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Leadership as Artful Performance

Educational leadership is an applied profession. While educational leaders may have been prepared in a curriculum that was empirically defined by research, the practice of educational leadership is always an art form and it involves storytelling. This chapter identifies how educational leadership is performance and analyzes the rise and fall of one of the most well-known superintendents in the nation, Benjamin Coppage Willis of Chicago, and someone who came along that was more skilled than him in artful performance.

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Professional practice is about performance. The application of skills and learned procedures in situations of professional practice is an art. In an applied practice such as educational leadership, artful performance is about assuming a role and acting accordingly. Other applied professions present their practitioners with the same challenge. For example, Klass (1987) describes the routines of medical school in which the constant pressure, lack of sleep, acquisition of a professional vocabulary, and the habitual rounds in a hospital became a way of creating distance from patients and enabling young medical interns to act like doctors and then to "become" doctors. While it isn't recommended for educational leaders, it is the way medical doctors have been traditionally prepared. They learn to "get into" the role of being a doctor and they practice in real situations.

It does not take long for someone to discover that being a doctor or a school leader carries with it certain expectations from those with whom one is interacting. It becomes apparent that other humans are anticipating something from you. They may want directions, assurances, answers to questions large and small, reflection, feedback,

friendship, or a variety of forms of personal or professional recognition or affirmation. Such expectations have been bundled around a role, that is, either a designated function or a character that has been assigned or assumed within or without an organizational context.

Outside organizations, leaders are affirmed by followers, especially charismatic leaders (see Samier, 2005a). Inside organizations, leaders are affirmed by being appointed or elected to occupy a formal position. In business, a person assumes the role of chief operations officer (COO) or chief executive officer (CEO). In the military, an individual becomes a commanding officer of some kind, a lieutenant, general, captain, or admiral. In education, persons may become assistant principals, principals (headmasters in the UK and other countries), supervisors, coordinators, directors, or superintendents of schools. In either case, the bundle of expectations of followers serves as a kind of repository of duties or anticipated responses within the larger state of informal or formal human affairs. To use a familiar term, "the bottom line" is that leadership constitutes a role.

Roles Versus Traits: Popular Misconceptions of Leadership

The question has been asked before: "Are leaders born or made?" The popular response to this query is to wonder if you have the traits or personality to lead people. What ought to have become clearer through the chapters in the book so far is that leadership is a "social construction" instead of a genetic capacity (Smith, Miller-Kahn, Heinecke, & Jarvis, 2004, p. 17). It is true that leaders have to develop a kind of inner resiliency. They have to deal with questions regarding the nature and purpose of life and their personal confrontation with mortality. All humans must confront the ultimate abyss of potential personal obliteration in death. Much of the ritual of life is preparing for this inevitability. Religion plays a key role in sustaining human optimism as each of us peers into this eternal abyss (see Weber, 1922/1991). The culture we are born into also embeds us in a rich tapestry of ritual, symbols, and mythology in which we learn to construct (as opposed to "see") the world. Donald Hoffman (1998), a cognitive scientist at the University of California at Irvine, puts it this way: "Everything you see you construct: color, shading, texture, motion, shape, visual objects, and entire visual scenes" (p. 5).

Leadership is a social construct, that is, it is manufactured or fabricated rather than inherited (Duke, 1998; Shapiro, 2006). Peering into the genetic matrix of leaders has revealed very little about it beyond pretty maxims and boy scout mottos (see also Williams, Ricciardi, & Blackbourn, 2006). Howard Gardner (1995) says that he views "leadership as a process that occurs within the minds of individuals who live in a culture—a process that entails the capacities to create stories, to understand and evaluate these stories, and to appreciate the struggle among stories" (p. 22).

The process of leadership, the construction of it socially, is continually made opaque by what Smith et al. (2004) have called "the cult of personality in which social and situational causes are submerged in beliefs about the power of individuals to influence

events" (p. 17). Leaders are not born into roles. Nobody is born into a principalship, a superintendency, or a board presidency. Leadership is learned behavior. Leaders are constructed by engaging in "dramaturgical performance emphasizing the traits popularly associated with leadership: forcefulness, responsibility, courage, decency, and so on" (Edelman, 1985, p. 81).

The popular media continually obscure the real nature of leadership by focusing on the personalities of leaders, creating the illusion that leaders are special people who have traits, habits, behaviors, or supernatural qualities that have earmarked them from birth for greatness. This idea, represented in such popular "kitsch management" books (Samier, 2005b) as Stephen Covey's (1990) best-selling text, *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People,* are representative of the continuing practice of viewing leadership as a kind of "natural endowment" or acquisition of some special traits or habits by faith or ascetic regimen. The important point is that leadership involves a role, and that role is learned, meaning acquired. It "fits" into a larger social order with its own constructions, pretensions, mythologies, conceits, perceptions, and lies. It is culturally defined and centered (Lindle, 2006).

Determining Role Legitimacy as the Basis of Performance

Who pays attention to leaders as they socially engage with others is an important part of determining their legitimacy. By legitimacy is meant determining the source of their power to command or to require obedience from others. The legitimacy of a religious organization is based on claims that extend to the founder, usually a charismatic leader whose original legitimacy was bestowed by others, such as Jesus, Mohammed, Moses, or Buddha. When the charismatic leader dies, followers are in a quandary as to how to continue. According to Max Weber (1968), this problem of transfer can be met by searching for a new charismatic leader who seems to possess the same characteristics as the old one. This was used in selecting a successor to the Dalai Lama in Tibet. A second way that a new leader retains legitimacy is that he or she is chosen by divine judgment or the prophecy of oracles. A third way is that the old leader selects a new leader before he or she dies. As Weber (1968) observes, " . . . legitimacy is acquired through the act of designation" (p. 55).

Leadership can also be transferred by the disciples or "charismatically qualified administrative staff" (Weber, 1968, p. 55) who select a successor, as in the selection of a new Roman Catholic Pope by the bishops. The selection of a Pope also involves the transfer of charisma by ritual in which certain ceremonies and symbols are used to bestow the new Pope with legitimacy. This is also the means of transferring legitimacy with a coronation of a king or queen. In this instance, leadership is transferred via heredity and followed by priestly acts such as the laying on of hands and anointment.

The failure for a charismatic leader to deal with the issue of the transference of legitimacy can provoke a crisis for those followers who require charisma as the connective tissue for leadership to exist in the first place. Weber (1968) points out that if the rise of a leader is due to the bestowal of charisma by his or her followers, there is no way this characteristic can be "learned" or "taught." Rather, it is "awakened" or

"tested" (p. 58). So one could not go to the university or a school and earn a degree in charisma and go out and look for a job.

Perhaps the most notable example of the issue of the failure to transfer authority based on charisma and its function as leadership legitimacy occurred in the successor to the Islamic prophet Muhammad (570–632) or Mahomet (see Armstrong, 1992). After Muhammad's death, the Muslim community was in shock. Muhammad had not named a successor and no one thought it possible for anyone to take his place because he had claimed that he was the final prophet (Hill & Awde, 2003, p. 32).

Into this hiatus of ambiguity, Muhammad's followers resorted to the practice of electing four of the prophet's close followers who would take charge in succession. These four were subsequently called "caliphs" or "khalifas," which connotes that they are the "successors" or "deputies" of Muhammad (Hill & Awde, 2003, p. 33). The period that followed has been called the time of the "Rightly Guided Caliphs" and is considered the traditional or orthodox view of how legitimacy was to be properly handled. The people who believed in this transfer of legitimacy were called the Sunnah (Armstrong, 1992, p. 259) or "Sunnis," a name that persists today in the Islamic world. But a challenge was issued to the Sunnah that a significant number of Muslims believed that the fourth Caliph, Ali, was the true and only possible successor to Muhammad. Ali (651–661) was Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law. The people who believed that only Ali was the legitimate heir to the prophet were called Shiah-i-Ali (the party of Ali) and are called Shi'is or Shi'tes (Armstrong, p. 259). Civil strife and wars have marked the differences between these two dominant forms of Islam. While 90% of the worldwide Islamic community is Sunni, the Shi'tes, which are about 14% of the total, dominate Iran and Iraq (Farah, 1994, pp. 170, 173).

The basis of leadership legitimacy in the West, and in much of the remainder of the non-Muslim world, is defined by legal authority. Bureaucracies are organizations normally established within a legal structure in which the power and legitimacy of the leader or official is not found in the personal qualities of the leader bestowed by followers, but by the office itself. A leader "commands" by the norms in place that pertain to the office, not by the nature or volatility of his personal authority. Power is exercised on behalf of the organization of which the leader is but a trustee. "The "area of jurisdiction" is a functionally delimited realm of possible objects for command and thus delimits the sphere of the official's legitimate power (Gerth & Mills, 1970, p. 295). What this means is that the fundamental difference between organizational and nonorganizational legitimacy as a source of power is that a leader inside an organization is acting or leading in an "official sphere" as opposed to a "private sphere" (Gerth & Mills, p. 295).

Max Weber sketched out the importance of this distinction:

> . . . submission under legal authority is based upon an impersonal bond to the generally defined and functional "duty of office." The official duty–like the corresponding right to exercise authority: the "jurisdictional competency"—is fixed by *rationally established norms,* by enactments, decrees, and regulations, in such a manner that the legitimacy of the authority becomes the legality of the general rule which is purposely thought out, enacted, and announced with formal correctness. (Gerth & Mills, 1968, p. 299)

The position of educational leader or school administrator is therefore a formal role, thought out ahead of time, rational, embedded in a larger legal or structural framework. It is designed to embody the overall rules of the organization, to create an official who acts not on his or her personal whims, but as an actor, a person who represents encapsulated authority specifically configured in the overall fabric of purposeful organizational life. This purposeful organizational fabric is socially constructed. It is scripted in advance. It is a kind of theater and as anyone knows who has occupied such roles, it is drama (see Starratt, 1993, pp. 134–149).

Ackerman and Maslin-Ostrowski (2002) reinforce the notion of leadership as acting by noting the following:

> Most school leaders, including those we interviewed, would admit that the role itself requires a certain amount of method acting, a style obliging a performer (leader) to respond as much to his own inner feelings as the requirements of the role. (p. 9)

The reason is that "leadership lives are, for the most part, determined by role expectations" (Ackerman & Maslin-Ostrowski, p. 8).

Is Leadership Acting?

You have probably been to a play or film. You know that what the actors are saying is far from spontaneous. It has been written out beforehand. Actors make the script appear spontaneous. They bring to a play or film the fluidity of real life. They make you feel that you have become part of the ongoing scenes, that you are a silent participant following them in their depictions. In great plays or films, the viewers lose their sense of distance and assume at least a psychological presence inside the drama itself. The "magic" of the play or film is that even as the actors are performing the drama, viewers can move in and out of the scenes. Most are able to assume two stances. The first is that they are "watching" the drama. They are outsiders. The second is that they are insiders, that is, they are silent participants wandering about with the players. A third perspective, more difficult to assume, is that the viewer can peer inward to himself or herself and inquire as to how he or she may be feeling about the players, the play, its purposes, and possible outcome. The most obvious kind of play or film in which all three are often at work simultaneously is a "whodunit," a murder mystery, where the audience is examining each of the characters, trying to assess their culpability, piecing together the plot, and wondering how it may come out at the end. Engaging murder mysteries often have a surprise ending or a plot twist that catches the audience off guard.

Attending a play or a film makes the viewer cognizant that there is more to appearance than what is seen in the outer world. The viewer is aware that there is an inner world too. The inner world represents the construction of the play and the interactions of the players. The viewer knows that the play is a social construction. In really good films, however, the viewer may have to remind himself or herself that "it's only a movie" and not real because his or her emotions are now involved (see Crow & Grogan, 2005). The viewer is also aware that somebody, the playwright or playwrights, had to write the play. Great playwrights, like Shakespeare for example, created a way of enabling a character to share his

or her inner feelings with an audience. Shakespeare's greatest tragedies involve key dramatic figures such as the prince in *Hamlet* or Brutus in *Julius Caesar.* In these plays, the characters grope toward an understanding of events of immense and sometimes ghastly proportions. The audience may be only slightly ahead of the character in watching him or her struggle with the meaning of his or her actions. Shakespeare grew to understand that to construct a kind of strategic opacity in his plot for his characters created a dramatic intensity that engrossed audiences (Greenblatt, 2004).

What is engaging about great plays or films is that while we are observant creatures externally, we are often at a loss to confront our own inner selves. The eminent psychiatrist Carl Jung (1958) summarized this dilemma when he said the following: " . . . man is an enigma to himself. This is understandable, seeing that he lacks the means of comparison necessary for self-knowledge" (p. 55). Jung (1958) went on to comment as follows:
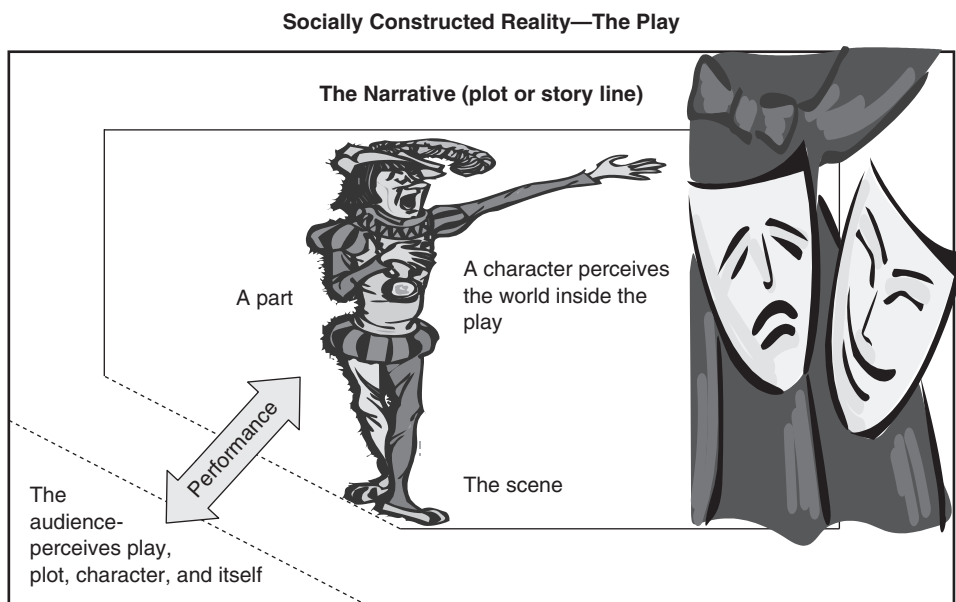
> Our psyche, which is primarily responsible for all the historical changes wrought by the hand of man on the face of this planet, remains an insoluble puzzle and an incomprehensible wonder, an objective of abiding perplexity—a feature it shares with all Nature's secrets. (p. 56)

What great plays and films do for us is to sharpen the audiences' questions about universal themes that have puzzled humans across time. It is not the answers, but the questions, that are important. Leaders are humans who have come to grips with some of these issues. As a student of leadership, let us summarize the stance of a viewer of the infinite human drama that is not only ongoing, but into which we will participate in our own time and way. It is shown in Figure 5.1 as a play or film depiction. Figure 5.1 illustrates that there are at least three aspects of such participation. The first is the external world, which comprises the play itself. This world is made up of events represented in the play by "scenes." The construction of scenes enables an audience to see action and decisions in context and time. They give us a sense or proportion and spatiality. They enable us to make judgments about the behaviors and feelings of the actors as they confront the external world they "see." As the actors move within the play and within and across the scenes, the audience then encounters the second layer of the play, that is, the inner world of the characters and how they act and react to the representation of the world. This provides the audience with a representation of the junctures and disjunctures between the following: (a) the reality the audience sees, (b) the reality the characters see, and (c) the actions and thoughts of the characters compared to the reality that the audience sees. The fourth component of this multilayered and complex situation is personal reflection, which occurs only within the audience. It is the resonances and connections that audience members "discover" about themselves as they are involved in the drama. Here, by drama, is meant the "line of action" to which the audience is exposed when it becomes engaged in the play.
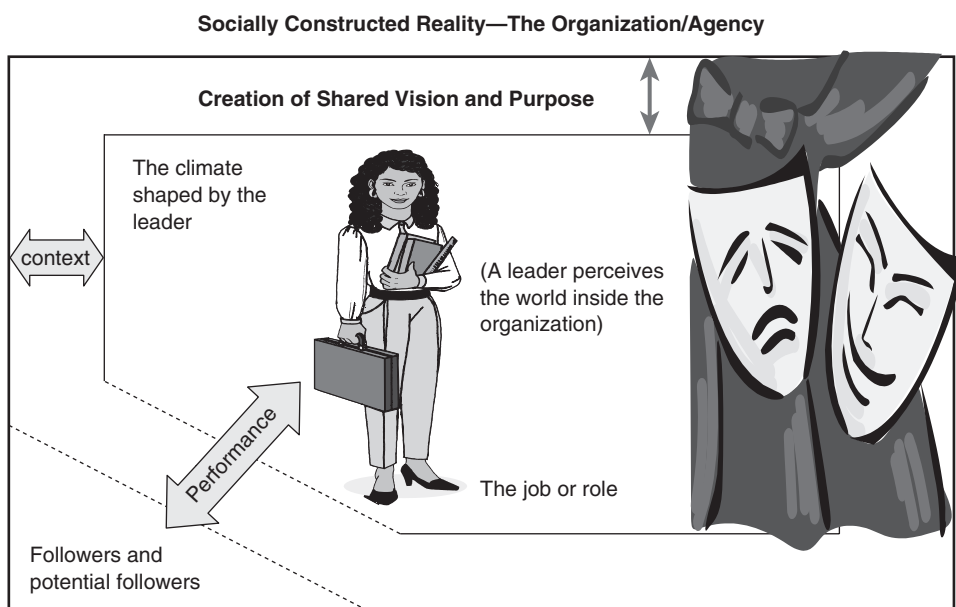
With a little adjustment of Figure 5.1, we can see an application to educational leadership. That is represented in Figure 5.2.

The educational leader occupies a position in a formal organization. Like a play, a formal organization refers to "the ways in which human conduct becomes socially organized" (Blau & Scott, 1962, p. 2). The regulation of conduct into roles is determined

❖ **Figure 5.1**   Three Dimensions of Narrative at Work in the Artistry of Leadership

Socially Constructed Reality—The Play

The Narrative (plot or story line)

A part

A character perceives the world inside the play

The scene

Performance

The audience-perceives play, plot, character, and itself

❖ **Figure 5.2**   Three Dimensions of Narrative at Work in the Artistry of Educational Leadership

Socially Constructed Reality—The Organization/Agency

Creation of Shared Vision and Purpose

The climate shaped by the leader

context

(A leader perceives the world inside the organization)

Performance

The job or role

Followers and potential followers

by the structure of social relations within a group or larger organization, and the collective beliefs and norms that govern human relations within that same group or organization. A formal organization is one that has these characteristics but one significant additional factor, that is, the organization has been established for the purpose of realizing certain goals. A formal organization is thus goal-driven.

A play also has goals or purposes. A playwright usually has a purpose in constructing a drama. It too has formal roles and the relationships between the characters in the play are ordered, that is, constructed. They have to "make sense" within a specific culture and context or the audience cannot connect to the portrayed interactions. Leadership is performance and is therefore an art. As John Dewey (1929) observed, leadership, like education, was an art because it was practical. To understand leadership in context and to make sense of its effectiveness means understanding application. It is because educational leadership is inherently practical that it should be considered as a kind of dramaturgy that is, in its own way, theatrical. First, it exists in relationship to other roles. Leadership is therefore interactive. Leadership is cultural, that is, it functions within a specific sea of values and possibilities that take on a range of accepted positions, reactions, and customs. Leadership is communicative. It traffics in the linguistic traditions, symbols, and stories understood by the people who determine to follow or select a person that embodies their values and beliefs. Gardner (1995) has called this quality "linguistic intelligence" (p. 39). Interestingly, research regarding general intelligence indicates that successful leaders are not the brightest persons in a group (Sternberg, 2005, p. 354). In fact, if a person's IQ is too high, he or she is likely to be misunderstood, prompting Simonton (1994) to observe, "Possibly, a person can be too bright to be president" (p. 235). In Shakespeare's greatest tragedies, the heroes are often gullible and dense. Characters such as King Lear, Falstaff, and Othello illustrate remarkable lapses of discernment and insight into their contexts and times. Cuban (1976) similarly illustrates the blind spots of superintendent leadership in his classic work, *Urban School Chiefs Under Fire.*

Cuban (1976) examined conflict and controversies with three urban school superintendents in Chicago, San Francisco, and Washington, DC, and while the case studies he performed were completed over 30 years ago, these same school systems have continued to "churn" superintendents over and over again since that time (see Ayers & Klonsky, 2006; Gewertz, 2006; Hess, 1991). Using Cuban's descriptions and Figure 5.2 as a reference, we turn to a study of the contexts as an example of artful performance of a chief school officer in a real decision-making context.

Real-Life Drama in Chicago: A Portrait of Power Undone

Benjamin Coppage Willis was superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools between 1953 and 1966. As Cuban (1976) notes, Ben Willis built a large number of schools during Chicago's growth as a major U.S. city. He oversaw school construction that averaged $700,000 per week in expenditures. He oversaw the addition of 126,000 new classroom seats. He was a champion of higher teacher salaries and pushed for advancements in English, science, and math long before the Russian sputnik led to the passage of the National Education Defense Act in 1958 (Cunningham & Cordeiro, 2000, p. 35).

Willis was a prolific writer and he was a "media darling" long before the term came into use. He was regularly featured in magazines and newspapers of his times. As for professional honors, he was elected president of the American Association of School Administrators (the AASA), recognition of his leadership among his fellow national superintendents. President Kennedy appointed him to a national educational commission and he was founder and chairman for 10 years of the Great Cities Research Council. Yet this seemingly paragon of professionalism and executive power came up short when he failed to recognize how larger social unrest and shifts in his constituencies would change the basis of the "play." Willis kept reading from the same old script, but the context of the times had shifted. What had been effective performance was now impeding his leadership.

Cuban's (1976) portrait of Ben Willis is one of a rags to riches story line. In education he was the equivalent of Jack Welch, General Electric's CEO of his day (Jenkins, 2006; O'Boyle, 1998). Brought up in rural Maryland, he went to a one-room schoolhouse. In successive jumps he became a school principal and a rural superintendent. He received his doctorate from Teachers College, Columbia University, and quickly moved through superintendencies in Hagerstown, Maryland; Yonkers and Buffalo, New York; to Chicago. Cuban (1976) describes his "leadership style" as filled with "considerable energy, single-mindedness, and towering self-confidence," to the point where he "eats, drinks, sleeps and dreams schools" (p. 3). With subordinates, Willis was equally demanding. He thought nothing of phoning them at odd hours or calling meetings when it was at the end of a normal working day to brainstorm new ideas or chew over new plans.

Coupled with this raw energy was a penchant for detail. He had an uncanny grasp of minutia. Cuban (1976) says Willis knew how much Worcestershire sauce cost the school system annually. He could spew forth volumes of such statistics at a moment's notice and didn't mind using them to intimidate opponents and wow the press. The man had no hobbies and no free time. He was completely absorbed in his job. He had nothing else and he reveled in the detail and exercise of the power of the office.

The downside to Ben Willis was that to some he appeared arrogant, stubborn, and dictatorial. He could bulldoze the opposition with his command of a huge data arsenal and a capacity to memorize and retain colossal chunks of information, and with his board he resorted at times to threats to go to the press and expose its refusal to support his programs. Like some superintendents who want to appear open but are not open to a more democratic approach to educational administration, Willis kept his boards swamped with huge binders of information filled with financial trivia and other matters that focused their attention away from his utilization of power. In frustration one board member is said to have remarked, "I'm not against the superintendent one single, tiny, little bit even when he accuses us of making policy" (*Chicago Daily News,* 1962, as cited in Cuban, 1976, p. 6).

When he turned 60, Ben Willis was president of the AASA, received an honorary degree from Harvard in recognition of his national educational leadership, was offered and declined the superintendency of the New York City public schools, and with a new 4-year contract and a raise offered by his board, became the third highest paid public official in America. He had it made or so he thought.

But as Ben Willis stood on Chicago's stage and continued to "perform" as he always had, the context of his audience was shifting and new demands were escalating. Cuban (1976) notes that in 10 years, from 1953 to 1963, while Chicago's population actually declined by about 70,000 people, the school population increased by 100,000 students and a large percentage of these new children were African Americans. Because of housing segregation, most of the African American children were crammed into the city's South Side. Despite successful bond issues and new construction, the enrollment increases outdistanced the school system's building program. Thousands of African American children remained on double shifts. But in the white-dominated geographical areas of the city, there were empty classrooms and plenty of space. Playgrounds were open and not cluttered with temporary classrooms.

But something began to happen that signaled a shift in how an educational leader like Ben Willis would be judged, and in 2 years his descent to a current footnote in U.S. educational leadership had begun. It occurred at the apogee of his professional rise to prominence, when he was the highest paid public superintendent of schools in the nation, and he failed to grasp its significance. And for once his sense of timing and his command of the facts faltered. What happened was the rise of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and the redefinition of the nature of "educational quality," which today is still expressed in such national legislation as Public Law 107–110, better known as the No Child Left Behind Act, and which has been aimed at eliminating the achievement gap that was then only dimly perceived (Kronholz, 2003).

And onto the Chicago stage came the Shakespearean figure of Saul Alinsky, a community leader who had a profound grasp of the art of theater in public discourse. Alinsky was to Ben Willis as Iago was to Shakespeare's Othello. Harold Bloom (1998) says that "Othello is a great soul hopelessly outclassed in intellect and drive by Iago" (p. 438). Bloom's description of Othello mirrors Cuban's (1976) description of Ben Willis:

> Othello is a great commander, who knows war and the limits of war but who knows little else, and cannot know what he does not know. His sense of himself is very large, in that its scale is vast, but he sees himself from afar as it were; up close, he hardly confronts the void at his center. (Bloom, 1998, p. 445)

Remember that Ben Willis was totally absorbed in his job. He had no hobbies and no free time. He was "the commander" of the nation's second largest school system. He broached no dissent in his administration. He bullied and he intimidated when he had to. He could and did smother enemies with his remarkable memory and self-confidence in details. But Saul Alinsky, like Shakespeare's diabolic genius Iago, can be summarized as "a great improviser, he works with gusto and mastery of timing, adjusting his plot to openings as they present themselves . . . Iago is an inventor, an experimenter always willing to try modes heretofore unknown" (Bloom, 1998, p. 436).

Let us review Alinsky's methods (1946/1969; 1971) that brought Ben Willis down at the height of his fame. Alinsky's tactics were radical. They were based on his observation that "practically all people live in a world of contradictions. They espouse a morality which they do not practice . . . the vast separation between their moral standards and actual ways of living resolves itself into extraordinary inconsistencies and

inner conflict" (Alinsky, 1946/1969, p. 93). Alinsky's tactics took advantage of this "space" or "silence" between words and actions. This was the space to maneuver and to engage in confrontation.

First, Alinsky had to acquire power. Noting, "All life is partisan. There is no dispassionate objectivity" (1971, p. 10), Alinsky wrote the following:"

> It is a world not of angels but of angles, where men speak of moral principles but act on power principles; a world where we are always moral and our enemies always immoral; a world where "reconciliation" means that when one side gets the power and the other side gets reconciled to it, then we have reconciliation. . . . (1971, p. 13)

Alinsky quoted Henry James (1843–1916), the American novelist, as expressing a point of view that matched his own:

> Life is, in fact, a battle. Evil is insolent and strong; beauty enchanting but rare; goodness very apt to be weak; folly very apt to be defiant; wickedness to carry the day; imbeciles to be in great places, people of sense small, and mankind generally unhappy. (as cited in Alinsky, 1971, p. 14)

Saul Alinsky (1971) saw the "real arena" of social action as "corrupt and bloody" (p. 24), and he was unapologetic about pursuing political ends that required unorthodox means, remarking that a change agent could not be picky about such things because there was no "immaculate conception of ends and principles" (p. 24). In a pithy play on words, Alinsky (1971) said, "The means-and-end moralists or non-doers always wind up on their ends without any means" (p. 25).

Saul Alinsky was a master community organizer. A former sociology student at the University of Chicago who had studied street gangs and knew such Chicago mobsters as Frank Nitti, the Capone gang's "enforcer" (Horwitt, 1989, p. 20), Alinsky understood how to build effective street-level community leadership. It was this skill he brought to the table in confronting Ben Willis, the defender of segregated Chicago city public schools, through an organization called TWO (Temporary Woodlawn Organization), a makeshift group of a subsection of Chicago where African Americans had resided for some time and schools were overcrowded, with students on double sessions. Woodlawn became the point of conflict between social activism and the defenders of the status quo. The Alinsky people were clear-eyed about their work. And their leader understood the power of dramaturgy and performance. For starters, when TWO requested data about student populations at the district's schools, Willis and the board "stiff-armed" them, refusing to provide it. They also declined to undertake surveys showing what the real situation was in the schools. Ben Willis claimed there "was no evidence of intentional segregation" (Horwitt, 1989, p. 405).

Alinsky's TWO organized 300 people to attend a board meeting. The board president refused to let them speak. When that occurred, they all marched out to the street protesting double sessions and "double talk public relations" (Horwitt, 1989, p. 405). A short time later, TWO was publicly demanding the resignation of the superintendent. TWO organized their own community meeting, which was attended by more

than 700 people. Three teachers draped in sheets took to the stage to talk about the actual conditions in the schools. They disguised themselves to avoid reprimand. This was drama the press ate up.

By 1962 TWO was sending African American parents to school board meetings dressed in black capes to symbolize the "deadly education" being received by their children in overcrowded schools. Most joltingly, TWO sent African American mothers into all-white schools with cameras to take pictures of the empty classrooms there. These "truth squad mothers" were very unnerving to the principals in those schools. When Willis responded to the overcrowding in the schools by purchasing mobile class-rooms, TWO branded them "Willis Wagons," a form of ridicule that was trademarked Alinsky. But the theatrical finale was a very successful one-day boycott in May of 1962 in which 1,200 of nearly 1,350 students stayed home from school. The Chicago press had a field day with the pupil boycott (Horwitt, 1989, p. 406).

When Ben Willis finally had to release some statistics, he said that in the entire Chicago public school system there were "only" 14 surplus rooms. The Urban League claimed there were at least 380 (Cuban, 1976, p. 11). Willis's public statements drew howls of disapproval and his carefully built reputation for accurate data was severely tar-nished. The fact was that if there were few empty classrooms in all-white schools, African American students could not be transferred there, and Willis's decision to put mobile classrooms in all-black schools was supportable.

The community protests continued. In early 1963, 1,000 African American parents sent a petition to the State Superintendent of Instruction to investigate the Chicago Public Schools. Ben Willis was backed into a corner, where he then publicly defended the policy of neighborhood schools, which was also a defense of racial segregation in the city's schools. Willis was now seen by an increasing number of community groups as a defender of institutionalized racism. In the summer of 1963, a picket line protesting the continued use of mobile classrooms became violent and 170 protesters were subsequently arrested (Cuban, 1976, p. 15). Ben Willis tendered his resignation. But the struggle was not over.

In pure power politics, Willis's supporters got the state chair of the North Central Association of Secondary Schools to write a letter in which he threatened that unless the board and the superintendent reconciled, "accreditation of every single Chicago school would be withdrawn" (Cuban, 1976, p. 19). The board ultimately backed down and Willis was reaffirmed on a 6 to 2 vote.

Then the issue of the school survey resurfaced. Because Willis had refused to pro-vide information to the subpublics in Chicago about the true situation that existed with school enrollment, the board had authorized an external survey. Willis saw in this move an opportunity to assure the public of such a survey. However, Robert Havighurst, a professor at the University of Chicago, was appointed to perform the survey. Havighurst had been a critic of the administration. There ensued a behind-the-scenes struggle in which some board members mouthed Willis's position that a survey should be performed by system insiders because they knew the system best, and other board members who were for a true outsider advocated for a more independent study. It became clear in this struggle that (a) Willis had defined the conflict as a battle between the board and the superintendent over policy, and (b) the superintendent was in full support of the neighborhood school arrangement in the school district.

A compromise was then patched together in which Havighurst, Willis, and a third party, Alonzo Grace, the dean of the school of education at the University of Illinois, were named codirectors for the study. This became a kind of troika, a leadership "team" that on paper offered a solution, but in practice quickly became unworkable. Willis had to supply the data for Havighurst to analyze. Willis appointed working committees inside the school system to gather the data. But Havighurst was not allowed to meet with them. Willis would not authorize a teacher survey that included items regarding race, marital status, and the solicitation of their opinions (Cuban, 1976, p. 26).

A 500-page report was finally issued. At that meeting Willis was present but silent. Neither Havighurst nor Willis spoke to one another. The atmosphere was icy. In the report, Havighurst delineated two fundamental positions regarding how to run a school system. One was clearly Willis's approach, that is, highly economical and professional, with the authority to operate the schools unmistakably in the hands of the "professionals." The other approach involved taking the subpublics and the communities into the equation of administration and working with them to resolve issues and tensions. The report contained some 22 recommendations, and it was Willis who was in charge of their implementation. Willis's lukewarm embrace of the school survey's recommendations continued to polarize Chicago. Although Willis once enjoyed the nearly full support of the board and the business community, the Chicago board was split and once again Willis resigned in 1965. Not wanting to publicly embarrass Willis, the board cut a "deal" in which the superintendent's contract was renewed by a vote of 7 to 4, but it was agreed he would retire in 1 year. Thus, in 1966, Ben Willis left Chicago for good. Once the paragon of power in Chicago and a model of professionalism nationally, this educational Othello had been humbled by his own hubris.

Saul Alinsky (1971) ruminated about the attack on Willis several years later. Alinsky's strategy was to pick a political target and "freeze it." By that he meant that the individual selected as a target tries to shift the blame and get out of the limelight. But the forces for change have to prevent this because he warned, "If an organization permits responsibility to be diffused and distributed in a number of areas, attack becomes impossible" (p. 132). But Alinsky saw that Willis did not try to shift the blame, making himself an easy target. Alinsky (1971) observed the following:

> If we had been confronted with a politically sophisticated school superintendent he could have very well replied, "Look, when I came to Chicago the city school system was following, as it is now, a neighborhood school policy. Chicago's neighborhoods are segregated . . . Why attack me? Why not attack the segregated neighborhoods and change them?" (p. 132)

Alinsky (1971) confessed that if Willis had taken this tack, "I still shiver when I think of this possibility" (p. 132). If that had been done, Alinsky's forces would have been diffused and could not have maintained their focus. The objective in the Alinsky strategy was polarization because as he explained, " . . . all issues must be polarized if action is to follow" (p. 133). And polarization requires a human face because one cannot get angry at an abstraction or a corporation that has "no soul, no identity, or a public school administration, which again is an inanimate system" (Alinsky, 1971, p. 133). For this reason, the forces for change in Chicago had to have a human face on their struggle and it became that of Ben Willis.

Alinsky (1971) further observed that some of the liberals who supported Ben Willis at the time pointed out that he was not 100% bad, that he attended church, and that he was a good family man. He gave generously to charities. Alinsky (1971) brushed those qualifications aside like the calculating Iago:

> Can you imagine in the arena of conflict charging that so-and-so is a racist bastard and then diluting the impact of the attack with qualifying remarks such as "He is a good churchgoing man, generous to charity, and a good husband"? This becomes political idiocy. (p. 134)

What was at stake in the drama of Chicago during the superintendency of Ben Willis was that his theatrical performance was upstaged by someone who understood the politics of performance better than he did and the "stage" of a community organizer such as Saul Alinsky was much larger than the superintendent's. Ben Willis's power was confined to institutional power, power that is almost always vested in organizational relationships. It was "professional power" rooted in hierarchically structured bureaucracies (Friedson, 1986). When confronting community forces over which he had little control, Ben Willis could not rely on professional power and "expert" status conferred by matriculation in a graduate school. Here was the chasm for him. Not only could he not cross over into a purer arena of politics because he had no status there, he was stuck within an organization under attack in which his own source of authority was vested. In addition, he was "captured" by past practices and decisions of his own organization, some of which he had made. This shaped him into a defender of the status quo. In dramatic terms, Willis had a much smaller stage than Alinsky, and his "script" was much more rigid than his opponents' in the larger sociopolitical arena of Chicago. Barrows Dunham (1964) observed the following in his classic work *Heroes and Heretics:*

> Human organizations are founded and built by human beings, and their ideologies have precisely the same human source. It follows that into the ideologies of organizations there creep errors, which may on occasion be gross. Once these errors imbed themselves in doctrine they are beyond the reach of easy correction. They have become part of the source of unity. Their removal is not a mere scientific adjustment, but a dislocation of the corporate body. (pp. 17–18)

In researching the careers of three Latina superintendents, Florida Ida Ortiz (2001) used the lens of "social capital" as a construct to explain their successes and failures. As Ortiz (2001) explains, social capital first became noticed in studies of communities where neighborhood survival was at stake (p. 60). That research found that communities were stronger where trust and cooperation fostered structures of personal relationships and robust interpersonal networks of people. What is of keen importance is that the presence of social capital takes on forms of reciprocal and personal obligations of one member by another. Stanton-Salazar (1997) put it this way: "The value of social capital, as a concept, lies in the fact that it identifies properties (or laws) of social structure that are used by actors to achieve their interests" (p. 8).

Ortiz (2001) differentiated between social capital and "social resources" in her study. The unsuccessful Latina superintendent, like Ben Willis, had developed social resources but not social capital. Social resources are lodged in a structure of relationships that are based on knowledge and technical skill. These are Willis's professional cadre within the school system and certain business leaders in that structure with similar skills. On the other hand, social capital is personal and stems from being embedded in the structure of the community (or in Chicago's case, communities). Social capital is a broader form of power than that based on social resources. Alinsky's groups developed social capital. This was power that could be called on in a social struggle. Ben Willis's social capital was largely confined to the bureaucracy. It had no deep community roots.

As all leaders try to stamp the contexts of their times with their own power, such power is always a two-way street (Russell, 2003). Power is not something possessed by a leader. Power is given to a leader by those who choose to follow. It is the followers who bestow power, especially charisma (see Samier, 2005a). This act of transference is often swallowed up in the emotional conduit that exists between leaders and the led. The applause and adulation that followers sometimes shower on their leaders obscures what has actually been transferred. An actor without an audience is nothing but a solitary voice in a vacuum, no matter how artful may be his or her performance. The strength of a leader lies in the resonances he or she can generate from his or her followers. A leader cannot establish a climate for anything, change or resistance, without trafficking in the symbols, culture, emotions, fears, and aspirations of those with whom contact is made with effective communication.

Howard Gardner (1995) has noted that leaders use "identity stories" (pp. 51–53) to build constituencies. Jacques Lacan (1977) had similarly described the concept of the "identity story" several decades earlier in his idea of "conferred imputation," that is, followers bestow on leaders their "otherness," that is their symbolic world as it identifies with the stories of the leader. In this view, leadership is a kind of mutual dialectic. It is also clear that as in the theater, actors and audiences swim in a sea of language that is in turn embedded in culture and myth. With language as the medium, leadership is dynamic, fluid, and transitory. If charismatic leadership is a flame, it can only be lit by the people who need it (see Lipman-Blumen, 2005; Rost, 1991). As such it is only momentarily "yoked" and must be constantly renewed as it burns. Leadership is an all-consuming fire.

The simple fact is that leaders arise because followers need them. Lipman-Blumen (2005) similarly indicates that followers need leaders for security and certainty, to feel special, and to belong to a human community. They need leaders to combat their fears of social rejection. Such deep-seated psychological needs can also produce what Lipman-Blumen has called "toxic" or "poisonous" leaders who become cynical or corrupt and put their own advancement above that of the well-being of their followers. Toxic leaders have enormous ego needs that lead to arrogance and avarice and to "reckless disregard for the costs of their actions to others as well as to themselves" (Lipman-Blumen, p. 22). Followers with such needs can be deceived and history provides ample evidence of villains, despots, and tyrants who severely abused their own people. The problem with dealing with what Barbara Kellerman (2004) has called "Hitler's ghost" (p.11) is that the same process that produced Abraham Lincoln also produced Richard Nixon (see Gitlin, 2004).

While both presidents were reviled in their times, Nixon remains in a permanent pantheon of duplicity and deceit, the first U.S. president to resign from office before he was impeached. Lincoln's rise continues even into present times (White, 2005).

A study of leadership has to include bad actors as well as good ones. But too often we want to consider "good leaders" only when discussing leadership. Blasé and Blasé (2003) are representative of the very few educational researchers who have put the spotlight on abusive school principals who bully, intimidate, harass, mob (emotionally abuse), and victimize teachers. They document the painful results, the psychic, psychosomatic, and social destructiveness of bad school administrators. So we have to acknowledge the fuse that ignites and connects leaders and the led can be destructive as well as beneficial. It can raise or lower individual and organizational performance. But the connecting tissue is the same.

Robert Starratt (1993) has proposed that leaders become players in their respective schooling dramas. He suggests that part of leadership is being a role model for others. He notes that when leaders becomes players, "they are able to recognize that their own integrity is at stake in the collective moral life of the organization" (p. 138). Starratt also indicates that "leaders need to examine the various scripts they are handed by a variety of groups" (p. 142). It is only when a leader recognizes that there are a multiplicity of scripts at work in schools and that they may work in contradictory fashion to one another that an awareness is constructed of the need to avoid such tensions from destroying the organization. If Ben Willis had been aware of this idea he may have avoided the vilification that was heaped on him in Chicago.

The historical record of those times suggests that Willis's considerable power was stable only as long as the forces outside of the professional bureaucracy accepted his bureaucratic position and authority inside it. While a bureaucracy provides some stability and security, it also enables opponents to "freeze" one in place, and along with it unworkable, unjust, or unpopular practices and beliefs that are embedded in the organization. Once politically cornered as Willis surely was with Alinsky's idea of "freezing him in place" by creating political polarization, his support base was assaulted and eventually eroded where he could not survive as the leader of the system. Ben Willis's dilemma continues to plague superintendents to this day, although the opponents of system change may vary (Gewertz, 2006). The result is that the average length of service by contemporary urban school superintendents is between 26 and 28 months (Snider, 2006).

While these facets of leadership reveal its enormous complexities and applications, the idea that at the core leadership is basically dramaturgical reveals the primacy of language and of artful performance as the centerpiece of the exchange and mutual codependencies involved between actors and audiences, leaders and followers. We now look more closely at this juncture.

How Followers Look to School Leaders for What They Need

Various scholars have indicated that leadership is created as potential followers cast about for someone to satisfy their psychological/sociological needs (Burns, 1978;

Gardner, 1995; Lacan, 1977; Rost, 1991). Jean Lipman-Blumen (2005) describes three such needs as a kind of basic triad of the following: (a) keep us safe, (b) anoint us as special, and (c) provide a seat at a common table for us (p. 29). In a formal organization, there is at least one additional requirement, that is, to tell us why our work is important and what we are about, that is, purpose (Deal & Peterson, 1999). Thus, building a school culture, assembling a vision, and constructing a "mission" for schools is part and parcel of answering some of the requirements from teachers, parents, and students' basic psychological/sociological needs for leadership. Sergiovanni (1996) has called it creating and building a community within a school.

Table 5.1 shows the psychological/sociological needs of followers as identified by Jean Lipman-Blumen (2005). As applied to educational leaders, followers could be teachers in a school, or in the case of the superintendent in a central office, administrators and other support staff. Table 5.1 also illustrates the most positive response from leaders and how the leader's performance is correlative to this expected response. The information in the columns is based on the research of Joe and Jo Blasé (2003), Megan Russell (2003), and the earlier observations of Howard Gardner (1995) and James McGregor Burns (1978) regarding the role of followers being an integral part of the leadership equation. Blasé and Blasé describe in some detail the destructive impact of an educational leader's behavior on teachers. They utilize the research of Davenport, Distler-Schwartz, and Pursell-Elliott (1999) in identifying "the mobbing syndrome" in which a leader engages in a vicious attempt to intimidate and harass someone to force him or her from their workplace position. "Mobbing" involves false accusations, emotional abuse, and engaging in "vulturing," a practice of encouraging others to "gang-up" on the intended victim. They related this to a third and intense level of principal mistreatment of teachers. Level 2 would include such actions as spying, sabotaging a person, and making unreasonable work demands on him or her. Level 1 includes such behaviors as discounting a person's feelings or opinions and withholding opportunities for professional growth.

Since humans are social animals, we require a sense of community for our emotional well-being. We fear ostracism and social isolation. Social death means that we are subjected to extreme isolation in which our connections to the rest of humanity are permanently severed. Lipman-Blumen (2005) recounts the pathetic tale of Covall Russell, an inmate in a California prison, who, facing the prospect of being freed at age 92, requested to remain in prison because all of his friends were there. When this was denied and he was freed, he subsequently jumped off a bridge (p. 71). Effective leaders work to create social unity. Toxic leaders engage in behaviors that lead to disunity. It has long been recognized that group unity represents a key responsibility of organizational leadership throughout history (Dunham, 1964).

Just as a script connects the actors to the audiences, a leader's stories represent a text, a narrative that serves to unite leaders and followers in a common pursuit of goals.

Table 5.1 illustrates the aspects of leadership performance that satisfy basic follower social and emotional needs. Examining what leaders do within organizations and treating it as a kind of storytelling is important in understanding educational leadership in context. Charlotte Linde (2003) observes, "Within the boundaries of an

institution, many stories are told daily. Social life is created by, and reproduced by narrative, and life within institutions is no exception" (p. 521). The function of narrative, or storytelling in educational organizations as in other types of institutions, is to assist in getting the work done. In educational settings, narratives relate to the very tasks that comprise the primary function of schooling. The types of stories that tend to reoccur are those that are work related. They are narratives that pertain to "maintaining identity and continuity, negotiating power relations, managing change, and marking membership, as well as transacting the daily business of the organization" (Linde, p. 532).

❖ **Table 5.1**   The Needs of Followers, the Tasks of Leadership, and Leadership Performance

Needs of Followers	Tasks of the Leader	Aspects of Leader's Performance
Need for Security and Certainty Followers may be anxious about expectations for their job performance, about what is an appropriate level of personal commitment to the organization, about how close the supervision (and hence potential interference with their autonomy) is likely to be. They want to know how much "space" there is going to be for them to act and react in the system. They want to know what their work is all about and why it is important and who thinks it is important.	**Engage in Activities/Tasks That Reduce Ambiguity** 1. Reduce work-related ambiguity by creating vision and mission statements regarding the purpose of the work unit and how the people in it relate their labor to the progress of the whole. 2. Reduce fear of authority and arbitrary actions taken without warning or logic. 3. Sketch out in actions and/or in policy what he/she expects in the way of performance, personal commitment, and why the work is important.	**Persona and Role** 1. Works collaboratively with faculty, students, and parents in creating the vision/mission statements. 2. Shares timelines, adjusts them as necessary to create inclusive climate; welcomes suggestions. Demonstrates willingness to make adjustments. 3. Adheres to contractual/legal processes. Stays within procedural and content boundaries. Is respectful to them. Demonstrates an understanding that their autonomy is important as professionals or as community persons.
The Need to Feel Chosen and Special 1. Followers need to know who they are and why they are important. They want to feel special, want to belong to a	**Engage in Activities/Tasks That Earmark the Distinctiveness of the Work Unit and the People in It and Being Served by It** 1. Identify the unique qualities of the people in the work	**Persona and Role** 1. Values diversity and displays a value orientation of the importance of diversity in feeling chosen and special. Work to reduce or eliminate

Needs of Followers	Tasks of the Leader	Aspects of Leader's Performance
committed group of like-minded people, but also want assurances that their individuality will be respected in decisions that are made for the group or with the group. 2. Followers search for a leader who shares with them stories about the importance of their work, why they are or should be committed to it, and links this purpose to higher ideals and moral purposes. 3. Followers seek an atmosphere of trust where they can be open and grow and where their commitment to the organization is recognized as important and critical to its success.	unit, their aspirations and ideals, as well as the unique characteristics of the community and students in the community. 2. Work the unique qualities identified in No. 1 into the vision and mission statements and make it part of school planning. 3. Delineate special social activities in which the unique aspects of the workforce and the clients can be discussed, displayed, and idealized. 4. Bring in guest speakers from the community to talk about why and how it is special.	comparisons that denigrate others so as to elevate your own work unit or its clients or community. 2. Creates a culture of inclusion where difference is celebrated, valued, and respected. 3. Avoids activities or responses that divide a group with unnecessary competition or recognize individual or subgroup gains at the expense of the whole group (suboptimization). 4. Tells and shares "identity stories" so that group members share a common culture, vocabulary, and outlook in regard to internal/external forces and pressures.
Fear of Ostracism, Isolation, and Social Death 1. Followers are anxious about possible isolation and group ostracism imposed by a leader, that is, the imposition of organizational sanctions against them for a possible wide variety of potential offenses. 2. When things go badly, followers want their leaders to encourage them, to keep up their spirits, and to urge them to remain committed to the overall purposes and ideals of the organization.	**Engage in Activities/Tasks That Eliminate Ostracism, Isolation, and Social Death** 1. Establish formal and informal rules and expectations that social isolation is everyone's job to eliminate. 2. Set up processes and approaches to work that create collaboration and the need to share as opposed to those that lead to individual competitiveness and a "winners" and "losers," dog-eat-dog approach to work.	**Persona and Role** 1. When isolation is observed, move quickly to bring the person back into a subgroup or the entire group. Establish "partners" or "big brothers/sisters" or "buddies" to mentor younger faculty or students. 2. Avoid behaviors or actions that lead to embarrassment or humiliation when mistakes are made. 3. Avoid any behavior that could be considered "bullying" or be construed as mistreatment or disrespect of individuals.

Crossan (1975) has indicated that stories don't simply reflect the world, they actually create the world. That seems especially important with work-related texts or stories. Human work is artificial in that it does not exist in nature. Human work is constructed. Crossan (1975) examines five different kinds of stories: mythological, apologue, action-centered, satire, and parable. Myths create and structure a world, apologue defends the world, action examines the world, satire assaults the world, but parables undermine the world (Crossan, 1975).

It is important to note that John Dominic Crossan is a professor of biblical studies at DePaul University in Chicago and an internationally recognized Jesus scholar (1992, 1994, 1995). Jesus was a master storyteller. He connected with those who heard him. The stories Jesus told have lived on thousands of years after his death. To understand Jesus as a storyteller, Crossan (1975) focuses on the kinds of stories Jesus told. First, Crossan sees mythological stories and parables as polar opposites. He indicates that the function of myth is to mediate irreducible opposites. Stories about overcoming death through superhuman belief or feats are examples of the function of myth. Such stories reconcile life and death. They bring stability and peace. Parables, on the other hand, function in precisely the opposite way. Parables trade in contradictions. Crossan indicates that whereas myth works at ways followers can be reassured, parables create contradictions and they even challenge the idea that a reconciliation is possible.

Table 5.2 shows the five different kinds of stories leaders tell. To try to understand their differences, applications to education are also shown.

Using the background of the provisions of Public Law 107–110, known as the No Child Left Behind Act, as the backdrop for determining stories leaders tell, the function of myth is to reconcile existing beliefs with practices contained in the law, which may run contrary to those believed by a faculty to promote good education. For example, the installation of increased classroom testing and the reliance of the reward and punishment provisions contained in the idea of "adequate yearly progress" (AYP) can be deeply alienating to teachers who believe that such emphasis is decidedly negative in its impact on children and their work. The principal in this situation creates a myth, that is, a narrative that tries to reconcile such requirements to existing beliefs by perhaps stressing that teachers have always used some sort of criterion to make judgments about their students' progress and that this provision simply formalizes it. The story line may go something like, "We've always done this only we've never given it a name or thought about it this way. All this does is to cast what we've always done into a somewhat different framework."

But as Crossan (1975) points out, the opposite of a myth is parable. The function of a parable is to undermine practice or belief while appearing to defend it. In this situation, the principal might do something like tell a story that the premise of the No Child Left Behind Act is certainly something with which few educators could find fault. But then the principal may indicate that the tests themselves assume that some children will in fact be left behind by defining success in terms of the numbers of children who failed. Without failure children could not be successful. This story borders on irony and initially teachers may take the idea into their minds that no child should be left behind as a laudable outcome. But embedded in the idea also comes the added baggage, which is antithetical and disturbing. How can no child be left behind if some have to be left behind because it's an average score that defines the nature of

❖ **Table 5.2**   The Five Types of Stories Leaders Tell

Types of Stories	Myth	Apologue	Action	Satire	Parable
Perspective of the Leader to the Context	Trying to reconcile oppositional forces at work in educational systems.	Defending the educational system and the forces within it.	Advocating action to move directly on systemwide problems or issues.	Lampooning the goings-on within the system by attacking the actors or forces in it to show flaws and suggest possible actions or forms of resistance.	To undermine the mechanisms of the system, its rules, laws, customs or operational procedures by appearing to agree but to arouse in others deep reservations.
Educational Example	Attempting to reconcile the increased requirements for testing in the No Child Left Behind Act to constructing a positive classroom learning environment for all children.	Arguing that the school or the system is getting better and that there is no need to create alternatives that will detract from its resources.	Creating a plan to remove the achievement gap in the school or the system through a combination of people and tasks set within a specific timeline.	Telling jokes or mimicking various actors or agencies within or without the system to point out absurdities or contradictions within it.	While advocating adherence to the provisions in the No Child Left Behind Act the leader is engaged in undermining it by calling into question assumptions on which it is based.

"behind"? And indeed in computing an average, somebody has to be below that score. The story being told here is not one of reconciliation, but rather one that undermines the idea of AYP in the first place. This is the power of parable as a form of story. Crossan puts the art of the parable this way:

> It is in the surface structure and texture that the parabler must use consummate skill so that the deep structure of the parable gets into the hearer's consciousness and is only felt in its full force there when it is too late to do much about it. (p. 86)

Crossan (1975) believes that the stories Jesus told that are most remembered were parables. Parables are powerful only if the audience listening to a storyteller is aware of

the substantive touches of context and irony that permeate the story itself. A parable contains the unexpected and it springs on the minds and hearts of followers only after they have taken it in. Crossan summarizes this idea when he observed, "They are stories which shatter the deep structure of our accepted world and thereby render clear and evident to us the relativity of story itself" (p. 122).

Educational leaders most often traffic in myth, apologue, and action stories. They are about constructing cohesive working units within schools and school systems. The most common challenges are to eliminate conflict and strive toward reconciliation of oppositional elements or forces in the larger work unit. The function of these kinds of stories is to enable the workforce to attain a greater share of the work goals than would otherwise be possible if there was discord.

On the other hand, if an educational leader is a change agent, he or she may decide to traffic in satire or parable and, by focusing on system contradictions and hidden messages, move a constituency to oppose a set of practices or to form a different response to internal or external challenges than would otherwise be expected.

A Portrait of Two Types of Storytellers as Leaders

Isaiah Berlin (1995) divides leaders into two types. The first kind he calls "the amalgam of simplicity of vision with intense, sometimes fanatical, idealism" (p. 186). This kind of leader reduces conflict to unadorned exemplars of good and evil. They excel in reducing complex issues to pure strains devoid of ambiguity. They usually display purity of character and devotion to a cause. They possess "fewer attributes than the normal compliment, but those larger than life" (Berlin, p. 186). They appeal to potential followers who may be confused by what appears to be overwhelming worldly complexity. The message these leaders provide sweeps such multiplicities aside and helps followers focus on the big picture. These leaders bring followers to their cause by ignoring obstacles and exhibiting utter fearlessness and devotion to a common theme. Berlin (1995) observes that ". . . they create a radiant myth with which they identify themselves, and which their followers bear in their hearts" (p. 187). Examples of this type of leader would be Martin Luther King, Jr., Gandhi, Mother Jones, Joan of Arc, Winston Churchill, or Charles de Gaulle.

The second type of leader Berlin (1995) identifies is one that belongs to ordinary humans who display the full range of humanity to an "almost supernatural degree" (p. 187). Instead of reducing the complexities of the circumstances to simple themes, they have an uncanny capability to integrate "the tiny fragments of which it is composed into some coherent, intelligible pattern" (Berlin, p. 188). These leaders find patterns that include rather than exclude complexity and "then . . . act in accordance with this picture in a sure-footed, morally confident, firm and supremely effective fashion, responsive to the sharpest needs of their time in an infinity of sympathetic ways" (Berlin, p. 188). Into this category Berlin places Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt. We could also add Golda Meir and Harriet Tubman.

> These men [and women] are regarded not with awe or religious faith—they are not figures surrounded by a kind of unearthly radiance–but with affection, confidence, admiration,

sometimes not unmixed with a certain appreciative irony—a delight in their accessibility, their democratic quality, their human failings. (Berlin, 1995, p. 188)

Berlin (1995) does not indicate that one kind of leader is better than another. Throughout history, both kinds of leaders have arisen in response to their times and to the challenges faced by their respective peoples. Likewise, effective school leaders are of both types: the visionary whose stories toward followers create a unitary coherency that sweeps aside compounding variables into manageable themes, and the secondary type who is able to incorporate a dazzling amount of detail into transcendent themes. What is important is to come to some understanding of the type of leader you are and to whom you respond. There are also times when a leader must do both, that is, sweep aside complexities to focus on a few strands to the exclusion of competing stories, and incorporate new detail into ongoing narratives. Equally important is to come to some understanding of the potential of followers and to grasp their expectations for leadership. Followers need leaders to galvanize their actions and to enable them to overcome obstacles. They need leaders to ensure constancy of purpose and to set expectations for the group as a whole.

Educational leaders should understand that even if they obtain their positions by meeting legal and bureaucratic requirements first and those of the followers second, the needs of followers are the only true source of staying power in office. To be able to meet these expectations, leaders must understand that the skill involved in meeting the expectations of their followers is an art and not a science. At the heart of the art is dramatic performance, perhaps not the stuff of a Shakespearean exposition, but dramatic nonetheless.

Pursuing Learning Extensions of the Chapter

The learning extensions of the chapter involve some of the films now listed. They are intended to illustrate some of the theories about leadership described in the chapter and present the ideas of how leaders and followers unite to form a critical connection.

Matewan (1987), Color, VHS, Lorimar Home Video, 1 Hour 40 Minutes

The film is one of the few popular produced ones that feature a labor organizer as the hero. The scene is the famous shootout in Matewan, West Virginia, between the union men and the thugs hired by the mine owners to prevent unions from taking root. Based on historical facts and some actual historical figures, the film superbly demonstrates how the need of the miners for leadership bestows legitimacy on the organizer from the United Mine Workers. In turn, the labor leader, played by Chris Cooper, is able to shape the actions of the followers by appealing to reason and pride.

Mandela: Son of Africa, Father of a Nation (1997), Color, Black and White, VHS, Island Pictures, 1 Hour 58 Minutes

This Oscar-nominated documentary about Nelson Mandela illustrates his rise to power. The need of the African people for leaders in their struggle for freedom and the

right to vote in their own country is vividly illustrated. The film features Mandela's return to his birthplace and his commentary about his early years and tribal customs. Later, Mandela returns to Robben Island, the place where he was imprisoned for 27 years, to talk about life behind prison walls (see the Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). The film documents Mandela's release and his campaign to become South Africa's first democratically elected president. It also illustrates Mandela's leadership style behind the scenes.

Nixon (1995), Color, VHS, Hollywood Pictures, 3 Hours 18 Minutes

This is a riveting docudrama of the life and turbulent times of Richard Nixon, in which his rise and fall from grace is chronicled by the gifted acting of Anthony Hopkins, following a script written by Stephen Rivele, Christopher Wilkinson, and Oliver Stone (Hamburg, 1995). In this film, there is a telling scene in which Nixon is chatting with China's Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao says he voted for Nixon in the last election. President Nixon responds that he was the lesser of two evils. To this Mao says very seriously, "You're too modest, Nixon. You're as evil as I am. We're both from poor families. But others pay to feed the hunger in us. In my case, millions of reactionaries. In your case, millions of Vietnamese" (Hamburg, p. 235). To this Nixon responds that civil war is the cruelest sort of war. Mao then answers, "The real war is in us. History is a symptom of our disease" (Hamburg, p. 235). This film is the epitome of Jean Lipman-Blumen's (2005) concept of toxic leaders and in the case of Nixon, a democratically elected one. With the recent disclosure that "deep throat" was Marc Feldman, formerly second in command at the FBI, the poignancy of the film takes on deeper meaning.

Writing in Your Personal Reflective Journal

Writing in your personal journal should begin to focus on how leaders and followers satisfy a set of basic psycho-social needs. Too often, leaders were discussed as if it didn't matter what followers desired. So past traditions examined the traits, behaviors, and actions of leaders as if they could be transferred from one context to another and it almost didn't matter what the followers desired. One of the key concepts of this chapter is that leaders are follower dependent and it's the followers who bestow on leadership the "right" to lead.

Think about the leaders you thought were effective and inspired you. You looked to a leader to satisfy your needs. Can you verbalize the needs that you expected a leader to address? What were they? Can you identify the context in which your expectations were mobilized, that is, what events or circumstances were going on at the time in which you became aware of your own expectations from a leader? Can you separate leaders into the two categories identified by Isaiah Berlin? Which one do you think you are?

As a future educational leader, how do you think your experiences in schools so far have prepared you to deal with the needs of potential followers?

A Review of Key Chapter Concepts

followers create leaders—Leaders "rise" from the needs of followers. Leaders are defined by followers. Leader-"ship" includes both leaders and followers. The traditional view

of leaders is that they possess some unique characteristic that sets them apart from other human beings. These attributes are bestowed by followers, as is the case with the idea of charisma. Leaders come to understand that followers desire things that can be promised, such as safety, identification of special status, and providing for a "common table" so that all can participate in the affairs of a movement or an organization. Leaders provide meaning to life and labor. They assure followers that their struggles are important and are not in vain in the grand scheme of things.

leadership is a social construct—What constitutes leadership is a dynamic interrelationship between leaders and followers. Leadership is a socially constructed phenomenon. It is not "natural" in the sense that you would observe it in nature. It is peculiar to human affairs and it varies with context and culture. Inside organizations that assume the characteristics of bureaucracy, leadership is proscribed to roles that are arranged in a hierarchical relationship to one another.

leadership is acting or performance—Since leadership includes both leaders and followers, the ways leaders influence followers is through their actions, specifically through forms of narrative or stories. The skill leaders use in telling their stories is the "art" of leadership and it is a form of drama. As in dramatic productions, leadership traffics in the symbols, customs, and linguistic traditions of a specific culture. Both verbal and nonverbal behaviors are cultural forms of communication.

polarization as the focal point for action—This concept by Saul Alinsky entails a leader selecting a target on which his or her followers can focus their actions. Alinsky's tactic was to polarize opinion because the act of polarization created a situation to change things. It creates the "need" for leadership to take followers in a different direction. The same idea is present in the use of the parable as a kind of story that undermines the status quo.

social capital as the basis of leader staying power—Social capital refers to the web of personal relationships between individuals who become embedded within a community's or subcommunity's social structure. By being embedded in that structure, the individual is able to call on others to aid or assist him or her if the need should arise. Educational leaders who are interested in buffeting the winds of change and who cultivate social capital, as opposed to social resources, are more likely to enjoy longer staying power in their jobs.

toxic leadership—Some leaders who are able to satisfy followers' needs have an orientation to power that is destructive or harmful to them. Leaders who use people to further their own ambitions, who engage in bullying dissidents or behaviors that lead to ostracism or social death, abuse the trust that followers have bestowed on them.