Is there a place for emotions within leadership preparation programmes?

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to present the argument that leadership preparation programmes in the new millennium should be required to train school leaders emotionally as well as cognitively. A number of scholars have stressed that leaders are increasingly working within roles that are politically sensitive, conflicted and complex, resulting in role anxiety, emotional stress, and professional burnout. Principals and vice-principals are frustrated because they are being forced to manage the marketplace, curriculum change, and governance factors with an increased emphasis on accountability, marketability, and globalisation, often at the expense of their primary role as educators.

Design/methodology/approach – Such a discussion is framed within a sociological perspective of emotions and presents the importance of acknowledging the primacy of school leaders' emotions in leadership preparation programs.

Findings – Sociological aspects of emotions are examined within a context of the globalisation, marketisation, and accountability confronting Western education and their implications for extant leadership preparation programs; the latent influences of these broader issues; and, more specifically, their effect on the emotions of leaders within a context unique to Western Canada. Recommendations for what apotropaic the role of leadership preparation programmes should play in shielding leaders from being overwhelmed from within a changing educational landscape are also discussed.

Originality/value – An examination of the emotions of school leaders and the importance of acknowledging their emotions within preparation programmes remains an understudied topic in the field of education.

Keywords Educational administration, Leadership, Emotional intelligence

Paper type Conceptual paper

This paper presents the argument that leadership preparation programs in the new millennium need to train and assist our school leaders emotionally as well as cognitively. A number of scholars have stressed that leaders[1] are increasingly working within roles that are conflicted, complex and politically sensitive, resulting in role anxiety, emotional stress, and professional burnout. Principals and vice-principals are apparently frustrated because they are being required to manage the marketplace, curriculum change and governance factors with an increased emphasis on accountability, marketisation, and globalisation. These societal issues under scrutiny in this paper provide the platform for discussion of school leaders' emotions and leadership preparation programs. In fact, these issues are ubiquitous but often conflicted, contradictory, and complicated depending within which socio-economic context they are examined. It is for this reason that while this paper argues their relevance in how the current and future milieu affects educational leadership, it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss in detail their finer nuances as they develop into significant movements within society that are also inextricably entangled within

the educational policy lattice. The discussion around definitions of these trends will therefore remain brief in order to focus on their implications as they operate within a system of mutual influence in contemporary Western society, affecting not only the emotions of leaders but also leadership preparation programs.

Globalisation, marketisation and accountability

Canada, like many other industrialised nations, has been affected by the inexorable trend toward globalisation, marketisation, and accountability. Shifting demographics, changing economies, and technological advancements certainly offer new challenges but also great potentialities and opportunities for our society. For some, these trends offer hope of increased incomes, job opportunities, and networking abilities. To others, they offer only inequities, disenfranchised national and civic identity, and poverty, all of which threaten to marginalise and even undermine the efforts of those who are unable to compete in international markets (McQuillan and Ravanera, 2006). Burbules and Torres (2000) argue that these trends may actually be conceptualised as ideological discourses creating an urgency, real or perceived, that is driving change within society to keep up with the new world order.

When attempting to conceptualise globalisation for instance, it becomes evident that there are varied definitions and dimensions. For example, Bottery (2006) offers eight areas for discussion: economic, political, demographic, cultural, technological, American, linguistic, and environmental. Critics charge that while globalisation enhances financial and social capital in developing countries, it does so under the guise of a "colonisation" agenda by Western corporations. And indeed, while global organisations such as UNESCO, the UN, and the OECD acknowledge the benefits of globalisation, they also recognise its inherent dangers because these benefits are not distributed equally between or even within societies. These agencies are, however, seeking the means to ensure equitable benefits across countries that would result in equal access to strategies and actions needed to mobilise financial resources in support of sustainable development and reduced poverty. Emerging educational research on this topic reveals not only the soft underbelly of globalisation but, alternatively, its inherent innovative possibilities (Castles and Davidson, 2000; Hardt and Negri, 2002). The more powerful and salient themes in this topic include: the "McDonaldisation" of education policy (Wilkinson, 2006); the shifting roles and priorities of leaders (Bottery, 2006); the growing knowledge economy (Hargreaves, 2003); and the co-modification of education through IT pedagogy, innovation, and practices (Apple *et al.*, 2005).

Further to this, an examination of marketisation suggests a number of major trends in the literature. Two of the more salient foci may be particularly relevant within a Canadian context. These both concentrate on marketisation as a discursive and structural phenomenon. They suggest that an extant market orientation includes a lexicon that increasingly refers to students as clients and learning as an outcome, while structural metaphors depict education as a marketable commodity (Bartlett *et al.*, 2002). Along with this is the intense injection of concepts into school cultures that create growing concerns among scholars (Bates, 1995) about the dangers of market and industrial influences overriding the traditional values endemic to education. These forces often lead to a renewed and intensified focus on economic principles in education, such as deregulation, competition, and stratification (Bartlett *et al.*, 2002),

as well as the managerial concepts such as collegial surveillance, pressures for accountability, standardized testing, and managerial leadership (Bates, 1995).

Finally, in any consideration of accountability, this phenomenon is a nearly ubiquitous issue in education, affecting almost every other topic. Not unlike the phenomena discussed above, accountability has pervaded much of the Western world. A plethora of definitions appear in the various professional literatures. However, a widely accepted definition within education, primarily in the USA and increasingly in Canada, seems to remain bound-up within large-scale student assessment frameworks that focus primarily, if not uniquely, on student testing (Earl and Torrance, 2000). The most-widely known legislation in North America to date is quite possibly the US federal act entitled No Child Left Behind (NCLB), the foundation of which seems to be grounded in an accountability system constructed entirely around student-test results. That is, a system that is largely premised on evaluating educational progress defined by student success with rewards or sanctions driving those efforts (Stecher and Kirby, 2004). In Canada, while there has been a long history of teacher assessment, all provinces other than Prince Edward Island, administer some sort of large-scale student assessment, although the scope, grades tested, sample size, format, frequency, and stakes vary widely (Volante, 2007). The provinces are often ranked by the media, depicting Alberta, Quebec, and British Columbia (BC) as leading the way as a result of their assessments, with Ontario following, and the Atlantic provinces lagging behind (Stack, 2006). Raham (1998) asserts that the Canadian education culture, in general, has an inveterate distrust of large-scale achievement data, stressing that testing is incompatible with many of the aims of Canadian education. Furthermore, the data increasingly seem to reflect regional, linguistic, and socio-economic differences rather than real discrepancies in the quality of teaching (Volante, 2007). Hargreaves and Fink (2006a) present the caveat of extant evidence revealing that tests have become progressively easier, presenting the appearance of improvement where none may actually exist.

In summary, Portelli and Solomon (2001) have observed that global forces tend to drive reform movements, resulting in concerns for the potential democratic deficiency in schools as they start to become agents of neo-liberal market reforms. These movements belie a tendency in our school systems to polarise global reforms and local school cultures as virtual antipodes. Shifting demographics of students, new technological infrastructures, and the emerging knowledge society present new challenges but also new potentialities in our schools. More importantly, they impose new demands on school leaders and their emotions (Cline and Necochea, 2000). Leaders are increasingly working within roles that are conflicted, sensitive and complicated, resulting in role anxiety, emotional stress, and professional burnout. Principals and vice-principals are frustrated because they are being increasingly forced to manage the marketplace, curriculum change, accountability, and governance factors. As a result, Crowson (2003, p. 30) describes our contemporary era as turbulent, but he is quick to indicate that while turbulence has long marked education, things have recently become "different and perhaps more cumulatively frustrating". In essence, both society and education are changing egregiously, and rapidly, as boundary-eroding forces destabilise both the cultural and educational norms. It then becomes incumbent upon leaders to acknowledge the force of these trends and to see the implications for potentially shaping and constraining their emotions. It becomes the role of leadership programs to

inject into their curriculum the importance of taking potential leaders' emotions into account. Therefore, what becomes relevant in this paper is the way these movements and their accompanying tensions affect the work of school leaders by influencing their emotions. All of this should make it abundantly clear that there needs to be a place for the discussion of leaders' emotions at work in leadership programs during these turbulent times.

The nature of emotions

The study of emotions in educational administration and leadership covers a range of approaches. This paper emphasises a sociological perspective that has been commonly used to view emotions as a social construct (Kemper, 1978), influenced by social interactions and context (Hargreaves, 1998; White, 1993). This perspective distinguishes emotions from being merely psychological constructs and instead considers the contingent effect of interactions with others, environment, and context (White, 1993). In summary, emotions are contextual, political, and relational phenomena as well as the isolated psychological properties of unique individuals (Hargreaves, 1998). They exist in a philosophical dialectic as inter- and intra-personal constructs (Denzin, 1984), deeply embedded in, and configured by, people's ability to define and achieve their purposes, by their experiences of power and powerlessness, and in their relationships with others (Hargreaves, 1998; Schmidt, 2000).

The research on educational change has, in the past, rarely taken educators' emotions into consideration (Hargreaves, 2001). In fact, Spillane *et al.* (2002) concur that emotion as a theoretical construct in education, is often overlooked when examining the impact of educational reform and leadership and given the least recognition of all in leadership preparation programs. In particular, what seems to be missing in the literature is an examination of how emotions influence and are influenced by the work of educators. Some scholars are engaged in researching the topic of educators' emotional lives and the effect of high stakes accountability (Jeffrey and Woods, 1996), as well as stress-inducing reform strategies (Dinham and Scott, 1996). Other scholars (Geijsel and Meijers, 2005) posit that a major responsibility of administrators in organisations is to nurture a culture that provides the emotional support necessary to foster creative and meaningful identity within learning communities. As educators are affected by changes such as those discussed in this paper, their professional lives are typically enhanced or demoralised, that is, filled with either positive or negative emotions. When professional roles are characterised by role conflict, role ambiguity, role distance, or confused role expectations, intense and often negative emotional reactions may be the consequence, thus making the work of principals virtually impossible to perform in a fulfilling way (Schmidt, 2000). Feelings of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1979) in these contexts often influence the emotional dynamics surrounding leadership roles and the political and economic climate within which leaders must work. Such conditions may promote intense scrutiny into the routines of schools, as well as administrators' work in ways that publicly extol or denigrate principals by the media, parents, and the community. As a result, discerning accusatory epithets either humiliate or credit them with creating "poor performing" or "high performing" schools. Such judgments increasingly reify the power of test data into a valid evaluative criterion and inevitably apply pressure for commodification of schools. Repercussions include school leaders experiencing a wide gamut of emotional

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vicissitudes, ranging from satisfaction, pride and exhilaration to debilitating anxiety, shame, blame, guilt, or fear (Schmidt, 2008). Intense emotions such as these may also lead to feelings of decreased commitment and possible resignation. On a more positive note, studies have also shown evidence of "bounded emotionality" wherein members of an organisation develop feelings of community and belonging thus creating a social unit out of the school (Kidd, 2004).

Leadership preparation programs

A growing debate critical of the applicability of school leadership training programs has been present since the late 1980s in the USA. In fact, a seminal report entitled Leaders for America's Schools, prepared by the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) and the National Commission on Excellence in Educational Administration, identified key problem areas in the implementation of leadership training programs. These issues included the following: the definitional ambiguity of educational leadership; an absence of collaboration between school districts and colleges and universities; the low number of minorities and females in the field; a lack of systematic professional development; the poor quality of candidates; irrelevant and outdated curricula; a lack of practical internship/mentorship experiences; the need for licensure systems that promote excellence; and an absence of a national sense of cooperation in preparing school leaders (Hale and Moorman, 2003). Yet, despite these criticisms of leadership standards, many countries are turning to more formal standards by instituting principal certificates to help remediate a climate of reduced recruitment and retention in the principalship. As of 2003, at least 35 states adopted standards to guide policy and practice related to principal preparation with encouragement from The Interstate School Leaders' Licensure Consortium (ISLLC).

Advocates believe that the ISLLC standards remain an important development in the field of educational leadership with the key goal of promoting lasting improvements in school leadership development systems by identifying and adopting change processes that combine the required policy and program elements (Hale and Moorman, 2003). Other countries that have adopted some form of leadership standards and formal Principal Preparation Program or Certification include Singapore, the UK, Canada, and South Africa (Mestry and Schmidt, 2010).

Nevertheless, critics of principal preparation programs continue to debate these programs as: not being grounded in rigorous research; reinforcing the status quo; and not providing specific guidance to assist school leaders with their work, which includes their emotions about work (Barnett, 2004; Hale and Moorman, 2003). In other words, preparation programs may adequately address a leader's daily activity with appropriate training and skills but does not address global issues making a systemic overhaul a necessity. In addition, critics argue that there are a lack of ties between public education and universities; little authentic and on-going school-based experiences; little emphasis on management; and too much emphasis on instructional leadership (Hale and Moorman, 2003). Perhaps the most salient criticism is that the jobs of school leaders have altered so dramatically that neither organised professional development programs nor formal university-based programs can, at present, adequately prepare our educational leaders for the twenty-first century. Thus, our educational leaders may be left emotionally overwhelmed and technically incompetent (Hale and Moorman, 2003).

The British Columbia context
This section discusses global issues within the BC context as well as addressing the implications of the BC socio-economic milieu and their potentially transformative effect on BC leaders and leadership preparation programs. The focus of the discussion will be on how the accumulated effect has had a profound influence on the emotions of leaders in general and on educational leadership specifically. An overarching question might be asked along with a few related questions in light of the accolades and criticisms of leadership training: is it viable, appropriate or even possible for leadership preparation programs to prepare our educational leaders for the emotional upheavals of the twenty-first century? While seemingly rhetorical in nature, more practical questions for the purpose of our discussion might follow:

- Do leaders need different skills and training from preparation programs?
- Does the leadership job description need to be changed?
- Where do emotions fit in relation to leadership preparation programs?

Research is almost unanimous in finding that the principal's role has typically been key to successful schools, policy implementation, learning, and achievement (Fullan, 2002). Yet, the seemingly inexorable progression of global and market change and the increasing demands for accountability in the Western Canadian school systems are shifting the educational landscape, and even challenging the traditional notion of the principal's role as the key to successful schooling. Consequently, global forces are defining, changing, and perhaps even diminishing the role of principals as prime leaders. Not surprisingly, British Columbia, like other parts of Canada, faces declining numbers of principals and vice-principals due to retirement and attrition, and difficulties with retention and succession (Cowan, 2004). Consequently, unqualified educators are being hired to fill the gap (Cowan, 2004; Wallace, 2000). The natural and often historical impetus that has seemingly motivated teachers to become principals or vice-principals and that has provided leadership for teachers, students, and schools, seems to have gone by the wayside. Restructuring efforts seem to have derailed these historical intentions as administrators are increasingly expected to manage the environments of down-sizing and amalgamation of school districts, deal with shifting funding formulae and cutbacks, emphasise a skills-oriented curriculum, and involve parents in the governance of schools (Cowan, 2004; Glasman and Couch, 2001; Wallace, 2000). As a result, aspiring leaders are increasingly unsure about whether they even want to take the leap to leadership within this turbulent context, let alone how to meet global and market demands or how to address new accountability pressures. Here we see leaders' emotions being shaped by the context in which they are deciding to work (White, 1993).

Do leaders need different skills and training provided by preparation programs?
Currently in British Columbia there is no standard principal preparation or certification program. Instead, universities, colleges, independent programs and schools administering certificates, degrees (e.g. MEd, EdD), and in-service leadership development determine their own curriculum. This leaves the education of leadership incongruent and unstandardised within the province, with some institutions lacking the capacity to implement appropriate leadership preparation programming or in-service opportunities. Therefore, providing principals with the necessary knowledge, skills,

values, and attitudes, let alone the emotional support to lead schools effectively, has become increasingly problematic in relation to the challenges faced by a dynamic and changing educational culture.

As leaders' visions shift to suit the changing educational landscape, leadership training must also evolve. Some researchers (Bottery, 2006; Day *et al.*, 2000), claim that what leaders do not need right now is more competency and skill-based training. Rather, they require greater emphasis in training programs on a holistic model of assisting potential, new or veteran leaders in clarifying their values, their principles and their educational philosophy, as well as providing emotional support especially designated for these chaotic times. For example, within a context of student achievement and accountability, low levels of trust among government, school boards, unions, teachers, parents, and administrators pervade British Columbia, and have spiraled into problems of retention and recruitment at leadership levels. What some scholars (Hargreaves, 2003; Earl, 1995) are now requesting is more emphasis on celebrating aspects of student learning not captured in external, quantitative forms of accountability. Leaders need to work towards developing reflexive forms of student assessment that involve teachers, students, and parents (Earl, 1995; Hargreaves *et al.*, 2002). This requires leadership preparation programs that work towards transmitting an understanding of the meanings, forms, and implications of student assessment and accountability (Stiggins, 1991). Leaders must not only understand and promote sophisticated forms of accountability, but they also need to do so creatively by fostering teamwork and distributing leadership.

Bottery (2006) suggests that educational leadership preparation programs and leaders in our schools must now frame their curriculum and their work differently in order to harness prevailing negative emotions. Within this context, then, they should be given an opportunity to explore situations through experiential training (e.g. mentorships, internships) in safe environments where they can apply these values and principles. In response to the *BC Principals' and Vice-Principals' Needs Survey* (French, n.d.), principals and vice-principals indicated that their most important role was acting as instructional leaders, supporting and supervising effective teaching, and learning practices. Other priorities included the following: nurturing and fostering communities of collaborative professional relations; creating learning communities; and communicating and consulting effectively with students, staff, parents, and the broader community. BC leaders inevitably find themselves competing with market-driven government agendas and negotiating their practices to align with special interest groups, the union, the Ministry of Education, parents, the public, and local boards of education, rather than their own vision of what is needed within their schools. In light of these challenges, BC principals and vice-principals believe that leaders, particularly new leaders, require training to develop skills related to managing competing agendas, strategies, and skills for communication with students, staff, parents and public relations, the media, and other community agencies. In addition, they need strategies for balancing their personal and professional lives, their emotions, as well as learning to manage resources and budgets, working with collective agreements, building schedules, dealing with legal issues, and progressive discipline. Apparently, it is the belief of our BC leaders that if these foundational issues are addressed, they would be better equipped not only to deal with reform challenges creatively but also able to think about these issues from critical and

higher-order cognitive and emotional intelligence perspectives to help mitigate emotional imbalance. Indeed, the newly developed document, *Leadership Standards for BC Principals and Vice-Principals* (2006), is organised around four leadership quadrants that address some of the aforementioned recommendations: moral stewardship, instructional leadership, organisational capacity, and relationships, which are intended to:

> [...] provide the kind of competencies that schools leaders require to engage staffs, students, parents and community members in education for the 21st century [...] [Furthermore] the concepts of core leadership practices, distributed leadership, organizational learning, emotional intelligence competencies, data informed decision making, and accountability are reflected in the leadership standards (p. 7).

When asked how best to learn the aforementioned skills, BC principals and vice-principals requested collaborative models of learning in cohorts so that real-life dilemmas could be discussed with respected colleagues and trained facilitators. This could enable them to participate in the various mentorship programs, internships, or coaching programs. In fact, these respondents urged that new leaders have a mentor relationship with more experienced principals or vice-principals in the early stages of their careers.

In addition to these recommendations, an understanding of fundamental global, market, and accountability issues is required to fully comprehend their impact on policy issues, educational issues, and the ways in which they begin to reconceptualise the roles and responsibilities of leaders and the effect on their emotions (Bottery, 2006). In doing so, a full appreciation of local culture and conditions within the larger global context is paramount. Globalisation, as a concept, for instance, is reflective of processes that serve as markers for our place and meaning within the larger society (Bottery, 2006). Fullan (2004) states that leaders must be aware of issues not only within their own locale but also how they relate globally. This he terms "ecological leadership". The moral imperative, therefore, becomes one of an expanding moral circle of concern whereby leaders must broaden their own ethical concerns beyond the purely local context to include a global concern for all of humanity (Fullan, 2004). Discussions that incorporate morals, values, and ethics must become an objective for, not only leadership preparation programs, but also the entire school community since they influence organisations, pedagogy, and student instruction (Bottery, 2006). Along with this is the need for leadership preparation programs and leaders within their own schools to recognise the need for research-based decision-making training. The promotion of principal and teacher action research in both preparation programs and within schools enables educators to contextualise global issues, all of which should shape professional development agendas. By building the knowledge capacity among their own ranks, leaders are enabling their organisations to critically examine and argue global agendas (Bottery, 2006). But more relevant to the topic of this paper, the emotional dimension and accompanying literature on the nature of emotions would benefit leaders as they attempt to transform and build critical knowledge capacities.

Despite these seemingly insurmountable obstacles, Bottery (2006) urges leaders to become vigilant about the causes, synergies, possibilities, and dangers inherent in our global society. Ironically, Bates (1995) and Bartlett *et al.* (2002) predict that possible negative outcomes of globalisation may provide the venue to strategically foster socially critical and democratic interests. Furthermore, in doing so,

they may de-naturalise the economic discourse of schooling and restore alternative versions of public education. Then they would not simply be relinquishing old definitions of practice and limiting educational opportunities, but exploring new opportunities – opportunities that may require courage and emotional intelligence to implement. All this occurs within a dynamic sociological context as leaders work to balance the struggle to work with, and sometimes against, opposing interest groups in their jurisdictions (e.g. parents, teachers, unions, etc.).

Do we need to change the job description for our leaders?

In order to accomplish the initiatives discussed above, Leithwood and Jantzi (1999) suggest that the role definition of leaders should not be so specific as to constrain them from using their own principled discretion. Hargreaves and Fink (2006a) argue that leaders must focus on sustainability. Particularly in an era of "quick fixes" what is needed most are long-term solutions based on reliable structures and values. Indeed, the *Leadership Standards for BC Principals and Vice-Principals* (2006) may very well help our BC leaders embark on some of the aforementioned recommendations by providing guidance, yet leaving enough latitude for leaders to inculcate their own personal stamp on the work they do in schools. Some challenges remain endemic to the BC context, such as lack of job security and increasing vulnerability in leaders' roles and the emotional effects that come with them. What seems most troubling to principals in BC is the tenuous relationship between the Teachers' Federation and the Principals' Association. Therein, principals are typically viewed as the outsider curtailing collaborative improvement in schools (Wallace, 2000). Conditions such as these leave relations between administrators and teachers strained. Studies of effective leadership in the early 1980s (Blumberg and Greenfield, 1980) indicated that the quality of a principal's leadership was dependent upon the amount of responsibility, authority and constraints to authority. Furthermore, high quality leadership seemed shaped by the factors that created the constraints and boundaries of that role. Indeed, it seems that public-sector groups and teacher unions have influenced educational governance. This, in turn, has affected the degree of flexibility a principal may exercise in making decisions, which directly or indirectly affect the quality of education and the emotions of leaders asked to provide such quality education (Ueda, 1985).

Where do emotions fit?

According to some critics, neo-liberal agendas have resulted in administrators becoming deskilled and driven by accountability, surveillance, and measures of performance leading to a counterculture of fear and lower levels of trust in the educational system (Giroux, 2000). When leadership is characterised by conflict, change, and ambiguity, intense emotional reactions often result (Schmidt, 2000). In BC, what is important to note, is that while teachers have a nexus of support due to a strong activist union, administrators on the other hand, are increasingly vulnerable to governmental, ministerial, and board mandates[2]. Some educators claim that the fallout of this decision has perpetuated an "us versus them" paradigm among teachers and principals (van Bergeyk, 2005). These challenges come after decisions were made to implement or increase school closures, teacher appraisal processes, and the influence of trustees, which resulted in increased labour unrest. Of course, all of these factors continue to challenge the principals' role, their assigned level of responsibility,

and their inherent authority (van Bergeyk, 2005). As a result, opposing views concerning many policy and ideological issues exist in BC among the business sector, think tanks such as the Fraser Institute, the BC Teachers' Federation, teachers themselves, principal associations, school boards, government bodies, and parents. Conflicting ideologies make the administrator's role much more emotionally precarious as well as intellectually abstruse and challenging to his/her ability to prioritise responsibilities.

If we dig deeper into the currency of authority, the situation may appear rather bleak for BC leaders. In fact, the situation seems to mirror contexts outside the province, such as in the USA. There, although teachers are equipped with the academic credentials and leadership qualities, only a small percentage of teachers apply for leadership positions (Cowan, 2004). Blackman and Fenwick (2000) report that it is not education entirely that becomes a limiting factor in the principal shortage, but also emotional factors. While this paper is not specifically about the shortage of leaders in BC *per se*, this is a critical factor, along with succession issues, when considering how best to confront the new order challenges facing today's leaders along with the programmatic leadership preparations that are needed (Hargreaves and Fink, 2006b).

More specifically, scholars (Gronn, 2003; Fineman, 1993; Hargreaves, 2003), note that leaders are working within a role that is becoming increasingly conflicted and complex, resulting in role anxiety, emotional stress, and professional burnout. For example, principals and vice-principals are frustrated because they are being forced to manage the marketplace, curriculum change, and governance factors as a result of an increased emphasis on accountability; leaders are carrying the burden of emotional labour in greedy organisations that demand excessive physical and emotional work and commitment in order to reduce the costs of production (Fineman, 1993). These conditions typically lead to burnout and early retirement (Gronn, 2003; Hargreaves, 2003). Bates (1995) highlights the structural, relational, resource-based tensions faced by leaders that are a direct result of what he calls "fast capitalism" being mediated into schools. He also takes note of the undemocratic, anti-social, and inequitable means by which traditional schooling is being subverted, particularly with reference to cultural, social, civic, and aesthetic practices. Grace (1995) stresses that schools are increasingly being mired in contradictory possibilities that instill both confidence and doubt in school leaders.

While leaders' varying responses to reform policies in general are due to the usual subjective nuances of human interpretation, other more specific social, economic and political factors of instability are surfacing. This seems due to an increasingly pervasive culture of fear and punishment leading to potential obstructions to the work ethic of education leaders if not addressed by pre-emptive leadership preparation programs (Schmidt, 2009). As stated earlier, erratic, volatile, or neurotic emotions are often the result of purposes that cannot be achieved (because they are unrealistic, unclear, mutually exclusive, or are constructed around purposes that belong to someone else's agenda); feelings of power or powerlessness; and relationships that lack trust, all of which may result in anxiety, guilt, frustration, or fear (Oatley and Jenkins, 1996). Haviland and Kahlbaugh (1993, p. 315) note that "people [...] experience frustration, anger and despair as a result of their failure to achieve their goals which are unrealistic". James (1990) states that changes in self-esteem are determined not by accomplishment, but rather by the discrepancy between accomplishment and

aspiration leading to anxiety and frustration. These problems, when applied to leaders, become especially visible and compounded as they are faced with increasingly politicised roles. Leaders, then, may experience negative emotions due to their experiences with power and politics inside and outside the schoolhouse. Finally, leaders often experience negative emotions and concomitant feelings of isolation when there is an absence of emotional, or even empathic, understanding (Denzin, 1984). Woods (1983, p. 110) suggests that often:

> [...] the only relief for some [...][i]s to aim for a measure of role distance, where the individual denies not the role but the virtual self that is implied in the role for all accepting performers.

Like Goffman's (1959) notion of managing a role, leaders may simply distance themselves from their faculty and merely go through the motions out of necessity rather than as something they enjoy doing. Worse, when leaders feel that they either lack skill or competence they might dismiss any possibility of supporting, guiding or reinforcing others out of the fear that comes with uncertainty (Schmidt, 2000). Furthermore, "when conflict cannot be resolved [...] individuals will [...] abandon both goals and means and withdraw from the situation" (Calvert, 1975, p. 122). While conflict need not always be stressful (it may even be stimulating), more often it becomes an emotional burden. Fullan and Hargreaves (1996, p. 5) maintain that "leading is a lonely profession" particularly when a leader's decisions are constantly under scrutiny; in these situations, interactions between teachers and leaders become strained. As a result, trust and respect for leaders become diminished resulting in increased stress (Schmidt, 2000).

Indeed, stress on the job ranks as one of the primary inhibitors for educators seeking or maintaining school administrator positions (Cushing *et al.*, 2003). Stress comes from many arenas including public criticism, high accountability demands, and high levels of responsibility while authority and flexibility are simultaneously reduced via union contracts and fiscal and legal requirements. Not to be ignored, job stress manifests itself in many ways but most obviously by causing health problems such as high blood pressure and weight gain as well as psychological symptoms of depression and anxiety disorders (Cushing *et al.*, 2003).

In fact, when examining more closely the aspects of leadership that seem to generate the most anxiety, researchers (Schmoker, 1999) are finding that data use by principals tops the list since test data provide evidence of weakness in schools and the need for change. While it is often difficult to disentangle what causes more anxiety, that is, the use of data or change, cumulatively, both results create stress for both principals and teachers since change threatens extant routines and practices, and data can result in the termination of jobs and school closures. In these situations, principals often have to placate their faculty's anxieties and fears about the use of data despite their own anxiety over the lack of training in leadership preparation programs when faced with gathering, organising, maintaining, and understanding data. Creighton (2001) believes that educators often fear statistical analysis since they have generally not been exposed to courses in statistical methods in leadership preparation programs. Lortie (1975) concluded in his studies of teachers' work that they lack confidence in their own ability to raise student performance and, instead, rely heavily on the pressure and support of their administrators.

Conclusion

By way of summary it may be said that the leadership "landscape" is changing along with the shifting expectations for the position, the movement to define new standards for candidates, the complex balance between leadership and management skills, a nationwide focus on school-wide improvement efforts, long hours, high stress, and an imbalance between authority given and the level of accountability expected (Ferrandino and Tirozzi, 2000). These factors have contributed to emotionally-inundated educational leaders. Further, Ferrandino and Tirozzi (2000) state that, overall, principals feel anxious about not having enough time to develop high achieving schools when having to "sell their school" to the public and parents. When taken in their entirety, accountability and its resultant marketisation highlight key obstructions to the work of education leaders. Indeed, a new era of globalisation has produced anxieties and a looming crisis of motivation where "the character becomes corroded, trust is withheld, and commitment is difficult to sustain" (Sennett, 1998, p. 31). Scase (1999) predicts that employee attitudes to work will become more short term, instrumental, and cynical. When individuals do not feel trusted or valued, insecurity results. Within the cultures of compliance that leaders and their schools seem to exist, emotions can either be "deadly" (filled with fear, anger, apathy, envy, and greed) or "dynamic" (filled with obsession, passion, delight, love, desire, and trust). Leadership preparation programs are, more than ever before, key factors in preparing leaders of today, not only by including discussions about the nature of emotions as researched in the literature, but also by providing safe venues in which to discuss ways to face the changing landscape in education and, in particular, by preparing administrators to manage a complex role that has the potential of being both emotionally exhilarating or dangerously emotionally debilitating.

Notes

1. The terms administrators, leaders, principals, and vice-principals are used are used interchangeably although, internationally, they may have different connotations for some readers.

2. The government of BC passed Bill's 19 and 20 in 1987, which resulted in the exclusion of principals and vice-principals from the teacher federation (Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, 1987).

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