

Consuming passions: Women and leadership in times of uncertainty

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Over the past few decades change has been a constant feature of educational systems and organisations. The reforms and restructuring characteristic of systems and bureaucracies in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States have not been without cost at the professional or personal level to workers in all education sectors from school education to higher education. Professionally these changes have had significant consequences on the nature and scope of the work of administrators and teachers. Teachers and administrators are expected to cope with multiple demands created by external pressures to be more efficient, effective and economic in how they go about their work. This intensification of work is compounded by increasing demands for external and internal accountability by governments and the community. Within such contexts the split between the personal and professional lives of education workers has become blurred, so that for many teachers and administrators their work is not left at the school gate but taken home and completed after hours. Significantly, the personal costs of working in an environment with constant change has meant that there has been considerable emotional investment by administrators and others working in schools because of the uncertainty and ambiguity inherent in this changing environment.

Leadership has in times of social, political and economic uncertainty been offered up by management as the solution to a range of complex social, political and economic problems. In the new management rhetoric, the so called women's ways of working as leaders - their conciliatory, cooperative and consultative approach-- is seen to be the way to go. The Karpin Report on Management Education (1994) therefore imagines the postmodern manager of the 20th century to be more likely to be female and of nonAnglo background, in contrast to the white middle class male of the the modernist era. The contradiction is that despite the new management discourses about leadership best practice being inclusive of female styles of leadership, that the material and discursive conditions which are arising out of a range of highly modernist management practices are constraining such possibilities. Women principals confront on a daily basis the contradictions between

their own desires and others expectations for consultative and caring approaches to leadership, often the reason for their recruitment, and highly authoritarian and hierarchical management practices which significantly undermines collegial social relationships.

In this paper we draw on the experiences of a group of women in leadership positions in primary and secondary schools in a large non-metropolitan region in Victoria and Queensland, Australia during a period of educational reform and school restructuring. For many of these women, leadership is a consuming passion in their lives. We argue that school reform is a highly emotional activity and that there is a need to understand the complexity of the emotional investment of people involved in change. Specifically, there is a need to understand and

how the women in this study are negotiating the emotional terrain that is a consequence of the contradictory nature of change in their schools. This, we suggest, has significant consequences in terms of how they conceive and act out their leadership roles.

The Women and Leadership Project

Before developing this argument it is necessary to present some brief information about the broader project from which this paper is derived. During 1995 and 1996, we have been collecting data for a project on women and educational leadership in an era of educational restructuring. At its most broad level, the research aims to investigate why some women become educational leaders and some do not in schools, universities and Technical and Further Education colleges. The project aims to explore the cultural conditions, the personal and institutional strategies as well as different approaches to leadership that are most conducive to women gaining and maintaining educational leadership. The project seeks to contextualise individual choice within wider social processes by:

- identifying the ways in which systemic and structural factors as well as more subtle cultural and discursive practices are articulated in gender regimes of power in a range of institutional sites, and this in turn is effected by individual aspirations, expectations and actions.
- gaining a better understanding of how women in leadership positions and not, perceive administrative work and educational leadership, of how others (both males and females) perceive women in these roles, of how women perceive themselves and other women as leaders, and how these sets of perceptions frame individual women's decisions in the light of their own experiences, aspirations and expectations.
- determining whether particular conditions (personal, institutional, professional)enable/disable women's access into formal leadership positions, or advantage men more.

- considering how women negotiate and contest the dominant power relations which enable or disable their access to higher positions.

The project works from the proposition that 'choices' for women arise out of a set of discursive practices and power relationships in institutions which position women, individually and collectively, in often contradictory ways. Theoretical interest has shifted away from viewing women's decisions as merely a matter of 'individual choice' to considering the ways in which 'choice' is constructed socially, materially, and psychologically and of how perceived options are constrained within the multiple cultural contexts in which choices are made. That is, emphasis is more on the interaction between the individual and the social. The focus is increasingly upon how organisational and occupational cultures are highly gendered, of how women and some men are excluded by dominant images of 'good leadership' and particular hegemonic organisational cultures, and how particular institutional environments and occupational cultures are more receptive to women in leadership.

The focus of the project is upon how life cycle, institutional, structural and cultural factors interrelate and interact for individual women within specific contexts in ways that neither individualise the problem nor deny individual agency. It considers the ways in which structural factors, particular dominant organisation cultures, images of leadership and perceptions of administrative work and professional cultures may exclude or unequally integrate women as individually or

collectively. In other words, it seeks to identify the disabling factors that prevent women from successfully negotiating organisational cultures. On the other hand, it considers which conditions in a specific work context may encourage women to apply for formal leadership positions, that is what are the enabling features to facilitate women accessing leadership positions. In the process of doing this project it has been clear that women in leadership positions are involved in a variety of ways coping and negotiating the ambiguity of the everyday experience of living restructuring. Our work is moving in quite interesting ways into new areas of sexuality and the body --the corporeality of leadership. In this paper we will direct our attention to considering the emotional investment and cost to these women in their everyday lives within complex organisations called schools.

The Climate of Reform

At the core of restructuring and reform initiatives in Australia is the rhetoric of replacing traditional bureaucratic structures and procedures with those from the corporate world. As Logan, Sachs and Dempster (1996) argue the rhetoric of public sector restructuring and

reform is both nationalistic and managerial. The nationalistic arguments revolve around the call for a necessary connection between schooling and the nation's economic, cultural and social development. The managerialist arguments are based on the assumption that increased productivity is contingent on adopting the practices of industry. One key principle is decentralisation thought local self management. Blackmore et al(1994, 1996a) argue that the claims of the advocates of self management both locally and globally-- that schools will be more autonomous, flexible, address diverse student needs better, develop community and be more efficient and effective-- are not empirically well founded. Indeed, the bottom line of much reform has been efficiencies and not quality, and there are disturbing patterns of a reconstructed gender labour market in education emerging locally and globally .

At the level of the school, the combination of devolution, marketisation, reduced expenditure, and the casualisation, feminisation and deprofessionalisation of educational work has meant that principals and teachers in Victoria are now confronted with difficult dilemmas. In 1994, a national report on Australian principals in all state systems refers to the 'pressure of unrelenting change which is not seen as being necessarily to education's advantage; the increasing, multiple and sometimes conflicting expectations which result in an excessive workload for the principal filled with a growing tension, stress and, increasingly, burnout; and the perception that education has become an economic / political football in which the principalship is not valued'(Grady et al 1994 : 36). Principals see their energies being deflected away from the core work of education- teaching and learning; a depersonalisation of the system; a burgeoning administrative and paper warfare; and a focus upon 'being seen to perform' against a range of externally imposed 'indicators' and not upon substantial educational issues (Blackmore et al 1996, Grady et al 1994). Yet principals are positioned in the principal centred policy of Schools of the Future as key change agents. The 'faxing of the crisis down the line' to schools has meant that principals in self managing schools are positioned as the instruments of radical change over which they have little control and in which they have reduced discretionary power due to limited budgets (Watkins 1993).

Paradoxically, in Victoria there has been considerable investment by a 'radically conservative' Liberal-national Coalition government in Women

and Leadership Programs eg. Victorian Ministerial Review of Employment Equity for Women Teachers (1996). These policy initiatives feed into the new management discourses about 'women's special contribution to leadership' as good communicators, facilitators, collaborative managers, change agents and the need to better manage diversity (Shakeshaft 1987, Adler 1993, Ozga 1993). These 'initiatives' for women (mentoring; shadowing of principals; training in financial management,

application writing and presentation at interview; post graduate courses etc) produced an increase from 20% to 30% since 1992 of women in the principal class. They also 'captured' the cumulative effects of equal opportunity policies of the previous decade with a pool of highly eligible and enthusiastic women. At the same time the public sector, particularly in health, education and welfare, has been downsized. Australian public education systems have been shrinking during the 1990s, only in part due to demographic shift, and more due to down sizing, outsourcing, and amalgamations / closures with the effect of increased class sizes in larger schools. This 'restructuring' has been accompanied by new career structures, moves towards individual contracts undermining centralised industrial awards, and the devolution of responsibility of policy implementation, resource allocation and staffing to principals in self managing schools. The effect has been the intensification and downgrading of teachers' work conditions at the same time as the expectations placed on schools are greater and employment conditions of teachers are more precarious.

Once in positions of leadership, many principals have found they lacked the power or resources to implement change in the way they desire, as the intensification of work and shrinking budgets reduced their discretionary capacities (see also Ozga and Walker 1995, Whitty 1996, Gewirtz et al 1995 for comparable English studies). More specifically, local patterns in education markets increasingly now indicate a disturbingly widening gap between rich and poor schools as costs are increasingly privatised and school communities are expected to raise funds or gain business sponsorship (See also Gordon 1994a, Gewirtz et al 1995). In Australia, women principals are more often located either in schools with high ethnic, socioeconomic and racial diversity because of their high social justice profile or smaller rural primary schools where the load is doubled as they are both teachers and principals (Grady 1994). These are the schools where the resources are most limited and spread most thinly to cover a range of ever expanding competing demands: gifted student programs compete with integration funding for students with disabilities; English as a Second Language classes with drama, art and music; career opportunities and staff development for women teachers to encourage them to apply for promotion competes with employment of more (and cheaper) contract staff in new areas of need. The capacity for principals in less advantaged schools to improve outcomes is limited, thus setting them up for failure.

School restructuring can be seen to have considerable social implications beyond schooling itself. Watkins (1990) suggests that locating education within a decentralised framework of schools that is based on free-market business principles and practices can be seen to lead to the disintegration of the communities social fabric. Furthermore, Blackmore argues that the market is not gender neutral and how the market works with regard to the redefinition of teachers work has highly gendered implications (Blackmore, 1996b; 1996c). Alternatively, as Caldwell (1994) argues, self management can be seen

to enhance community participation and to enrich an emerging social fabric that is based on the principle that small is not only the most beautiful but also it is the most powerful. Differentiating the merits or consequences of school restructuring is not the task of this paper. That would be the challenge of another paper (See for example,

Blackmore et al 1996a).

The principal is the linchpin in self managing systems. The principal acts as the buffer between the strong centralising tendencies and the weaker decentralising tendencies which typify most self managing systems (Blackmore 1997). Within this new regime educational leaders are being asked to do more with diminishing resources, both financial, materiel and personnel. Their work is significantly different, in scope and intensity from that of their predecessors. For many working within the restructured organisation the certainties of their positions, both in terms of responsibilities and demands, have changed profoundly. Leadership in these situations is considerably more demanding both professionally and personally. Within current school restructuring debates there is little attention paid to the emotional costs or consequences associated with these changes. This paper is concerned with how restructuring at the system and school level impacts on the emotional labour of women in leadership positions.

Emotional management

While all principals are positioned ambiguously and in contradictory ways by recent reforms, the issue is still highly gendered. Principals are being positioned as 'emotional managers' in schools in a quasi-market education system which is under increased financial constraint, accountability and social pressure for easy solutions. Indeed, there is an increased dissonance between the employer's job descriptions of the principalship and the attributes of leadership so valued and deemed necessary by principals and teachers --the former prioritises management, public relations, financial skills and strong leadership; the latter prioritises educational vision, people skills, compassion, trust, genuine love of the job, humility, respect and pride of others achievements, reciprocity, life long learning, collegiality and professionalism (Grady 1994 : 36, Blackmore 1995). Principals increasingly look to their people skills as they are required to do the emotional management work of the system as teacher morale falls to a low due to the intensification of labour and youth unemployment remains high and intransigent (Blackmore 1996b). Women principals in these studies spoke of the tension between the market survival and their educational beliefs, and the impact this had on principal/teachers staff relations.

So I am caught in that you almost have to create an environment of fear about our very survival in order for people re-committed to what is important in education again.

Recent change theory in management literature (eg. Senge 1990, Drucker 1992) has also focused upon creativity and strong corporate cultures in effective organisations. The current management guru, Peter Drucker, is well aware that the dilemma for management in flatter, less hierarchical organisations with more autonomous multiskilled workers is how to tap into the creativity of intellectual labour the essence of the new productivity but also how to control them (Waring, 1990). One way is to channel their desires and pleasures into organisational ends. Corporate culture is just a better way of managing the managers by capturing their 'hearts' as well as their minds in ways that make coercive power unnecessary (Hochschild, 1983). Emotion becomes a commodity itself to be exploited. But the 'new' management which focuses upon 'strong corporate culture' to bind together the messiness of change fails to address the level of emotional investment in bringing about or resisting change. First, it ignores the superficiality of adherence of many workers to 'strong' corporate cultures and their self governance of emotions (Flam 1993). Anxiety and fear in uncertain employment times is readily converted into, and can

be read as, work enthusiasm. Second, while there is a renewed interest in organisational theory about emotions (eg. Fineman 1993), it is largely psychologically oriented. But emotion also has political, ethical and moral dimensions which are often ignored. People have a high level of emotional investment in their values and professional beliefs-- and express their concern about shifting political terrains in highly emotional ways. Third, the expression of emotion serves a communicative role in developing a sense of community, a tolerance of ambiguity and greater understanding through empathy. In denying overt displays of emotion in appropriate contexts, the individualisation of social life is further attenuated to the detriment of a sense of community in the political and social sense. Denial of emotion is a form of boundary maintenance work to control workers because it depicts emotion as irrational, subjective and an individual pathology.

And when recent management literature does concentrate on emotion -it is in the positive sense of passion, enthusiasm, verve, zest and empathy. Little is said about how 'feeling individuals worry, envy, brood, become bored, play, despair, plot, hate, hurt and so forth' (Fineman, 1993, p.10). So while emotion has the susceptibility to be both productive or non productive for organisations, repressing 'negative' emotion is a major aspect of organisational control. Crucially, the socially connected emotions embarrassment, shame and guilt are central to many aspect of organisational order. They are the emotional springs to self control...they are emotions which relate to how we think others are seeing us, or go our performances are judged. The discomfort of personal embarrassment can itself ensure that most people walk do more or less the right (organisational) thing with clients, customers, colleagues and bosses (Fineman,1993, p. 17).

Particular emotional displays are seen to be counterproductive (stress, anger, fear, alienation, lack of job satisfaction) at the very time that restructuring has led to the intensification of work, the colonisation of private life as work moves into the private domain both in terms of time and energy. There is little space for emotional release.

Jeff Hearn (1993) argues that conventional wisdom constructs both men and organisations as unemotional. The public is also constructed as un-emotional compared to the emotional domains of the private and family on a masculine / feminine bipolar divide. Indeed, the dualism of mainstream educational administration thought positions emotion (as the feminine) in opposition to reason (the masculine), and therefore not to be countenanced. To display emotion is to indicate weakness. Emotion is personalised and individualised as a pathology and not to do with dominant models of strong leadership. As Hearn suggest, the conventional wisdom is powerful in perpetuating mythologies about the rationality of organisations and men, but is not an accurate representation of what actually happens in organisational life. Further, he suggests that if organisational life is deconstructed, the mythology of rationality is underpinned by a view from those who are in less powerful positions that 'men are too emotional, too much out of control especially when it comes to anger, sexuality and violence' (Hearn 1993 p. 143). But he also points out that management is about managing emotions -- and balancing between control of one's own emotions and others-- but is still constructed as non-emotional. 'Management, men and emotions are inextricably bound together in power' because men largely run organisations' (Hearn 1993 p. 143). Management men control the emotional labour of women and less powerful men, who in turn manage the emotions of others--clients, patients, lay people, members of the public'.

Much of the literature on the strong corporate culture, a key concept

draw on in educational reform in Australia (Angus 1994, Ball 1995) tends to assume that the 'social glue' of strong cultures results from shared visions and that success was a primary motivating factor (as represented in effective schools literature). But Fineman (1993) suggests thAT fear, in a period of rapid change and uncertainty, is an equally 'binding' factor. A female principal spoke of how the current relationships in the new model of decisionmaking with reversion of authority to the principal 'was infantilising not only the kids but the bloody staff as well' by constructing a dependency upon the principal rather than professional relationship premised upon equality and mutual engagement. Just as the caring aspects of teachers work is being extended towards students (Acker 1995), so the caring aspects of the principalship is being extended to teachers in times of change. But it not a positive or productive form of care which develops out of mutually beneficial relationships in which individuals learn the

benefits and pleasure gained from caring for someone rather than just being cared for ie reciprocal engagement (Noddings 1992). It is more about being in some sense 'protected' which derives out of power relationships which are uneven, and in which the more powerful protect the powerless. This often can revert to control rather than care. Principals described themselves as a 'buffer' against the deluge of policies and change initiatives so that the teachers could get on with the real work of teaching and learning (Blackmore et al 1996). Acting as a buffer was at significant emotional, physical if not moral cost to principals.

Even within the feminist literature on women in educational administration upon which the popularised discourse of 'women's styles of leadership' has drawn, emotion has been the missing dimension. There is a significant literature about women's preferences for more democratic and collegial forms of leadership, about their interpersonal skills and caring and sharing approaches in education (eg. Noddings, 1992; Shakeshaft, 1987;). Women's maternal (and pedagogical) skills are, in this literature, translatable into leadership skills. Women principals are expected to good at handling people and all their emotions.

The language of care which is naturalised as women's emotional labour needs to be treated with care. Nancy Folbre speaks of the notion of caring labour--how it often refers to child care or of elderly with the end results of being cared for. She suggests that

any labour can be described as 'caring': in the sense that it result in activities that help meet the need of others...Also, people 'care' about many things other than people: animals, vegetables, their environment, their principles and so on. But the real challenge of the phrase lies in its emotional connotations, as a type of labour distinct from that which most economists analyse in terms of measurable output per hour (Folbre, 1995, pp.73-4)

Folbre (1995, pp. 74-5) defines caring labour as 'labour undertaken and out of affection or a sense of responsibility for other people, with no expectation of immediate pecuniary reward'. She argues that this is what motivates many individuals, usually women, to care in a voluntary sense for children, the elderly and sick. Caring is about responsibility, altruism and reciprocity. One can also be caring dispassionately for a particular individual. This is not to suggest that it is totally altruistic. Indeed, caring and doing emotional labour can be satisfying and lead to mutually a satisfactory reciprocal relations (as in collegiality in teaching). But it is dangerous for one to specialise in non- market labour (usually in the home and usually related to care). One could argue that now principals have

extended their caring labour into the educational market in that they

are bearing the emotional burden of systems in crisis.

The image of the teacher (and leader) as nurturer...offers service, dedication, patience, and love as the dominant trope for teaching, making teaching full women's work, work that needs no financial compensation or reduced loads for the time that is spent. To ask for money or fewer students or "A life" only evokes the crass masculinist values of power and self interestedness. The nurturer, then much remain silent and thereby deny the contributions of and reinscribe the invisibility of women's work (quoted in Acker 1995, p. 40).

But the maintenance of the dualisms which positions emotional labour in opposition to intellectual labour presents a dangerous divide for women.

Women principals can be trapped as they are expected to provide the positive and nourishing emotions of care, warmth patience and calm which maintain the 'greedy organisations'(Cozer 1974). In so doing deny their negative emotions of passion and anger which are not acceptable in the corporate culture. Women merely have to exercise their 'positive' female skills and change will occur.To display their emotions even in justifiable contexts is their downfall-- both in terms of their own survival and in terms of being seen to be 'weak', non-rational, psychologically inadequate or inappropriate managers. For as Hargreaves (1995,p.) comments, for teachers some emotions are still more acceptable than others--

carefully regulated and tempered emotions like warmth, patience, strength, calm, caring, concern, building trust and expressing vulnerability are preferred and privileged over anger, rage, passion and sometimes even love; over emotions which are portrayed as fiercer, more negative, intensive, regressive and unruly in nature.

These are highly gendered views of emotion. Marian Court argues:

that the expression of anger has been seen as culturally acceptable for men, but not for women. Sanctions against women's anger has long been applied.Within modern popular discourse negative terms such as dragon, spitfire, bitch and nag are applied to women and girls, but not to men and boys. Women's anger is associated here with characteristics of being sharp tongued, cruelly nasty, whiningly unpleasant or persistently annoying , while a woman expressing her anger with tears risks being described as typically emotional or manipulative (Court, 1993, p. 151)

There are few equivalent phrases about male anger. So 'emotions, while they may be linked to mental and physical states, are also social and ideological constructs that simplify and dilute contradictions from thought, feeling and action' (Hearn 1993 p. 146). So while women principals may be seen to have considerable power they are both

vulnerable and strong. While in a privileged situation, they still encounter various forms of discrimination and institutionalised male dominance (Chase, 1994).

The Emotional Labour of Educational Leadership

The discourses of leadership privilege headwork over heartwork. That is, the intellect and the mind shape and control educational practice while, the emotions and feeling which are central to human interaction are left unacknowledged and in some cases even denied. We argue, that the social activities of schools, the interactions between

administrators and teachers, teachers and teachers, teachers and parents, teachers and students, students and students and so on produce as well as reflect emotions, as those of us who have worked in schools well know. Any time spent either in staffrooms, playgrounds or classrooms affirm the emotional dynamics of these sites, how they can be predictable and yet at the same time unpredictable. How the meanings of these emotions may be transparent to some while alien to others. Or how certain conditions, physical, social or temporal, may produce different kinds of emotions in various individuals. Women principals, when asked about what they find pleasurable in leadership speak of seeing children gaining a sense of place and belonging, self esteem, getting a program changed to better address the needs of kids, helping a parent.

In these respects life in schools is characterised by the interplay of competing emotions. That schools are emotional arenas is self evident. The passions of leadership itself, care for students' and teachers' welfare, impatience with bureaucracy, exhilaration and joy at students' success, and even grief at the loss of a student or staff member or graduates at the end of the year are all emotions that are felt keenly by teachers and administrators working in schools. Whilst there is a resilient echo within the literature on emotion, that emotional experiences are somehow distinct and separate from rational behaviours, our assertion that schools are experienced as highly emotional organisations actively disputes a dichotomous view of emotional experience and rationality.

Rational views of administration also have their own ideological baggage; about how schools should work, about the nature of individual motivation and organisations. Particular rationalities are embedded in the processes which have re-constructed principal /teacher relations in recent times. New career paths assume that teachers are motivated through monetary rewards and not personal and professional job satisfaction. Principals in Schools of the Future, for example, in the name of school autonomy and shifting the responsibility for making the important decisions about distribution of resources to the local, have greater discretionary power over teachers with regard to the allocation

of work and rewards in schools, staff appraisal, recruitment and curriculum priorities. This in itself is welcome to many principals. In the wider context of the shift towards casual contractual employment of teachers within the system rather than previous tenure of position in the public service, the principal's power was heightened. New hierarchies had emerged. Principal's work is marked as different from teaching with different performance bonuses, decisionmaking responsibilities and new industrial relations awards. Both principals and teachers are conscious of the shift in the locus of power away from teachers to principals, in the ways principals practised leadership, and particularly in principals' relationships with staff at a personal level (Blackmore, 1996; Nicholls and Ozga, 1994). The restructuring of teachers' work there has significant implications for the change in the social and emotional relationships in schools-- in which the negative emotions of guilt, fear, despair and anger are increasingly evident but which principals must control.

In particular, the way schools are organised and how people are socialised to behaviour within various circumscribed limits indicates that norms of rationality are invoked to regulate emotionality (Ashforth and Humphrey 1995). Andy Hargreaves observes that in the current climate of school reform acknowledgment of these emotions has been regulated away. Hargreaves (1995: 25-26) argues that:

in one sense, passion, desire and other intense feelings, emotions have

always been central to teaching. but governments, bureaucracies and even professional developers have ignored them, driven them underground, or sought to tame and regulate them in pursuit of technical efficiency, planned change, and rational reform that have characterised the modern mission. ...joy has been planned away by meetings, mandates and school development and growth plans. Anxiety, frustration and guilt have become widespread consequences, burnout and cynicism their legacies in the classroom.

A problem for many administrators is how to manage or even control this desire so that it does not transgress the unwritten codes of professional behaviour. Hochschild (1983) refers to this as emotional labour.

This labour requires one to induce or suppress feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others. ... This kind of labour calls for a coordination of mind and feelings, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honour as deep and integral to our personality. (Hochschild, 1983, 7)

Labour in the feeling world consists of learning and maintaining the proper affective tone (by proper management, gesture, appearance, words and deeds) (Van Maanen and Kunda 1989, 54). Being a leader in schools

involves immense amounts of emotional labour. This is not only in terms of performance or 'acting out' feelings superficially, but also in terms of consciously evoking the necessary emotional engagement required to undertake one's job effectively in one's own eyes but also in the eyes of others. This emotional labour, is informed by 'feeling rules' (Hochschild 1983) which are contextually and situationally bound which provide a framework for judging our own and others emotional presentations.

A challenge for many women and some men in leadership positions, is the management of their emotions. A code of unwritten rules circumscribes how one is to act in public arenas. Hochschild (1983) and Hargreaves (1995) both suggest that these feelings are bureaucratized. Feeling rules are for these women habitual and automatic they are a by product of the complex process of occupational training, interpersonal relationships and organisational experience (Putnam and Mumby 1993). These rules are part of an unwritten 'professional' code of behaviour which directs women to be consistently compassionate, empathic and understanding with students and staff. These feeling rules are implicit in their professional area; fairness and professional detachment disguises and defends against any private feelings of pain, despair, uncertainty and so on; feelings which would otherwise interfere with the professional relationship (Fineman 1993).

Interviews with women administrators in primary and secondary schools made it very clear that there were implicit rules which were learned very early on in their teaching careers about emotions and their display. The most consistent and dominant of these was that 'you never showed that you couldn't cope'. Being in control of your feelings and emotions was important if you wanted to be taken seriously in the job and if you were to be rewarded by promotion. Hall (1995) describes this as managing your inner self was the basis for managing others and the environment. To this end a public and professional face was developed by all of the women interviewed as part of their professional persona. All of the women interviewed spoke of being professional and presenting themselves as professionals. Being professional was a code word for being in control, being perceived as efficient by both peers, colleagues and members of the community and was expressed in their dress and general demeanour. As one of the principals reported 'they

all think I'm an iron lady, that nothing has affected me'. However, she herself claims that the emotional costs of having a difficult staff are very high.

The women

We have interviewed over 60 women teachers and principals in primary and secondary schools in Victoria and Queensland. The data we draw on here will only be from those who are in principalship or deputy

principalship. many of the women are principals of 'difficult' schools, with transient populations and with many of the families on welfare and in lower socio-economic areas. These schools, are in the main, considered to be 'difficult' because of the nature of their catchment areas, high unemployment, welfare families, high levels of domestic violence and lower levels of educational achievement than is the norm.

All of these women had stories to tell of their lives of working in a system that was undergoing significant change. Their stories were ones of courage, pain, disappointment, dissatisfaction and even depression. All of these stories make it very clear that effective leadership is about managing emotions or making emotions invisible. They point to how organisational and personal change is about understanding the emotional investments, of acknowledging the personal costs of changing or not changing. Jill Blackmore (1996) points out that these are the aspects of leadership which tend to be neglected, played down, even denigrated in the literature, largely because emotionality has been cast in opposition to, and lesser than rationality in highly gendered ways. It is to the emotional labour of these women that I now turn.

Emotions at work

The complexity of life in schools and the daily exigencies of their professional and personal lives gave rise to a variety of emotions. In varying degrees these women internalised their 'corporate identity' in ways which came to govern their emotions as well as their behaviours, at least in the workplace (Blackmore, 1996). For all of these women there was pleasure and pain in their jobs.

Most of the women interviewed experienced disappointment and grief about not getting jobs they had applied for. For all of them, their grief and disappointment was not something that could be shared among staff at the school or expressed publicly. Several women told stories of going into the bathroom and crying their eyes out at the disappointment at being passed over for promotion yet again. Once they got this out of their system they 'put on some makeup and faced the world again'. They felt that their private agony and pain could not be seen within the school grounds by their colleagues. This private dimension of emotional labour was not something that was talked about, or even acknowledged publicly, but certainly was part of the implicit emotional rules that was part of the complex tapestry of professional life. As one principal said 'I had to put on a brave face, and not let anyone know how devastated I felt'. Another secondary principal, who had been acting principal for twelve months, missed out on the substantive position in the school to a male outsider. Her response was 'I will work collaboratively and cooperatively with the new principal. I am a professional, and will have to put my own disappointment behind me'. Fortunately, she was transferred into Central Office to take a different kind of job. However, for Jill, the initial disappointment of not being short listed for a job was a real

blow to her self esteem and sense of professional worth. She said that 'initially I felt that I would never make it. ... After some time though I knew that I could do'. By working in a variety of acting

positions Jill found out that she could do these jobs. Her success in these jobs gave her confidence and made her 'more determined to achieve'. For many, frequent knock backs in applications was too emotionally demanding. They just gave up.

Disappointment was also the result of being let down by other members of staff. Anne reported that some staff were threatened by some of her new policies and set out to discredit her and to make her life in the new school difficult. An incident where one of the disruptive teachers behaved inappropriately in the eyes of Anne exemplifies the professional disappointment felt by some women for the actions of their staff.

Disappointment and being let down by colleagues and the system was closely associated with feelings of isolation and loneliness. This loneliness was both emotional and professional. Judy, principal of a large Victorian secondary college, commented 'I feel very much alone I think. I feel very much alone because the few people that you probably could work with within the school are just as busy and frenetic'. In part, she attributed this to the fact that she was new to the school and lacked longer social relationships with the staff and in the community. At the same time, she saw this isolation as being part of the job because 'you tend to distance yourself because you've been appointed in as the principal and I mean you have to be careful about using colleagues' and not being seen to favour individuals or groups. At the same time this did not provide her with space to indicate anger, although she said the office staff, as relatively neutral, were used to her sounding off occasionally. Judy was also aware that she had to maintain a constant display of energy to keep everything going, there were periods of emotional and physical exhaustion and despair. After a particularly bad day she went and cried through all of 'Sleepless in Seattle' 'Tuesday was a much better day, because, like the film, it was really nice and things worked happily ever after in the end. Both the P and VP used humour as a means of reducing tension and getting people to feel more comfortable

Marshall (1993) talks about the politics of denial where many women principals down play their isolation and the sexism of the system and their colleagues in order to survive. In a region where most of the senior positions were taken up by men the lack of supportive female colleagues and the sexism of their male colleagues was talked about by some women. Having people who did not share your vision or philosophy of education compounded the loneliness felt by some. Anne reported that:

... after having spent two days at a principals conference `I looked around, I did a lot of soul searching last week end, because there is about 20 out of 190 who I can identify with. I went home to my family and said ` I wonder if its just me. Is there something wrong with me that I can't ...(at this point the interview was suspended because of the emotional pain at recalling the story) I need to be more stately and less passionate about things and more arrogant in a way. I watch the male and think `oh yeah. I don't fit the mould, so when they look at you they don't see Principal ...

However, this isolation was less so in schools where the administrative team worked closely together. At one high school, the administrative team was all women. Here being part of a team helped to alleviate some of the stress of working in a demanding school, but the stress and isolation was still there on occasion. Margaret however, felt that being part of an administrative team where I knew Liz so well `made me feel very confident. We had trust, mutual respect ... having a good

staff made my job much easier.'

Several women described themselves as being `not much of a networker'. In some cases women talked to friends outside of the school about problems and issues that confronted them in their schools. They had `lots of informal telephone conversations'. Again with these women there was a wariness about asking for advice, for as Kay, a secondary school principal, indicated

you have to be careful about the people you ask for advice from ... I wouldn't ask for advice from another principal, especially if it was male because I would be afraid that they would be making judgements about my not coping.

In many schools, women principals looked for collegiality and emotional support outside their school. Networks amongst principals were often formed for this purpose. Usually informal, such networks often replaced for women the types of support provided to men through the principal's associations which were, by many women, not seen to be supportive of women. In one inner suburban area, a group of female primary school principals formed such a network. But even these relationships were fraught with dilemmas and conflict. In an increasingly competitive market system, these women had agreed as part of the same neighbourhood, to put out a joint publication about their schools to local preschools and kindergartens and not advertise independently in competition with each other. It was part of the broader commitment to public education and the realisation that competition was often at cost for individual schools. But one school, faced with a more entrepreneurial council and declining enrolments, embarked on an advertising campaign. The principal, confronted with community pressure and matters of survival, was conscious of what was seen by her

colleagues as betrayal. This issue left her with considerable emotional turmoil and guilt, and required significant time to mend her collegial relationships.

Guilt was a common emotion expressed by all of the women. Guilt was mainly their own construction and developed in response to the pressures of balancing home and school life. Having a supportive partner, who helped with home obligations eased but did not diminish these feelings of guilt. Balancing home and school became more problematic for single parents and women with unsupportive partners. Not being at home when the children got home, having to work at night and sometimes on weekends or not being able to attend school functions such as sporting carnivals when their children were at other schools caused some anxiety and guilt for some women as the following statements attest. The following from Brenda who is recently divorced indicates the personal and professional dilemma she is confronted with on a daily basis.

I have a 12 year old at the moment who is on the verge at the moment of becoming a school refusal. So I've got to think 'hey whose child is more important, my 12 year old or somebody else's? Do I forsake my own child? I'm driving nearly an hour each day to get to work; that means he's at home from 7 o'clock in the morning by himself - he has to get himself off to school. I make his lunch and the rest of it and at the moment nothing has happened. But he's teased me at times, that's at 12, that's grade 7, come grade 8, grade 9, I don't really know.

Julie, a newly appointed acting Deputy Principal, makes similar comments. She talks of being perpetually exhausted and of having to cut down on outside commitments, which had previously included teaching part-time at a university and working at various fitness centres. (This

was part of her life that gave her great personal satisfaction). The competing demands of home and work added to her exhaustion and her feeling guilty about home commitments. For Julie:

Two years ago I would not have contemplated doing this. Now that my children are older I think that I can manage it. My children feel that they are loosing out, although I leave earlier in the morning that I used to leave, I still do everything for them that needs to be done. I'm still there of a night time for them and weekends and don't start my work at home until after their needs are met. Ultimately they whinge a lot, but they also have to learn to give a bit because I've given year and years and years to their needs.

Time and competing demands placed on women was a constant theme that emerged during the interviews; demands on time, not having enough time and so on. Robyn, as secondary school principal comments:

Time is a major issue. I would really have to say that if I didn't have a family, the job would be a hell of a lot easier because then it wouldn't matter if I came in to school on Saturday, or it wouldn't matter if I didn't get home until 7 o'clock every night. but it does matter. I do have someone to take to sport, I do have someone who participates in sporting activities. Who needs his mum to see him...

Anne, who was another new principal talked about having to balance her life. In particular she mentioned that after regional meetings she declined offers to have a drink 'with the boys'.

I have other priorities in my life. I distance myself from a drink because I don't want to do that ... I want to go home ...I've got two young children so balancing a career and home life certainly takes priority over them having their little boys games and I don't need to be part of it, and they seem to accept that, I don't participate.

Quality of life was seen to be important to all of these women. Chris, indicated that she had to work hard at doing other things than work. She made time to spend with her family, but also indicated that because of the stress and strains of the job she had been sick during the school holidays on various occasions. Jane, seen as a successful principal by many of her peers, indicates that she couldn't have got to where she is now if she had children. However, the stresses and strains of being a high achiever, and in her words 'a perfectionist' has had an effect on her health.

Satisfaction that the job provided was important for all of the women interviewed. It was one of the pleasures of the job that the women talked about. Getting a sense of a job well done, that was either acknowledged by peers or by past students was frequently reported. For Anne, who described the difficulties of her job in some detail and indicated that she had been told that she had been 'set up to fail' it was this satisfaction that sustained and energised her. She talked about 'making a difference and touching the lives of those kids'. The delayed gratification and the pleasure that this has elicited is clear in the following interview extract:

I had a girl ring me, 2 or 3 years after I've worked with her and she rang up and said Mrs G. I've ...how did you find me? She said 'Oh I've tracked you down, she said 'Remember me?' Yes and she said 'Oh a friend of mine is a street kid and she's 13 and she's illiterate and she's been excluded from all the schools and she wants someone to teach her how to read and I told her 'Well you could do it'. Oh its a tall order, I'm not sure I can. You see that's where I get all the pleasures from.

For Liz, building something from the ground up was very gratifying. Being a leader and making a difference to kids was very important.

Giving people the opportunity to 'fly with ideas' was part of the excitement of teaching. Liz took the view of 'why not ...what have we got to lose ...everything is a learning experience ... lets not stand still'. This was all part of the excitement and exhilaration of doing her job and an integral part of the pleasures of being an administrator.

All of the women spoke of feeling frustrated with many aspects of the jobs. Few of them spoke of feeling anger or even love. This is an interesting point because anger is not seen to be a professionally sanctioned or appropriate emotion. The unwritten emotion rules meant that anger or the more unacceptable emotion of rage had to be controlled. Nias (1989) sees intense emotion as a source of dangerous volatility in the safe places that classrooms and schools should otherwise be. Thoits (1985) goes as far to argue that expressions of intense emotion, whether negative or positive, tend to be unacceptable, except under certain conditions (e.g. celebrating a significant achievement) since they are believed to impair routine task performance. To display emotions

It may well be for these women that they have consciously or unconsciously developed feeling rules that act to circumscribe their behaviour. Alternatively, behaviour cues, such as a side glance, an embarrassed silence or a slight change in body position from one of their peers is enough to provide a rule reminder. It is this, what Goleman (1995) calls, emotional intelligence that helps people to manage their emotions in ways that are socially acceptable and appropriate. Within social interactions emotional intelligence provides a basis for preventing anger turning into rage, happiness into hysteria and sadness into despair. All of which are significant in the emotional labour of people working in complex and demanding jobs.

These behaviour rules and emotional intelligence serve to regulate the emotional of people working in schools. Expressions of love and rage are effectively 'neutralized' (Ashforth and Humphrey 1995) because these are seen as unacceptable emotions to exhibit in schools. Emotions such as caring, concern and empathy are 'prescribed' (Ashforth and Humphrey 1995) emotions that are appropriate for women to display in their administrative and leadership positions. Not surprisingly then, as Ashforth and Humphrey 1995, 105) argue, 'emotional prescriptions typically reflect a meld of organizational and extra-organizational influences'.

These stories tell us that leadership, particularly in a period of rapid change, is about emotions -- desire, fear, despair, caring, disillusionment, pain, anger, stress, anxiety and loneliness. A key aspect of organisational and personal change is about understanding the emotional investments of different individuals and groups (Hargreaves 1995). Yet these are the aspects of leadership which tend to be neglected, played down, even denigrated in the literature,

largely because emotionality has been cast in opposition to rationality; the former as lesser and the latter privileged.

The coping strategies: resistance, controlling, distancing, exit.

The women principals in these projects were therefore faced with both managing their own and other people's emotions. They did so in a range of ways. Principals develop social defense systems which they practice to face the anxiety that threatens to overwhelm them. Some of the

strategies include reducing familiarity by increasing space between themselves and their staff; by depersonalisation through the quantification of personal data; by developing a rhetoric of coping or detachment and coping; and by doing checks and counterchecks with regard to who makes the final decision and a well as rituals such as task lists and regulated relationships as routine (Fineman, 1993, p. 29-30). Most women called upon all of these strategies at particular moments. For many, the emotional work of organisations was physical as well as emotional. One principal responded when asked how she reacted to the demands put upon her: 'Anger. Chest pains and pains down my right arm are common'.

One defense for the conflict and contradictions arising from the dissonance between felt and displayed emotion is disengagement or distancing. A typical response of many of these principals to being expected to act in ways which they found antithetical even repugnant to their personal values, was to 'distance' themselves from the decision, and to say 'We have been directed to do this'. One female principal commented:

I guess the thing at a philosophical or value level that I have found most difficult is lack of acknowledgment by this government that students who have traditionally been seen as disadvantaged (disabled, poor, kids of non English speaking background, homeless....) probably don't deserve anything different. The special needs staffing was slashed away from under us...I guess what you do is to try and make the best of what you can. If I had that decision I couldn't have morally made it. But given that it was put upon me, you make the best you can of it.... I guess it is a coping mechanism, because if you get angry about this you lose your effectiveness, and it is not good to the kids or staff.

Marshall and Mitchell (1989) refer to the strong pressure of 'organisational socialisation' which occurs due to the 'formal, authoritarian, detachment orientation' of education systems which is disabling to more collegial and connected, caring and sharing approaches. One middle manager in education spoke about how she had come to survive through frequent restructuring : 'the cardinal rule was not to cry or show emotion as this was judged to be a weakness'.

Emotion is viewed as antipathetic to management, a private and personal matter, and that emotion undermines the appearance of being 'objective', a key signifier of administration (Gray, 1993, p. 109). Gray comments:

The plea for objectivity is often a way of blocking the confrontation of the affective realities and preventing a personal reflective process. Women may be as ready to block as men, and the ethos of school management has been one that encourages Heads to perceive themselves as the most objective and least emotional members of staff (Gray 1993 p. 109).

While this 'distancing of emotion' temporarily shifts the immediate responsibility from principals, many speak of how over time its begins to make significant inroads into their sense of self and professionalism. For some, the emotional energy arising out of the dissonance between their beliefs, values and their actions is too great. Their response was to exit the organisation as a form of protest which is seen to be less disloyal and dangerous than speaking out. One principal took an early retirement package after being in the department of education for nearly 40 years and a principal for eighteen. She had overseen significant and numerous educational restructurings. But in the most recent, she felt that she could no

longer work with the same level of commitment and energy as before because of the continuous undermining of her capacities as a leader to maintain what she felt was sound educational practice or her ability to exercise moral and professional judgement. She also felt that there was increasingly close surveillance and that 'the rules implicit in the profession were becoming more rigid- about being rational, objective and efficient'.

In the context of devolved governance and emerging educational markets, many women principals expressed the negative aspects of emotion-- anger, despair, disillusionment-- arising out of their incapacity to produce the types of changes they felt educationally desirable. This was attributed to the lack of resources and policy constraints, the system's devaluing of teaching and principals, the low morale of teachers due to community perceptions about 'the failure of public education, the 'disappearance' of issues of equity and social justice out of educational policy, and the culture of compliance and competition endemic in the system. This countered their earlier pleasure of being in the position of leadership and able to produce change which was of benefit to their students. It also points to the culture of care which entraps many women principals.

Conclusion

The myth of rationality dominates the discourses shaping the activities

and life in schools of administrators and teachers. Putman and Mumby (1993) suggest that in organisations rationality is privileged as an ideal for effective organisational life. In this respect schools are no different from other organisations. Accordingly, reason, cognition and thinking become processes linked to rationality, while passion, affect and feeling become indices of emotionality. In daily life rationality is seen to be a virtue and revered while emotionality is seen to be an encumbrance and reviled. It is seen to be an inappropriate dimension of life in schools as in other organisations.

In effect, the power of discourses of rationality is that they are subtle technologies of control. They provide the justification and legitimation for reason dominating affect or emotions. As Lutz (1990: 72) observes people typically talk about controlling emotions, handling emotional situations as well as emotional feeling and dealing with people, situations and emotions. This was certainly the case for the women interviewed in the study. Great importance is attached for the necessity of emotional control for the effective and efficient functioning of organisations. A set of roles - one strong and defensive and the other weak and invasive - that are hierarchized and linked with gender roles (Lutz 1990) are produced and reproduced. Women are seen to be emotional while men are seen to be rational. The emotional dimension of school life and leadership is one of the great silences in the analysis of the diversity and complexity of these sites.

It is to the emotional dimension of school life that we have focussed on in this paper. The emotional costs of school reform and restructuring have been left silent in much of the literature. Much of this literature focuses on systems and changes in organisational arrangements and how the work of people has been intensified and changed significantly. However, apart from recent work by Andy Hargreaves (1995, forthcoming) and the identification of the subjective aspects of change by Michael Fullan (1991) and the gendered nature of emotional work in the market (Blackmore 1996) there is little work that focuses on the personal costs of reform, particularly the emotional costs of people individually or collectively.

In this paper we have indicated the complexity of the emotional labour of a group of women working in primary and secondary schools. We have suggested that schools are complex emotional arenas where they are constantly assailed by the emotional demands placed on them by their peers, students and members of the community. Furthermore, we have indicated that the emotions of these women are regulated by emotional rules that are implicit within the organisational ethos of the education system and the school itself. These women's emotions are managed by the contextual exigencies in which they work, through emotional rules and their own emotional intelligence as much as they manage their emotions themselves.

There is a need to undertake more systematic work on the area of emotions and emotional management within schools during periods of restructuring and change. Following Fineman (1993) we need to establish an emotional research agenda. To this end, some areas for future investigation might be: what are the competing emotionalities between administrators, teachers and students?, what are the contexts which give rise to emotions and how are they displayed and negotiated by all of those involved in the life of a school? Are the patterns of emotions different in different kinds of schools, primary/secondary, urban/rural, state/private and so on. To what extent does the emotional management and leadership of a principal filter down to the rest of the school staff? Finally, how do teachers and students manage and negotiate their emotions. These areas of study could provide us with a more complete picture of the emotional dynamics that constitute schools as active and restless organisations. In this study the women are surviving leadership, but there is a price - that of sustaining and nourishing their emotions.

Questions

Nor were the 'superwomen' in the principal positions the role models to which many women aspired, as they saw those women in leadership positions struggle to uphold their long held values and beliefs about education and social justice, the long hours and the need 'to put your social life on hold', in the face of an increasingly unsympathetic, if not antagonistic, system. Women teachers watch their female colleagues struggle with the moral dilemmas between educational leadership and management, and often 'chose' not to undertake the considerable physical, emotional and ethical burden.

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