Examining the emotionality of leadership by exploring administrators' recall of key junctures in their lives as leaders, this study investigated the associations between an individual's work philosophy of leadership and his/her experience of emotionality in leadership work. Participants were five Canadian individuals actively involved in leadership/administrative positions in education. The study used stimulated recall of emotional experiences associated with leadership work. Data collection involved interviews, the researcher's observation notes, and participants' written reflections about the interviews. Data analysis indicated that the protection of self from emotional hurt was of paramount importance. This was fostered by sharing and collaboration. Leadership styles that were controlling and perfectionist related to high anxiety, fear, and reticence to risk. Authentic collaboration was a successful anxiety reducer and optimizing strategy. There was a stronger capacity to use language and reexperience the emotions of the self and others in recall among women. Among the participants, while emotional authenticity was special and pleasant, it was rare. This paper summarizes results related to kinds of emotions and their provocations, emotional intrasubjectivity of leaders, and emotional intersubjectivity of leadership. Findings support the position that emotions may be fundamental to the intra- and intersubjective realities of life in schools, in general, and of leadership work in particular. (Contains 45 references.) (SM)
FEELING LIKE A LEADER:
THE EMOTIONS OF LEADERSHIP

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Abstract

Examining the emotionality of leadership by exploring administrators’ recall of key junctures in their lives as leaders, this pilot study was designed to begin to investigate the associations between an individual’s philosophy of leadership and his/her experience of emotionality in leadership work. Employing an interview method, the study used stimulated recall of emotional experiences associated with leadership work. Interviews were transcribed and, along with researcher’s observation notes and participants’ written submissions, all data were subjected to analysis. An assessment of the situations that evoked emotions, patterns associated with the emotions themselves and some of the effects of the act of reflection, led to noteworthy conclusions which may hold important implications for further research in the sociology of emotions and educational leadership theory and practice. Emerging findings support the position that emotions may be fundamental to the intra and intersubjective realities of life in schools, in general, and of leadership work, in particular.
Feeling Like A Leader: The Emotions of Leadership

Teaching and leading are profoundly emotional activities (Fried, 1995). You would not guess this from much of the educational change and reform literature, however . . . If educational reformers ignore the emotional dimensions of educational change, emotions and feelings will only re-enter the change process by the back door (Hargreaves, 1997, pp. 108 - 109).

The emotional experience of educational leadership has not been explored in sufficient depth to date in the Educational Administration literature. This pilot study investigated the emotions of leadership - their provocations, origins, qualities - and some of their effects on the working lives of educational leaders.

Researchers have identified a number of different styles and behaviours associated with leadership work (Burns, 1978; Kuhnert and Lewis, 1987; Leithwood and Jantzi, 1990). In the past ten to fifteen years, the widespread acceptance of the need for change in education and elsewhere has led to extensive reconsideration of ‘what is leadership?’ and ‘what are effective ways in which to lead?’ Struggling to define leadership, from the mutual exclusivity of management as ‘maintaining’ and leadership as ‘creating’ (Bennis, 1989), through to the suggested recombination of these dimensions in a composite blend (Fullan, 1991), characterizes the range of perspectives on how to define leadership and how to do it best.

Human emotions have been consistently marginalized in educational leadership research. However, in education, several writers and researchers do acknowledge emotions as relevant to teachers’ work (Acker, 1992; Blase and Anderson, 1995; Dinham 1995; Hargreaves, 1994; Jeffrey and Woods, 1997; Nias, 1989; Noddings, 1992; Rosenholtz, 1989 and others) in terms of themes that include morale, stress and burnout, motivation, empowerment, the self, change, deprofessionalization of inspection and emotions of learning to teach. The emotions of leadership are virtually unmentioned.

There are exceptions.
In a revealing narrative reflection of his own inner journey as principal, David Loader suggests we need “... a more balanced view of leadership ... those who have researched the current educational writing have identified a gap ... Little seems to have been written about the person of the leader and the emotions that person experiences while leading.” He offers many insights, like the following:

Leadership has its highs and lows, its successes and failures. Principals cry, laugh, dream and become suspicious. There are times when principals do want the fairy godmother to come and save them. While leadership is about courage, about creating the tomorrow of our choice, heroism does not come easily (1997, p.3).

His candor about his personal and professional self is exceptional in educational administration literature.

Criticisms of my school were taken personally, as criticisms of me. With this mind set it became very hard to have a private life ... My personal failure was that I had no sense of myself as separate from the institution. (1997, p.147)

The emotional experience of educational leaders is an area rich in its potential to assist us in deepening our understanding of leadership.

In her study of several principals and the challenges of competing in the educational marketplace at the expense of shared collegiality, Blackmore (1996) points to the need for an increased appreciation of the emotional labour involved in educational leadership during times of severe fiscal restraint, competition for students and aggressive educational reform.

As well, we find that for principals, there are some emotional implications for leaders who are learning to “let go” of control in shared governance of schools (Blase and Blase, 1997). Principals, mandated to implement distributed leadership in their schools, reported emotional and professional rewards for themselves and their teachers. However, the anxiety and fear that accompanied making the adjustment held them back and in some cases undermined their ability
even to try to make the necessary changes.

In the educational administration literature, leadership behaviours that do have far reaching emotional implications are repeatedly recommended: lending support, exhibiting moral integrity, providing safety, fostering collaboration, offering intellectual stimulation, encouraging organizational learning and practising consultative and shared decision making. Optimally, it is theorized, these features combine to create cultures in schools that generate and sustain the energy necessary for change and transformation. These ways of leading may foster the ability to improve schools from within (Barth, 1990). Csikszentmihalyi might call this ‘finding flow.’ In any case, the emotional causes and effects of so many conditions an effective leader might try to create, remain under explored. The emotional processes of the leader her/himself remain virtually uncharted territory in educational administration research.

Throughout the educational administration literature, the emotions have been treated, if they are mentioned at all, as little more than pesky interlopers, distracting us from a higher, rational purpose. The emotional implications of forces that shape our perceptions are marginalized.

Analysis of political and cultural forces that condition emotional experience across time and space is neglected [while] emotional processes are treated as separate from other kinds of subjectivity such as thinking and somatic experiences . . . As a result, emotional and cognitive orientations are viewed as competing perspectives . . . [and] little has been done to unravel the complex manner in which emotion, cognition and the lived body intertwine (Ellis and Flaherty, 1992, p.3).

This dualist paradigm continues to pervade our consciousness harkening back to the age of enlightenment and obfuscating a more complete view of the human mind - body continuum. As Davies (1992, p.67) warns, in the context of examining cultural narrative,

The binary pairs male/female, mind/body, reason/emotion, light/darkness, fact/fantasy take their meaning not only in relation but in hierarchical opposition to each other. Our new stories must rework the element of these dualisms, such that both sides are equally valued, their meaning is no longer part of any oppositional binary form of thought, and both become necessary elements of each person’s subjectivity. In the meantime though, personal identities have been (are being) constituted in terms of those very dualities we are in the process of
This hierarchical relationship between reason and emotion has particular implications for life in organizations - for leaders and for followers - in that it is often characterized as one of mutual exclusion. The power position in the hierarchy may be ritually reasserted through strict emotional control or repression in an attempt to appear exclusively and dominantly rational. There is a constant reenactment of the notion that optimally, saner heads prevail and that sane is synonymous with unemotional. However, this may be the antithesis to the way people are really feeling. Reason itself is not free of emotional foundation, and even in the purest of intellectual moments, emotions are present. The mind is actually a seamless blend of thinking and feeling (Damasio, 1997). Traditional educational administration research's consistent exclusion of the emotions therefore, is limiting, for it distorts our theoretical understanding of human experience. Problem solving, strategic planning, and even reflective practice are considered from an almost exclusively rational standpoint. Educational administration research can no longer afford to treat the emotions as peripheral if we are to explore fully the way leaders are and the ways they can be.

Despite their apparently "unpleasant" or "dangerous" qualities for researchers because of their capacity to "contradict so much of the rational actor world-view on which mainstream sociology is premised" (Ellis and Flaherty, 1992, p.1), subjective experiences are fundamental to our notion of reality. The emotional dimension of our subjectivity has a foundational role to play in the development of our socially constructed reality. Lived experience then, may be more appropriately treated as "an interpretive story, rather than a causal one" (Ellis and Flaherty, 1992, p.5). An interpretive story "lives willingly with plurality, embracing the power of language to make new and different things possible; ... focuses on how we talk about the world and tries to deal with it; ... recounts improvisations, changes, contradictions, ambiguities and vulnerabilities" (Bochner, 1990, pp.5-6). We need to study the stories of emotional subjectivity in this spirit.

This report is therefore grounded in a new paradigm of the human mind, one which recombines the previously polarized cognitive and affective domains and is based on a vision of the 'whole
body as mind' (Pert, 1998). With this image of the whole mind in mind, we may begin to pursue lines of research which could lead to a more meaningful understanding of people whose realities are largely defined and whose values are heavily influenced by their emotions. Research into the emotional dimension of the total human experience then, may complement cognitive and behaviourist emphases that have gone before, giving us a closer look at some of the less considered parts, and moving us nearer to a fuller appreciation of human beings as whole persons.

It is not only the educational research community which has excluded the emotions. Emotions are political. Within the culture of schools themselves, there is the tacit expectation that ideal 'professional' demeanour is primarily rational and, for the most part, emotionally controlled if not repressed. This is especially the case in terms of emotional display rules among adults in schools. Unfortunately, in attempting to retain appropriate professional decorum, the accompanying denial or suppression of the emotionality of inner experience can create an artificiality to organizational life that may be helping to eliminate the very source and impetus for change that is needed to propel it. At the least this may be energy depleting and perhaps even unhealthy.

Typically, in organizations, people suppress ideas and feelings about ongoing problems at work, behaviour often viewed as politically useful and adaptive. Paradoxically, successful efforts at organizational change and development rely upon participants' genuine expression of feelings and ideas. Nevertheless, sincerity may challenge the political nature and defensive strategies that characterize most work relationships. Resistance to change is therefore inevitable. (Diamond, 1993, p.117).

This denial of the emotionality of experience may also be limiting the potential for professional renewal and synergy that can only occur when the whole self is safe to grow and to discover in collaboration with trusted colleagues (Barth, 1990; Little, 1993). Perhaps leaders themselves need a forum of trust and safety within which to examine and reflect upon the emotionality of their experience. (Fineman, 1992; Osterman and Kottkamp, 1993). There is, for example, for teachers, a connection between the emotions of feeling safe and secure, and authentic collaborative professional learning, creative risk taking in shared heterarchical leadership.
However the relationship between teachers' emotional experience in this context and that of the leader, may be one of inverse proportionality. In other words, the more secure and empowered the teacher, the more threatened, insecure and anxious may be the leader's emotional experience (Blase and Blase, 1997). This 'either or' relationship between leaders' and teachers' emotional security may be central to the inner workings of educational stasis and critical to our understanding of the possibility for educational change. It is important to note however, that we find teachers' willingness to make voluntary commitment to extracurricular duties is not necessarily dependent on the extent of their perceived empowerment (Blase and Roberts, 1994). Closed and open, authoritarian and transformative, leaders with various styles get results. Thus there may be other more elusive qualities to the effective leadership connection with teachers. Could these be emotional qualities? It would seem that the characteristic emotional intersubjectivity (Denzin, 1984) of an organization is indicative of its energy system and its openness to learning, growth and change.

Some models of the learning organization are based on empowerment and shared decision making. Schools that have succeeded in fostering a truly collaborative culture report a self-generating creative synergy and commitment (Blase and Blase, 1997). However, despite much rhetoric about the desirability of a horizontal organizational structure characterized by shared decision making and authentic collaboration, our present system is still typically hierarchical and exclusionary. The hierarchical regime is often characterized by centralized control, favouritism, and highly restricted information flow (Blase and Anderson, 1995). Thus, the processes whereby leaders experience their emotional capacity, or incapacity, to provide the necessary impetus for optimal personal and organizational change, the readiness to foster change in self and others, are worthy of our consideration. For instance, the emotional attachment of leaders to their values of power and control, may be a factor in the seemingly irrepressible, self-replicating power of hierarchy. Thus an emotional link may be partly responsible for compromising sincere attempts at distributed leadership and for the corresponding loss of opportunity to energize the system. In the highly controlled, closed regime, wherein an authoritarian or even emotionally damaging leader restricts the possibility of growth and self-actualization, there is the danger of entropic depletion of personal and organizational energy. Importantly, therefore, the shaping
and maintaining forces in the culture of educational leadership, and the underlying emotionality that is associated with these forces, are worthy of closer examination.

Much has been written about transformational leadership styles, theoretically facilitative and fostering of shared growth and organizational change. However, even the most well intended leader is subject to her/his own transrational values (Hodgkinson, 1990) and, I would argue, the emotions that sustain them. The leader whose need for power and control exceeds his/her intellectual acceptance of the desirability of a heterarchical distributed leadership may be faced with an obstacle to organizational success that is essentially an emotional one. A better understanding of the emotions of leadership could be used to build capacity for learning and change in schools. Alternatively, if we continue to ignore the emotional dimension of organizational life in general and leadership in particular, we do so at our. Further research is needed therefore, in order to discover the intra, inter, social, micropolitical, structural and psychodynamic factors at work in schools. These factors may for instance, be contributing to, creating and sustaining the emotional processes underlying our attachment to stasis, at a time when embracing change may be essential to survival. Thus, this pilot study was born out of the need to research the emotional reality of life in organizations, especially schools. Its particular focus is the emotional experience of leaders.

Context

At the time of this study, the ongoing need for publicly funded organizations to become places that are safe, dynamic, learning, evolving, adaptive and creative existed concurrently with the increased momentum of a new external political reality. Increasing demands for fiscal restraint and professional accountability created pressures for change and improvement with little money to support these initiatives. Thus, there was an increasing demand on human resources at a time when there were few supports to facilitate human adjustment and more importantly, real deep organizational change or transformation.

The need for transformation was beginning to be felt keenly in the education milieu. Educators
were aware of the need for change. They were not however, informed, prepared or supported in these changes. For instance, making the transition from having exclusive control over what students will learn, to joining them as fellow learners in an information flooded world is, like the principals learning to share leadership, an emotionally challenging feat. Importantly, it is the teacher who is encouraged to be a life long learner, looking inward as well as outward for growth, who can best exemplify this most potent lesson for students. However, it is usually the teacher who is emotionally safe to take the necessary risks who becomes such a model (Beatty, 1999a). The ability of the leader to foster such a safe environment, to promote and perhaps exemplify such a learning model is in part an emotional capacity (Loader, 1997). At the time of this study the emotional self-awareness and capacity of the leader was a little researched link in the chain of professional growth and organizational change.

Decades of study have been devoted to ‘Educational Change,’ ‘Learning Organizations,’ ‘Transformational Leadership,’ ‘Leadership Behaviours,’ ‘Values in Education,’ and other attempts to understand the inner workings of life in schools with a view to effecting educational improvement. Nevertheless, theory, policy and attempted implementations have been largely ineffective in bringing about deep meaningful change.

To discover why change has been so difficult to effect, some have sought answers by trying to reconfigure elements within the various organizational and leadership models that have been developed to try to describe the ways leadership occurs in different kinds of schools (Leithwood et al., 1999, in press). However, these models are characterized by a heavily cognitivist and behaviourist perspective. Leithwood et al.’s summary of clusters of leadership paradigms gleaned from educational administration journal articles since 1988 are useful, offering the categories of ‘instructional,’ ‘transformational,’ ‘moral,’ ‘participative,’ ‘managerial’ and ‘contingent.’ But the emotions get scant attention. They are considered as indirectly related to motivation. The desirability of “emotional arousal states” the leader may attempt to create in others is highlighted. However, their chapter entitled “Emotional Balance” is actually a treatment of emotional exhaustion among teachers as synonymous with burnout. Focussing on the emotions the leader stimulates in others, there is no mention of what the emotional states of
the leader her/himself might be. A comprehensive study of the subtle interplay among cognitive and affective processes responsible for allowing and preventing change, processes which may be far more emotionally based than has been fashionable to acknowledge, is needed.

The marginalization of affectivity has led to a kind of subversion of the emotions in the research and practice of educational administration. The emotions are undoubtedly present but they go unacknowledged. Furthermore, the absence of research into emotions of leaders themselves represents a significant gap in the literature.

This study was undertaken at The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Theory and Policy Studies - Educational Administration Department, as a “Field Research” component of the Education Doctoral Programme.

**RESEARCH QUESTION**

How do leaders experience, express, reflect upon and understand the emotionality of their work?

**SUB QUESTIONS**

1. What are leaders’ inner experiences of emotion as associated with their work: intrasubjective emotionality and the ‘self.’
2. How do leaders experience the emotionality of the ‘other’: emotional intersubjectivity?
3. How do leaders recall and make meaning from influential experiences in the theoretical and practical evolution of their leadership?
4. How do gender and micropolitics play a role in the emotional experience of leaders?
5. What other understandings of the inner world of the educational leader might emerge from the data of this study?

**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Emerging from the analysis of the data were confirmations of the relevance of several concepts. These include the following:
1. The concept of 'self'

as ‘I’ and ‘Me’ experienced relative to the ‘Other’ as introduced by Mead (1932) and discussed by Heidegger (1927/1962, p.275, as cited in Denzin, 1984) and explored later by others, notably Nias (1989).

Emotionality is a circular process that begins and ends with the transactions and actions of the self in the social situation interacting with self and others.

The internal experience of emotions by leaders often results in felt implications for the leader’s sense of self. The felt emotions are referred to here as emotional intrasubjectivity. As Nias advises, the “substantial self” seeks internal and external congruence. The cognitive dissonance that occurs in situations that clash with our “beliefs” and “values” about our substantial self, demands a “strongly protective and sometimes far from optimal change of view or action” (p.16), a fragmentation of the professional self, which would presumably be associated with some manifestation of emotionality. Through stimulated recall, participants gained some access to these aspects of their experience.

2. Intersubjectivity

as explored by Denzin (1984) is helpful in considering the emotions of the leader in conjunction with the emotions of others.

If emotionality is conceptualized as a process of self-feeling, then it can be seen as arising out of the self-interactions that individuals direct toward themselves and out of the reflected appraisals of others, both imagined and real (Sullivan, 1956, as cited in Denzin, 1984, p.54)

Denzin (1984, p.146) reminds us that “As recurring fields of common interactional experience, organizations provide the contexts for the preperforming, coperforming, and reperforming of those social acts that underlie all emotional understanding.” His examination of forms of emotional intersubjectivity is useful. Feelings in Common, Fellow-Feeling, Emotional Infection, Emotional Identification, Emotional Embracement, and Spurious Emotionality constitute the range, kinds and levels of emotional understanding in his construct. Presumably, for leaders and led, interpretations of emotional understanding bear on their lived experience in work. The ways leaders, who remain more isolated than many others in the organization, handle their emotional understandings and apply these in their practice is of interest in this study.
3. Micropolitics

Blase and Anderson's (1995, p.18) treatment of leadership styles as relatively open or closed, transactional or transformative provides a useful construct with which to consider power and emotions in leadership. Leaders in this study described their self-definitions of what leadership should be. These then could be compared to feelings associated with instances involving themes of power, influence, control and other aspects of leadership. Emerging patterns could be identified. Perhaps, for instance, certain emotions whether pleasant or unpleasant, can be linked to particular leadership practices and examined for their interrelationship. The notion here is that the emotions of the leader are likely to be fundamental to her/his practice, even if they are not displayed, or perhaps even acknowledged at the time. Authoritarian and adversarial leadership styles were noted for their provocation of “anger, depressive, anxiety, resignation and satisfaction” states in teachers. The latter, “satisfaction,” was mixed with “concern for ethics” and “feeling sorry for those who were not” among the favoured group (Blase and Anderson, 1995, p. 40-41). Leaders gained access to these and other kinds of micropolitical interrelationships between power and emotionality through stimulated recall and focused reflection.

4. Gender

Work by Gilligan (1982), Noddings (1984), Hochschild (1983), Blackmore (1996), Shakeshaft (1989) and others, suggests there are gender distinctions with the emotions. Gilligan sees the female sense of morality as socially constructed in ways that are distinctive, indicating a contrastingly high value on connectedness, integration and continuity. All of these have significant emotional implications and play out in the daily social interaction of organizational life. Noddings positions the role of caring as central to our lives. Associated with the classically feminine role of nurturing, it is at the root of receptivity, relatedness and responsiveness in many realms including education. Examining the leader’s feelings about his/her role as caring, (an inherently emotional experience I would argue,) and the associated moral and ethical implications, is assisted by her work. Hochschild introduces the notion of emotional labour, required when in the line of your work, you feel one thing but think you are expected to feel another. Leaders’ work seems well described as emotional management of self and others,
involving significant amounts of emotional labour. Blackmore contributes a case study of several principals whose emotional labour requires them to abandon the comforts of professional collaboration in deference to a new policy of competition between schools for students and funds. Clearly her work may bear directly on educational leadership in the present political and economic context in Ontario. Also, Shakeshaft’s noting of women administrators’ distinguishing characteristics and different experience of the culture of power and control lends credence to the argument in favour of considering gender as highly relevant to the research of the emotions of educational leadership. When being known means being known for one’s authentic self, and one’s authentic (female) self is inherently marginal to the dominant organizational culture, the resulting potential for cognitive and emotional dissonance is worthy of consideration. Leadership’s stricter codes of emotional display rules may intensify this aspect of the leadership experience for females, who may be encouraged to undergo more extensive reshaping of the self. Together, all of these feminist perspectives provide significant insight into some of the universal processes involved in learning and interacting, in schools and in life.

DESIGN/METHOD

Data Collection/Sources:
A. Each participant shared in 35 - 45 minutes of focussed reflective conversation. Interviews moved loosely through all or most of the following:

1. Clarification of “leadership” and what it means to the participant.

2. “Leadership” as it has been part of the participant’s life, from early experiences of other leaders or in being a leader.

3. A recollection of a specific occasion of a meaningful association between emotion and leadership; i.e., “What associations have you experienced between emotions and leadership?”

4. Additional probes to develop and elaborate on the ideas offered in response to #3 to identify the emotions themselves, the provocations, the inner emotionality and the emotional intersubjectivity of any occasion or incident being discussed.

5. Depending on whether the selection in #3 & #4, was about a relatively pleasant or unpleasant experience, the second type would be solicited here.
The participant was asked to recall a time which epitomized his or her sense of leadership, perhaps a turning point in understanding. He or she was asked to revisit the experience, with a particular emphasis on its emotional dimensions.

B. Written reflections about the interview process or content were invited.

C. Researcher's observation notes.

D. Transcriptions of all interviews: 25,000 words of typewritten data.

E. Analysis of data for patterns and relationships:
   1. Kinds of emotions: pleasant and unpleasant;
   2. Kinds of situations that provoked emotions;
   3. Emotional intrasubjectivity of leadership experiences;
   4. Emotional intersubjectivity of leadership experiences;
   5. Leadership: emotions, micropolitics and gender.

F. DISCUSSION Patterns emerging from the data: the emotional work of leadership

G. CONCLUSIONS Theoretical implications of findings.

Participants:

The five participants were actively involved in leadership/administrative positions in public education, private education, higher education or health care in various locations in Canada. Ages ranged from 35 - 49. Two were under forty and three over forty. All were in the middle years of their professional lives. Each had fairly extensive experience in leadership ranging from eight to twenty years in designated leadership positions. There were four females: Joan, 35, university professor and administrator; Linda, 49, superintendent with the Ministry of Education; Carol, 36, health care administrator; Sue, 43, vice principal in a private school; and one male, John, 46, elementary school principal. Participants were selected on the basis of their willingness to participate.
FINDINGS

1. **Kinds of emotions and their provocations**

Positive Emotions

In this section the positive emotions and the kinds of situations associated with them are summarized.

*Flow* through empowerment and collaboration

Among the emotions selected by leaders to describe experiences that were positive and pleasant were a number associated with creative flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997). “Passion” “excitement,” “determination,” “confidence,” “satisfaction of letting go,” “relief,” “joy,” “high” “adrenalin rush,” were terms used to describe situations where the leader felt challenge, and focus, where people were working together and accomplishing things. For instance, for one leader, initiating a major new project was exciting and included some stress, but good stress. For another, the “synergy of bringing important people together” in a ‘meeting of the minds’ led to “satisfaction, togetherness, feeling included and letting go of control” associated with great “relief” at having learned to share responsibility and credit with others. A third leader reported that in collaborative problem-solving, “finding the way through” caused “joy, validation and satisfaction.”

Support

Leaders also needed the emotional support of validation. They felt “affirmed, sustained, sheltered and liberated” by sharing responsibility and credit as facilitator of a committee. Shared decision making and authentic collaboration also evoked these kinds of feelings. Being allowed and encouraged to grow as a leader made one woman feel “supported, secure, and able to risk.”

Being Known

Sharing an important update with subordinates and being appreciated in the feedback led to feelings of “adrenalin rush, excited, supported, known.” While after being emotionally candid about feelings associated with a conflict of interest as a committee member, one leader felt “relief, affirmed, seen, caring, happy and real.” Showing her real feelings caused one leader to receive feedback that made her feel “genuine, proud and happy.” When “truly collaborating” several of these leaders enjoyed feeling “connected.”

Self-affirmation

The leader’s self is challenged in the line of work and when his/her values, capacities, and
abilities are sufficient to accomplish a difficult task it is, not surprisingly, an occasion of affirmation. Positive emotions were associated here. Affirming her values in the balance between justice and care was helpful in an altercation with an extremely pushy parent. The successful interaction boosted this female vice principal's confidence.

**Negative Emotions**

In this section the negative emotions and the kinds of situations associated with them are summarized.

**Disempowerment**

Leaders who felt pressure to succeed but not the support or empowered autonomy to accomplish their objectives found the leadership role emotionally difficult. They were "overwhelmed, insecure, questioning, discouraged, fearful, anxious" and experienced a sense of "loss of control." A leader who, believing she must be perfect and that she should have total responsibility and control over her subordinates’ success, characterized these as times of "anxiety and fear." Later, when she learned to share responsibility and success with others, to empower them, she reported feeling much "relief," and could "relax and enjoy the process." These leaders reported feeling "resentment and frustration" when being controlled and limited "from above." They suffered for lack of their own empowerment and suffered when they failed to empower others and share the burden and the glory.

**Threatened self**

A critical, threatening and limiting boss was described as the provocation for feeling "insecure, anger, resentment, nervousness, hesitant."

**Control and emotional display**

A defiant aggressive accusatory parent who was very upset confronted and insulted this leader causing "anger, frustration and hurt." She learned not to let the attacker know how much she was affected in order to retain power and control. Becoming "emotionally shut down" was the answer for this leader, learning to take control of an emotionally charged situation by refusing to participate. In other words "this interview is over." One leader’s worst memory of an unpleasant emotional experience was a loss of control and subsequent embarrassment about having engaged in a yelling match with a student. She never did this again.
It's a dirty job . . .

Sometimes the work itself was responsible for creating the emotionally unpleasant situation. One leader was required to serve on a committee to help eliminate some of the jobs of her subordinates. She felt deeply conflicted, and great “sadness, resistance and worry.” A vice principal, finding that her principal was embezzling, had to turn him in. She felt “fearful, grief, sorrow, and sadness.”* having empathized with her well respected boss and having found it very hard to do the dirty work of turning him in. However, in the process, their superintendent began to accuse her of impropriety, as if she had turned her boss in as a kind of lover’s spat. Wrongfully accused, her empathy for his plight was instantly eclipsed* by “anger, defensive, aggressive” feelings.

Disillusionment with the system

The unpleasant emotions experienced by finding the politics of the system diluting the outcome of a major project led this elementary school principal to decide that the system discourages passion of purpose. This experience caused him long term “frustration and disappointment.” He had lost his faith in trying to make a difference at the board-wide level, and retreated to focus his energies locally in his school.

2. Emotional intrasubjectivity of leaders

All participants described their inner experience of emotionality with a sense of sureness. It seems that although leaders don’t talk about their emotions much, when they do, they expect themselves to know what they feel. Even so, all participants had to struggle to find just the right words, to accurately describe emotions associated with particular experiences. The vocabulary of the emotions was not readily available to them, although they persevered with confidence and determination.

Gender

No participants showed any difficulty remembering times of emotional intensity or the feelings and emotions. However, female participants seemed more at ease with verbalizing and revisiting particular moments and their associated emotionality than the male. This was indicated by the frequency of times probes were used to encourage further depth, and the success of the probes in evoking depth and specificity, as well as the apparent immediacy of the reexperience. Fewer
probes led to more depth and specificity in females. Female participants seemed to be able to return to the situation in their mind's eye and to reexperience the whole situation with their emotions in recall as they were speaking about it. All of the women used many different 'emotion words,' going into great detail and striving to sharpen and clarify what it was they were trying to render. All the females were quite successful at this. The male participant referred to a total of only five different 'emotion words,' even though the word "passion" was used repeatedly to refer to most strong feelings related to his work. The reason for his limited choice of vocabulary was not apparent. It would seem that "passion" was one of the emotions he could feel comfortable acknowledging. Some of the others not mentioned may not have been as easy to acknowledge. A highly cognitivist analysis of the role of emotions in his leadership life characterized a clear distinction between his interview and that of all four of the women, who were musing, pausing, intuiting and reexperiencing as if reliving the experiences, and were expressing emotional intensity in the form of volume, gesture, voice tone, facial expression - a kind of replaying for the interviewer of what it was like at the time of the experience being described. In contrast, this immediacy in reexperience was not apparent in the male who exhibited a tendency to shift away from specific details and emotional nuances, preferring instead intellectual speculation and distancing generalizations. It would seem that a safe distance from the scene of the emotional experience was repeatedly sought. This stood in somewhat ironic juxtaposition to his clear commitment to the "passion" he felt about his work and his lamentations about education being an emotionless organizational culture. All of these perceptions by the researcher would be well served by having the time to confirm them with the participants, a design feature that will be built into the larger study.

Age

Three of the participants were over forty. Two were under forty. The under forty participants chose examples which were project-specific to illustrate the pleasant and unpleasant experiences as well as those which epitomized leadership. In contrast, the over forty participants selected process oriented examples, preferring to emphasize for instance, "synergy" and "sharing" and "collaborating" in committees as opposed to particular projects that yielded "satisfaction," "pride" or personal and professional "affirmation" by their completion. There was some indication that the older, perhaps more mature leader had come to see the meaning of emotions
in leadership experiences in terms of larger ongoing processes, a kind of metacognitive and emotional reflective blend.

4. **Emotional intersubjectivity of leadership**

In addition to references to their own emotions, in a few instances, participants spoke about the emotions of others in conjunction with their work.

*Emotions of others impact feelings of affirmation*

Carol spoke of the emotional effect of her work on others, bringing them satisfaction and motivation of which they spoke to her, and from which she drew a sense of being appreciated and supported. Her analysis of a problem boss who would not select her to participate in committee work despite her repeated offers was that he was threatened and thus his emotions were preventing him from providing her with creative and leadership growth opportunities. This caused her much disappointment and anger. Although she handled it by becoming resigned to something she said you “can’t control.” What may be of note here is that the emotional reason inferred by Carol for her boss’s behaviour and attitude was deemed to be unchangeable, as if the emotions are waters too deep to navigate. Whether this was the reason for her boss’s way of acting toward her or not, Carol’s interpretation of his emotional predisposition toward her made this forbidden territory, something she might just as well accept as unchangeable. Oddly enough, the emotions are highly changeable, in fact. Personal interactions can quickly change perceptions and feelings we have about each other. Yet this was territory Carol chose not even to contemplate exploring. It would seem that the exploration of emotional territory is well overdue for leaders.

*Emotional display of others leads to detachment*

Sue used the words “desperate” and “distraught” to describe her boss when he was caught juggling the books. She felt the “loneliness of this man” and described her associated feelings of “compassion, grief and incredible sadness.” She also described students’ fathers who try to take control with “power” and “anger” and her own response of simply “shutting it down” and “refusing to be intimidated.” Mothers, on the other hand, would cry in desperation in her office, and she found it was important to distance herself from their feelings in order to keep a “balance of justice and care.” Thus emotional detachment is perceived as an essential part of leadership, for maintaining control and power.

*Leader’s emotional responses to perceptions about others’ emotions and lack thereof, shape*
leaders’ behaviours and attitudes. Leaders are human!

John referred to the “hostility, defensiveness” and “lack of passion” in others as sources of great “frustration” to him. John had withdrawn from the larger board level forum as a result of his feelings about some of these experiences which were draining his energy with no observable reward. The leader’s emotional response to the feelings of others is a distinguishing feature of her/his leadership style. Blase and Anderson (1995, p.133) refer to facilitative leadership styles as simply supporting teacher autonomy and professionalization. In contrast, democratic/empowering styles go further, to achieve a supportive environment for critique and voice, a kind of emancipatory discourse. It would seem that for John, an elementary principal, the emotional feedback of others was highly influential, having caused him to withdraw. Clearly emotional intersubjectivity has a bearing on the availability to the organization of individual voice for critique. Shared emotional understanding in leaders warrants further research, especially in light of its powerful relationship to capacity for change.

DISCUSSION

How do leaders experience, express, reflect upon and understand the emotionality of their work?

Emerging patterns in the data

What are leaders’ inner experiences of emotion as associated with their work: intrasubjective emotionality

1. **Passion and Peril: Leadership is a matter of mixed emotions.**

   The passion and excitement of being able to realize the opportunity and potential for growth are sustaining and inspiring to leaders. However, perils accompany passions.

   - **Passion of purpose and determination are key to providing the emotional drive and force necessary to lead even when you are the only one who can see the goal line.**

   Joan characterized some of the emotional aspects of leadership:

   ... things I was passionate about because I saw ... there was an opportunity and I
was excited by the opportunity or the thought of growth and being able to make that happen . . . I wouldn’t think excitement was the whole thing. Determination, I don’t know if that’s an emotion . . . Determination helped me go through the emotional fluctuations, because sometimes, sometimes you’d be excited and energized by the way it was going and other times you’d be overwhelmed because you’d wonder, why am I taking this battle on when no one else has?

- Sustaining passion is often intertwined with troubling anxiety associated with vulnerability and need for approval and success.

Carol referred to these mixed emotions:

adrenalin . . . kind of like there was a lot of anxiety. They’re kind of mixed though. It’s like a big . . . Well it’s kind of all intertwined . . . it’s one day feeling excitement about it and thinking, great I can do something about it, and the next day feeling sort of anxiety you know and also feeling in the organization that there’s some conflict there, so it’s also saying I’m sticking my neck out here and even in terms of a supervisor maybe not appreciating me going for that, so there’s mixed feelings.

- The passion of purpose in the leader may exceed that of others in the organization creating an emotional dissonance between the individual leader and her/his environment.

John spoke fervently of his passion as the driving force in his work and his sense of frustration at the lack of passion in others.

I’m passionate about what I do in my profession and I have, I guess, I feel I have a high degree of integrity about my work. And in many respects I guess the organization and some of the expectations of the organization either conflicts with my professional intensity or my integrity about my work, and that stuff may have conflicts and certainly it’s a conflict between my passion for my work and what I see as a lack of intensity in my, in many of my colleagues and in the organization itself as it expresses itself as an organization or as a culture of the organization.

2. **Control of self and others and learning to share responsibility**

Control of self and others and learning to let go of control present challenges to the leader.

- The handling of the fear of loss of control can be a significant part of the emotional experience of a leader. It is illustrative of the leaders’s emotional coping strategies and indicative of the style of leadership ‘in use.’

Joan describes her feelings associated with the sense of loss of control.
Who says that what I came up with is the right way and what happens if it fails?... [I feel] insecure, but probably messy. You don’t have any control over where you’re going to go even though you’re taking everybody there. Sort of like going on a bus trip but not remembering to get enough gas, so you’re not sure if you’re going to make it. That kind of feeling, so it can be a little intimidating.

Linda, who considers herself an empowering leader, offers her working knowledge of emotions and the control-empowerment continuum:

It’s such a downward spiral because the more you control and the less you share, the less people support and feel they have any ownership, and so then you become more and more isolated. It’s hell I’m sure. You see if you must have control and people withdraw their support over time because you don’t trust and give them control, it’s a spiral...I don’t know if anybody breaks free of it is that’s their style. I learned the power of collaboration and empowerment of others by sharing in the responsibility.

Sue shares her beliefs about emotional control and leadership:

I personally have found that it is important to control emotions, that the few exceptions when I have become very very angry with a student, angry with a parent, angry with a faculty member, that things are said that are not in the best interests of anyone, that it’s better to stay rational. That to be able to express your emotions of frustration at times through tears, or sadness, is okay, but to feel anger is one thing but to express it, I question the appropriateness of it, and have not found it helpful.

- Managing others’ emotions is seen as essential to leadership

Sue illustrates her way of keeping control of a situation by managing her emotions and those of others:

I had a parent who did the attack. I was hurt. I was visibly hurt. I let this person have the power to hurt me. With experience, if a person is going to take that tack, is going to attack me personally, I will shut it down: “I don’t think this is a healthy conversation. I am not going down that road with you.” ... I do not have to carry on a conversation with a parent just because they’ve come through the door.

Sue offers perceptions about attempts at emotional control taking by others:

Many Moms in my office in tears, and feeling very desperate about what the next step is with their children. Fathers are interesting. With more fathers than moms I’ve dealt with anger, and they do a power anger thing, thinking that I’ll intimidate her and she’ll back down, and I don’t.
Sue on control and connectedness:

It was very important for me to work with others and yet be in control. So connected with others and yet in charge of my own . . .

- The importance of a leader being given sufficient support and autonomy by superiors - feeling safe in order to take risks.

Sue:

I worked with a principal at the time who said “make this thing fly.” You know carte blanche. So it was important to establish myself as a leader within the subject area. . . . Wonderfully supportive people that I worked with, within the school, very professional staff, did more than any other staff that I have worked with . . . You felt very safe. You could take risks. They’d do anything for you.

Linda:

I think frustration is when you’re dealing with authority that is controlling, and uh there’s only one way to do things and so whatever you do is either right or wrong, and it’s frustrating when you don’t know the whole agenda and you only see one little piece of it.

- Display rules: playing by them exemplifies ‘appropriate leadership demeanour.’

Most participants demonstrated fairly traditional views of emotional display rules (emotional self-control) in leadership, with some notable exceptions. Emotion is, regrettably say some participants, something to control and keep out of the way.

John shares concerns about his own display of passion and his observation that this can become problematic:

Often [I am] responded to by the fact that I’m being too personally aggressive about the issues and interpersonally I’m being too forward with people sometimes and yet I see and view it very much as simply expressing my issues with passion and rather than the issues becoming the focus of the concern or the context, it becomes personalized that it’s myself that is responded to or attacked or whichever, not the issues that I raised.

John on emotions and conflict resolution: feel but don’t show emotions.

Well, conflict resolution I think is something, that requires that the person who is mediating the conflict resolution be very unemotional. . . . I’m a firm believer in removing emotions from behaviour management and conflict management. It’s usual that I remain calm and . . . I try to remain very neutral and objective about the situation and assist in the process while calming people down is involving a process of just timing out too . . . I already developed a sense of self control and
that's an internal thing as well.

Asked if too much emotional control might create a gap in emotional authenticity and be perceived to always give him the upper hand in terms of the power dynamic, John responded "Yeah but... Yeah.

Carol, on the importance of openly displaying emotions, emotional authenticity as helpful to her as a leader:

When I've shown that, sharing when I'm happy; I genuinely cried; I've shown that I've cared by sharing my own personal incident... I took the time to listen and share that I was there emotionally. It wasn't just words, because those are the kinds of things that let people see that you are real.

Sue on display of anger and joy:

I think it's okay to verbalize. It's how it's expressed is that "I feel angry when you do this" is very different from losing it and speaking out of anger. Sharing a student's joy with hugs is okay.

3. **Internal emotional management system is important to sustaining confidence and commitment.**

Managing emotions means generating certain emotions and restraining others.

- **True grit and determination epitomize leadership.**

Joan's image of the emotional power of determination:

It's like you're going on a marathon or a long run. You know how you sort of get that second wind; you don't know where it comes from but it's going to get you there. I don't know what emotion that would be... part of it would be past experience, part of it is just determination that if you keep running, it you keep going you're going to get somewhere.

- **Depersonalizing and detaching are favored techniques.**

Linda, describing her system for problem solving in an emotionally challenging situation - isolating the issues and removing the personal element.

Okay, so I'm confronting a director with a staff member that is sabotaging an assignment and it normally wouldn't be my role to discuss with [her] staff that are not doing their job. But in this particular role, other agencies around the table saw it as my role as a leader of this group to carry this forward. I was the leader of the group. [animated, emphatic] So! What I had to do was this. I had to isolate the
issue, remove it from the person, describe the situation, and then let the director do what she had to do.

- **Reframe the perspective to separate issues from people and emotions from cognition.**

Linda, having felt frustrated and somewhat anxious about how to deal with the situation, reframed her perspective, diffusing the emotional intensity of it. She did this by considering the problem person who was “dropping bombs” on her meetings, “sabotaging the agenda” as follows:

The real issue was that he didn’t understand the broader picture and so he would focus on the little bit that he could that had a relationship to him.

- **Repress, deny or remove emotions.**

John tells of learning to ‘remove’ his emotions as an internal coping device:

I arrived at the idea that I had to remove my emotions from my work and my passion for change from my work because the emotional energy I was expending was enormous and was affecting me in terms of draining me emotionally and it was also having a very negative and reactive result in terms of the kids... so I became a lot more controlled in terms of managing my emotions better and started dealing with kids more neutrally and objectively.

- **Pragmatism is a way of understanding human experience to manage the emotional power of disappointment over a thwarted intention or preempted passion.**

John shares his formula for internal management of otherwise debilitating disappointment.

[Pragmatism] is just a way of understanding human experience. I think human experience is contextual. I think human emotions are contextual. So in terms of contextualizing your understanding of life I think pragmatism is one aspect of understanding life experience... a good balance for passion.

4. **Emotional management systems external to the leader contribute to the emotional quality of organizational life.**

The information withholding leader causes frustration while the sharing leader reduces frustration in subordinates and creates a support system for herself.

- **Sharing the way you see and feel about things creates emotional as well as rational understanding.**

Linda’s story:

If I have frustration it’s with the people I work for. Once you understand the big
picture then it’s not so frustrating . . . if everybody has a piece of it then it will work.

Carol speaks of feeling supported by her subordinates for having shared her emotional conflicts with them.

What also helped me was hearing from some of them, the fact that we know why you’re on the committee and we know that you may not be able to change the decision and I think that was comforting and I felt some relief . . . They said we know that you’re going to do the right thing, and that was reaffirming for me and I just felt like whew. I just felt good about that.

**Significant others**

Joan speaks of a personal relationship beyond the organization as vital to her emotional well being within the organization.

I can probably get three quarters of the way through it but probably only with my spouse. I turn to him to get the rest of the way. I can do it on my own determination because I haven’t always had him around but it’s easier. It helps you reflect and see things more objectively.

5. **Emotional Conflict of Interest**

Intrinsic conflicts of emotional interest characterize a central challenge for the creative transformational leader. Dissonance in selves and relationships to others creates discomfort and makes heavy demands on the leader.

- **Reconciling conflicting personal professional and organizational needs places heavy emotional demands on the leader**

Carol:

I just felt it’s one thing if you’re responsible for your own actions and you know what the outcome can be. But when you have the burden of others as well and knowing that some of them are single parents and they’ve got all this anxiety and they’ve lost their job, you just feel all that and it’s very hard to separate caring for them as individuals and also realizing how much everyone cared about their job.

- **Working beyond the comfort zone: - out of my jurisdiction, pushing the envelop - is an emotionally challenging, often thankless part of leadership, requiring creativity and courage.**

Linda speaks of working beyond her mandate as creating emotional discomfort, but recognizes this is the stuff of real leadership.
It was uncomfortable because I wasn’t . . . I was clear on what my leadership was within the group but this was outside of the group, and I had a different relationship outside of the group.

John, on challenging the status quo: I tend to be somebody who is passionate and so I tend to challenge the status quo and challenge the system to improve itself . . .

- *Emotionless organizational culture is dysfunctional to the individual and to the organization itself.*

John, on the conflict between the norms of emotion in organizational culture and personal and professional intensity/passion.

I think that the organizational culture, personally, I feel it is very repressive, and it is very repressive to the honest expression of emotions, whether it is personal emotions or professional emotions about issues that we’re involved in education. And as a result, you have a very clinical or scientific model of organizational management that still persists in school systems and in education and it’s a fairly emotionless model. So people with passion or with drive and excitement and interest for projects or ideas are not encouraged or supported or reciprocated at any level of the organization. And I think that’s a big roadblock to the passion of education and achieving goals in education. The organization itself operates in a way that represses or suppresses emotion in our work and I think that’s a really negative aspect of our work and I think that’s really a negative aspect of organizational culture.

**CONCLUSIONS**

**Theoretical implications:**

*Emotional Intrasubjectivity and The self*

Among the leaders interviewed, clearly the protection of the self from emotional hurt which might undermine confidence, was of paramount importance. Emotional well being was associated with the ability to do the job even when it was a distasteful task. This emotional well being was fostered by sharing and collaboration. In contrast, leadership styles that were controlling and perfectionistic were associated with high anxiety, fear and reticence to risk. The evolution toward letting go and sharing responsibility and credit was described as a personal awakening accompanied by satisfaction and relief. Being known, acknowledged, seen, able to be real, feeling included, understood and accepted were all important to the self of these leaders.
Self-control was central to each leader's story of the nature of the job. Essential to the nature of leadership work, were the ability not to feel emotions or 'emotional' and certainly the ability to avoid showing them. This theme was held in common by all participants. Some spoke matter-of-factly about this as a necessity, while others lamented the need to deny or repress emotions. Clearly these leaders' work requires the authentic emotional self to be heavily guarded and carefully hidden at most times. The need to control others, something that is not possible, led to feelings of insecurity and anxiety. Living with ambiguity was threatening to the self of the leader if the self was controlling and perfectionistic. The antidote seemed to be a distributed leadership and collaborative synergy enjoyed in group projects. Learning not to take things personally was a first step in effective problem solving and conflict resolution for these leaders. This was a deemotionalizing process, requiring a kind of rational overdrive. The only male participant spoke adamantly about the emotionless organizational culture as dysfunctional to change and achieving goals in education. This, he offered, was a function of the repressive culture's effect on the individual's self.

*Intersubjectivity*

Authentic collaboration was a successful anxiety reducer and optimizing strategy. A recurring motif among the stories, shared emotional understanding, achieved through communicating openly, held distinctive, highly valued, and intensely recalled pleasure for these leaders. Assumptions about what others were feeling were more often made than shared emotional understanding through communication. A more thorough application of Denzin's (1984) construct is warranted in further research as the quality of the emotional understanding is strongly associated with some of the most emotionally pleasurable experiences of these leaders. Distanced, disconnected, misunderstood and unappreciated leaders, who did not feel they could do other than theorize about a superior's troublesome attitudes and motivations, characterized some of the most emotionally unpleasant experiences chosen. It would seem that leaders and led benefit from access to sharing about emotional realities among the individuals in the organizations. The culture of communication about feelings as well as thought would support such sharing. The current culture of emotional repression and control, generally, does not. These
leaders chose most often to speak of interactions with superior or parents as examples of unpleasant interchanges. They spoke of interactions with peers or subordinates with pleasure.

**Gender**

Distinctions between the one male and the collective of four females did emerge, that suggested a stronger capacity to use language and reexperience the emotions of the self and others in recall in the women. It was very difficult to get the one male to speak about any particular occasion, person event or feeling in specific detail. Rather, there was a preference for generalizations about his passion for his work and some frustrations and disillusionment about the system. A larger sample and a more extensive exploration of the apparent gender distinctions and a cooperative inquiry into the underlying causes, that may or may not be gender related, is warranted in order to make any theoretical application of these findings. However, the accessibility through recall of these women was consistent throughout the sample, supporting findings of Shakeshaft and Gilligan about the distinctive experience of women. It may or may not be that the emotionality of experience is inherently different for men and women at the time. Rather, differences may lie in assimilation, memory, recall, or articulation of remembered emotionality of experience.

The women spoke predominantly about connections and associations with particular others in various contexts and situations. The one male spoke in generalities about feeling different and disconnected. This would concur with Gilligan's construct of the feminine paradigm.

**Micropolitics**

To describe leadership styles and use of power, one may use Ball's "Four Styles" of leadership: Interpersonal, Managerial, Political-adversarial and Political-authoritarian (1987, p.87); or Blase and Blase's four quadrants measuring leadership style as relatively Open or Closed and relatively Transactional or Tranformative (1995, p.18); or Leithwood's "Instructional, Transformational, Moral, Participative, Managerial and Contingent" (1999, in press p. 7). In any case, the emotions of leadership are present. Clearly the emotions caused by having a leader
exercise ‘power over’ or even ‘power through’ others, are not as closely shared and mutual as ‘power with.’ Effective involved teachers work in regimes of every variety. They report feeling intensely unpleasant emotion states in association with adversarial authoritarian styles (Blase and Anderson, 1995, pp 40-41). However, the emotions of the leaders themselves, associated with their preferred leadership styles are just beginning to emerge. Consistent with Blase and Blase (1997) these leaders felt anxious and afraid at losing control, until they developed a new view of shared responsibility. This reframing of the risk as borne by all seemed to characterize a significant source of comfort and enjoyment for these leaders. Being highly controlling was anxiety-inducing for the leader, complementing what we already know about the emotional effects of these leadership regimes on teachers. One reason these styles persist can be inferred from the unanimous acceptance of the need to heavily mask emotions in order to retain power and control when threatened. This pseudo rationality, the stock-in-trade of the experienced traditional leader is something that would have to be unlearned in order to begin to redefine leadership. As Diamond argues

The contribution of mastery in communications to organizational change may rest on the development of linguistic and interpersonal competence for sending and receiving affective messages. Communication of feelings rooted in, but not exclusive to, organizational experience presents the opportunity to alter activities and relationships that cause errors, distortions, demoralization, and ineffectiveness at work. The aptitude for transmitting affective messages within institutions and among participants is essential to organizational change and long-term effectiveness. (1993, p.118)

Among the participants in this study, while emotional authenticity was special and pleasant, it was rare. In the educational setting, the freedom to communicate openly at work about their own emotions had been all but eliminated, replaced by a repertoire of more emotionally managed techniques. This was a matter of reluctant resignation for some and lamentation for others, but ultimately it was accepted by all participants as the way power and control is maintained in leadership. Whether in leadership it is better to be, or not to be this way, remains a question for another day and another research project.
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