

**Leadership, Micropolitics, and Social Justice: Struggling for Inclusion in a
Diverse French-Immersion School in Canada
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It has almost become a cliché to say that our schools and communities are becoming more diverse. Cliché or not, racial, class, cultural, religious, geographical and sexual orientation differences are more apparent now than ever in classrooms around the world (Milner, 2010; Sleeter & Cornbleth, 2011). Such differences, however, are more than merely curiosities; they have consequences for schools, the students who attend them, their parents and educators who work in them. Most obviously, many of these differences generate advantages and disadvantages. For example, In most contemporary schools in the Western world, non-white, gay, lesbian, poor, differently-abled students tend to achieve at lower levels, drop out in greater numbers and are less likely to attend post secondary institutions than their white, straight, middle-class and physically able counterparts (See for example, Bennett, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 1995; Natriello, McDill & Pallas, 1990; Orfield, 1995; Paquette, 1990; Sweet, Anisef, Brown, Walters & Phythian, 2010; Trembley, Ross & Berthelot, 2001). These inequities have not gone unnoticed; those who are concerned about them are taking action to change the practices that generate them. Many of those who do so identify with a social justice perspective (Ryan, 2013).

But promoting social justice is not an easy thing to do. This is because proponents routinely encounter resistance (Ryan, 2012; Theoharis, 2007). This is true in education just as it is for most other institutions. Educational leaders, for example, have to find ways to counter the ever-present resistance to their efforts. In order to do this, they need to be strategic about the ways in which they go about their advocacy work (Ryan, 2010). This requires them to understand the political environment in which they work, be able to size up the situations they encounter, and appropriately calculate actions that will produce the outcomes that they favour.

Promoting social justice involves more than rational calculations. It is also an emotional enterprise (King & Flam, 2005). Emotions intrude in at least two ways. The first is in the emotions that leaders experience as they advocate for their social justice ideals. Theoharis (2007), for example, documents the emotional fallout from such efforts. He notes, among other things, that social justice leaders experience considerable anxiety. The other sense in which social justice-minded leaders encounter emotions is in the way they attempt to entice or suppress emotions in others that can either obstruct or support social justice efforts (King & Flam, 2005). They may for example nurture hope, while helping people deal with their fear (King, 2005). In doing so, they strategically manage emotions to promote social justice ideals.

Given the importance of strategy and emotion, how then might social justice-minded educational leaders strategically approach the emotional side of their activist work? Recent education literature has explored the emotions of leaders and teachers (Beatty, 2000; Hargreaves, 2005), the practices required to generate particular

emotions in teachers. And social movement research has looked at the political mobilization of emotions. No research has explored the ways in which educational leaders strategically approach their own and others' emotional deployment in the service of social justice ends. This paper attempts to fill this gap. It explores how a social justice-minded educational leader strategically manages hers and others' emotions. The paper is organized in the following way. First, we review the work that has been done in the area of emotions and strategic action. Next, we describe the methods we employed for the study and the setting. Our findings probe the ways in which our participant, Pearl, understands others' emotions, the actions she takes and the manner in which she manages her own emotions. This is followed by an example of how she puts these tactics into practice.

Emotions and Strategy

The work of educators is fraught with emotions; teaching, leading and learning are emotional activities (Beatty, 2000; Blackmore; 1996; Hargreaves, 2005). Not everyone, however, can agree on just what emotions are. Nevertheless, most academics acknowledge that emotions are part of a complex process. One way to characterize emotion is as "self-feeling" (Denzin, 2009). These self-feelings are associated first and foremost with physiological or bodily changes, like for example, an increased heart rate, a reddening of the face or other more difficult-to-identify sensations within the body. But there is more to feeling than just bodily sensations; they are also accompanied by expressive gestures, like a change in vocal timber, unique facial expressions, or particular choice of words.

While emotion has a private element, the emotional process is also public, that is, it is also social (Denzin, 2009; Hoschild, 1979; 2012). Emotions are felt and expressed in social contexts. This occurs as individuals appraise situations in which they find themselves, bringing their socially acquired understandings of the world with them to make these judgments. This has an impact on what they feel. More than this though, their physiological reactions, expressive features and appraisals reflect social and culturally conditioned meanings. Sociologists like Durkheim, Weber and Marx, for example, have acknowledged the social nature of emotions, situating them in rational rules, economic practice, power relations and rituals (Denzin, 2009).

Emotions are not just social phenomena; they are also political (King & Flam, 2005). Emotions are employed to prop up, sustain or establish certain social arrangements. But they can also be used to resist these relationships. Marx, for example, contends that when certain (capitalist) economic conditions prevail individuals can be cut off from their practical economic activities and from one another, engendering in them resentment and alienation. When this happens they can be susceptible to subordination and exploitation. Contemporary scholars have also probed emotions and politics. Feminists and social movement advocates have been the most vocal in this respect. The former contend, for example, that women's socialization into "emotion rules" discourage them from getting angry and

subordinates them to social conventions that do not work in their interests (Boler). Feminists contend that changing unfair social arrangements requires that advocates mobilize emotions like anger (King & Flam, 2005).

Although a comparatively recent phenomenon, researchers have begun to explore emotions in education. In particular, they have looked at how emotions are implicated in the work of teachers and administrators. They have also probed the social and political nature of emotions in educational institutions. Hargreaves (2005) for example, examines how teachers' emotions are shaped by the changing conditions of their work. He does so through the concept of emotional geographies – “spatial and experience patterns of closeness and/or distance in human interactions that help, create, configure and color feeling and emotions”. Illustrating the social nature of the process, he contends that teachers both construct and are constructed by these emotional geographies of teaching. He demonstrates empirically how several forms of emotional distance and closeness – sociocultural, moral, professional, political and physical – can threaten emotional understanding.

One of the forms of emotional geography that Hargreaves explores is political. He acknowledges that not only is emotional understanding social, but it is also part of a political process, bound up with people's experiences of power and powerlessness. Other scholars in education have also pointed out the political nature of emotions, although their approach moves beyond Hargreaves'. Zorn and BolerZorn, for example, explicitly highlight the role that emotions play in gender, class, race and sex orientation relationships and suggest ways in which emotions can be approached to change these inequitable relationships. Zembylas (2007), for example, contends that anger can be used to promote social justice. He contends that it can stimulate people to act against injustice and inspire social change. Among other things, learning to listen to anger at injustices can lead to constructive classroom dialogue about the fairness of power relationship in society.

Education scholars have also explored leadership and emotions in education. This research is in its early stages (Beatty; 2000 Leithwood & Beatty, 2008; Zorn & Boler, 2007). Although not labeled as such, other research also features emotions (e.g. Blasé & Blasé, 1997). The focus of much of research into emotions is on the kinds of emotions that administrators experience, the situations that give rise to these emotions and the impact of others' emotions on administrators (Beatty, 2000). This research has uncovered that much of the emotional work of administrators involves the management of emotions – their own and others'. In the course of doing their work, administrators spend much time managing how they feel and express these feelings in order to engender particular emotions in others. Leithwood and Beatty (2008) and Lambersky (2014) explore the latter, identifying leadership practices and working conditions that influence teacher emotions. While this leadership research highlights its social nature, it does not explicitly target the political nature of emotions, statements to the contrary notwithstanding (Beatty, 2000).

Other studies touch on emotions, but do not feature them. Some of these studies are explicitly political in nature. They are part of a tradition that associates itself with the idea of social justice. These scholars draw attention to inequities in education – often revolving around issues of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ability, etc. – and advocate for, or study ways to turn these injustices around. Some of these studies touch on emotions. For example, Blackmore (1996) explores the emotional labour of leaders in times of educational reform. She highlights the ways in which women administrators attempt to cope with legislated changes with which they do not agree. Theoharis (2007) also alludes to emotions, but as part of a larger study about social justice leadership. He describes the anxiety that administrators experience when promoting their social justice agendas. This literature, however, does not explicitly attempt to connect emotions and efforts to strategically promote social justice.

The most intensive work on strategy and emotion has been carried out in disciplines outside of education. Two well known, but quite different approaches, look at the manner in which organizational members and leaders strategically employ emotions. Hochschild (1979,) identifies the “emotion rules” that people follow in particular situations. She illustrates how institutional norms dictate that organizational members cannot always show what they feel; instead, they must mask their feelings in order to generate a desired state of mind in others. For example, airline attendants cannot express anger at unruly passengers; instead, they are expected as part of their job to smile even though it may not be what they actually feel like doing. Hochschild refers to this process as “emotion labor”, drawing attention to the ways in which people strategically attempt to manipulate their own emotions to achieve organizational purposes. Her view is a negative one; organizations exploit members by requiring them to mask their feelings to generate profits or advance organizational interests.

Goleman (2006, 2014) advances another, more positive, view on strategy and emotion. He contends that organizational members, particularly leaders, need to be able to manipulate their own and others’ emotions if they are to successfully achieve their goals. This requires that they possess or acquire a degree of social and emotional intelligence. If they can understand their own emotions, read others’ emotions, and diagnose the circumstances in which emotions occur, then they will be better able to act in ways that will advance their and their organizations’ interests. Like Hochschild, Goleman understands that this means that leaders will have to mask their emotions. Goleman, however, differs from Hochschild in that he believes that this ability to mask emotions and to display situation appropriate ones is a valued skill that leaders should seek to acquire and practice. Goleman’s approach to strategy and emotion is not without its critics, however. Boler (1997), for example, criticizes Goleman’s approach as a marketable package that ends up molding emotions for organizational profit (See also Hargreaves, 2005)

Leithwood and Beatty (2008) and Lambersky (2014) explore the connection between strategy and emotions in education. They look at the actions that administrators take to engender desired emotions in teachers. However, they do not examine the ways in which leaders strategically approach emotions to promote political, that is, social justice goals. Beatty (2000) and others like Blackmore (1996, 2011) point out that although the current consensus is that emotions are an important part of leadership, and that a further understanding of them is crucial, many important perspectives and questions remain relatively untouched. Organizational perspectives are well covered, yet critical and feminist perspectives are relatively absent (Blackmore, 2011). And, the voices of the leaders themselves are also missing (Beatty, 2000). This chapter attempts to fill this gap by exploring the ways in which an administrator attempts to strategically manage her own and others' emotions in her attempt to promote social justice practices in her school.

Methods

We employed a case study approach (Merriam, 1998). In particular we focused our efforts on understanding the emotion-related practices of one particular principal, who we called Pearl. Part of a larger study that explored the (micro) political actions of social justice-minded leaders, it focused on the ways in which Pearl dealt with her own and others emotions to promote her social justice agenda. Initially we looked at her political practices, but narrowed our efforts down to emotions as we collected the data and came to know Pearl's situation better. We initially choose Pearl from the sample of leaders we interviewed for the larger study. She seemed to be a promising selection for a more intense exploration because of the attention she gave to her (micro) political activities. In the spirit of case study research (Merriam, 1998), we gathered data to inform us of her activities. This included talking to people within her school who could tell us about what she did, talking to Pearl, and observing what she did.

Data collection occurred over the course of five days of observations and interviews. The first day of observation started with a school tour and introductions to most of the staff members. The first day of observation also involved observing Pearl as she went about her daily duties and a New Teacher Induction Program (NTIP) meeting. At the meeting Pearl reviewed the goals and expectations for new teachers with the five new staff members. During days two and three, one of us shadowed the principal as she went about her day and talked to her about her practice. On the fourth day of observation we interviewed five teachers we felt could shed light on Pearl's activities and also observed Pearl. The fifth day included observation of a parent council meeting, and a meal with the principal and the parent council prior to the parent council meeting.

Data from observations and interviews were collected and recorded using a voice recorder and hand written notes that were entered into a journal. Notes were written in the journal even when conversations and interviews were being recorded to keep track of key themes and new lines of inquiry as they arose. Post observation

notes were written in the journal at the end of each observation experience. The journal notes were analysed following each observation to reflect on each observation experience, consider what was covered/uncovered and what should be further explored or probed during the next observation date. Recorded conversations and interviews were transcribed at a later date as were hand written notes. All data were coded and organized using NVivo 9 qualitative data analysis software.

Antionnette Carlson School

The study was conducted in Antionette Carlson elementary school.¹ It is a mid-sized French Immersion school in a very diverse suburb of a large and diverse Canadian city. The school houses just over 500 students from junior kindergarten to grade three. The principal describes the student population as being very diverse with over 45 languages or dialects spoken in the home, including Farsi, Russian, Chinese, Urdu, Tamil, Cantonese, Mandarin, Persian, Russian, Italian, Ukranian, Greek, etc. Students most commonly speak Cantonese, Chinese, or Farsi (Persian) as their first language. Many of the students are first generation Canadian citizens (over 80%), hailing from over 65 countries. Although most of the students were born in Canada, half of the students grew up speaking a language other than English as their primary language in their home and the first language that they learned. The students also come from a variety of backgrounds, socio-demographically and otherwise. However, the parents of many of the students identify with a higher socio-economic status. Approximately half of the parents have university degrees. The majority of the parents work in the field of management or business and the unemployment rate is lower than the provincial average, hovering around 4%.

The teaching population is also very diverse; teachers on staff come from many different continents and countries. The principal has made a concerted effort to encourage the teachers to incorporate their background as well as their students' into their teaching. For example, students often speak multiple languages during school events to help make other students feel their backgrounds are appreciated and to help create a sense of welcome and inclusion with the students' families and the broader community. The principal also often enlists the help of translators to help parents communicate with the school.

The school district has a shortage of administrators. Many schools have lost their vice-principals entirely, or at least part-time, over the last few years due to budget restrictions. Principals and vice-principals are also sometimes required to teach courses. This has affected Antoinnette Carlson elementary school. While it has a full time principal (Pearl), the school only has a part-time vice-principal because they are a mid-sized school. The vice-principal splits her time between this and another local elementary school; the two schools are about a ten-minute drive from one another. Ideally, the vice-principal spends 2.5 days per week at each school.

¹ This is a pseudonym.

However, due to the nature of the job, this is not always the case; sometimes they are at one school more than the other, or at both in the same day. The vice-principal is therefore very busy and often absent. When the vice-principal is at their other school the principal (Pearl) acts as both Principal and Vice-Principal.

Findings

Administrative work for Pearl, as well as for her colleagues, can be very emotional. Most of what she does in her position of principal – both routine and novel tasks – is tinged with emotion. When asked to talk about the emotional side of her work, she speaks about the more deeply felt emotional situations. The emotions to which she most often refers are anger and fear – both others’ and her own. The most mentioned emotion is anger. Pearl refers to a seemingly endless series of situations in which members of the school community have expressed their anger. These include: fights between and parents and teachers in the parking lot, yelling parents, parents attacking teachers, parents “going off,” parents berating teachers, parents storming out of the office, parents going to the superintendent, teachers yelling, teachers going to the union and to the superintendent, abrasive teachers, rude teachers, harassing parents, name-calling teachers, and angry students. But teachers, parents and students are not the only ones to express anger; Pearl also experiences it. Like the people with whom she deals, Pearl also gets angry at some of things that teachers, parents and students do and say. Some of these are describe below.

Other emotions coexist within the school community. One of these is fear. Pearl refers to others’ fear as well as her own. She notes that many teachers fear change. She says that “I guess with any change there is fear, right? There is uncertainty. ... for some teachers, there is a lot of fear.” Pearl also experiences fear. In one situation where the teacher was unhappy with her going to the union and the superintendent, she confesses that she was fearful because she did not know what she was going to do. Pearl also mentions other emotions. It is interesting to note that Pearl speaks exclusively of negative rather than positive emotions. Rather than identifying joy, satisfaction or amusement, she recalls dealing with nervous, upset, and stressed teachers, parents and students. When these emotions coincide with anger and fear they can provide a toxic mix, which can challenge Pearl and threaten to derail social justice plans.

Pearl experiences many of the same emotions that teachers, parents and students do: fear, anger, and anxiety, among others. But the way in which she expresses them often differs, given her strategic intentions. She attempts to manage her emotions in ways that the others do not, that is, she attempts to control the way in which anger manifests itself in her behavior so that she can also manage the outcome of these situations. Pearl’s goal in the short term is to survive prickly situations. Doing so requires that she not express emotions that would only escalate already intense situations. Instead she does her best to rein in her emotions so that

she can calm the angry, provide the fearful with hope, and reassure the anxious. She says:

If I'm not rational and careful about what I'm doing, outcomes and scenarios could be a lot worse potentially. Do I try to have people leave here happy during a difficult conversation? I do So I think that those emotions you use are so critical to the outcome.

In the longer term, though, she manages her emotions in ways that can best promote social justice. Pearl is an advocate for social justice. In her leadership appointments to date she has done her best to provide conditions that will help marginalized students. She describes this as her "core purpose" as a leader and an educator, to help all students achieve "true dignity" and have "a fair chance at being educated so they can contribute positively as civil people in society". She recognizes that the way in which schools are set up does not serve all students equally; some do better than others. She also knows that this is not an accident. She believes "that there are certain groups of people that are more marginalized than others". There are patterns to this phenomenon, and they often revolve around race, class, gender, sexual orientation relationships, among others. Pearl is currently on a district-wide committee that is looking for ways to promote inclusion for marginalized students. She also finds ways to advocate for their inclusion in her current school. This includes employing strategies to use emotions towards this end.

Strategic Action and Emotions

Pearl is strategic about how she approaches emotions. Managing the emotions of others in ways that promote her social justice goals, however, requires that she engage in a number of pursuits. The first strategy Pearl uses is understanding the emotions of others.

Understanding

Pearl maintains that she needs to understand the emotions of others, that is, what they are feeling. She feels that her foray into emotional intelligence and cognitive coaching has helped her understand the importance of emotions and to "read" or recognize the signs in the people with whom she deals that reflect their emotional states. She also recognizes that it is important to understand the circumstances that may have led to the expression of particular emotions. Pearl believes that understanding these circumstances may help her better understand why people are expressing those emotions. She says

You need a high level of emotional intelligence. You really need to know your social context. You need social intelligence because every situation is different. Every situation needs a different kind of leadership [practice].

Part of this social/emotion intelligence for Pearl includes understanding the context that gives rise of emotional issues. She maintains that she needs to “understand what other people are going through or facing, and helping them understand.” Pearl recalled one occasion where her actions were tempered by the circumstances surrounding an infraction of school rules. A grade three student had been sent to her because he had been the instigator in altercation with four other boys during a ball game on the playground. His classroom teacher had also noted his aggression over the past few days. In the meantime, though, Pearl had met with his mother and discovered that things at home were not good; she had taken out a restraining order on the young man’s father. Pearl felt that it was important to take this into consideration when dealing with this emotionally charged situation. She said

it was and knowing what's happening at home and trying to see from his perspective. But who knows what he witnessed from home? The parent has a restraining order so when you talk to parents and you say “we have to be really cognoscente and in-tune.” So when teachers really do see him outside doing this they can also see it from this perspective. So all that emotional piece is understanding it as much as possible from everybody’s lens.

Once she understands or is able to read the others’ emotions and the circumstances that have given rise to these emotions, she is in a position to take action.

Taking Action

If Pearl is to arrive at the destination that she seeks, that is, influence emotions in desired ways, she has to acknowledge these emotions, be patient, that is, put time into listening to what others have to say, provide support, and perhaps most important of all, manage her own emotions. When Pearl is able to do these things, then she is better able to resolve contentious issues, and in the end, promote her social justice agenda.

Pearl recognizes the importance of acknowledging people’s emotions. She has realized over the years that people respond in ways that help in difficult situations if she lets them know that she understands how they are feeling. She says

People appreciate that you try to deal with their emotions. The moment you say “I can sense you're frustrated, please share with us or me what we can do to help you further,” you can see ... parents take more time, right from the get-go. Some will calm down and I think it goes a long way.

Pearl knows the value of acknowledging others’ feelings, particularly in volatile situations. She has learned over the years that people appreciate attempts to deal with their emotions. They notice these efforts, and when they do so, they tend to step back and calm down, diffusing these anger-charged moments and paving the way for more meaningful dialogue and a resolution to the issue at hand.

Pearl also does her best to exercise patience in emotionally-charged situations. Recalling a meeting with a parent, she says

The meeting lasted an hour and 15 minutes. She just had to get it all out. But I think if I had interrupted her, they don't want to hear that. They don't want to hear "no," they don't want to hear "but." They are triggers. Once that parent was kind of diffused, then I started to ask some questions. If it escalated again, I mean there are people, not particularly here, but I've had parents storm out of the office, right? Then you talk to them a few days later. But in this situation, I keep myself busy. I might take notes. And honestly, I do a lot of nodding, watch the breathing and I do eye contact and I think that slows them down.

Despite her busy, schedule Pearl takes time to listen to people when they are angry or upset over things that have happened. She gives people time to have their say, and in those circumstances where they are particularly emotional, to vent. She takes care not to interrupt, contest views or signal an early end to these meetings. Only after they have had a chance to say what they need to and she senses that they have calmed down does she begin to ask questions or interject. Of course, this does not work in all cases, and Pearl notes that some parents have left her office in anger before the issues are worked out. Just sitting and listening, particularly if it is for extended periods of time, is not an easy thing to do. So Pearl has developed strategies that help her through this time. One of the things she does is to take notes or at least pretend that she is taking notes. She also employs other techniques to move the conversation along. These include nodding and looking people in the eye at the appropriate times.

Support is also important for Pearl as she deals with emotions and emotional issues. She sees one of her most important roles as providing support to teachers, parents and students. She believes that those who are emotionally stressed are in need of help, and she does what she can to assist them. Pearl provides support to stressed individuals in the heat of the moment, as she attempts to help them understand the issue at hand and how they can resolve it. So for example, she attempts to get parents to understand why a teacher might have told them that they could not park in a particular place or to help a teacher comprehend why a student might be acting out in class. But the support she provides also moves beyond trying to get teachers or parents to calm down in these emotionally charged situations. Pearl also helps parents, students and parents to deal with the issue over longer periods of time. So for example, she will attempt to work with a teacher who is having difficulties in the classroom or help a parent deal with an issue that her son is experiencing at school.

Managing Her Own Emotions

Pearl makes an effort to control her own emotions on the job. She has learned over the years that if she wants to be able to generate outcomes that she favors that she cannot express particular kinds of feelings. This is particularly the case in situations where emotions run high. In these cases, Pearl does her best to not show that she is angry, upset or fearful; she masks these and other feelings that she believes will not help her get what she wants. In place of any outward sign of the turmoil she may feel within, she attempts to present an even demeanor. She says that:

Well you don't show it, but your heart is palpitating I'll tell you, especially when the parent is yelling at you on the phone. You know, I think before I used to show my emotions. A lot of it [not showing emotions] is through maturation and growth. Finding myself as a leader. Figuring out what do I want the outcome to be. Do I want it all dramatic? Spiraled? Not benefit anybody? ... Or do I want to try and make a positive outcome, despite being yelled at.

Pearl knows that she cannot express particular kinds of emotions, even in situations where she is under fire, like cases where others are raising their voices. Instead she has learned with her maturation that that if she wants to achieve her preferred outcome, then she has to not react in kind when, for example, parents are yelling at her. She has a number of strategies that help her mask her feelings. She pays attention to her

body language and the posture. I'm lucky I'm not one of those folks who turn all red. I might in a small heated room. But there are people physically, you'll start to see the redness. I have to work on ... what is my breathing like, how do I speak.

Pearl is conscious of the ways in which she reacts in emotionally charged situations. She recognizes that she has certain proclivities that may reveal what she is feeling at the time. As a result, she has realized that she needs to work on her body language, posture, breathing and speech. She knows if she can adjust these and other physical performances she can successfully mask emotions that will get in the way of her agenda.

Masking emotions is not always an easy thing to do. It is easier to do in some circumstances than others, particularly if people are well intentioned. Pearl nevertheless contends that she has an obligation to do so. She says:

For those who are well intentioned, I never hold a grudge. For those who have been malicious or backstabbed it is difficult not to but it's my duty as a leader. I can't allow myself to get angry, I might be inside and I won't lie to you. Some of those teachers or parents who wrote a letter to the board about me, you don't forget those people or names but for every one of them there is a lot of good things that have happened. So for me it's not easy for those people who irk me to detach, but I have to take the high road. You're a

leader. It's our duty. We have to be poised and make sure that it's not visual and how am I going to model what we need to do if I can't do it with one or two staff?

Masking her feelings, however, has consequences. It is not easy to simply change behavior or forget things that people have said or done. And so there are times when leaders have to let their emotions out. Pearl concedes that she is only human, and so there have been times when she has had to take the time to let her emotions out. She says:

I'm not going to lie to you. There are times you go home and cry. You can't really cry here. Have I shut my door when it was a really bad situation and vented here? I'm not going to lie, in the four years I've been here I think that happened maybe two or three times. I don't think it's healthy to keep it suppressed. I have some amazing colleagues I could call, everything is held in confidence. I have a great VP, half time unfortunately and a great person ... but I think that we are only human so I'll have the facade when I'm out there.

Pearl cannot simply change the way in which she feels, even though she may be able to erect a façade that disguises these feelings. As a consequence, she needs an outlet where she can express these emotions. Most often, she does so in private, away from the eyes and ears of those with whom she works.

Strategic Action, Emotions and Social Justice

Pearl puts some or all of the above practices into play when she promotes her social justice ideals. She recalls a particular instance when she had to exercise her skills to get the outcome that she wanted in a difficult and emotionally charged situation. She recalls that

I had a situation with one teacher ... and it's very vivid because it went all the way to the superintendent. And it had to go that far because it tested my emotions and another piece of that is I was fearful too because I didn't know what I was going to do. But it tested my emotions and also detached me.

It occurred as she first took up her position as principal in March of the year. At the time just before stepping aside, the previous principal had announced the teaching assignments for the following year. Teachers were not happy with his decisions, and they showed up in force on that first day to voice their displeasure to Pearl. Apparently, in an effort to cut down on the number of parent complaints, her predecessor had planned to move a number of teachers to compensate for the shortcomings of a single teacher. The first thing that Pearl did was to try and understand the larger picture by listening carefully to what the complaining teachers had to say. She concluded that the former principal did not listen to them because their argument made a lot of sense to her. In this diverse school, students and teachers would suffer if the assignments proceeded as planned. Those students

who needed the most help would not be getting it. The number of parent complaints might be reduced, but the cost would not be worth it.

Pearl decided that in the interests of students and teachers that she had to change next year's teaching assignments. This meant that she could expect objections from the weak teacher and quite possibly parents of the students of this same teacher. Despite these looming prospects, she did what she felt was right. She believed that she had an obligation to help the weak teacher to develop pedagogy best suited for the diverse group of students in the class (and in the school). Her strategy was to support the teacher and try and survive the inevitable protests from the teacher and parents.

It did not take long for the storm to break. The teacher was the first to complain as Pearl revealed her plans. In no uncertain terms, she let Pearl know that she was not happy. Among other things, she accused Pearl of being a racist. Her actions did not stop there, however. She complained to the superintendent and she called in the union. Parents were also upset. On the first day of school in September, Pearl found three unhappy parents waiting in her office for her. These and other complainants persisted for the next few months.

Through all of this Pearl did her best to maintain an even and calm disposition, even though she was both fearful and upset. She kept reminding herself, though, that if she was to successfully resolve the issue, she needed to follow through with her plan, without losing her cool. Even though the entire episode upset her, she felt that a successful resolution required that she not reveal these feelings to the teacher or others when she met with them. She hoped that this strategy would enable her to do what was right in a way that was consistent with her commitment to social justice. She says:

So it took a lot of months and stress but if you don't detach yourself or get too emotionally involved and angry about it then I think those situations can go a completely different direction. You always have to remember at the end of the day you can't make enemies whether it's parents, teachers. So was I upset? Yeah. I was by the fact that she called the union. Did she know I was? No. What am I going to do? Cry in front of her? You go home, have your glass of wine and get upset, but when she came I had to smile and be nice.

Over the subsequent months, Pearl persisted with her efforts to help the teacher. According to Pearl, "Things got progressively better." She worked closely with the teacher and helped her try out different strategies. In the end, her actions paid off. The turning point occurred at a meeting she had with the union and the teacher. Pearl recalls that

By January or February we had to sit down with the union and I was able to articulate how I supported her with this parent complaint, how I met with

this other parent. So they looked at her and said they didn't need to go any further and she needed to listen to [me].

Eventually the teacher's skills improved. In time, she became an exemplary teacher, to the point, that other teachers from other schools would come to see her teach. In the end, Pearl's persistence, patience and her ability to mask her emotions enabled her to achieve her goals. Her support helped this teacher to improve, and in the process, she was able to provide what was necessary for the diverse student population and the community in general.

Deploying Emotions and Promoting Social Justice

Promoting social justice in diverse school settings can be a challenging enterprise. This is because proponents often face resistance from members of school communities. So they have to be strategic about the way in which they go about their promotional activities. But given the emotional nature of social justice issues, social justice-minded leaders will have to factor these emotions into their strategies. Pearl is a leader who attempts to do just this. She recognizes the importance of emotions and emotional issues and does her best to factor them into her social justice strategies.

Pearl is strategic about the way in which she goes about promoting her social justice agenda. She knows that it is important to take emotions into account – both others' and her own – in the process. Like Goleman (2006), she accepts the importance of emotional intelligence, that is, to be able to understand one's own emotions, read others' emotions and comprehend the situations in which they occur. Pearl tries as much as possible to understand the situations that give rise to various emotions. Strategic action begins with an understanding of the ways organizations work (Ryan, 2010). Understanding the people that she works with – and that includes superiors, teachers, parents and students – and the facts of various situations are key for resolving issues and promoting particular agendas. Pearl was diligent about looking into the circumstances of the various issues as they arose, figuring out the relationship to people's emotions, and communicating to the various concerned parties. For example, she understood why the boy with the parent who had a restraining order was acting out, and made sure that she communicated this information to the boy's teachers, and took this into consideration when dealing with the boy's behavior.

Pearl was also strategic when dealing with emotionally charged situations. She deliberately employed particular tactics to ensure that these episodes turned out in the way she wanted. She has learned the acknowledging others' emotions, being patient and providing support will help her generate preferred outcomes. Pearl contends that upset people appreciate having their emotions acknowledged; letting people talk, refraining from interrupting and asking questions only when appropriate will help avoid escalating volatile situations; and that supportive gestures and actions will reassure angry and fearful people. She deliberately

employs these practices to get through emotionally charged meetings and situations in the short run, but also to promote longer-term goals, like instituting social justice practices in her school. In her research about the female educational leaders and their experiences managing emotions during an era of change, Blackmore (1996, p. 346) also found that her participants developed strategies to help control the emotions of those involved. Some of their strategies differed and centered on distancing themselves from the proposed change initiatives. Other strategies were similar, those that are typically associated with caring professions such as education, these included being supportive and caring. Another thing the participants in Blackmores' study had in common was that they kept their own emotions to themselves, and did not allow themselves to be emotional around those they were dealing with. This practice took a toll on her participants, encouraging some of them to leave the profession because of the associated stress. Blackmore(1996, p. 347-348) highlights how caring professions such as education are often discussed only in relation to the positive emotions associated with caring, not in relation to the negative ones, and especially not in relation to the costs associated with managing their own negative emotions associated with their work.

Pearl was perhaps most articulate about the way she managed her own emotions. She has recognized that she cannot express all her feelings, particularly in situations where others are angry or fearful. In other words, she often has to disguise or mask her feelings. Pearl does many of the things that Hochschild (2012) describes when people are engaged in emotional labour activities. Hochschild indicates that there are three techniques associated with these masking activities: cognitive, bodily and expressive. In one way or another, Pearl is involved in all three activities. Most obviously though, she attempts to adjust her bodily and expressive gestures. She pays particular attention to bodily reactions, including posture, body language and her breathing. She also adjusts her expressions, including attempting to smile, nod her head and use particular kinds of language.

Pearl's cognitive techniques are less clear. On the one hand, she is aware of the emotional component of the interchanges she has with others. She pays close attention to the emotions of others as well as her own, and makes what she believes to be the appropriate adjustments. Yip and Cote (2013) found that although emotions can influence our decision making process, we can stop them from doing so by becoming aware of how we are feeling and why. People with higher levels of emotional understanding are more capable of doing this than people with lower levels of emotional understanding. In the case of Pearl, she does seem to demonstrate a high level of emotional intelligence. However, it is not clear to what extent she successfully uses this knowledge to suppress unhelpful emotions, like anger or fear. While there is no doubt that Pearl attempts to disguise these emotions, her statements indicate that she is less successful at suppressing them. Her tendency is to cover them up when she is with others, but to vent – either in her office or later at home – when she is alone. The situation and who is involved influences how long these emotions stay with her. She says that she is able to understand and forget certain offensive behaviors when she knows that there is no

malicious intent involved. On the other hand, Pearl acknowledges that she has trouble forgetting when she knows that the intentions of the other parties are not honorable. Therefore, these lingering feelings could be having an effect on Pearl's decision making, unbeknownst to her.

Pearl speaks mostly about volatile encounters with others when referring to emotions, no doubt, because they come to mind easily. But she is also occupied with engendering emotions that promote social justice over the longer term. Like some of those who write about activism and emotions (King and Flam, 2005), she attempts to alleviate fear and promote hope. Pearl demonstrates this more through her actions than her words. In the situation with the weak teacher, Pearl had to deal with both her own and the weak teacher's emotions. Given the threatening actions that the teachers and parents took, she had to mask both her fear and anger, in order to ensure that meetings with both would have a positive outcome. At the same time, though, Pearl tried to change the teacher's fear of change and her anger at being forced into a situation she believed that she had left behind. By maintaining an even demeanor through some difficult interchanges, and providing the teacher with constant support and help, Pearl was able to give the teacher some hope that she could turn her teaching around, and in doing so, reduce her fear of change.

Through all of this Pearl attempted to generate a particular outcome by controlling her own emotions and engendering particular emotions in others. In other words, she attempted to manipulate situations to generate a desired outcome. When referring to the masking of one's own emotions, Hochschild (2012) prefers not to use the term, manipulate. Instead she favours the terms, evocation and suppression. Even though she is alluding to self-emotions more so than others' emotions, the intent of this masking is to evoke a change in others. Hochschild takes a decidedly negative view of this whole enterprise, emphasizing the exploitive side of emotional labour. Goleman (2006) is more direct about manipulation. He maintains that understanding one's own and other's emotions allows leaders to control the outcomes of particular situations. And he believes that this is a good thing. The moral question here is whether employing the power of administration to manipulate or engender particular ends – in this case, social justice – is justified if those ends are valued enough.

Conclusion

Given the nature of the position, leaders have little option but to attend to emotions. Whether they acknowledge it or not, leaders like Pearl will be immersed in the emotional life of their organizations. Indeed, their mere survival may depend on their ability to understand both their own and others' emotions. More than this, though, their capacity to achieve important goals, like social justice, may require them to manipulate their own and others' emotions. This raises a number of questions. Educational leaders who attempt to deploy emotions in the service of valued ends will have to confront a number of related issues. Are they justified in manipulating their emotions and the emotions of others? Does the pursuit of valued

ends like social justice justify the manipulation of emotions? How far can and should they go in manipulating emotions for these important goals? And what are the consequences of this manipulation?

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