others First; (c) Lakota Leadership Qualities; (d) The Red Road; (e) Nation Building; and (f) Barriers. In addition, the theme “Lakota Leadership” was divided into sub-categories: (c-1) Women, (c-2) Men, (c-3) Fallen Leaders; and “Nation Building” was sub-divided into (e-1) “Real” Natives, and (e-2) Bi-Cultural. These categories give insight into the qualities participants believe are important for Lakota leaders and community leadership and are discussed in the following section. (See Appendix L for table of Major and Minor Themes and Code examples.)

Traditional Values and Behaviors

For the majority of the participants, traditional values and behaviors are not just something that Lakota leaders possess or do, but rather they are cultural “norms” that have been passed down for generations. While authors have discussed traditional Lakota
“virtues” such as fortitude, compassion, humility and generosity (Deloria, 1988; Mohatt & Eagle Elk, 2000; Pickering, 2000; Marshall, 2001), the participants expanded these original virtues into a way of life that one is persistently pursuing and expecting others to practice. One participant attributed these original virtues to the White Buffalo Calf Woman, who is also recognized as giving the people the original *canṣūpa*, or sacred pipe, which is still in existence (Lame Deer & Erdoes, 1992; Crow Dog & Erdoes, 1995; Mohatt & Eagle Elk, 2000). (See Appendix I for White Buffalo Calf Story.)

Traditional values and behaviors were historically taught by grandparents. Once the Lakota, like other Indigenous tribes, were sent to boarding schools, a number of these values were not emphasized, and thus not as prevalent in the current generations (Trafzer, Keller & Sisquoc, 2006). One participant described the attrition of traditional values: “From 1880 the United States had outlawed everything. And they enforced that in many different ways. St. Francis Mission and boarding school came here in 1876. By the 1930’s, those students had become parents, and they took their kids to school, so parental separation started early”. Because of these assimilative efforts, a number of traditional values and behaviors eroded away, but due to the efforts of a resilient few, these traditional values continue to survive. As one participant stated, for her what constitutes being a respected elder in the traditional sense includes “Being a woman of good virtue, a woman that takes care of others before herself; being honest, compassionate, humble and generous. Those are the requirements of a Native woman.”
Generosity

As with several of the themes, many of the participants gave examples through stories that either they had been taught, or had personally experienced. As an illustration of generosity, one of the more discussed values, one participant told this story: “I have made quilts for people and told them that the quilt was made especially for them. The next day they gave it away in front of me, and I had to realize they thought that much of it to give it to someone else.” Another participant said, “Nothing is too good to give away.”

Two other participants talked about ways to compensate for the loss of a loved one, either through death or through distance, by showing generosity.

I found ways to compensate for my losses of my parents, my brothers and sisters because I find other people who are just like them. There are people out there that are fulfilling that need by just being who they are. One time my son and I went to a pow-wow in Siston, and he was entered in the teen category. He came over to me after Grand Entry and said “there’s a woman who gave me this money”. I asked who the woman was, and we went over and talked to her. She said that she hadn’t been to a pow-wow or any social event in five years, since her grandson died. For some reason she wanted to come and as she was sitting there, she saw her grandson coming in, and she kept watching, and it was him, it was my son. And just seeing that made her happy.
Another said “If we want to remember them, and do something for them, give them a hug or give them a little present, we go find someone that reminds us of them, and we go share, give them a hug or something. That way maybe someone does something for them sometime.” As several of the participants mentioned, for the Lakota, material items are not viewed with as much reverence as in the dominant culture. The lack of attachment to material objects is demonstrated by this participant’s comment: “We give away most everything, we give some relatives a place to stay, and we give away blankets, food, clothes and shoes. It’s helped me really live with the philosophy that nothing’s permanent, it’s just all impermanent and here to enjoy.” This philosophy has been documented a number of times by various authors, and follows closely with the “potlatch” or woopia tradition of honoring relatives, holding a naming ceremony, the making of a relative or huka’ ceremony, and celebrating achievements (Deloria, 1988; Young Bear & Theisz, 1994; Mohatt & Eagle Elk, 2000; Pickering; 2000; Marshall, 2001).

An aspect of generosity that also was discussed was the difference between being generous and enabling. This is one of the paradoxes that the Lakota live with given the historical implication of the tribe obtaining commodities from the U.S. Government. “To me generosity is not enabling somebody to carry on what they’re doing if it’s not helping them.” Another participant described the situation, “If I were to start giving all of my relatives money all the time, pretty soon I would be in the same boat they are. And just living just the same way they are.” As one participant said, it’s the difference between giving people “A few cigarettes occasionally, and constantly providing cigarette money.”
Respect

As mentioned previously, respect is one of the commonly held core Lakota virtues. While there are different words in Lakota for respecting one’s self and others, Marshall (2001) uses the word *wawoohola*, to describe the act of being considerate, or to hold someone in high esteem. To have *wawoohola* for another is described by one participant as “Respecting me as a human being.” Another uses it as a determining factor in who he surrounds himself. “There are two things you need to look at a man. One is does he love and respect his wife. The other is does he love and respect his children.” This traditional philosophy is traced back to the original teachings of *Ptesan Wiŋ*, The White Buffalo Calf Woman (See Appendix J).

In describing respect, participants defined it as seeing what is in someone’s heart. If someone is being respectful, they don’t try and manipulate others, they demonstrate what they describe as being important through their actions. “When he is talking about spirituality, systems, leadership, those kinds of things, and not demonstrating it, then he loses respect with the people.” Another discussed how being respectful means not just being nice, but it is a way to be diplomatic, kind and considerate at the same time. It is not only honoring someone else through your actions, but also having conversations, and taking time to develop relationships with others. As one participant said, “There are ways that you talk to kids and people in general, and ways that you don’t.” A third facet of respect was described as honoring another’s efforts, even if the outcome wasn’t completely successful. For instance, one participant described a ceremonial leader as
“Trying really hard at what she does”, and the participant had respect for that person because “She does so many things and she puts herself out in front.”

Traditionally, respect was also considered an important piece in gender roles. While both men and women had specific duties that helped the tioșpaye, or extended family thrive, both were honored equally, and viewed as essential for the success of the group (Eastman, 1991; Deloria, 1998; Marshall, 2001). As one participant said, “A female plays a strong role in our culture.” Another stated, “Historically men and women balanced each other.” Several participants discussed how this balance has been dislodged by influences of mainstream culture, and how efforts were needed to return to the tradition of honoring both genders for their contributions to the tribe.

Humility

Another traditional value that was talked about frequently was the concept of being humble or having humility. As with generosity and respect, this is a core value that is often accentuated among traditional people. Called uŋšičiyapI in Lakota, the term translates as being humble, modest, and unpretentious in English, but actually is closer in meaning to “lowering yourself” (Marshall, 2000). One participant described the Lakota as people who “Don’t talk ourselves up as much as non-Native people do. We don’t go around saying ‘wow I’m really great, I can do this and I can do that.’” Another talked about one of the important aspects of the Lakota people as the need to “Humble yourself and not be flamboyant. You can’t be one that talks about yourself all of the time.”
Lakota often talk about historical leaders in terms of humility, and one in particular that is mentioned frequently is Crazy Horse. Marshall (2001) describes Crazy Horse as a painfully shy and unassuming individual that didn’t seek leadership roles and responsibilities. “Nevertheless, for all of his exploits, Crazy Horse never participated in the waktoglaka tradition or the telling of one’s exploits in battle” (Marshall, 2001, p. 11). As one participant commented, “If you have a dream, and that dream is to sit in a leadership position, then the spirits tell you what you need to do. At the same token, you also have to follow it humbly, not bragging on what you have been called to do.” Thus, for the Lakota, a humble person is aware of other people and other things, while an arrogant, boastful person is only aware of him or herself (Marshall, 2001).

Forgiveness and Compassion

The traditional Lakota value of forgiveness also was frequently discussed. Several of the participants reiterated the need for people to forgive others and show compassion, especially during times of personal hardship and struggle. As an example, one participant stated the Lakota would say, “I understand your plight, I understand your fight with the demons that you have within yourself, and I forgive you for your humanity.” Three participants reflected on how the Lakota were “a forgiving people, a forgiving Nation”, and how important it is to show compassion and forgiveness to others, particularly those close to you. This forgiveness also traversed beyond Native people to other races. “A lot of White people think that we may have animosity toward them because we cannot forgive them due to what happened in history. But it’s not like that. We are a forgiving
One of the more prevailing examples of forgiveness and compassion was demonstrated in this story: “When I came off the hill, the medicine man’s nephew had been murdered. He (the medicine man) went to the people that murdered him and smoked the pipe with them and forgave them. He didn’t condemn them, he showed them compassion.” Another example is, “I have seen him get angry and then go up to the person and ask for their forgiveness. He told them ‘it wasn’t you that caused me to be this way, it was me, can you forgive me?’”

One participant described compassion and forgiveness in dealing with others as a relational balance between the head and heart:

You need the ability to have compassion for one another, genuine compassion, *unśiečeya*. Because in the Lakota way, as a child we were taught that you cannot think with your mind only. The Creator, Ṣuŋkàšila, gave you a mind to think, but that cannot work alone. They also gave you a heart to think with. So you align your heart and mind as one.

Thus, for the Lakota, walking a long-established path applying these traditional values demonstrates knowledge of cultural customs and practices, and also sets apart those who are more community oriented - versus individualistic. This, too, is part of the cultural identity that is embedded within the Lakota, a collectivist attitude (Deloria, 1988;

**Putting Others First**

As previously mentioned, the Lakota are traditionally a collectivist society (Deloria, 1988; Eastman, 1991; Young Bear & Theisz, 1994; Deloria, 1944/1998). Because of this societal philosophy, there remains a strong attachment to tribal and tiošpaye (extended family) affiliation and identity. Consideration and relationship with others continues to be held as a central Lakota focus. Language, customs, traditions, and ceremony all reflect the Lakota’s belief that placing others before oneself is essential.

“Putting others first” is another central theme that is threaded throughout all of the interviews and categories identified. Similar to cultural identity, consideration of others is a core facet of what it means to be Lakota. There may be some debate of placing the theme “Putting Others First” easily within the context of Traditional Values and Behaviors. However, this dimension, while not independent from other virtues such as respect, humility, generosity, and fortitude, shows a more global perspective to the Lakota way of being. For this reason, as well as the sheer number of ways that Putting Others First was discussed, it merited its own category.

As one participant described, “People are sacred, so we are always told, pray for the people, help the people, be good to the people, because that’s what is going to come back to you.” This philosophy is evident in several contexts. For instance, in the inipi’
(purification or sweat lodge) and Sundance ceremony people are taught to pray for others first and foremost, and then only at the end, if need be, does one pray for themselves (Mails, 1979). According to one participant, there are three key factors that play an important role for the Lakota, and all of them involve the oyate, the people.

The first factor is the family, family is critical. You have to reunite and heal families because of the different things that have happened over the years with the families. Some families are broken and hurt, and some are not families anymore. I think that culture is important. Another thing we need to look at is the programs we have on the reservation right now. Look at the programs and see how they are benefiting the people. And we need to incorporate our traditional values to take care of the people.

Historically, the Lakota worked collectively to take care of the needs of the tiospaye (Deloria, 1988; Eastman, 1991; Deloria; 1944/1998). It wasn’t until the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 that Native people were forced onto plots of land, thus disconnecting them from the larger family units, tiospaye, with which they were entrenched. “With our people there was always the focus on taking care of one another. We have families, extended families and then some. The children never went hungry, they were never unsupervised, because no matter what, you were related and everybody was taken care of.”

The philosophy of being related to, and responsible for those outside one’s immediate family extends not just to the larger family units, or tiospaye, but to the earth and its creatures as well. This cultural belief that one is in relationship with all things has
encouraged a more collectivist perspective by the Lakota. Not only are individuals encouraged to consider others needs before their own in a general sense, this philosophy runs so deeply throughout Lakota culture that prayers and ceremony are always concluded with the statement “mitakuye oyas’iŋ”, we are all related.

Consideration of others comes in a variety of forms. One participant talked about doing the best he could for the people who have alcohol problems, even though “It’s a really rough place to be sometimes.” Others recognized the great work that individuals have done for others on the reservation and with Urban Indian Centers in attempts to address the needs of the people and community. “We need to start working at the root of the problem, and that is directly with the people. The Women’s Center, and the violence against women, the Native Trust Fund; all of these pertain directly to the people.” An added comment was “She (prior tribal president) understood the needs of the people and was planning a lot of good things for the reservation, a clinic for women and stuff like that.” Another stated “One woman started a Domestic Violence group on the reservation. She saw something the people needed, and she did it.” One participant said the Lakota are “Taking care of our own. We’re implementing better health care programs. We’re implementing better mental health programs for our children; we are taking care of our own, our elders and our children.” Providing for the people through social and tribal programs was often mentioned, and comparisons between reservation and urban resources were made, several noting that there were fewer resources for the people on the reservation. “I think all people should be cared for on the reservation. Just looking at the basic needs of the people is important for a tribal leader. Many people on the reservation still live in log cabins with dirt floors and no electricity.”
Not only was putting others first observed at a community level, but it was discussed at the individual level as well. “They say the worst thing you can do is to waste somebody’s time because you are not prepared. And you don’t want to do that. In turn, the greatest gift you can give someone is time from your life.” Another person talked about encountering people that were hungry and hadn’t eaten. “If somebody comes to me and says they are hungry, but I only have two pieces of bread, I’ll give them the two slices of bread and go without, because I know it will come back to me. The needs of the people always come before your own needs.”

Putting others first is a core Lakota virtue and is typified throughout historical documentation on the Lakota through a number of collectivist stories (Deloria, 1988; Young Bear & Theisz, 1994; Mohatt & Eagle Elk, 2000; Marshall, 2001). This standard of living is well entwined throughout all of the themes revealed in this study, and as such, it cannot be separated from the others. Thus, values such as generosity and respect also cannot be fully described without the collectivist perspective. “In the Lakota way of prayer, they tell us everything you do for the people; you do it with your heart, čantogna, because when you do it from your heart then you are genuine. When you’re genuine you will do it in an honest manner with respect.” As another participant mentioned, doing things for others becomes a chore if the deeds are not done authentically, and in turn, one cannot easily accept the help of others if there is a feeling of hostility on the part of the giver. Because of the collectivist Lakota mindset, however, there is an understanding and belief that there is always enough so that one’s needs will be taken care of, whether by the person who was originally helped, or by someone else (Deloria, 1988; Mohatt & Eagle Elk, 2000; Marshall, 2001).
For the Lakota, leaders and leadership have a long historical place within the tribal culture (Mails, 1979; Deloria, 1988; Young Bear & Theisz, 1994; Mohatt & Eagle Elk, 2000; Marshall, 2001). One participant described the traditional manner in which leaders and chiefs were chosen:

A long time ago when the tiospaye (extended family) was looking for a leader they would keep an eye on various individuals for a long time. If this person took care of their family, and lived a good life, then the people would gather and have a ceremony, a feast for this person and ask him to be their leader. They would make him a chief, a naca'. The whole clan would choose the chief, choose their leaders.

While there are more modern examples of choosing a leader or leaders, such as in tribal government, many Lakota still practice the traditional manner of naming naca', or a chief. “My uncle was a Sundance chief…they don’t ordinarily pass on a title like chief, you have to earn it. He was given that ‘family title’, and he was Chief.” A further example of this tradition and the need for leaders to have strong support is: “I remember the first time someone gave him a war bonnet. He wanted to put it on right away, but I said ‘no’ and asked him to wait. Finally, I asked him, “Are you going to be ready to wear it next year? He said ‘yeah, I’m ready.’”

Leadership didn’t extend only to large groups, or tiospaye, extended families. It is also observed on smaller, individual levels. For instance, elders may be respected and
followed “in a small way, just in a family way. But you can be a leader of a small group and not a huge leader like Crazy Horse”. One participant talked about an elder that had taught him how to prepare for ceremony, and described his “uncle” or lekći as someone who “Would tell stories of his life, he wouldn’t hold back on whatever he knew. He just would put it out there for whoever wanted to, would learn.”

*Family*

Whether honored chief, respected woman elder, or elected official, the participants detailed a long list of attributes they felt leaders needed to be successful and respected by the community. The majority of the participants talked about the need for leaders to take care of their families. Given that there are a large number of single parent homes on the reservation, similar to urban settings, and the collectivist perspective the participants held, this finding was not surprising (Pickering, 2000). “On the reservation you are going to see single women who are head of households. They take care of their children, and sometimes their grandchildren and great-grandchildren. They work and support sometimes 14, 15 people in the household.” Not only are the women working to support their families, there are a number of men that do as well. However, similar to mainstream society, having two parents in the household is becoming a novelty (Young Bear & Theisz, 1994; Pickering, 2000). Thus, for those looking for strong leaders, “Taking care of his family, and building a home for them” is becoming more and more important. “In the past the only reason a man walked in front of our wives and our
children is because there may be danger up ahead. We don’t own them; we are just here to take care of them.”

A female participant spoke of her grandmother, and the respect she had from her family, even though they “didn’t care to respect anybody.” When asked why she felt her grandmother was so revered by her family, the participant remarked, “Because she cared about them…they were able to talk to her about whatever. She was hard working, and worked to get things for them and make their lives easier.” A different perspective came from one participant who talked about the need for leaders to be conscious about not only taking care of the basic needs of their families, but also creating and teaching responsibility to their children for the future. Thus, the question “Are the kids going to grow up to be productive members of society” remains relevant for many, and a way that individuals can demonstrate their ability to take care of their family and the needs of others, and also lead others by setting a good example.

*Public image*

An additional aspect of leadership that several of the participants discussed at length was the idea of being in the spotlight as a public figure. As with leaders in any society, the Lakota leaders are closely watched by their constituents. “You have to lead a pretty good life otherwise people really watch you. It has made me change in a lot of ways.” This acknowledgement of being under public scrutiny as leaders has resulted in suspension of some from ceremonial leadership roles, tribal council positions, teaching
positions, as well as having family members renounce one’s leadership position. “We have suspended council members because they had problems. One has gotten charged with domestic abuse, drug possession and DUI.” One of the participants talked about how as a leader “You know you are always going to be scrutinized.” “Once you step out publicly, you have taken on that responsibility as well.” This scrutiny also has a historical foundation with the Lakota. Tribal members often split from the group, or quit following leaders with whom they disagreed or felt were lacking (Eastman, 1918/1991; Clow, 2007). As one participant stated, “You have to live a good life all the time, not just six weeks before the Sundance.” Thus, as in many societies, the expectation of leaders to live a “good” life with the understanding that they are held to higher standards is consistent between the Lakota and dominant society.

Consulting Others

One reoccurring theme in the interviews was the notion of leaders soliciting input from others in their decision making processes. To gain the trust of their followers, and develop strong relationships, successful Lakota leaders were often viewed as consulting with others prior to making major decisions. One participant described a difficult decision a tribal elder and leader had made:

He had to make a decision to let some individuals go because it was interfering with ceremony. So we went into the sweat lodge and he asked all of us. He had made the decision already, but he wanted us to be there
and say how we felt about the decision he had made. He asked, ‘Do you think it’s okay to let them go? And how?’ We were with him when he was making all of these decisions. He is the leader, yet he needs someone to support him. It’s a serious decision that he has to make on his own, and he knows that people will agree with him.

Another participant talked about the historical practice of making decisions. “Many years ago the councils would come together and the chief would ask for input. The elderly were always asked, ‘what do you think we should do?’ Children were brought in as guides because they have the connection with the spirit world.” Thus, contribution from others was not uncommon regarding decisions, especially those that would impact the tribe as a whole (Deloria, 1994; Utley, 1994; Marshall, 2006).

Often decisions were made methodically with the input from a number of sources. While today the practice is to consult more with close advisors, who are often family or extended family members, the majority of the participants spoke of the need for current leaders to continue working at involving others in decisions making. For instance, several participants talked about the need for a woman’s perspective because “They think differently, they make you think about a different perspective that I hadn’t considered.” One of the participants described his decision making process as “Listening to maybe three or four people about something”, and then “Doing it my way, the way I understand it.” This participant went on to discuss his process of trying to get others to make decisions in the same way. First, they should “ask” and then to take responsibility and decide for themselves. “People have to do it themselves. If they don’t, you’re going to
end up in complete control telling people what to do. I don’t think that’s leadership. If you do it because I told you to, and it doesn’t work, you’re going to blame me.”

Diplomatic

An additional dynamic for leaders is their ability to skillfully deal with others in the community. Not only did the participants feel that it was important for leaders to consult with others, but it also was important for leaders to handle difficult situations in such a manner as not to disrespect anyone involved. As one participant described:

He had probably made all of the decisions in his mind, and didn’t share until the right time when we were in the sweat lodge when everybody was about to pray. In ceremony like that, it’s a good way of confronting the person. In ceremony you can’t get angry, cuss and stuff like that. Your mind is clear and that’s when you are open to whatever. He didn’t get angry or anything, he was just calm and clear and just put his concerns out there with his normal voice.

Another issue discussed was dealing with family members that were causing trouble for the family. One participant referred to the tradition of talking circles, “Getting the family members together and confronting each other. It is not to scare each other away, but to get people together, have some coffee and talk about what needs to be done, because it’s serious.” Two participants talked about being at meetings where individuals wanted to “Come in and tell them (others) how it is-” and where some of the leaders “Went around
hollering and demanding stuff.” There was the understanding by many of the participants that the manner in which individuals talked to others was key to their respect and success as a leader. This diplomacy for several of the participants was a key aspect in working with others and getting people to listen.

This diplomacy is very similar to the persuasive manner in which Native authors describe historical leaders. A number of Lakota chiefs have been portrayed as great orators, having had the capability to influence and sway others through their use of patience, persistence, and logical arguments. Chiefs such as Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, Red Cloud and others were alleged to have sat in council for days, listening to multiple perspectives before making decisions (Utley, 1994; Paul, 1997; Marshall, 2006).

Visionary Thinkers

One of the premises that emerged was the idea of leaders as visionary holistic thinkers. Several of the participants mentioned the ability of good leaders to think in broader, global perspectives, not getting locked into a myopic-viewpoint. For instance, one of the participants discussed the tribal constitution where members deliberately wrote in a clause calling for “Whatever decisions we make we have to think of seven generations ahead.” Another discussed how he views the Lakota as holistic thinkers. “We think about what is going to happen in a bigger version.” Another said, “I look at the whole thing, the entire situation and then I make a decision.” This attitude is another example of traditional thinking. Historically, “The traditional types of leaders were out
for the full benefit of our people, for the full benefit of the tribe. They seemed to have more of a vision for the future.” One participant talked about Chief Red Cloud, and his decision to move the people to the reservation:

A lot of people have said that Red Cloud sold out to the government when he surrendered his people. But I believe that is not really true. I believe that he has given us life. Maybe the Sioux people would have been wiped out had he not had the wisdom to save the people by surrendering when he did. And he was able to hold the people together. And today, because of that wisdom, we are still a strong nation.

Some of the participants voiced concerns about some current leaders who were more out for themselves, and were neglecting the future of the entire Lakota tribe. An illustration of this is land rights and ranching issues, where some tribal members “are not willing to work together, even though they are in the same tribe. They are working against each other to see who can get the most land, and some of the decisions may come back to haunt them.” The participant gave the example of pig production on the reservation. “On Rosebud they have okayed all of these pig farms, and now the ground water is contaminated.” Carrie Billy (2009) recently reiterated this visionary perspective: “I believe true leaders have a passionate and unwavering commitment to an ideal; and a vision for others. An ability to see beyond self, personal gain, roadblocks and challenges, and to imagine a better world and-most important-pathways for getting there” (p. 3).
Nurturing Others

As a good leader, many of the participants talked about the ability of individuals to see the strengths and talents in others, and work towards developing those strengths. To understand what others’ strengths are according to the participants requires insight, patience, and a nurturing attitude. It also entails a teaching mentality for which the Lakota are known (Deloria, 1988; Marshall, 2001). The participants gave examples of how their relatives, elders, and leaders “instructed” them how to do things. “It’s teaching them, he is doing everything himself. He didn’t say much to them, but yet he’s showing them and the kids are watching.” “He (lekči/uncle) told me to just watch him (the fire keeper), and to work with him. He didn’t show me; he was just doing it. Then, he let me do a little, so I learned from him.” Learning from observation is a Lakota custom passed down from generation to generation (Deloria, 1988). The practice of not asking questions, but watching one’s elders taught many Lakota skills that are still practiced today including crafts, cooking, ceremonial rituals, hunting and many others (Young Bear & Theisz, 1994; Pickering, 2000). “They taught me how to do those things, those kinds of ceremonies; the Wiping of the Tears Ceremony, and the inipi ‘or Sweat Lodge Ceremony. And they were taught to me kinda hands-on by my uncles and aunties.”

An added facet to nurturing others was that of a leader’s ability to recognize an individual’s strengths, and put them into a position to use their strengths effectively. Often this was demonstrated by delegating. “I’ve worked with a lot of good people, good teachers, and they gave me responsibility…and expected me to do it. And I struggled and I failed sometimes, and I made mistakes. But they said, well, get back up. I just learned
through practice.” One participant talked about recognizing the strengths in other people, and then delegating to them. “She delegated a lot of her responsibilities to me. She probably saw that I could handle it.” This teaching philosophy is a traditional Lakota practice. Historically, young children were often paired with relatives to help teach them a special skill that parents felt their kids had an aptitude for (Eastman, 1991; Lame Deer & Erdoes, 1992; Crow Dog & Erdoes, 1995; Deloria, 1998).

Heal

Several of the participants talked about the need for healing as individuals, and as a tribe. As such, the need for leaders to help others recover from personal loss or other physical and emotional pain is essential. “I do not consider myself as a leader. I am just trying to walk this road, and whoever needs help on the way, if I can, I will help them. I will help them help themselves.” Several of the study’s participants talked about having a leader that either helped them or someone they knew heal, whether through support emotionally, or through spiritual healing through ceremony. As a leader “You have to be there for them. You help them as it goes. You walk with them.” “He has helped all kinds of people that have come to his home. He doesn’t know that, but people heal through his ceremonies.” “He helps people heal in their own ways.” Participants were asked how they perceived leaders help others heal; this was one story that was recounted:

There are so many ways to heal. When you are sick, or dealing with drug and alcohol problems. Mentally, physically, people come to the Sundance
to heal. I remember a story of one time when a man came to Sundance with crutches. He danced for several years with his crutches in the circle. I don’t know how many years he was dancing, but when he finished, this man was out there without his crutches. Those kinds of things happen, miracles happen. Praying is what it takes.

Another told the story of a friend’s great-granddaughter’s suicide:

The family went to the Catholic Church for help, but they weren’t there for them because she had committed suicide. But tuŋkašila (grandfather) was there for them. It came back to the Lakota people helping the family. Helping them to have ceremony and get their needs met. Just being there sometimes is good, because there are not words that you could say that would comfort them at that time. So just being there, and holding them when they cried, because that is all you can do sometimes.

The participants described the traditional behaviors and attitudes that they felt all Lakota should exhibit as well as a higher standard for their leaders. Many of these standards were applied to both men and women as leaders, but there also were some characteristics that were gender-specific. This dialogue revealed explicit actions and deeds by those leaders who had “fallen” from their positions. Reasons were cited for individuals being separated from their leadership positions, whether self-imposed or community enforced. These reasons ranged from societal issues such as domestic violence and drug and alcohol abuse to more personal issues such as the death of a family
member. Due to the variety of responses associated with this category, it was divided into the sub-themes “Men as Leaders”, “Women as Leaders”, and “Fallen Leaders”.

**Men as Leaders**

One of the historical implications for the Lakota was the elimination of many of the men’s roles as warriors when Indigenous people were placed on reservations. While some believe Native men have had new opportunities on the reservations through learning trades and farming in boarding schools, having vocational training is not helpful when there are limited employment opportunities to use these skills. Therefore, Lakota men have struggled to find ways to empower themselves, and maintain their roles as “modern” warriors (Standing Bear, 1993; Young Bear & Theisz, 1994; Pickering, 2000). One of the contributors said it this way:

Men are not being empowered enough to step up and take care of their families. In the past they were warriors, they took care of the family. They took care of the tribe as a nation. They counted coo (war accolades) and they did a number of things that were honorable, and I guess that facilitated their masculinity. But today, there really isn’t anything for them, and I think the stagnancy of that results in them using and abusing.

Several of the participants talked about the role of men as leaders in the Lakota society, and what is needed for them to be successful. “In order for men to be empowered and viewed as leaders, we need to honor them. Give them back their identity.” Another felt
that men have taken on a more mainstream attitude towards leadership, and that they need to get back to traditional values and ways.

A leader in modern times is usually a man of wealth who has everything, and in our society we have pretty much adopted those values with male leadership. Men are less willing to share themselves, and take part in the lives of other people. With the male leadership, it is pretty much everybody on their own.

Another participant described the situation with men as needing to “Just allow ourselves to be who we are.” This participant believes that men have become more assimilated than women, and that because of the influence of White culture, men have allowed “Pride to take over humility.” According to this individual, when men regain some of those cultural traditions, “when they have humility, generosity, and respect, they could provide true quality leadership that we need within our culture.” This loss of traditional identity, especially for the men, was mentioned by several participants. There also was recognition of the need to bring back ways to honor the men to help regain their “warrior” status within the tribe.

Women as Leaders

Women, like men, are in a paradoxical situation on the reservation. As mentioned previously, single parent homes are common on the reservation, and because of this situation women are forced into taking care of the home and all of the family’s needs.
Due to these and other societal struggles, women have taken on new roles and responsibilities as family and community leaders. This has not been easy, however, and there are still hurdles before women are viewed as “equals” with regard to leadership. While some of the male participants were very honoring of the women and their contributions to society as leaders, there were some that felt the “current gender equality on the reservation is a product of Euro-American influences” (Pickering, 2000, p. 79). “There is not a standard of you have to do a, b, c, to be recognized as a leader. There are a lot of natural leaders that eventually get recognized, but men are far more revered than the women are.” Several of the female participants felt that women are not really seen as leaders, even though they have served on the tribal council, and have contributed to the society in terms of creating organizations that serve reservation needs. “People don’t really see women as leaders in a public sense, or in a private sense. We are still really behind the curve.”

Other contributors talked about the seemingly contradictory message that women receive. “If a woman is strong like a man, she is considered too manly; men think she is too overpowering. Women need to get their things done without being so overbearing. And if she is, people think that she’s too much of a rebel-rouser.” This conversation went on to reveal that there are times when a woman “has to be overbearing”, however, and according to this participant, it’s when the “men are getting out of control”. One of the male contributors discussed women’s contributions as the following: “I think the woman’s role has really strengthened in terms of leadership. There are a lot of opportunities for them. There has been the tendency to look down on that, but we have to deal with that too—it’s changing.”
One participant discussed his viewpoints on women and the need for the balance that they bring to the men:

The woman is pretty powerful; she is the backbone, and stability of the family. Everything that is stable and concrete, she’s got it. Women see more stuff going on than the men do. There are things that I didn’t know that she knows. It’s really good to see both the men and the women in charge.

_Fallen Leaders_

Given the nature of societal problems on and off of the reservation, discussion of leaders who have had personal problems became pertinent to the study. What participants shared regarding leaders who had become dependent on drugs and alcohol, or those who had struggled personally for some other reason were revealing. Lakota contributors talked extensively about their expectations of those who had encountered trouble, and not only their willingness to forgive and welcome them back into the fold, but also their desire to help the “fallen leader” with healing. The first expectation that many shared was the desire to see the individuals be honest with themselves and those around them, and, if appropriate, apologize for what had transpired. “First of all if they had a drug or alcohol issue, they’d need to get cleaned up and then apologize. Then they could probably rebuild themselves by doing things for the community, regaining peoples’ trust.” Another
commented, “It all depends on what they’ve done, how drastic it is, but we are a forgiving people.”

An added perspective to working with those leaders that have had personal struggles is the notion of asking for, and accepting help. All of the participants talked about the demonstration of humility when leaders couldn’t handle something on their own, and the respect, and willingness to help that many of them had for their leaders. “I would forgive him of his humanness and offer to help him get back on the Red Road. Try and help him get his bearing again, and encourage him to get back to being the way he was before.” “On my part, I would need to have faith, understanding, compassion for the leader, and know that he’s just a human being and that we all make mistakes.”

Thus, the participants felt that a number of things were needed as a Lakota leader. Not only were the traditional values necessary, but people also had high regard for the nurturing, decision-making, visioning and diplomacy skills of their leaders. A couple of gender differences also were observed. Women have been forced by necessity to take on leadership roles normally associated with men, and in doing so also have become perceived as overbearing and assertive. Men are still viewed as leaders in their communities, both traditionally as naca’ (chiefs), as well as elected leaders, however, they are being asked to return to a more traditional perspective. In doing so participants felt that women and men would then both be honored as equals to balance the needs of the people. Leaders that have fallen on hard times can recover peoples’ trust and following if they accept responsibility for their actions and ask for and accept help to begin to heal.
To conduct an exploratory study on the Lakota and not have any discussion on spirituality would be incomplete. While there are Lakota who do not regularly practice traditional Lakota spirituality, even the practicing Christians have some connection with Lakota traditions (Pickering, 2000; Petrillo, 2007). “When I have entered houses on the reservation I have found both Christian iconography and Lakota symbols of tradition. They adhere to both Christian teachings and Lakota beliefs and practices” (Petrillo, 2007, p. 107). Lakota spirituality is viewed as more than a religious practice; it is described as a way of life (Deloria, 1944/1998; Marshall, 2001; Petrillo, 2007). The Lakota way of life entails embracing not only the cultural aspects of being Native, but also all of the values, virtues, and traditions of putting other’s needs before your own. This spiritual practice is an on-going, unbiased, philosophy where the people are holistically connected to all things “\textit{mii\kay\ye oyas\'i\yn}”, “we are all related”.

During the interviews, all of the participants discussed the need for Lakota leaders to have some spiritual foundation. This foundation ranged from having a moderate understanding to being an active participant. The majority felt having at least a grasp of traditional spiritual practices was needed. This corresponds with the notion of cultural identity for the Lakota, as spirituality and cultural practices are so deeply entwined for many that the thought of having one without the other is unfathomable. “I think that having an understanding of the Lakota way of life is important. Not necessarily that you have to practice the Lakota spirituality, but having some sort of spirituality is really, really key. Having that spirituality really impacts someone’s life, to be able to trust in
their own judgment.” Another participant felt that having a spiritual base helped people be well-rounded. “Having some sort of spiritual base humbles you to stay away from being out for just yourself.”

The majority of the participants talked about the need for spirituality, and the desire for the tribe to return to its spiritual traditions to heal and move forward as a nation.

The Lakota are known for their values and spiritual practices. Even the phrase “mítȟuŋye oyas’iŋ”, all my relations, indicates this. We believe that we are all related, not just the two-legged, but the four-legged, the winged, the plants, the animals, uŋči maŋka, the earth, and everything in the universe. We believe holistically that we are all related, so we all belong here, we all have a purpose here, even the animals. If the leadership could look at that aspect of it and begin there, bring back the spirituality, our culture, the language and the ceremonies, that will balance it out.

There is the understanding by those that follow the Lakota way of life and spirituality that it also encompasses all of the traditional values. This recognition includes putting others before oneself, and helping out when called upon. “When you carry a canyupa (sacred pipe) you are for all of the people. You can’t be biased in who you help and who you can’t help.”

There was also the perspective that leaders are picked by the spirits, and these individuals are offered directions for their lives. “There are those people that are close-
minded, but they are not the chosen ones. Because in order to do some of these things, you have to be open and chosen by the creator, and how you know that is through your dreams.” There is the belief that as a chosen one, you will be more inclined to act for the people, rather than being self-serving. The other reasoning is that “If that dream is to sit in a leadership position, then the spirits will tell you what you need to do. At the same token, you have to have unšiečeya, or show compassion for others.”

One of the participants told this story as an example of being chosen by the spirits:

There was this 9 year-old little boy at our Sundance last year. He wore his clothes inside out, he walked backwards, and he did everything backwards. I mean everything! You could see the eagles coming towards him, you could see the Wakiŋyans (Thunder beings) coming towards him. Inside, he was an old man, but once he was out of the Sundance arena, he was a little boy. You could just look at him and see the quiet dignity. Inside the circle he knew things, he was an old man, but outside he was playing and a little boy. (This story is a description of a Heyoka; see Appendix K).

Another participant talked about how Lakota spirituality changed her son’s life. “My son was heavily into alcohol, and one day I told him to come to Sundance. While he was there he started feeling the power of Creator and the different energies there. Once he stepped into the ceremonial circle his life changed.” One contributor talked about his experiences growing up with medicine men and elder storytellers. “In the late ‘60s when
the ceremonies were underground, I found a medicine man and I started going to his ceremonies. That’s when a lot of the old stories started coming back to me.” This same participant talked about his own spiritual journey. While he had grown up with the traditions, language, and exposure to Lakota spirituality, he entered the church’s deacon program before returning to the Red Road. “I was looking for some sort of spirituality in the late ‘60’s and so I went to the church. I was in the deacon program for about 2-2 ½ years studying the bible, and the more I learned, the angrier I got.” Later, after quitting the church the participant returned to the Lakota way of life to “find his own spirituality.”

Several participants also spoke of the need for leaders to understand the Red Road, the path of spirituality, but they also talked about the difficulty in living a good spiritual life. “Whoever’s on the Red Road, they fall off, everyone falls off the Red Road at times. Everyone tries to get back on the Red Road, but some don’t succeed and some do.” One person described the Red Road as:

I can share the history; things that have happened, and let people decide how they’re going to participate. I can say how things were done a long time ago and we’re doing the best we can. So when you come in (to the circle), you find your position in there. It’s going to be your decision, and your responsibility to find out why.

Thus, the Red Road is not just a set of values, or set of religious practices and dogma, but rather it is a way of life, a philosophy, and an ever evolving conscious choice of relationships with self and Wakáŋ Táŋka, the Creator. Intimately incorporated with cultural identity for the Lakota, having an understanding of ceremonial practices, Lakota
spirituality, and the philosophy of the Red Road are imperative concepts for Lakota leaders.

*Nation Building*

For the participants, the ultimate goal of Lakota leadership is for the *oyate*, the people, to become a sovereign nation, an independent, self-functioning entity. That is not to say the Lakota Tribe desires to be separate from the United States. On the contrary, the Lakota involved in this study are not only proud of being Lakota, they are also proud of being Americans. Instead, the participants recognize the dependence the people have on governmental resources, and their desire is to decrease this reliance by gaining more control for the people and reservations to decide what is best for themselves. “They say we are a sovereign nation, but we are not. In order to be sovereign, we need to govern and support ourselves economically, which we don’t. The government still provides us with money to sustain us, there is still that control there.” There is also a strong desire to transcend the societal problems that have plagued them for several generations. Consequently, the category “Nation Building” resulted from this futuristic communal standpoint.

Historically, many of the participants felt it was their responsibility to continue the work as they felt chiefs such as Iron Shell, Red Cloud, Hollow Horn Bear, and Spotted Tail had done when they signed the original treaties. That work entails helping the tribe continue to thrive and heal, as well as to revitalize cultural pride through
language, customs and practices. While the focus of their efforts varied from individual to individual, the overarching goal remained the same, tribal growth. “After the wars (Indian) were over, our tribes focused on getting our own self-government. Our chiefs sacrificed a lot. They signed the treaties, and they were put on a reservation. But their main focus was to keep us intact as a people.”

One of the aspects of nation building, as well as all of the other categories, is the recognition that in every function and every system, “You have to involve the people”. To assume that one or a select few know what is best for the masses is not only irrational, but it is also contrary to the Lakota culture and traditions. As mentioned, many of the participants feel that the best way to build a nation is through Lakota, not Euro-American leadership. The main reason being, “They’ll change it into a system of authority and hierarchy type of thing. Because that’s all they know, and it’s happened before.” Therefore, maintaining the Lakota way of life as a vehicle to guide the process of nation building is imperative. “We always have to remember where we come from because if we forget, then we lose our identity. Then we are not longer a nation. We are a lost nation. So it is important.”

Many of the participants discussed the precariousness of this endeavor, not only because of intertribal dynamics, but also because of the influences of outside entities such as county, state and federal government laws. “We have this tribal council system where there are 18 council members. The tribal chairman has no power alone; he also has to get tribal council approval. With that many people, there are always differences in opinions and no easy consensus because of that.”
One of the dynamics mentioned is the influence of state and federal government laws. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and the General Allotment Act are several on-going obstacles that the tribes face. Prior to the government policy of opening “surplus” lands to non-Natives, the Rosebud Reservation encompassed 3.2 million acres. “We lost a lot of our lands because they (the government) declared them surplus, but it was still our reservation.” Some of the current work on the reservation is to recover the land that the government released because of these Acts. Part of the balance for tribal governments is working with funding agencies, individual land owners, and the government to bring these lost lands back into tribal control. “We have a tribal land enterprise program that was developed basically to try and get our lands back, and manage our tribal land so that we don’t lose it through outright sale.” Through these tribal land recovery efforts, Rosebud currently has 900,000 acres. These labors are slow and tedious for the Lakota. “We have a somewhat hostile state government against the tribes at the moment. They’re purchasing lands and putting it back into trust.”

As asserted, continued development as a people is foremost on many of the participants’ minds. “The main thing to Indian leadership is to maintain the focus on our tribal government, creating a stable government so that we can develop economically and not have to take our money off of the reservation to get goods.” “We are still in a development stage, nation building.” The participant talked of maintaining focus on the bigger picture, the continued development of their tribe and way of life. “I think we are doing a lot of rebuilding, we’re doing it but it’s slow.” Another participant made the point that there is a need for the Lakota to be better advocates for themselves as individuals,
and for the Lakota in total. “I think advocacy is a big issue. I think people don’t know how to advocate properly for themselves.”

**Bi-cultural**

The majority of the participants discussed the need for the Lakota, and especially its leadership, to have what they termed as a “bi-cultural” attitude. The participants acknowledged that for the tribe to continue to prosper, having an understanding of traditional Lakota and Euro-American ways was necessary to adequately advocate for the tribe. Part of this advocacy is understanding how to work with individuals and their systems inside and outside of the reservation. One way the majority of the participants talked about becoming better proponents for the Lakota is for the people to receive more education. Higher education was seen as the main vehicle in which individuals could work better with non-Lakota people and their systems, as well as a means to help Natives work better on behalf of the tribe. One participant talked about a former council member who was illiterate. In this participant’s view, the council member could not appropriately advocate for his people given the number of bills, legislation, and accounting reports they see while in office. “A few years back we had a councilman that was illiterate, and I felt that was bad because you have to review all of these documents. I guess you could get around it, but still, there ought to be certain criteria that our tribal leadership should have.” The majority of the participants had left the reservation at one time or another to get a college degree. Several had returned, or plan to return to the reservation to help the tribe. “In order to keep up with what the White people are trying to teach us, we have to
educate ourselves in their world, and bring it back to the people so we can move along with them and improve our lives here.”

As discussed earlier, the Lakota participants realize that they need to be conscious of the governmental systems that influence the tribe, as well as be able to easily operate and be successful within them for the betterment of the tribe. “When you educate yourself in the Euro-American way, you get factual information and learn how to write and prepare how to ask for funding for our programs.” One participant intimated, “I knew I had to build up my skills in writing and learn to be more organized, because I have to go to Washington and prepare reports for Congress.” For another, “I think education is the key for everything if we want to move forward as a nation.” Another participant felt that:

The people that run for tribal council need to have a degree, because then you have an understanding of what’s going on in Capitol Hill. Because when tribal people go in front of those people to talk, they are in front of educated people, and if you have no supporting documents, they are not going to listen to you.

The paradox several people discussed was returning home after getting their education. Many Lakota are supported and encouraged to leave the reservation to obtain degrees with the expectation they would return to help the people. Often when they returned they were not treated well. One participant talked about her experience; “I was the oldest and expected to go to college away from the reservation. When I went back to the reservation, it was hard. People were not as accepting of me there, even though I was born and grew up there.” Another participant said; “When people do get educated and
come back, they’re not treated very well.” There were stories of returning to the reservation and having people suspicious as well as cautious around the participants. “Most Indian people are very weary, very cautious of people. It takes them a while, even other Lakota people.” One participant talked about her experiences after obtaining an education and returning to the reservation:

I saw it all of the time working in law enforcement. They used to say things to me about the vocabulary I used when I spoke. They said I talked like a White man, that I used words they didn’t understand. At one point a lady walked up to me and said ‘You’re an apple.’ At first I thought she was joking or talking about being related to me because my family has some people with the last name ‘Apple’. And she said, ‘no, you’re red on the outside but your white on the inside’.

This paradox extends not only to the poor treatment by some tribal members, but also the perception that if someone leaves the reservation, they lose their cultural identity. “If you leave, you’re not an Indian.” For those who do leave and return, often things have not changed. “It’s just the expectation of knowing that people do want you to come back, but there’s really nothing here when you return.” This contradiction has been well substantiated through a number of governmental training and job vocational programs that have occurred on the reservation, and the high rates of unemployment that still exist (Pickering, 2000; Reinhardt, 2007).

Several of the participants also recognized the need to understand their own, as well as mainstream culture. “Indian people don’t always realize how great they are.
Because we have learned to live in both worlds. The non-Indian people don’t even bother.” One participant stated it eloquently, “We have to be bi-cultural. We have to be able to live in both worlds and work with other societies. The White Buffalo Calf Woman prophesized that…the Red, Black, Yellow, and White would all come together in peace and harmony in the future.” Thus, participants recognized the importance for successful Lakota leaders to maintain an open, bi-cultural perspective as a means to advocate for the people and the tribe.

“Real” Native

The last dynamic and sub-category of “Nation Building” is the notion of being a “real” Native. Several of the participants discussed not only cultural identity, but also blood quantum aspects of being recognized as a Lakota tribal member. Recently, Rosebud voted on and passed new criteria for tribal membership. Tribal membership criterion include: (a) All persons of Indian blood, including persons born since December 31, 1920, whose names appear on the official census roll of the Tribe as of April 1, 1935; (b) All persons born after April 1, 1935, and prior to the effective date of this amendment, to any member of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe who was a resident of the reservation at the time of the birth of said persons; and (c) All persons that can provide three (3) generations of lineal descent born after April 1, 1935, to a member of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, regardless of resident of the parent (Rosebud Sioux Tribe, 2007).
Regardless of one’s blood quantum, many Lakota struggle with the inconsistent perceptions of who is a traditional Lakota, and who is not. Historically, the “traditional” Indians were those perceived to be of full blood ancestry and who followed the Lakota way of life, including the Red Road. “Non-traditional” individuals were perceived as being iyeska, or mixed race, and more assimilated (Eastman, 1991; Lyman, 1991; Adams, 1995; Deloria, 1944/1998). “We run into problems with how decisions should be made. Our tribe is actually divided by blood quantum. The full blood people are treated differently that the people that have a lesser blood quantum value.”

Many, regardless of blood quantum, identify themselves as Lakota. “I am proud to be a Lakota wi’ (woman).” “I am so proud that I am Lakota. You don’t hear people say that they are proud to be German or Czech or Polish. You don’t hear that, but you will hear a Lakota person say they are proud. For some reason that stands out by itself and it cannot meld into anything else.” Another participant said, “At one point in my life it wasn’t cool to be an Indian, you were made fun of and stuff like that. But I have really enjoyed being an Indian.”

For the participants, appreciation regarding their culture encompassed several things. As described earlier, knowledge and awareness of the Lakota way of life and the Red Road were thought to be essential. Insight to tribal history, especially ancestral stories was also deemed important, so that they could continue being passed down to the next generation. “I grew up hearing stories from my mother and elders in the community. I knew about the family. That really helped me maintain the history and culture. Ever since, I have been finding out who I am…what is a Lakota.”
More importantly, however, was the reason for identifying as a Lakota. Several of
the participants talked about the importance of the tribe in returning to the traditional
ways, and obviously in doing so members need to have an idea of these ways. However,
according to participants, they need to be practicing the ways with the appropriate
intention. As one individual said, “I am more than happy when people go back to the
culture and want to learn about it. But when they use it to try and get things or influence
people…all of a sudden it gives them some notoriety.” There are those individuals that
claim Native ancestry when it serves them. One participant said, “They are the
individuals that suddenly realize they almost went to prison, and now I’m going to go to a
ceremony, because now I have federal drug charges on me.” “They are the ‘born again’
Lakota.”

Included in the identity is the perception of how a “real” Native acts. “You need
to be part of the community, and feel as though you are a part. Meaning you need to be a
real person, a real Native. Not just someone that comes and visits now and then.” “One of
the difficulties in this is when relatives that are older come back and try to pull rank
because they are the ‘full blood’ even when they have little understanding of the ways.”
This includes understanding cultural protocol and how to conduct oneself activities such
as community meals, shaking everyone’s hand when entering a room, and in ceremony;
and truly understanding their culture.

Many of the participants felt that bringing the Lakota language back would help
instill a sense of cultural identity, and also rejuvenate some of the traditional virtues that
many felt have been missing. Some tribal colleges have been working towards this goal,
and many, including Sinte Gleska University on Rosebud offer language classes, and also Lakota Studies degrees. “We need to bring the language back, but even if we bring it back, it is going to almost be a language without meaning because there are so many emotions involved with the language. You almost have to live it in order to fully comprehend it.” One participant described his upbringing and how he learned to appreciate the Lakota language. “I grew up with older people, and I grew up with the language and understand the impact of the language on our culture. There are a lot of elders who do not understand the language as well because they’re so assimilated to Christianity.” Another participant said, “I’m very fortunate that I grew up with the language and the stories. I use a lot of English today instead of Lakota. If they use my language to make me think Catholic or Episcopalian, I can sure use English to make you think Lakota!”

One of the other aspects to being a “real” Native is finding the balance between the Lakota way of life, and current affairs. As several of the participants discussed, recognition of when to bring in certain aspects of the culture, for instance ceremony, into governmental affairs, and when not to, is a contentious subject. One participant talked of the need to start meetings, especially tribal government, in a more traditional manner. This meant for some, opening with a prayer. The contradiction is often in the Lakota way of spirituality that also means using the sacred pipe or "canjuŋpa.” At one point the tribal chairman thought he could bring a canjuŋpa into the council and use it. The medicine people say that the canjuŋpa is not for politics. The canjuŋpa is to heal the people, it doesn’t mix with politics.” This participant went on to say that she considered running for tribal council, but before she turned in the petition to put her name on the ballot, she
decided to pray on it, asking the spirits for guidance. “So I went into ceremony and the spirit that came said ‘no’ because I carry a pipe. ‘You’re dedicated to all of the people. You’re going to have to lie, cheat and steal’ and those things are against the pipe.”

For the Lakota, building a nation is an evolutionary process. People are learning to work with individuals off of the reservation, and negotiating their own cultural dynamics. Considering the resiliency of the *oyate*, the people, and the Lakota’s ability to adapt and survive with their language, spirituality, and cultural practices intact, there is little doubt that the Lakota Tribe will continue to grow and prosper.

*Barriers*

The Lakota participants discussed things that they hold culturally as a people, and as leaders that have helped their tribe first survive, and then thrive. Like any society, however, there are barriers that have historically and currently impede the development of the tribe. Several of these barriers are common through most societies, issues like drug and alcohol abuse, domestic violence, poverty and unemployment, to name a few. Other barriers are more specific to the Lakota, and may be attributed to historical circumstances similar to those of other Indigenous people (Young Bear & Theisz, 1994; Pickering, 2000; Petrillo, 2007). These barriers which were identified by participants included mainstream societies stereotypes and prejudices, tribal dependence on federal government resources, and internal conflicts.
As one participant reported, each generation on the reservation has had to deal with its own issues:

My grandmother told me that when I grew up ‘you’re going to be facing problems that are different than what I’m facing today.’ She said the problems she faced were famine, poverty, finding a place to live, and trying to find food. ‘In your day it’s going to be a different battle.’ I realize that the battle that my generation has is alcohol and drugs. The poverty is still there, and the unemployment is still there. And my granddaughter is going to face new challenges.

One participant said, “Drugs, alcohol, substance abuse, poverty, unemployment, all of those things play a factor in the way our men are today. There really isn’t anything for them, and I think the stagnancy results in them using and abusing.” Another participant stated, “A big problem is how do you look after the good of the people when you can’t take care of things that need to be tended to with your own family?” These societal issues may be the product of assimilation efforts by the United States government. Especially for Native men, their traditional role in the family was replaced by the Euro-American notion of gender roles and responsibilities. This often causes problems when jobs and opportunity is minimal and highly competitive (Pickering, 2000).

A concern discussed by several of the participants is the cycle of dysfunction that the system creates and enables. For instance, “If you have a need or a problem you can go, complain, and get help. But if you are doing well, if you are trying to take care of things, nobody helps you.” According to participants, the good accomplishments often
get ignored due to the problems of others. “People complain that there is always someone in crisis, but then they reward the people that are the squeaky wheel and manipulative.” Thus, many of the tribal resources are spent dealing with the social issues, rather than creating positive opportunities. Participants stated that leaders who can find ways to balance resources between the immediate needs of the people, especially those suffering, while creating prospects for the future were essential.

Some of the barriers discussed also included leaders that are not looking out for the well-being of the tribe, but are more involved in their own agenda. “I have seen leaders elected but they would be mainly focused on one area; individual people out for their own benefit or for the benefit of just a few.” This is another reflection of an assimilation attitude, consideration of self before others, which is not consistent with Lakota traditional values (Coleman, 1993; Adams, 1995; Deloria, 1998).

Another barrier discussed was the sense of entitlement that several participants felt that some tribal members have. “Everybody looks at the trust responsibility and feels that because it is a treaty right, it should just be handed to them. The problem is that people expect everything under the sun. They don’t feel the need to be responsible for themselves.” An example of this attitude was a story about an individual who often asks for money. “Somebody will want to borrow money from my dad. When he says ‘no’ they know that is what he will say. So they tell him they will sell their shoes, and of course he’s going to say ‘no, don’t give me your shoes’, so he ends up giving them money.” While in one aspect this behavior is creative and resilient, the flip side is that it also creates an environment of frustration and manipulation.
Vesting in the tribal politics is another aspect that was identified as a barrier. Of the over 24,000 tribal members enrolled on Rosebud, the vast majority are not registered to vote. The 2007 Rosebud Sioux Constitution lists 806 individuals that voted on Article II Section 1 (c), which had to do with tribal enrollment policies. While it is common for residents of legal voting age to not register or vote in general elections in mainstream society, the Constitution legislation vote represents a mere 3% of the eligible population.

One of the major debates for the Lakota is the topic of the Black Hills. The majority of the participants who spoke of the Black Hills were focused on getting the land back for the Lakota; however, one participant discussed the advantages of taking the money awarded by the courts. This is an example of the division of the tribe and what is perceived as best for the people. “Some of our people who don’t have that tie to the Black Hills want the money, and think that it will come down to their pockets. If we accept the money, then we will extinguish our claim on the Black Hills forever.” Another participant felt that those who were unwilling to settle were better off, and didn’t need the money as much as others who are suffering. “The ones who are spearheading the effort not to sell the Black Hills are those who are well-off. They have jobs with the government that ensures them a steady income. The traditional people, the full-bloods are the ones who are suffering.” Regardless of their stance on the Black Hills debate, all of the participants perceive the area as a spiritual place, where their people have gone for generations to hold ceremony. “That is our altar; we go up there and pray. It is open for all tribes, and around this time of year you’ll see some people up there fasting, humblecheyapi. There is even a sweat lodge up there and a Sundance.”
People on both sides of the Black Hills issue acknowledge its historical spiritual significance; there also are obviously differing opinions on what is ultimately better for the people. Regardless, there is agreement on the strong need for progressively-traditional Lakota leadership-leaders who understand the traditional Lakota way of life as well as mainstream systems, and are able to navigate the waters of both. Another need recognized was the ability to listen to the perspectives of the people, and the willingness to find a diplomatic solution that would work for the majority of the tribe.

Linking Key Findings to Leadership Theories

From this exploratory study in Lakota leadership, it was determined that the themes Traditional Values and Behaviors and Leadership Qualities along with its subcategories Men as Leaders, Women as Leaders and Fallen Leaders could be explained as behavioral. Bass (1996) argued that some leadership behaviors can be relevant everywhere. According to Bass (1996), universality implies that “the relations between attributes of the person and performance as a leader are a constant across situations” (p. 737). As such, Bass (1996) argues that the same concepts can be applied to leadership regardless of country or culture. Stogdill (1948; 1970) also concluded that there were some personal “dispositions associated with leadership such as energy level, cognitive ability, persistence, and sense of responsibility” (as cited in Bass, 1996, p. 732-733). While these premises persevered in this study, the assumption that many leadership scholars have made is that specific behaviors are also universal. Considerations of which specific behaviors are desirable in leaders are assumed to be parallel with mainstream
society. Several of the descriptions of Lakota leaders are similar to those of dominant culture, however, consideration of the entire cultural context is essential.

Another finding consistent with Stogdill’s (1970) research was that similar attitudes and values between leaders and followers were desired. Stogdill (1970) argued for a comparable attitude between the leader and the needs of the individual or group. The categories of Putting Others First and aspects of Leadership Qualities are consistent with Stogdill’s (1970) premise of leader and follower having similar values and attitudes.

Bass (1996) asked the question “how much of the variance (in leadership) is due to three sources: person, situation, interaction of person and situation” (p. 733). The findings of this research reflect that Bass’s (1996) supposition is missing a bigger contextual variable, culture. In his article regarding transformational leadership and universality, Bass (1996) admits that the “three parameters of leader-follower relations…may vary across cultures from very little to a great deal”. Bass (1996), however, continues to argue for the “universality” of transformational leadership while contextualizing all of his research in the mainstream organizational context, even when studies are done outside of the United States. In doing so, Bass (1996) and other researchers make the assumption that dominant culture supersedes all other cultural influences. This conjecture not only removes the possibility of exploring new insights in the field, but also implies that there is “one best way” of being a leader, or that leaders can only operate best in one culture - their own.
Transformational Leadership and Lakota Leadership

In comparing Lakota and transformational leadership, few similarities were found. According to Yukl (2002), the term transformational leadership refers to the suggestion that leaders are able to transform the goals and values of their followers in such a way that they align with the goals pursued by the organization. From a global view, minor likenesses were observed such as transformational’s individualized consideration and the Lakota’s philosophy of putting others first, however, given the nature of transformational leadership’s organizational context, and the desire to push the organization’s needs rather than the collectives, it was felt that Lakota leadership in its entirety did not correspond with transformational leadership.

Servant Leadership and Lakota Leadership

In contrasting Greenleaf’s (1970/1977) Servant Leadership theory with Lakota leadership, several similarities were found. Similar to transformational, however, Lakota leadership was found to have several different and non-corresponding aspects from servant leadership. Graham (1991) identified servant leadership as the most moral of charismatic effects, and he distinguished servant leadership by focusing on leader’s moral development, service, and enhancement of common good. Spears (1995) extended Greenleaf’s work by describing ten characteristics of a servant leader—listening, empathy, healing, awareness, persuasion, conceptualization, foresight, stewardship, commitment to the growth of people, and community building. Of these ten
characteristics of servant leaders, none of the aspects of Traditional Values and Behaviors were directly related to servant leadership, however, a number of the descriptive codes for this category are implied. For the category Leadership Qualities, the servant characteristics of calling (added later by Barbuto and Wheeler, 2006), healing, awareness, and growth showed some similarities. None of the servant leadership characteristics fit the categories of The Red Road or Barriers. For the category of Putting Others First, the servant characteristics of listening and empathy had some likenesses. Nation Building showed some resemblance to servant’s building community. There was no direct evidence for the servant characteristics of persuasion, conceptualization, and stewardship found in Lakota Leadership, however, several of these could be implied to some degree. (See Table II-Comparison of Lakota Leadership Categories to Servant Leadership Characteristics.)

Barbuto and Wheeler (2006) operationalized servant leadership by developing the Servant Leadership Questionnaire (SLQ). In their research, the ten characteristics of servant leadership identified by Spears (1995), plus calling, a servant leader trait identified by Greenleaf (1970, 1977, 1996), were operationalized into five categories. These are: Altruistic calling, which is described as a leader’s deep-seated desire to make a positive difference in others’ lives; Emotional healing, depicted as a leader’s commitment to and skill in fostering spiritual recovery from trauma or hardship; Wisdom, which is portrayed as a combination of awareness of surroundings and anticipation of consequences; Persuasive mapping, which is described as a leader’s use of sound reasoning and mental frameworks; and Organizational stewardship, which is
depicted as the extent in which leaders prepare an organization to make a positive contribution to society (Barbuto & Wheeler, 2006).

As with Greenleaf (1970, 1977, 1996) and Spears (1995) conceptualization of servant leadership, Barbuto and Wheeler’s (2006) model is not congruent with Lakota leadership. While some similarities exist, there is not complete agreement. For instance, the concept of altruistic calling in Barbuto and Wheeler’s (2006) model corresponds with Putting Others First and Leadership Qualities in Lakota leadership. Emotional healing is consistent with Lakota leadership’s theme of Leadership Qualities and is somewhat implied in the theme Red Road. Wisdom is similar to participants’ discussion of the themes Leadership Qualities, Nation Building and Bi-cultural, and the opposite of wisdom is described in Barriers. The servant leadership characteristic of persuasive mapping is analogous to Leadership Qualities, and is somewhat implied in Nation Building. Last, servant leadership’s organizational stewardship is not directly discussed in Nation Building, however, if organization preparing “to make a positive contribution to society through community development, programs, and outreach” is considered from a tribal standpoint rather than an organizational, these two categories may be congruent (Barbuto & Wheeler, 2006, p. 319).

There are differences between Barbuto and Wheeler’s (2006) servant leadership model and Lakota leadership in several different aspects. For instance, servant leadership continues its framework along the same assumptive notion as does many other leadership theories; within a mainstream organizational context. Thus, dimensions such as servant leadership’s altruistic calling, posits that leaders are called to serve as part of their
development, rather than taking a collectivist perspective of a culturally embedded service philosophy.

Another difference is observed between servant leadership’s persuasive mapping and Lakota leadership’s Leadership Qualities. Barbuto and Wheeler (2006) describe persuasive mapping as leaders “skilled at mapping issues and conceptualizing greater possibilities and are compelling when articulating these opportunities. They encourage others to visualize the organization’s future and are persuasive, offering compelling reasons to get others to do things” (p. 319). In Leadership Qualities the ability to persuade others was implied, however, Lakota leaders also solicit input from those around them, a characteristic that is not described in persuasive mapping. (See Table IV-Comparison of Barbuto and Wheeler’s (2006) Servant Leadership to Lakota Leadership.)

*Lakota Leaders as Cultivated Individuals*

In this study, leadership for the Lakota was found to be a “holistic” endeavor. The participants were clear that for someone to be revered and followed, it was essential for that person to possess specific values and behaviors. Leaders also needed to be “cultivated” individuals. According to the participants, a leader is someone who understood the culture and had a spiritual foundation, as well as had a strong sense of self, others, and a vision in how to move the tribe towards growth and development. Often, this cultivation came with age and experience. “He’s an elder and pretty wise. And I like to take in as much as I can so that someday I might be able to do the same thing for
the younger generations.” Senge, Scharmer, Jaworski, and Flowers (2004) described this “cultivated” person as an individual with a deeper sense of understanding. According to Senge et al. (2004), there are a number of types of understanding. The simplest is where leaders make a quick responsive decision to address the issue. Often, this type of resolution is short-term, requires constant adjusting, and tends to be a more “standard cognitive” kind that is addressed with the conscious mind. The next type of understanding asks “what really is the problem here”, and reflects a deeper level of consciousness (Senge, et al., 2004, p. 85). This deeper level is called “inner knowing” and arises from one’s heart.

Another significant aspect of Lakota leadership was the deep-rooted culture within the participants’ responses. Regardless of where participants lived, all directly or indirectly discussed cultural perspectives regarding Lakota leadership. Each of the participants had a strong affiliation with being Lakota, and what “being Lakota” meant for them personally. As one participant stated, “I’m not assimilated. I never gave up my ceremonial ways. I never gave up my language. I never gave up that part of me. I’m bi-cultural. I can live in your world, but my world is significant.”

This attempt at balancing a dichotomous cultural identity between being Lakota and mainstream society has been only superficially documented in Native literature (Pickering, 2000; Peterson, 2006; Bordas, 2007). More often, there is discussion of how Lakota and other Indigenous people have incorporated mainstream attitudes (Coleman, 1993; Pickering, 2000; Bordas, 2007). Scholars have discussed this paradoxical position in other settings, such as with professional African-American women. For example, Bell
(1990) states, “beyond the pressures to conform to professional standards and dominant culture values found in organizations, black professional women must also manage expectations, values, and roles in relation to the black community—a community with its own norms regarding the status of women” (p. 460).

The Confucian theory of leadership rests on the idea “that if you want to be a leader, you have to be a real human being. You must recognize the true meaning of life before you can become a great leader. You must understand yourself first” (Senge et al., 2004, p. 180). In more traditional leadership, such as Plato and Confucius, the individual has mastered a certain constructive development level, so that he or she is not obstructed by emotions such as greed, fear, anger, and anxiety that would prevent them from making well-informed non-egocentric decisions. There are others that think that the best hope for society is to free itself from a self-centered, short-sighted mode of thinking, into a more compassionate, caring approach to consciousness (Senge, et al., 2004). This philosophy parallels the viewpoints of the participants in this study.

This inner knowing reflects similarity to the ways of successful Lakota leaders. Rarely do leaders make decisions quickly with little reflection or input, and more often decisions are made after extensive prayer and meditation. As Senge et al. (2004) posit, “most change processes are superficial because they don’t generate the depth of understanding and commitment that is required for sustaining change in truly demanding circumstances” (p. 87). For the Lakota, part of this shift is moving away from an individualistic model of decision making to which they have been assimilated, back into their more traditional, collective one. “I think that the leadership could bring back the
cultural ways of *mitakuye oyas'ini*, we are all related, that would help. Our people were never individualistic, not until the White people tried to teach us their ways.” As Shapiro (2009) said, “we can think collectively, solve problems collectively - and we will need collective thinking to solve societal problems” (p. 32).

*The Lakota as a Collectivist Society*

According to Hofstede and Hofstede (2005), in a collectivist group, the interests of the group prevail over those of the individual. When people grow up in a collectivist society, they learn to “think of themselves as a part of the ‘we’ group” (p. 75). This “we” group (or in-group) is the major source of one’s identity and provides security and protection. In the GLOBE studies, researchers found a parallel dynamic they coined “institutional collectivism” which is described as being “the degree to which organizational and societal institutional practices encourage and reward (and should encourage and reward) collective distribution of resources and collective action” (Javidan, Dorfman, de Luque & House, 2006, p. 69). A second dimension also found in Lakota leadership, similar to the GLOBE studies, was in-group collectivism. In-group Collectivism describes the degree that individuals express and should express pride, loyalty and group cohesion in their families, organizations or societies) (Javidan, et al., 2006). The collectivist philosophy, as well as the strong association of Lakota identity was observed within the participants’ accounts.
### Table II

**Comparison of Lakota Leadership Categories to Servant Leadership Characteristics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lakota Leadership Themes</th>
<th>Servant Leadership Characteristics</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Values/Behaviors</td>
<td>Calling</td>
<td>Natural desire to serve others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Qualities</td>
<td>Listening</td>
<td>Receptive to others’ viewpoints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Red Road</td>
<td>Empathy</td>
<td>Understand others circumstances and problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting Others First</td>
<td>Healing</td>
<td>Help facilitate the healing process for others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nation Building</td>
<td>Awareness</td>
<td>Understand environment around them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barriers</td>
<td>Persuasion</td>
<td>Are able to convince rather than force others to their viewpoints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptualization</td>
<td></td>
<td>Foster and environment of creativity and problem solving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foresight</td>
<td></td>
<td>Anticipate the future and its consequences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewardship</td>
<td></td>
<td>Prepare organization to make a positive difference in the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Helping others grow and develop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Community</td>
<td></td>
<td>Strong sense of community/community building</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Leadership Qualities
- Putting Others First
- Nation Building
- Leadership Qualities
- Barriers
- Not observed (Implied in one interview)
- Not observed in study
Table III

*Comparison of Lakota Leadership to Transformational Leadership and Servant Leadership Theories (Table modified from Barbuto & Wheeler, 2006)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lakota Leadership</th>
<th>Transformational Leadership Theory</th>
<th>Servant Leadership Theory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role of leader</td>
<td>To serve the collective</td>
<td>To inspire followers to pursue organizational goals</td>
<td>To serve followers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of follower</td>
<td>To become wiser, and contribute to the well-being of the tribe</td>
<td>To pursue organizational goals</td>
<td>To become wiser, freer and more autonomous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral component</td>
<td>Explicit</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>Explicit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outcomes expected</td>
<td>Follower development and commitment to tribal betterment</td>
<td>Goal congruence; increased effort, satisfaction and productivity; organizational gain</td>
<td>Follower satisfaction, development and commitment to service, societal betterment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual level</td>
<td>Desire to serve</td>
<td>Desire to lead</td>
<td>Desire to serve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal level</td>
<td>Leader serves community/tribe</td>
<td>Leader inspires follower</td>
<td>Leader serves follower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group level</td>
<td>Leader unites group to pursue needs of the tribe</td>
<td>Leader unites group to pursue group goals</td>
<td>Leader develops exchanges with each person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational level</td>
<td>Not applicable (See group)</td>
<td>Leader inspires followers to pursue organizational goals</td>
<td>Leader prepares organization to serve community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal level</td>
<td>Leader leaves a positive legacy for the betterment of the tribe</td>
<td>Leader inspires nation or society to pursue articulated goals</td>
<td>Leader leaves a positive legacy for the betterment of society</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table IV

Comparison of Barbuto and Wheeler’s (2006) Servant Leadership to Lakota Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SLQ Dimensions</th>
<th>SLQ Descriptions</th>
<th>Lakota Leadership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Altruistic Calling</td>
<td>Deep seated desire to make a difference in others’ lives</td>
<td>Putting Others First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Leadership Qualities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Healing</td>
<td>Fostering spiritual recovery from hardship or trauma</td>
<td>Leadership Qualities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>**Red Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisdom</td>
<td>Awareness of surroundings and anticipation of consequences</td>
<td>Leadership Qualities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nation Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bi-cultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persuasive Mapping</td>
<td>Use of sound reasoning and mental frameworks</td>
<td>Leadership Qualities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>**Nation Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational</td>
<td>Leaders preparation of organization to make a positive contribution to society</td>
<td>**Nation Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewardship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note: This theme is implied by participants, but not implicitly stated.

Summary

Data analysis of ten interview transcripts resulted in the development of six major and five minor categories that describe Lakota leadership. The major categories consisted of: Traditional Values and Behaviors; Putting Others First, Leadership Qualities; The Red Road; Nation Building; and Barriers. Minor categories included: Men as Leaders, Women as Leaders, and Fallen Leaders as Leadership Qualities sub-groups; and Bi-cultural, and “Real” Native as Barriers sub-groups.
CHAPTER V

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Summary

The purpose of this critical grounded theory study was to explore Lakota leadership qualities in urban and reservation settings. This study attempted to expand current leadership theory by giving voice to non-mainstream individuals by exploring leadership from a Lakota perspective. Previously, cultural differences in leadership have not been considered from sub-cultures perspectives, but rather by comparing cultures from different countries.

Scholars have generally neglected non-mainstream populations in leadership theory development and research. The leadership literature that does address other cultural perspectives is generally from countries outside the United States, and still investigates mainstream views. Due to communities and workforces becoming more culturally diverse, the need to augment leadership theory and practice to encompass non-dominant perspectives is imperative to advancing research.

For the purpose of this study, the central question was: What leadership characteristics are needed to be a successful leader? Because of the oral tradition of the Lakota, and the desire to encourage storytelling and examples during the interviews, the sub-questions were used as follow up questions to solicit more clarity and understanding on the part of the researcher. These sub-questions were: Can you tell me about someone who you feel is a good leader? Do you see Native leadership qualities as being different
from other leadership characteristics? (If so, how are they different?) Do you see any differences or similarities between men and women as leaders? How has leadership changed for the Lakota? What types of leadership qualities do you see as being important in the future? Do you think there are any barriers to leadership for the Lakota? An additional question about how leaders that had encountered difficulties regarding personal struggles had regained the trust of their followers also was asked.

The research settings are the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota, and a mid-sized mid-western city in Nebraska. Consistent with grounded theory methodology, these locations were chosen due to accessibility for the researcher to participants that fit needed criteria - enrolled Lakota tribal members. Data collection consisted of participant interviews, notes and general observations. A total of ten interviews were conducted over a period of three months with enrolled tribal members, and personal observations have transpired for over nine years. Participants were asked to share their perceptions of Lakota leadership and what characteristics, qualities, and traits were needed to be successful leaders. Additionally, participants shared their perceptions of what the Lakota tribe needs in its leadership to continue building as a nation.

Data analysis consisted of open coding procedures where the researcher read and re-read all interview transcripts line by line searching for words and phrases that were later identified as categories. Axial coding procedures then followed, in which the core category and sub-categories were determined. Finally, selective coding procedures were used to choose the storyline that emerged from the data and which best elucidated Lakota leadership.
Findings that emerged from the data analysis procedures led to the conclusion that Lakota leadership does not fit in tandem with current leadership theory. While aspects of Lakota and leadership theory may be similar in some dimensions, there is not universality to any of the mainstream theories.

Conclusions

In Western society, the cornerstone of what was once the traditional way of thinking about leadership has been replaced by individuals and organizations that are more focused on gaining and using power, influencing people, and maintaining an appearance of control (Senge, et al., 2004; Hinkin & Schriesheim, 1990). Andersen Consulting (1999) conducted a series of studies involving CEOs of major Fortune 100-1000 companies that brought to light a limitation regarding leaders. They found that today’s leadership standards and techniques are not keeping pace with the needs of today or the future (Scarborough, 2002). “Corporations are becoming larger and more complex; the competition for all companies is more intense and the competitive environment is very turbulent; in addition, today’s stakeholders are more demanding” (Scarborough, 2002, p. 2). Thus, the need for strategic, global and more proficient leaders is greater than ever.

“Nowhere is it more important to understand the relation between parts and wholes than in the evolution of global institutions and the larger systems they collectively create” (Senge et al., 2004, p. 7). The Confucian theory of leadership posits that
leadership is consistent with being a real human being. To become a great leader, recognition of the meaning of life must first exist. To do this having a strong sense of self outside of external influences is imperative. In the Eastern philosophy of leadership, the leader has reached a higher constructive development level, so that he or she is not obstructed by emotions or self-serving agendas that would impede the growth and development of others (Senge et al., 2004). This understanding of self, and in turn the world, allows for a more collective perspective, and purportedly a more successful leadership philosophy.

In Western society, decisions are often linked to the leader’s assumptions and attachments, which have affected their ability to be unbiased (Senge et al., 2004). The view of Confucian theory concerns long-term individual “cultivation” and follows that not only have leaders personally committed to their own development, but that they also have transcended through lower levels of constructive development. “First you slow down and look deeply into yourself and the world until you start to be present to what’s trying to emerge. Then you move back into the world with a unique capacity to act and create” (Senge et al., 2004, p. 185). Therefore, only after surpassing self interest and an individualistic viewpoint can leaders begin to consider the needs of the collective.

This perspective is consistent with the Lakota philosophy. There are those that posit that the best hope for the Lakota, as well as mainstream society, is to be free from a self-centered, short-sighted mode of thinking, and move into a more compassionate, caring approach to consciousness. For the Lakota, this entails fully embracing their
traditional ways. The next “awakening will come via a communal breakthrough, rather than the insight of a single human being” (Shaprio, 2009).

Significance

Leadership scholars have measured, described, and theorized “successful” leaders as those who motivate followers towards some goal, usually organizational, for the purpose of impacting the bottom line. In efforts to understand leaders and followers, often research has limited its scope of discernment to mainstream leaders, implying that non-mainstream individuals will either acquiesce, or that any differences are inconsequential. The other approach leadership scholars have taken is implying that leadership theory is “universal enough”, and can be applied globally regardless of influences such as race, gender or culture.

The purpose of this critical grounded theory qualitative study was to begin to bridge the gap between what is known in the leadership field with non-mainstream perspectives. While this study is limited to voices of the Lakota, it demonstrates that there are more aspects to leadership theory that need to be explored more thoroughly. As Lumby (2006) posits, “the identification and analysis of ‘differences’ in human beings runs the risk of further embedding notions of difference from a norm. Not to address such issues would ignore and leave undisturbed the power differentials that accrue on the basis of such perceived differences” (p. 153).
Recommendations for further research

To further leadership knowledge, scholars could consider including sub-cultures within their leadership studies to explore variances currently found within leadership theory. While culture is “always a collective phenomenon,” theorists have assumed that mainstream perspectives have trumped sub-culture such that the underlying assumption is that sub-culture dynamics will not impact leadership phenomenon (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). This study formulates the implication that sub-cultures may account for more of the variance than originally believed. Thus, future research could not only replicate this study on other Lakota reservations, but also with other sub-cultures (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender, age, and other Indigenous reservations). Another potential research method may include interviewing a wider variety of religious perspectives within the Lakota. Given that all of the participants in this study practiced traditional spirituality to some degree, results of a study using a larger spiritual base may provide differing perspectives.

According to Hofstede and Hofstede (2005), culture is learned. “It derives from one’s social environment rather than from one’s genes. Culture should be distinguished from human nature on one side and from an individual’s personality on the other” (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 4). Current theory measures culture in terms of Hofstede’s (2005) cultural dimensions, or the organizational culture. Consideration of individual and group culture may lead to a better understanding of leadership dynamics and success.
Implications for Further Research

As demonstrated by the findings from this study, leadership researchers should consider broadening the contextual aspects of their studies to include non-mainstream cultures to further research. While scholars such as Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) have looked at different cultures internationally, leadership theory has neglected looking at sub-cultures as a potential influence on variability. “The world is full of confrontations between people, groups, and nations who think, feel and act differently” (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 2). Given that organizations and communities are becoming more “diverse”, the need to challenge underlying homogeneity assumptions becomes more imperative for organizational and societal growth. “Ignore the persiflage of commitment to diversity and what you see is sustained, defended, entrenched homogeneity; this is reflected in respondents’ insistence on the need for commonality in vision, thinking, and culture as a prerequisite for the continued success of leadership teams” (Lumdy, 2006, p. 162).

This entrenched homogeneity, particularly in leadership studies, has attempted to negate any variance or differences that have been found. In operating from this perspective, scholars have created a blind spot, “This blind spot concerns not the what and how- not what leaders do and how they do it- but the who: who we are and the inner place or source from which we operate, both individually and collectively” (Senge, et al., 2004, p. 5). Therefore, consideration of sub-cultures is needed in leadership study, as well as consideration of the parts and the whole.
Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

There are several limitations to this study. First, grounded theory methods use purposive sampling techniques to gain the most relevant information possible on a subject. While these sampling methods are useful in painting an in-depth picture of the research phenomenon under investigation, they also limit the generalizability of the study. In this study, only Lakota residents from one urban city and one reservation were observed. Thus, the findings from this study may not be applicable to other settings. Future research could explore Lakota leadership perspectives in other settings, or other groups of Native Americans may be used.

Another limitation to this study is that the majority of the participants were over the age of 50. Future research could investigate other age groups more thoroughly to see what comparisons could be made between “elders” and younger generations. An additional limitation was realized after all of the interviews had been completed and data saturation met. All of the participants practiced Lakota spirituality, which may have biased the findings. While several of the participants also practiced some form of Christianity, all of the participants had thorough knowledge of the traditional Lakota way of life, and were active in practicing some of the traditional ways at the time of the study. Future research also could incorporate individuals who had adopted Christianity (or another religion or spiritual practice) to determine if there are differences.

Last, while there were some initial findings regarding gender differences in leadership roles and expectations, this investigation limited the scope of questions regarding this phenomenon. Future research could examine gender leadership practices,
especially given the increasing number of women in leadership positions within the tribe. A future study also could explore the differences between the genders concerning the goals for the tribe.

*Researcher’s Reflections*

As Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) stated “every person carries within him or her- self patterns of thinking, feeling, and potential acting that were learned throughout their lifetime” (p. 2). As a non-Lakota individual, it has been my honor and pleasure to have been welcomed into the Lakota community, *tíošpaye*, with open arms and without prejudice. I have participated as a supporter for a number of years in ceremony, and as such I have been mentored and taught some of the traditional values and practices. With those teachings, I have begun to see through my White Euro-American “privilege” upbringing, and to recognize how limiting mainstream society has been to Native people, as well as others of different colors, races, ethnicities and gender. To participate in ceremony, and explore my understanding of Lakota culture has been a gift, and I am forever indebted to those who have been willing to share their perspectives. I can only hope that I have limited my own biases and perspectives through this investigation, and given as much accuracy to their voices as possible. This was my hope and intent. As such, there are a couple of things the reader should consider in closing that I will address.

The first aspect to consider is that of Lakota Spirituality, or the Lakota way of life. As an individual who grew up in a mainstream Protestant society, finding a way to
explain the Lakota way of life to others without placing it into a Christian perspective is difficult at best. I have avoided explaining stories and Lakota Spirituality for the mere fact that any explanation would be through my non-Native lens, and would once again minimalize a cultural way that has already been contorted too many times before. Therefore, stories like the White Buffalo Calf Woman are added as a section into the appendix (Appendix J) and told by a Lakota author to reduce this possibility.

An additional aspect to consider is the Lakota identity piece that was embedded throughout the findings. To remove identity from the contextual setting undermines the entire purpose of a study such as this one, and has seemingly been one of the major shortcomings of leadership research. As someone who has lived in mainstream society predominantly, thorough understanding of someone else’s cultural identity is exigent. Especially a society whose very traditions, religious practices and way of life have been outlawed and its people oppressed and children assimilated. The tribe has clearly seen many changes. While I can happily report that the Lakota way of life is beginning to thrive through the resiliency of a few individuals, and a more recent desire to see it continue in its classrooms and community, this has been an arduous road. As several participants said after discussing the second occupation of Wounded Knee, “old Indian pride just came back. And that was good because it was after that there was more Sundances and sweat lodges and stuff like that. It really brought it out into the open again.”

The last consideration relates to the Lakota language. Lakota is an oral language, and was not placed into written form until the early 1800’s (Deloria, 1944/1998). Due to
the nature of the language, there are a number of different spellings and uses of diacritics. There are also words that can take on similar meanings, and the same word can take on a variety of meanings in a given situation. The Lakota vocabulary used in this report are the words in vivo from the participants. The spelling and diacritics came from several different resources including Buechel and Manhart’s (2002) *Lakota Dictionary*; Karol’s (1974/1997) *Everyday Lakota*; and White Hat’s (1999) *Reading and Writing the Lakota Language*. Therefore, I attempted to maintain the intent of what the participants said, however, any misspelling or misinterpretation comes from my lack of in-depth knowledge of the language.

To summarize, the Lakota are a proud, resilient people; a people that have survived a number of heartening and challenging situations. Through their leaders’ vision, a collectivist perspective, living by traditional values, and an enduring cultural identity, the Lakota have survived and thrived. Leadership theorists can learn from individuals like the Lakota, and in doing so can help create a more unified world. Scholars and students could work more diligently at a collectivist philosophy. “What is fundamental is being in the world with others, and removing the idea of a separate self” (The Arbinger Institute, 2006, p. 79). As Lumby (2006) so eloquently stated, “Those who have most power to change things are those least likely to understand the perspective of the powerless, and have least incentive to change the status quo” (p. 153). Thus, removal of the necessity for entrenched homogeneity and movement towards a more collectivist philosophy will serve leaders and leadership scholars.
REFERENCES


*Educational Management Administration & Leadership.* 34(2), 151-165.


Shapiro, M. (2009, March). Good morning world: This is your wake-up call. *Ode, 7*(2), 31-33.


APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

Initial Interview Protocol

Biographical information:

- Please tell me a bit about yourself.
- Where you are an enrolled member?
- Where have you lived including the reservation?

The central question for the study was:

- What leadership characteristics are needed to be a successful leader?

The original sub-questions included:

1. What types of leadership qualities are you drawn to?
2. What are the leadership differences between those on the reservation versus those in the city or urban setting?
3. Do you see Native leadership qualities as being different from other leadership characteristics? (If so, how are they different?)
4. Are there any gender differences in Lakota leadership characteristics?
5. What has been the historical impact on how leadership has changed through the years for the Lakota? For your tribe?
6. What types of leadership qualities do you see as being important in the future?
7. Are there any barriers to Native leadership that you see? Within the Lakota?
   Within mainstream society?
APPENDIX B

Revised Interview Protocol

Biographical information:

- Please tell me a bit about yourself.
- Where have you lived including the reservation?

The central question for the study was:

- What leadership characteristics are needed to be a successful leader?

The revised sub-questions included:

1. Can you tell me about someone who you feel is a good leader?
2. Sub-question #2: (regarding differences between reservation and urban leaders) was eliminated due to negligible findings.
3. Do you see any differences or similarities between men and women as leaders?
4. How leadership has changed for the Lakota?
5. Do you think there any barriers to leadership for the Lakota?
6. A sub-question asking about leaders who have met with personal struggles was asked as a follow up to the central question.
## APPENDIX C

*Observation, Interview and Field Notes*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants present</th>
<th>Date and time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Descriptive Notes</th>
<th>Reflective Notes</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D

Institutional Approval Forms
INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Healers and Helpers, Unifying the people: A qualitative study of Lakota leadership

Purpose of the Research:
This is a research project that is qualitatively exploring the qualities of Lakota leaders in today’s world. To participate, you must be 19 years of age or older. You are invited to participate in this study because you have been identified as having a unique perspective that is believed to contribute to the understanding of Lakota Leadership.

Procedures:
Participation in this study will require approximately 60-90 minutes of your time. A one-on-one interview will be conducted with you discussing your thoughts on Lakota leadership. This interview will be audio taped with your permission. Afterwards, a small focus group will be formed with several other research participants, so that leadership qualities and behaviors can be explored more thoroughly. I will be guiding the focus group conversations, using the same or very similar questions to those discussed in the interview. Focus group conversations will also be audio taped with the groups consent. Interviews and focus groups will be held at a convenient location for the participants, preferably at a participant’s home or work-site.

Risks and/or Discomforts:
There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research.

Benefits:
There are no direct benefits to participation in this study.

Confidentiality:
Any information obtained during this study which could identify you will be kept strictly confidential. The data will be stored in a locked cabinet and will only be seen by the investigator during the study and for three years after the study is complete. The information obtained in this study may be published in scientific journals or presented at scientific meetings but the data will be reported as aggregated data. The audiotapes will be erased after transcription.

Opportunity to Ask Questions:
You may ask any questions concerning this research and have those questions answered before agreeing to participate in or during the study. Or you may call the investigator at any time, if you want to voice concerns or complaints about the research. Please contact the University of Nebraska-Lincoln Institutional Review Board at (402) 472-6965 if you wish to talk to someone other than the researcher to obtain answers to questions about your rights as a research participant, to provide input concerning the research process, or to voice any concerns regarding the research.

Freedom to Withdraw:
Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Your consent confirms that you have decided to participate having read and understood the information presented.

Name and Phone number of investigator(s)
Kem Gambrell, M.S. Principal Investigator
Susan Fritz, Ph.D. Secondary Investigator
Cell (402) 440-8697 Office: (402) 472-2807
Cell (402) 472-2871 Office (402) 472-2871
APPENDIX E

Transcription Confidential Disclosure Agreement

This Agreement is entered into this 11th day of May, 2009 by and between

[Signature]
(hereinafter "Discloser").

WHEREAS Discloser possesses certain ideas and information relating to participants interviews and focus groups for the research of the dissertation titled “Walking in both worlds: Lakota leadership perspectives of the Twenty-First Century” that is confidential and proprietary to Discloser (hereinafter "Confidential Information"); and

WHEREAS the Recipient is willing to receive disclosure of the Confidential Information pursuant to the terms of this Agreement for the purpose of transcribing digital recordings of participants interviews and focus groups.

NOW THEREFORE, in consideration for the mutual undertakings of the Discloser and the Recipient under this Agreement, the parties agree as follows:

1. Disclosure. Discloser agrees to disclose, and Recipient agrees to receive the Confidential Information.

2. Confidentiality.

2.1 No Use. Recipient agrees not to use the Confidential Information in any way, or to manufacture or test any product embodying Confidential Information, except for the purpose set forth above.

2.2 No Disclosure. Recipient agrees to use its best efforts to prevent and protect the Confidential Information, or any part thereof, from disclosure to any person other than Recipient's employees having a need for disclosure in connection with Recipient's authorized use of the Confidential Information.

2.3 Protection of Secrecy. Recipient agrees to take all steps reasonably necessary to protect the secrecy of the Confidential Information, and to prevent the Confidential Information from falling into the public domain or into the possession of unauthorized persons.

3. Limits on Confidential Information. Confidential Information shall not be deemed proprietary and the Recipient shall have no obligation with respect to such information.
External Review of Qualitative Study

The following is a summary of my external review completed on a qualitative research study undertaken by Kem M. Gambrell, a doctoral candidate at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. The central question explored in this qualitative research study was presented as “What are the leadership characteristics of the Lakota.”

Review steps completed by this reviewer:

1. Became familiar with the purpose of the study and the overall research question.
2. Reviewed a sample interview transcript, and met with the researcher to verify coding.
3. Examined the thematic analysis and researcher interpretations, and verified that they were consistent with the sample transcript reviewed.

Following review of these documents, I met with the researcher to discuss my assessment of the status of her study, including coding procedures and thematic findings. From this review, I consider this study to be well-designed and thorough. I believe the coding procedure to be an accurate representation of the research participant’s viewpoints. Furthermore, from my review of the process employed by this researcher, this study appears to have been conducted in an ethical manner using procedures and protocols reflective of rigorous qualitative research.

Signed this 23 day of June, 2009.

Kelly A. Phipps, J.D.
External Reviewer
### APPENDIX G

**Lakota Terms and Their English Meanings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lakota</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>canŋup̅a</td>
<td>sacred pipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čantogna</td>
<td>do it with your heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čewiçaša</td>
<td>common people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chanshsha</td>
<td>sacred tobacco made from red willow bark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heyoka</td>
<td>Sacred clown/ someone who is contrary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huka'</td>
<td>adopting someone as a relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humblecheyapi</td>
<td>Fasting ceremony; &quot;Crying for a vision&quot; or going on the hill to pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inipi'</td>
<td>Purification or Sweat Lodge ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inyāŋ</td>
<td>creator; similar to Ťuŋ̅kaṡila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iyeska</td>
<td>Bi-racial individual or (NA and another race)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lekči</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mītaŋkuye oyas'įn</td>
<td>All my relatives/ relations; we are all related</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naca'</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ounšila</td>
<td>compassion in there heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oyate</td>
<td>Nation- the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptesan Wiŋ</td>
<td>White Buffalo Calf Woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pila maye</td>
<td>thank you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šic'esɪ</td>
<td>Female to male cousin/relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiošpaye</td>
<td>extended family unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokala</td>
<td>Warrier society that policed tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ťuŋ̅kaṡila</td>
<td>Grand father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uŋsiiec̄eya</td>
<td>compassion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uŋsiicyiapi</td>
<td>being humble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uŋći maka</td>
<td>Mother earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanaŋ</td>
<td>power, energy, sacred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakáŋ Táŋka</td>
<td>Great mystery/ Creator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakíŋyaŋ</td>
<td>thunder beings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi'/ wiŋyan</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woplia</td>
<td>giving thanks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wašíčuŋ</td>
<td>white man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waktoglaka</td>
<td>tradition of telling of one’s battle exploits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wawoohola</td>
<td>to be considerate, to hold in high esteem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi'</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix H

Divisions Within the Sioux Nation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dakoña</th>
<th>Nakota</th>
<th>Lakota</th>
<th>(Three Language Divisions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mdewakaŋtuŋwaŋ</td>
<td>Ihanktuŋwaŋ</td>
<td>Tituŋwaŋ</td>
<td>(Seven Council Fires)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waȟpetuŋwaŋ</td>
<td>Ihanktuŋwani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waȟpekuте</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisituŋwaŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix I

Seven Sub-tribes of the Lakota (Tituŋwaŋ)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sicangu</th>
<th>Burnt thighs (Rosebud)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oglala</td>
<td>(Pine Ridge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikazipče</td>
<td>Sans Arc (Cheyenne River)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnikowoju/Hohwoju</td>
<td>(Cheyenne River)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sihasapa</td>
<td>(Cheyenne River)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ooinun̄pa</td>
<td>Two Kettles (Cheyenne River)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huŋk̄apa</td>
<td>(Standing Rock)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX J

White Buffalo Calf Woman Story

(As told by Fire Lame Deer, 1992, pp. 201-205)

The Sacred Pipe was given to us by Ptesan Wiŋ, White Buffalo Calf Woman, who taught our people how to live. We cannot speak of our ceremonies without speaking about Canjuŋa, the Sacred Pipe. There is no ritual without the Pipe being smoked. In truth, smoking the Pipe is in itself a solemn ceremony. The Pipe is the link between man and the Grandfather Spirit above. The smoke rising from it connects us humans with what is more than human. Power emanates from the Pipe, and we look upon it as something that is a love, not mere wood and stone.

As my father used to say, “The Pipe is the Indian’s heart. The bowl of red pipestone is his blood and flesh. The stem is his spine or body, and the smoke rising from it is Wakąŋ Tąŋka’s breath. The chanshsha, our Indian tobacco is sacred, too. It’s not the same tobacco that is in a Camel, a Lucky Strike or a Marlboro; it is something entirely different. With the Pipe in your hand, you cannot lie; you can only speak the truth. ‘Talking through the Pipe’, as we call it, you will be believed.”

The Pipe itself is not sacred. It is the way in which we use it and the prayers we say when smoking it that make it holy. A Pipe is a manmade, material thing until it has been used in ceremony, prayed over, and blessed. Then a Pipe becomes sacred. Then you can feel a Pipe’s power and its spiritual vibration as you hold it in your hand.

When the White Buffalo Woman came, she brought us the Pipe. The story of her coming has been passed on from generation to generation. Long, long ago - how long we cannot tell anyone - the Lakota tribes came together for their midsummer celebration. They did this every year when the earth was blanketed with green, the grass was high, and the plains were teeming with game. That year, however, game was nowhere to be found, and the people were starving.

Among the seven tribes assembled were the Itazipco, the “Without Bows.” They were hungry and trying desperately to find buffalo. Chief Standing Hollow Horn chose two young men from among his warriors to scout for game. These two roamed far and wide, without any luck. But just when they had become so discouraged that they were about to give up and return to camp, one of them said, “Brother, I see a buffalo from a long way off.”

As they watched it coming closer and closer, the other young warrior exclaimed, “This is not a buffalo approaching, but a woman.”

It was a woman, indeed - a woman more beautiful that words can describe. Her face was radiant, and she seemed to float rather than walk. She was dressed in unadorned,
white, fringed deerskin, which enfolded her like a robe. Her hair was hanging loose, slightly stirred by the wind. Tied to it on the left side was a fringe of buffalo hair.

When this strange woman was no more than an arm’s length away, one of the two scouts said, “This maiden is alone. She is beautiful beyond imagination. I shall lie with her.”

“Brother, do not do this,” said the other. “This is no ordinary woman. Do you not see that she is walking above the ground, her feet not touching the Earth?”

But the other would not heed him and reached out his hand to touch her. At once a cloud descended upon him, and when it lifted, all that was left of the warrior was a heap of bones.

The strange woman addressed the other scout: “Your friend had impure thoughts. For his lack of humility, he was punished. I have been sent by the Buffalo Nation to bring a message to your people, a most important message. Return to your tribe. Tell your chief and the people what has happened here.”

“I shall come tomorrow at sunrise to visit your camp,” the woman continued. “Tell the people to prepare everything for my coming. Tell them to put up a special tipi. Make everything holy. Now go home to your camp without looking back.”

The young warrior did as he was told. He related to Chief Standing Hollow Horn what had happened to his friend and what the strange woman had commanded. Helped by all of the people the chief prepared everything for the strange woman’s visit. The eyapaha (the herald) rode all around camp calling for all men, women, and children to assemble at sunrise to welcome the Wakáŋ Woman. At the first light of dawn, the Holy Maiden appeared, dressed as she had been the day before. In her hands she carried the Ptehiŋchala Huȟu Canŋupha, the Most Sacred Pipe, made from a buffalo calf’s leg bone. This Pipe was not fashioned by man but by Wakáŋ Táŋka, the Creator. Ptesan Wiŋ, White Buffalo Calf Woman entered the lodge singing and sat down in the place of honor.

She told the people, “I will return some day and then it will be for always. Then there will be a new life and a new understanding.”

Chief Standing Hollow Horn the addressed the Buffalo Maiden: “Sister, you have come to console us when we are in great need. It is our custom to feed our guests, but we are poor and starving and have nothing to give you but water.”

So saying, he dipped a braid of waca’ŋga (sweet grass) into a buffalo horn filled with rainwater and offered it to the maiden. She thanked him, saying, “This is better than any feast you could have prepared for me.”
She then showed the chief how to load the Pipe with sacred tobacco, how to light it with a glowing buffalo chip, and how to smoke it in a ceremonial manner. She also gave to the Lakota people their seven sacred rituals: The Inipi or purification in the sweat lodge; the Vision Quest, the Sundance, the Spirit Keeping, the young girl’s puberty rite, the Making of the Relatives, and the Throwing of the Ball.

She instructed the men: “You are the strong ones. You must protect and be kind to those that are helpless - the women and the children. You must share your food with those that are too weak or old to hunt and to feed themselves. You must pray with this Pipe. You Without Bows have been chosen to receive it, but it belongs to all of the Red Nations.”

To the women, Ptesan Wiŋ said, “You are weak, yet you are strong. Your strength keeps the family together. You are the life-givers, the nation’s womb. You love children. You are kind to all living things. Wakáŋ Táŋka loves you.”

To the little children she said, “You are small now, but you will grow up to be men and women, walking in the way of the Pipe, carrying the spark to the next generation. You are blessed.”

For four days Ptesan Wiŋ instructed the people how to behave as human beings. She taught them everything they needed to know. When her work was done, she told the people, “I must leave you, but follow me to the top of that hill over there, and you shall no longer be hungry.” And the Holy Woman walked toward the East.

Awed and thankful, the people followed her at a respectful distance. When she reached the hill she transformed herself into a white buffalo calf and slowly disappeared. Then the people knew for certain that she had been sent by Wakáŋ Táŋka. And as they themselves came to the hilltop, they found before them, on the far side, a herd of buffalo waiting to give their flesh so that the nation could live.
The Heyoka Story

(As told by Fire Lame Deer, 1992, p. 92, 162)

The *heyoka* is a “contrary”, an upside down, cold-hot, backward-forward individual; a tragicomical spiritual clown. They are individuals that do everything backwards. They put their clothes on backwards, they walk backwards, and they say “I hate you” when they mean “I love you.” A *heyoka* can make weeping people laugh. *Heyoka’s* have special, supernatural powers. A *heyoka* is a thunder dreamer, and becomes a sacred clown by dreaming of the *Wakinyay*, the Thunderbirds or Thunder beings, and things spiritually connected with them. *Heyoka’s* are powerful. They can cure illnesses, they can change the weather, and they can part the clouds making a cloudy day sunshine.
## APPENDIX L

### Major and Minor Themes with Code Examples

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*Note: Row indicates number of participants who discussed theme*