

**TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF
TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP
IN EDUCATION**

by

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ABSTRACT

This work is a critical analysis of the construct of transformational leadership as applied to educational administration, and, in particular, to the role of the principal. I review in detail the formulation of transforming or transformational leadership by James MacGregor Burns, whom many regard as the originator of the construct, and whose seminal treatment popularized it as a means for understanding effective political leadership. Burns proposes that there are leadership styles that comprised subsets of transforming leadership. Burns emphasizes morality as central to transforming leadership, illustrating styles of leadership with lively and engaging characterizations of prototypical historical figures from the American presidency and elsewhere. Burns contrasts transforming with transactional leadership, conceptualized as deriving from exchanges between the leader and followers. Burns also posits types of transactional leaders in each of which leaders exchange tangible or intangible benefits in exchange for power. Whereas the transforming leader strives to elevate followers to a higher moral purpose in a positive, comprehensive, principled manner, the transactional leader is accommodating, brokering, and incremental. In a comprehensive analysis of articles appearing in four major educational journals and in ERIC data base, I assemble a total of 53 papers meeting selection criteria for relevance in treating transformational leadership in the context of education, particularly the principalship. I critically review how this literature has been represented and studied in educational administration. I outline the content and character of recent research on transformational leadership focussing on

commonalities and differences, and discuss the contribution made by Barnard Bass and Kenneth Leithwood. I find a major portion of the literature to be deficient in its emphasis on broad, uncritical acceptance of the relevance of the concept of transformational leadership to education. I observe a need to translate vague generalizations into concrete research regarding effective and ineffective leadership in school environments and cultures, and the conditions that encourage its appropriate exercise. I conclude that what is presented as transformational leadership in educational administration literature is not congruent with Burns' conception of transforming leadership. Furthermore, I found not only a varying degree of discrepancies among these authors, but also failure to accurately represents Burns' understanding.

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DEDICATION

To my mother, Nicole Jobin,

who gave me my learning wings
by her encouragement and example,

and

to my father, André Deschênes,

who gave me my spiritual wings
by instilling in me the strength of perseverance and the desire to grow.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I was first introduced to the concept of transformational leadership while reading "The Evolving Role of American Principals: From Managerial to Instructional to Transformational Leaders" (Hallinger, 1992). In this article, Hallinger sought to introduce the concept of transformational leadership to the educational community. He felt that changes were required to the role of principals in the educational system to reflect the evolving needs of society. When I read this article in 1992, I felt that the way he described this new style of principalship was somewhat vague and "fashionable," and consequently I wrote a brief review essay as part of a course on theories of educational administration. Later in this same course, I wrote a more in-depth essay on transformational leadership to further explore the concepts presented by Hallinger. In doing so, I looked mainly at the current literature on transformational leadership. As a result of the research I undertook at that time, many questions came to my mind, most of which I felt remained unanswered. I became more and more interested in the concept and problems associated with transformational leadership in education, and proposed to undertake an independent study of that topic for my graduate thesis.

After reviewing current literature on this topic I initially thought that academic investigators are divided on their support of this theory. I have more recently come to believe that the apparent differences are primarily the result of confusion and misunderstandings regarding what is meant and understood by the term transformational

leadership. Historian and Political Scientist James McGregor Burns (1978) first proposed and described the concept of transformational leadership in his book Leadership. What I see as confusion and misunderstandings in the educational administration literature might be resolved through a critical appraisal of current writings within the initial framework presented by Burns.

The major problem to be addressed in this thesis is thus to appraise the congruence between Burns' theory of transformational leadership and the ways in which this theory is presented in the current literature on educational administration. More specifically, I will seek to examine the degree of agreement between recent literature and Burns' theory of leadership. I will also attempt to assess whether or not his theory is applicable to the school principalship by discussing the main differences between Burns' theory of transformative leadership and the images of transformational leadership found in the literature of educational administration, and then reflect on the applicability of these various interpretations.

Background

In his 1992 article, Hallinger reviewed pressures he considered to be responsible for the evolving role of the principal over the past 30 years. He argued that the role of the principal has to change to better suit societal expectations and needs. He described the changing roles of principals in terms of "ideal types" considered suitable for different times. However, it is unclear whether anyone can match these ideal types, and as a result, each school principal has been left to implement the new initiatives and expectations imposed by policy makers using his or her own individual standards. Some

principals were presumably more comfortable with or even more agreeable to the new changes which, at times, constituted major variances in both the approach and the degree of implementation. Therefore, the types suggested by Hallinger's outline reflect more the "idealistic" view of policy makers than those of principals who are left with the task of adapting their leadership styles to match changing conditions.

Hallinger (1992) argued that from the early 1920s to the 1960s the principal's role was primarily and solely that of an administrative manager. In the 1960s and 1970s the role became more of a program manager. In the USA the federal government began allocating funds for new educational programs, and it became the responsibility of the principal to implement, elevate, and manage these new programs. New curricula were created in mathematics and science, and more funds were provided by the federal government to support them. These changes were assumed to have been brought about by policy makers in response to the public's demand for a change in the educational system. The principal was seen as responsible for bringing about changes mandated from above.

Hallinger wrote that, by the 1980s, "the American public's renewed interest in educational improvement and the documented importance of principal leadership converged in the worlds of policy and professional practice" (p. 37). Consequently, he argued, a new role evolved for principals - that of the instructional leader - which better fitted the new expectations. Policy makers yet again developed new initiatives in order to satisfy the public's expectations. They did so according to their own knowledge and values, which were in turn passed on to the principal to implement at the school level.

The principal was now expected to be knowledgeable in curriculum, teaching, guidance, supervision, student monitoring and so on. The principal's role was still defined through a top-down approach; however, principals were now viewed as the "key feature for successful implementation" (p. 38) even though little training was provided to them to assist in implementing the new duties and changes. Hallinger wrote, "the role conceived for the principal was still inherently managerial in nature" (p. 38). Thus, in an important way, the essence of the role of principal had not really changed.

The 1990s have once again brought new challenges for society, and the public's needs and expectations have again changed. A shift in priorities, according to Leithwood (1992), demands a whole new approach. He writes that "instructional leadership conveys a meaning which encompasses only a portion of those activities now associated with effective school leadership" (p.10). The public, including both parents and employers, have denounced students' education as being inadequate for our time. Therefore, the old underlying theory about how school systems should operate is being modified or changed. A key assumption is that those individuals closest to the students are best suited to decide on necessary changes. Accordingly, school systems are being restructured to better suit this. On this point, Smylie and Conyers 1991 (cited in Hallinger, 1992) observed that teaching is:

a complex, dynamic, interactive, intellectual activity, not as a string of routinized tasks.... If teachers are to meet the rapidly changing needs of their students, their practice cannot be prescribed or standardized. Teachers will require substantial autonomy to make appropriate instructional decisions. These decisions go beyond selecting from an array

of previously mastered routines. They include crafting idiosyncratic strategies to achieve classroom, school, and district goals. (p. 13)

So, once again the times change, bringing calls for an updated educational format.

This time the proposed principal style is transformational leadership. In this approach, as Hallinger and Leithwood describe it, the principal acts as a mediator, a guide, and a "leader" to bring together the stakeholders in the school. Problems are then jointly outlined and clear goals are set and actions planned out together. The principal is viewed less as an authority figure, and more as a mediator. As such, this new style is seen as a response to "dramatic" societal changes which have called for dramatic changes all around.

Transformational leadership has presented by Leithwood, Hallinger and others, seems to be a current "buzzword" in educational administration. Yet I believe several questions remain unanswered: Where does the concept of transformational leadership stem from? Is it that different from any pre-existing style or merely a progression there from? Is it a reasonable theory for the principalship?, for education?, for Ontario?, for our time? Are societal changes and expectations "dramatic" enough to necessitate and justify the adoption of this leadership theory by school administrators? What does the current disciplinary literature say about transformational leadership? Is it coherent? What might transformational leadership mean for the future of education, if it is applicable? Is it defined sufficiently well to allow principals to be trained in the adoption and application of this theory? These are questions I intend to discuss.

Approach

I present my work on this topic in three sections, distributed across six chapters. First I concentrate on Burns and his work. In chapter 2, I review and summarize his background, earlier work and then the organization and initial reception of his book Leadership, wherein he develops his idea of transforming leadership. Chapter 3 seeks to present and interpret his approach to leadership, concentrating on key conceptual and theoretical claims and assumptions. Chapter 4 extends his theoretical approach by reviewing the specific forms of transactional and transforming leadership he discusses in Leadership, concluding with an initial appreciation of the applicability of his theory to the school principalship. These chapters provide a description of Burns' approach, his rationale, and how he considers transformational leadership might be applied.

I then look at the educational administration literature on transformational leadership over the past ten years (up to and including June, 1997). Four journals in the field of educational administration were reviewed, Educational Administration Quarterly, Educational Leadership (both published in the USA), Journal of Educational Administration (Australia), and the Journal of Educational Administration and Management (UK), and a search of the ERIC database was also undertaken using key words such as the role of principals, leadership, transformational leadership, empowerment, transforming. The results of this review are presented in chapter 5, which concludes with an account of the contributions of two particularly influential contributors to the literature, Bass and Leithwood.

Finally, I compare the ways in which transformational leadership has been treated in the literature with the theory originally developed by Burns. In doing so I address the questions stated above and attempt to come to some reasonable conclusions about transformational leadership. If transformational leadership is to be promoted, it is important to know exactly what it means, what it entails, and how it fits into the existing educational system.

The key questions to be pursued in this thesis are centered around whether the concept of transformational leadership as presented by Burns is congruent with the understanding presented in the educational administration literature, and whether it is applicable to school principalship.

CHAPTER 2

BURNS' APPROACH TO LEADERSHIP IN CONTEXT

James McGregor Burns developed his views on transformational leadership or, as he more typically refers to it, transforming leadership, in a 1978¹ book entitled Leadership. This was by no means his first published volume. As discussed later in this chapter, Burns has been a prolific and respected contributor to the political science and history literature, Leadership being something of a culmination to his academic life and work. In order to provide a frame and foundation for the more detailed discussion that follows, this chapter offers a review of Burns' academic career and contributions, followed by a brief overview of and a survey of selected reviews of Leadership. The chapter concludes with a comment on Burns' theoretical approach to the study of leadership.

JAMES MACGREGOR BURNS: A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

James MacGregor Burns was born in Melrose, Massachusetts on August 3, 1918. During the period 1935 to 1939 he was a student at Williams' College (Williamstown, Massachusetts) where he graduated with the highest honors in political science. Even at that early time, Burns was internationally minded and politically oriented. His parents were described by Burns in an interview (Beschloss & Cronin, 1989) as being fanatically opposed to Roosevelt and the New Deal, which prompted Burns to be contrary and support Roosevelt's democratic campaign. In 1936 and afterwards, Burns assisted the campaign by speaking on behalf of Roosevelt and his policies. During his years as an

undergraduate (1935 to 1939), Burns lived in a non-fraternity-affiliated residence called the Garfield Club because it offered a greater diversity of students, and was therefore more diverse intellectually. There was, for instance, a large student body from the Jewish community, which stimulated new ideas in Burns. Around 1938, Burns took part in a public protest against Hitler which involved the burning of an effigy of the Nazi leader. During his study at Williams' College, Burns was influenced by several people, including such as Max Lerner and Fred Schuman. In an interview Burns said that Max Lerner caused him to be "in touch with the whole intellectual-liberal-radical world of New York City and of academia" (Beschloss & Cronin, 1989, p. 4). Fred Schuman influenced him most with his soft position on Russia. In addition, "his emphasis on power politics, a Machiavellian approach to world politics, combined with a kind of passionate idealism about the hope of one world, and his brilliant, powerful lectures" (Beschloss & Cronin, 1989, p. 4) had a strong impact on Burns.

From 1939 to 1940, Burns went to Washington, DC to serve an internship in the Senate as a Congressional Fellow. Since he was not paid for that period, he financed his way through his work as an editor for the Williams' Record and the Literary Magazine. In Washington, he worked for congressman Abe Murdock who later became a senator. It was there, according to Burns, that he became more in touch with cultural affairs of the world as well as with the political world of congress.

In 1941 Burns returned to Williams' College to teach in the Department of Political Science. During 1942 and 1943, he worked as an executive secretary for the War Labor Board, an agency of the US Department of Labor. From 1943 to 1945, Burns acted as

combat historian during the invasions of Guam, Saipan, and Okinawa. In the midst of the action, he wrote historical accounts as he perceived them at the time, which, according to him, are the best possible conditions in which to record history. He claimed in an interview (Beschloss & Cronin, 1989) that that period of his life was a most instructive learning experience in terms of writing history. He explained, "what you see depends so much on where you sit ... Even there, the different perspectives on battle were interesting, and relate to broader questions of history, such as trying to understand the complexities of history" (p.6). This led Burns to what was to become his deep and sustained inquiry into leadership, its role and purpose in historical causation, as well as his enduring interest in the broad question of "whether humankind can order their lives and whether nations can rationally plan ahead" (p.6). His first book, entitled Guam: Operations of the 77th Infantry Division, was published in 1944.

From 1945 to 1947, Burns attended Harvard University, where he earned an MA and a Ph.D.. In 1947, his book Okinawa: The Last Battle was published. In 1947 he returned to Williams' College as an assistant professor of political science. In 1949 he did further graduate work at the London School of Economics and published Congress on Trial. In this book, Burns denounced conflicts related to the position of congressman, conflicts which he saw as having the potential to create deadlocks within the legislative process. In 1952, the first edition of his book Government by the People was released. This textbook deals with the American government, beginning with the premise that large and powerful governments are inevitable and necessary to the proper functioning of modern democratic society.

In 1953, Burns became a full professor at Williams College. In 1956, his book, Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox, was published for which he won the Tamiment Prize and the Windrow Wilson Foundation Award. Here, Burns examines the dual roles which FDR had to exercise in order to become a politician and how he used his power once he won elections. Also in 1956, Burns joined W. Averell Harriman in his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination, serving as Harriman's advance man. Burns began then to focus on the role of personality and organization in relation to the political parties, a topic which he later analysed further in Leadership.

In 1958, Burns ran for Congress for the First District of Massachusetts. He hoped that "with a well-planned, well-organized, well-run, and adequately financed campaign for Congress" (Beschloss & Cronin, 1989, p. 7) he could change the face of politics. However, his dream did not materialize. He lost the election and returned to Williams' in 1959.

In 1960, John F. Kennedy invited Burns to join his staff. Burns chose instead to write a biography of Kennedy, which was published in 1960, with the title John Kennedy: A Political Profile. Burns traveled with JFK while writing this book. It was supposed to be an objective profile of Kennedy that Burns referred to as a campaign-year biography.

In 1963, his book, The Deadlock of Democracy: Four-Party Politics in America, was published. In his book Burns described the difficulties facing political leaders in the American system. He focused his concerns on the problems of a political system which does not allow for easy changes. He further developed this theme in Presidential

Government: The Crucible of Leadership, published in 1966. In this book, Burns attempted to create a theory of the American Presidency using three different models.

In 1970, Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom, Burns' second book about Roosevelt was published. This biography encompasses FDR's Presidency from 1940 until his death and focuses on his complex character and divided political views. Burns had grown up during Roosevelt's reign, and was particularly influenced by his powerful public image. According to Burns, Roosevelt "embodied the true dimensions of pragmatism and morality" (Beschloss & Cronin, 1989, p. 13). He was to win the Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award for this work.

In 1972, Uncommon Sense was published. In this book Burns discusses how, in his view, the American political system was in a rut and how this problem could be remediated. In 1976, Edward Kennedy and the Camelot Legacy was published. This is a biography of Edward Kennedy's life, from grade two onward, in which he is treated in a very favorable light by Burns. In 1972, Burns was elected president of the American Political Science Association that year.

Leadership, published in 1978, is the primary source of Burns' theories as discussed in this thesis. During 1979 and 1980 Burns traveled with Edward Kennedy in his Democratic primary campaign. In 1981, he became president of the International Society for Political Psychology. The Vineyard of Liberty and Volume One of The American Experiment were published in 1982.

In 1984, The Power to Lead was published. In this book, Burns continued his preoccupation with leadership. In 1985, The Workshop of Democracy and Volume Two of The American Experience were published.

In 1986, Burns retired from Williams' College at the age of 68. In 1989, he published Crosswinds of Freedom and Volume Three of The American Experience. Burns continues to be involved with several projects pertaining to political science, leadership, and followership from his home in Williamstown (personal communication). His life's work evidences that Burns is a Democrat and has from the beginning been interested in politics. He explains this by saying that "it carries out best the great trinity values" in which he believes, "liberty, equality, and fraternity" (Beschloss & Cronin, 1989, p. 20).

LEADERSHIP: THE BOOK

Motives and purposes

Leadership can be seen as a culmination of Burns' strong interest in leadership from the beginning of his career. Although leadership is of great concern to political scientists and historians, Burns' interest level in the topic appears to surpass that of many of his colleagues. Many political scientists and historians deal with leadership through analyses of particular leaders and their followers within delimited contexts. As illustrated in the previous section, Burns has contributed many such volumes to the literature, but has also written several more broadly framed and referenced studies, of which Leadership is the most ambitious, and probably the most influential. In his Prologue to the book, Burns

notes that many of us spent our early years in the eras of “titans” such as Einstein, Mao, Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, Kennedy and King (p. 1). This was certainly so for Burns himself, who was deeply influenced by Roosevelt and knowledgeable about his successors. Burns goes on to declare that in contrast to the standards set by such titans, “the crisis of leadership today is the mediocrity or irresponsibility of so many of the men and women in power” (p. 1). He suggests, however, that this crisis is rooted in shortcomings in understandings rather than personalities. More than ever before, he claims, popular and intellectual attention focuses on the person and personality of political and other leaders, rather than purpose and process. “If we know all too much about our leaders”, he concludes, “we know far too little about leadership” (p. 1, emphasis in original). From the tenor of these and related observations, it seems clear that Burns published Leadership to help remedy this imbalance.

As he also makes clear in his Prologue, Burns is well aware that leadership has attracted considerable scholarly attention outside the domains of modern political science and history. He notes the rich literature on rulership that flourished in the classical and middle ages (p. 2), and acknowledges, albeit tangentially, more recent work in the social sciences. He concludes, nevertheless, that leadership as a concept has dissolved into small and discrete meanings and that there is currently no “school of leadership, intellectual or practical” (p. 2). But he thinks we may be at a turning point. “I believe”, Burns goes on to announce,

that the richness of the research and analysis and thoughtful experience, accumulated especially in the past decade or so, enables us now to achieve

an intellectual breakthrough. Vitrally important but largely unheralded work in humanistic psychology now makes it possible to generalize about the leadership process across cultures and time. This is the central purpose of this book. (p. 3)

This, then, was his prime purpose in writing Leadership--to draw upon accumulated knowledge in an attempt to generalize about leadership as a social process spanning specific context-bound instances. Throughout the book he is reluctant to characterize the generalizations he advances as a general theory of leadership, preferring to offer his observations as possible ingredients for an emergent theory which will need to be fleshed-out through subsequent work.

Book organization

Leadership (1978) is divided into five major sections plus a prologue. In the prologue Burns lays out his introductory views on leadership in general and on moral leadership in particular, and offers an initial sketch of his key distinction between transactional and transformational leadership. In Part I, Burns discusses power and purposes in relation to leadership. Part II focuses on the origins of leadership according to Burns, drawing on several theories of social psychology, particularly Erik Erikson's stages of child development, Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs and Kohlberg's theory of moral development to support his claims. Part III concentrates on Burns' theory of transforming or transformational leadership. In this Part, Burns devotes a chapter to discussing each of four subtypes or forms of transforming leadership, or perhaps more accurately four arenas within which instances of transforming leadership are often manifest, these being: intellectual (the development and popularization of new ideas),

reform (reorganizing and rededicating existing systems), revolutionary (instituting new systems) and heroic/ideological leadership. Part IV deals with transactional leadership, with chapters being devoted to opinion, group, party, legislative and executive leadership. Finally, in Part V Burns reflects on selected implications of his analysis and seeks to extend his major observations. The most important of the three chapters included in this final Part (and perhaps the most significant of all the chapters in the book) is chapter 16, "Toward a general theory", wherein Burns revisits and extends his main ideas.

Initial reviews

Leadership was highly praised by both the academic community and the literature. Reviews of the book appeared in diverse journals, with most commenting on the greatness of the work. Only a few criticisms can be found in these reviews, and these generally focused on how Burns defined a "true leader" and on his requirement for these leaders to have "higher morality." Summaries of selected reviews are presented here to convey the tenor of initial impressions.

One review by Michael Mandelbaum (1978), who at the time was an assistant professor of government and research associate of the Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University, commented that "It is a long book, the scope of which is encyclopedic --- because it touches on every aspect of politics that is pertinent to leadership, and almost every aspect is pertinent" (p.4). Albert Nevins (1978), editor of Our Sunday Visitor, began his review by summarizing Burns' literary accomplishments, observing that it was "a logical step" (p. 4) for Burns, after his biographical works, to write about leadership. According to Nevins, Burns does so "in a scholarly tour de force

that has no equal in the literature on this subject" approaching "his thesis with an Olympian dimension" (p. 4). Nevin gives readers brief descriptions of what he considers the high points of the book and concludes his review by referring to Leadership as being "not a blueprint of how to climb to power but it is a vade mecum for all those who have power and desire to serve others" (p. 5).

Bruce Mazlish (1978), professor of history and head of the Humanities Department at MIT, expressed two reservations about how Burns supported and defended his arguments. One concern has to do with Burns' use of stage theories (i.e., those of Maslow and Kohlberg), as a foundation for his generalizations about leadership. According to Mazlish, "many psychologists are dubious about Maslow's and Kohlberg's stage theories" (p. 34), suggesting they are not adequate supporting arguments for Burns' claims. The second concern raised by Mazlish dealt with Burns' treatment of Freudian psychology ... "which seems to neglect most of the recent developments in that field" (p. 34). Mazlish also raised the problem of Burns' refusal to recognize Hitler as a leader, suggesting that this omission was for moral rather than sound theoretical reasons. Mazlish wrote, "it seems perverse to deny that title to a political figure because we dislike the direction in which he leads his followers" (p. 35). Nevertheless, Mazlish manages to give an overall supportive review to Leadership and concludes his review with "I can imagine no more persuasive, more knowledgeable presentation of his thesis. His present book is the touchstone for all future discussions on the subject" (p. 35).

David Gordon (1978), Department of History at UCLA, wrote that Burns "at times relies on questionable sources" and also "skips from topic to topic" (p. 6), but he

concluded that Leadership "is an important work" (p. 6). Larry Berman (1979), from the University of California, described the book overall as informative and enjoyable to read. Nevertheless, Berman noted a major flaw with "Burns's explicit normative bias toward transforming leadership" (p. 347), writing "Burns does not consider the possibility that politics may weed out transforming leaders..." (p. 348). Furthermore, Berman writes that even though "the concept of transforming leadership is appealing ... the search may be comparable to the frustrations of Sisyphus" (p. 348).

A particularly pertinent review for my interests in this thesis was offered by Ron Brandt, Executive Editor of Educational Leadership. Brandt praises both Burns and his books, referring to Burns as a "distinguished political historian" and the "author of prize-winning books about Franklin Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, John Kennedy, and others" (p. 379). The most interesting and pertinent part of this review is Brandt's report of an interview he held with Burns. Brandt asked how Burns' "ideas about leadership apply to education" (p. 384). Burns responded that they apply very much in that "teachers deal with followers (students) in such a way as to help raise them through higher and higher stages of self-realization" (p. 384). Burns later explained that it also applies to the supervisor-teacher relationship in the same way as the teacher- student relationship. In a lengthy response to "Do you have to have power to be a leader?" Burns focused on "the way the great leader, instead of responding to the superficial attitudes and conventional views of followers, the way an opinion poll would, gets through to the whole complex of basic motives and attitudes that make up the individual" (p. 386).

COMMENTS ON BURNS' THEORETICAL APPROACH

As illustrated in this chapter, Burns is a distinguished political scientist who is interested in developing--or at least laying foundations for--a general theory of leadership as a social process spanning cultures and times. He approached the writing of Leadership aware of the "rich literature on rulership" (p. 2) inherited from earlier ages and the "immense reservoir of data and theories" (p. 3) generated by more recent inquiries in social science. Several of these more recent theories, particularly Maslow's theory of prepotent needs and Kohlberg's theory of moral development, are used by Burns as theoretical cornerstones for his analyses. Even so, his main line of approach throughout the book is that of a political scientist with a rich and sweeping grasp of political history. Given his background and interests this is to be expected. It nonetheless seems necessary to note that this imposes certain limitations (or perhaps more accurately delimitations) on the scope of his analysis.

First, readers well socialized to the social science literature, and especially that primarily concerned with organizational behaviour and administrative theory, will likely note the absence of references to works on leadership that are widely cited in those literatures. The index to Leadership, for instance, contains no entries for Etzioni, Fiedler, Hemphill, Halpin, or Yukl. There is one entry for Stogdill, but this turns out to be a secondary reference to an article by Stogdill and Barber cited by Bass (1961) [see Burns, 1978 p. 477] rather than his (Stogdill, 1974) very widely cited Handbook of leadership. There are three references to Bernard Bass in the index, but each is to his 1961

Leadership, psychology and organizational behavior, rather than his more recent works. Greater notice is taken of contributions by “classical” scholars, such as Max Weber (17 page citations in the index), Parsons (4 page citations) and Barnard (3 page citations). When coupled with Burns’ limited references to dated contributions by contemporary scholars, this implies some lack of awareness of pertinent social science work on leadership.

A second possible limitation relates to Burns’ use of the Erikson, Maslow and Kohlberg theories. As discussed in more detail in the following chapter, Burns draws heavily on the original works of these theorists, which were first published in the 1950s and 1960s, supplemented with reference to various commentaries, such as those by Knutson (1972) and Smith (1977). No reference is made, however, to more recent work questioning the applicability of these theories, particularly their generalizability. Of particular note here is the absence of any reference to research which seriously challenges many of Kohlberg’s claims regarding moral development. {See Gilligan (1982), MacIntyre (1984), Stout (1988)}.

The main concern here is not to discredit Burns’ analyses, but to point to possible, serious limitations inherent in his approach. Any possible approach necessarily embodies some limitations: theoretical trade-offs are inevitable in conceptual analysis. And as illustrated in the following chapter, Burns’ approach provides a rich, historically informed and comprehensive account of leadership which many, steeped in contemporary social science approaches, will likely find refreshing, informative, and stimulating.

SUMMARY

Burns is a distinguished political scientist and historian whose literary contribution to the field of political science is obvious. His interest on the topic of leadership began early in his career and was presented in Leadership in 1978. Critics of the book were overwhelmingly positive and supportive, but also, I will argue, superficial.

CHAPTER 3

BURNS' THEORY OF LEADERSHIP

Burns sees leadership, especially transforming leadership, as a potent historical force. His “titans”--such as Roosevelt, Mao, Ghandi, Hitler-- provide ready exemplars of how individuals can form history. Yet Burns’ analysis is more sophisticated than much of the “Great Man” literature. He argues that an individual’s effect on the lives of others may well be attributable to tyranny, rather than leadership. Men or women achieving historical greatness do not, for Burns, automatically qualify as great leaders. Those that do are distinguished from “mere power-wielders” by the elevating purposes they pursue and their engagement with followers. This distinction allows Burns to recognize Roosevelt, Mao and Ghandi as leaders, while condemning Hitler as a tyrant. Further, Burns does not limit his theory to great leaders, recognizing that leadership permeates society, being manifest in the aspirations and actions of billions of everyday people.

This chapter reviews the major elements of Burns’ theoretical approach. The first section draws on the introductory and concluding sections of Leadership to highlight major theoretical claims and assumptions. The second section presents an introductory overview of Burns’ two major types of leadership, transactional and transformative. The third and final section briefly reviews Burns’ thoughts on the prospects for a general theory of leadership, and discusses his comments on how transformational leadership may be manifest in everyday contexts in the form of “complete leadership acts”.

MAJOR THEORETICAL THEMES AND ASSUMPTIONS

Burns calls leadership "...one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth" (p. 2) and argues that "no central concept of leadership has yet emerged" (p. 3). Rather, he views leadership as a field of study that still has to be developed. Furthermore, he writes that

without a powerful modern philosophical tradition, without theoretical and empirical cumulation, without guiding concepts, and without considered practical experiences, we lack the very foundations for knowledge of a phenomenon -- leadership in the arts, the academy, science, politics, the professions, war -- that touches and shapes our lives. Without such standards and knowledge we cannot make vital distinctions between types of leaders; we cannot distinguish leaders from rulers, from power wielders, and from despots. (p. 2)

Burns attributes what he claims is the crisis in leadership to two factors. First, he assumes that the literature on leadership deals mostly with "heroic or demonic figures in history" (p. 3). Second, he claims that the literature views followers as primarily mass populations whose interests are largely known through surveys, opinion polls or elections, which supposedly provide leaders with information to help them function as "agents of their followers" (p. 3).

Burns moves on to bring these two factors together in a conceptual framework. He bases his leadership analysis on the assumption that

...the process of leadership must be seen as part of the dynamics of conflict and of power; that leadership is nothing if not linked to collective purpose; that the effectiveness of leaders must be judged not by their press clippings but by actual social change measured by intent and by the

satisfaction of human needs and expectations; that political leadership depends on a long chain of biological and social processes, of interaction with structures of political opportunity and closures, of interplay between the calls for moral principles and the recognized necessities of power; that in placing these concepts of political leadership centrally into a theory of historical causation, we will reaffirm the possibilities of human volition and of common standards of justice in the conduct of peoples' affairs. (p. 3)

Leadership and historical causation

Part of the problem of "defining leadership," Burns writes, includes clarification of concepts such as "motivation, value, and purpose" (p. 433). Ultimately, Burns wishes to determine the essence of leadership by examining "its role in the processes of historical causation" (p. 433). Leadership plays a dominant role, he claims, in the making of history, as opposed to non-causal or unintended historical events. He makes a distinction between "events without purpose" (p. 433) and intended events which "have purpose." Burns begins with a comprehensive interpretation of causal influence and historical causation and then attempts to refine the explanation to "isolate the role of leadership" (p. 433). His approach is framed in terms of five "succeeding concepts", each presented "as a subset of the preceding" one (p. 433). Figure 1 illustrates this approach.

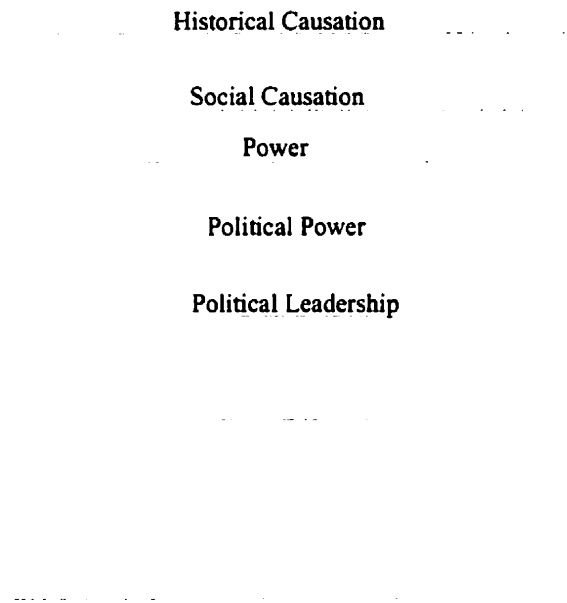


Figure 1. Schematic presentation of Burns' model of historical causation.

At the most encompassing level in this framework historical causation is defined as "the totality of forces, human and non human, affecting the behavior of persons directly or indirectly" (p. 433). By this, Burns means all the forces which affect the behaviour of people in a given time and place. Social causation encompasses all "processes and effects of historical causation that are produced by the decisions and non-decisions, the intended and unintended effects of persons (p. 433, emphasis in original). This then is the realm of human action in its broadest sense. The subsumed realm of Power includes "those processes and effects" that are produced as a result of "purposeful efforts of persons with

power resources (power base)" (p. 433). A power base is understood as the resources, including skills such as judgment and communication, that provide the capacity for a power wielder to secure changes in the behaviour of others (p. 13). The essence of power is that intended changes are realized "regardless of whether or not the motives of power wielders are congruent with those of power recipients" (p. 433). Resources deployed from the power base must be relevant to the motivations and interests of the power recipients, but the goals pursued and ends obtained need not be.

Political power is that which is recognized as being "legitimate" under "existing conventions, traditions, understandings, or constitutional processes" (p. 434). Incumbents of all officially defined positions, from Tsars to teachers, Presidents to principals, are included, as are those gaining power positions in revolutionary and insurgent movements, and those with informal authority roles in formal organizations. In essence, then, Burns' category of political power encompasses what is often referred to as authority, broadly construed. Political leadership is the exercise of political power which brings about desired change through a recognition of and an appeal to followers' motives and needs. "It is collectively purposeful causation" (p. 343). Leadership is thus presented as a type of power which is distinguished from brute power and mere authority by both purpose and process, ends and means. Mere power wielders and office holders may pursue their own goals or those assigned by others in authority over them without regard for the needs and aspirations of those over whom they use their power base to control. "Power wielders may treat people as things. Leaders may not" (p. 18). Even so, Burns' leaders are expected to go beyond treating people as people by simply being aware of

their wants, sensitive to their interests, and receptive to their concerns, as in some human relations prescriptions for effective management. Instead, leaders are portrayed as understanding the aspirations and real needs of potential followers such that the goals pursued are rightly valued by both leader and followers. Leaders and followers are thus bound together in a reciprocal relationship imbued with shared meanings and understandings. This is collectively purposeful causation.

Defining leadership

Burns' approach to leadership analysis is to describe it as a process of interactions between people where "only the inert, the alienated, and the powerless are unengaged" (p. 3). As we have seen, Burns argues that an understanding of power in social relationships is central to understanding leadership. He urges us to see "power and leadership" in the framework of "relationships" and to "analyse power in a context of human motives and physical constraints" (p. 11). According to Burns, if we understand these two precepts, we will understand "the true nature of leadership" (p. 11). Power is omnipresent, and leadership "is a special form of power" (p. 12).

Burns continues by explaining that "leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological, and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the deeper motives of followers," (p. 18) Shortly thereafter he offers an initial stipulative definition:

I define leadership as leaders inducing followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and the motivations -- the wants and needs, the

aspirations and expectations - - of both leaders and followers. And the genius of leadership lies in the manner in which leaders see and act on their own and their followers' values and motivations. (p. 19, emphasis in original)

As a consequence, leaders are seen as inseparable from their followers' needs and legitimate goals. Here he recognizes a continuum of relationships from the aloof, unaware, indifference of the absolute power wielder to situations where “the roles of leader and follower become virtually interdependent” (p .21).

Toward the end of Leadership Burns offers a second, summary definition.

Leadership is the reciprocal process of mobilizing, by persons with certain motives and values, various economic, political, and other resources, in a context of competition and conflict, in order to realize goals independently or mutually held by both leaders and followers. The nature of those goals is crucial. (p. 425)

While this is comparable with his initial statement, it explicitly recognizes the inevitable presence of competition and conflict, which will be considered below. It also points to important differences attendant on the goals that are pursued, differences which, as touched on earlier, relate to wants, needs and values.

Needs and wants

The real needs of both leaders and followers are central components in Burns' leadership theory, most particularly with regard to the hierarchy of human needs described in Abraham Maslow's work. Burns writes that the basic source of support from followers lies in satisfying their real needs. Potential followers have basic physiological needs which have to be fulfilled at all costs and they will therefore tend to follow a leader

who vows to satisfy these needs. Once the basic needs of hunger, thirst, sleep and sex are satisfied, the followers' needs mount to a higher level in conformity with Maslow's hierarchy. Burns thus believes that followers will seek to satisfy emergent needs for love, esteem, and self-actualization. These needs, he claims, are substantively common to all cultures across time. Burns writes that "it is in the transformation of human wants into needs that leadership first occurs" (p. 68). The distinction between wants and needs is drawn in terms of longings (wants) and physical-social-cultural requirements and imperatives. Thus, an individual's want for food can be translated into a more objectively referenced need for nutrition; a want for freedom from pain into a need for medication, or some other culturally anchored and sanctioned means of dealing with the assumed cause of the pain. Burns quotes Brewster Smith:

Creatures that go on wanting things that interfere with fulfilling their needs or do not come to want the things they need are likely in the very long run to have their genes dropped from the genetic pool of the species.
(1977, no page number cited)

Wants are transformed into needs through the broad processes of socialization and more deliberate educational activities. Parents, teachers and others in influential socializing and educating roles are thus recognized as occupying important positions which implicitly incorporate opportunities for leadership. He writes that "leaders are distinguished by their quality of not necessarily responding to the wants of followers, but to wants transformed into [real] needs" (p. 69).

He continues by claiming that "we can generalize across cultures about fundamental human needs and their implications for leadership in two significant respects: in the

frustration of needs and -- paradoxically -- in their gratification” (p. 69). Although Burns warns that Maslow’s theory is not without flaws, he nonetheless builds his explanation on Maslow’s hierarchy, noting that “the influence of a rough hierarchy of needs has also been supported by historical experience” (p. 70). He proceeds by pointing out that frustration of Maslow’s lower order, basal needs for safety, security and biological necessities can be expected to produce strong motivations to satisfy these needs, and in doing so create leadership opportunities. Less obviously, Maslow’s prepotency principle also implies that the satisfaction of lower order needs will create leadership opportunities to pursue hypothesized higher order needs for self-esteem, autonomy and self-actualization. But rather than stressing the opportunities thus created, Burns points to how the satisfaction of lower order needs “places an even greater burden on leadership -- above all, to raise its own goals as the needs of followers are transmuted into higher and higher searches for individual and social fulfillment ” (p. 72).

Values

Values figure prominently in Burns’ theory of leadership. He distinguishes between modal values which are closely related to moral and/or civic virtues (Gutmann, 1987) and end-values. These values are modes of conducting oneself and include “prudence, honor, courage, civility, honesty, fairness” (p. 75). Burns explains that while modal values can sometimes be goals in themselves, “they are always means by which political and other human enterprises should be conducted” (p. 75, emphasis added). His second category consists of end-values which have explicit purposes and embody collective goals. They have specific criteria, and are both ends in themselves and means of achieving them. In

an example offered by Burns, “social equality can be both a goal and a standard by which to measure policies, practices and other goals” (pp. 74-5). He typically gives precedence to a set of end-values which he also presents as being both superior and universal. He writes that these are “the universal values of freedom, equality, democracy, and justice” (p. 404). He recognizes, nonetheless, that these ideals may take complex and conflicting forms: “leaders who act under conditions of conflict within hierarchies of needs and values, however, must act under the necessity of choosing between certain kinds of liberties, equalities, and other end-values” (p. 432). Burns also visualizes a possible continuity from the modal values to the end-values in that “at the highest level modal values are rights defined on the basis of a conscience that expresses the broadest, most comprehensive, and universal principles; hence they merge with the end-values of justice, equity, and human rights” (p. 430).

Burns seeks to justify both the higher status and the claimed universality of his preferred end-values by reference to Kohlberg’s stages of moral development. Burns briefly summarizes his understanding of Kohlberg’s six moral stages before concentrating on Kohlberg’s highest “post-conventional” level, where he writes:

at the highest stage of moral development persons are guided by near-universal ethical principles of justice such as equality of human rights and respect for individual dignity. This stage sets the opportunity for rare and creative leadership. (p. 42)

Later, he tells us that at Kohlberg’s ultimate sixth level of moral development

there is focus on general ethical standards, on principles that are “logical, comprehensive, universal, and consistent”. These are the more general or

universal values noted above - those of liberty, equality, dignity, justice, and human rights. (p. 73: The quotation is from Kohlberg, 1973, no page number cited [see Burns p. 474])

Burns thus believes that “at the highest level of moral development persons are guided by near-universal ethical principles of justice such as equality of human rights and respect for individual dignity” (p. 42). There is no doubt that for Burns certain specific values are universal across culture and time, those of equality, justice, and liberty, and that the morality Burns is talking about is raising followers to his level of values. He writes: “leadership is a process of morality to the degree that leaders engage with followers on the basis of shared motives and values and goals” (p. 36) and both the “true” needs of the followers and leader must be respected.

Conflict and choice

Given the discussion to this point it should be clear that conflict forms an inescapable and indispensable part of Burns' theory of leadership. He sees leadership playing a critical role in “expressing, shaping, and curbing” (p. 38) conflict. Indeed, he claims that the basis for leadership is conflict; that without conflict there would or could be no leadership. Burns observes that “perhaps the most disruptive force in competitive politics is conflict between modal values such as fair play and due process and end-values such as equality” (p. 43, emphasis in original).

Burns then goes on to elaborate on elementary strategies to mobilize power. In essence, a leader or aspiring leader must “recognize” the diverse “motives and goals of potential followers” (p. 40) and then seek support from potential followers using the

motives discovered, and finally, “strengthen those motives and goals in order to increase power” (p. 40). This sets the stage for people to decide whether or not to follow a potential leader. Informed and at least formally free choice by followers appears as both an inevitable consequence of his distinction between tyrants and leaders and a central ingredient in his moral standards for leadership. He introduces these requirements through three postulates:

...first, that leaders and led have a relationship not only of power but of mutual [real] needs, aspirations, and [legitimate] values; second, that in responding to leaders, followers have adequate knowledge of alternative leaders and programs and the capacity to choose among those alternatives; and third, that leaders take responsibility for their commitments -- if they promise certain kinds of economic, social, and political change, they assume leadership in the bringing about of that change. (p. 4)

He emphasizes that moral leadership “emerges from, and always returns to, the fundamental wants and [real] needs, aspirations, and values of the followers. I mean the kind of leadership that can produce social change that will satisfy followers’ authentic [real] needs” (p. 4). The idea that “leaders are made, not born,” is consistently upheld by Burns as is the complementary principle that followers are also “made” through their interactive engagement with ideas, ideals and projects formed by prospective leaders and their ultimate decision to become followers.

The test of accomplishment

Burns insists that the only meaningful test of leadership (and other forms of power) lies in the realization of intended ends: “power and leadership,” he writes, “are measured

by the degree of production of intended effects" (p. 22, emphasis in original). Mere articulation of desired goals, however lofty, is not enough, and neither is diligent pursuit: the goals must be realized. By definition, goals pursued by tyrants and other naked power wielders may be of little or no interest or value to their subjects, subordinates or formal "followers," and the accomplishment of such goals may even be morally detrimental to some or all concerned. Also by definition, successful leadership will result in rewards or other benefits for followers.

TWO TYPES OF LEADERSHIP

Building from the principles outlined above, Burns identifies two major types of leadership. The first is transactional leadership, which, in essence, consists of a leader exchanging, or promising to exchange, services or rewards, such as "jobs for votes" (p. 4). The second is transforming or transformational leadership where the leader "looks for potential motives in followers, seeks to satisfy higher needs, and engages the full person of the follower" (p. 4).

As noted at the end of the second of Burns' definitions quoted earlier, the nature of the goals pursued is crucial for Burns' theory. When these goals concern the satisfaction of independently held needs and wants of leaders and followers through an exchange of things, emotions, promises, then we have transactional leadership.

Such leadership occurs when one person takes the initiative in making contact with others for the purpose of the exchange of valued things. The exchange could be economic, political or psychological in nature: a swap of goods or of one good for money; a trading of votes between candidate

and citizen or between legislators; hospitality to another person in exchange for willingness to listen to one's troubles. Each party to the bargain is conscious of the power resources and attitudes of the other. Each person recognizes the other as a person. Their purposes are related, at least to the extent that the purposes stand within the bargaining process and can be advanced by maintaining that process. But beyond this the relationship does not go. The bargainers have no enduring purpose that holds them together; hence they may go their separate ways. A leadership act took place, but it was not one that binds leader and follower together in a mutual and continuing pursuit of a higher purpose. (pp. 19-20, emphasis in original)

Transforming leadership goes beyond these limits to engage leaders and followers together in a reciprocal, elevating relationship. Goals and purposes are mutually understood by leaders and led as representing the achievement of a "higher" state of affairs, especially with reference to Burns' trinity end-values of liberty, equality and justice. Through this process, leaders "shape and alter and elevate the motives and values and goals of followers through the vital teaching role of leadership" (p. 425, emphasis added) which transmutes uninformed wants into educated needs and then pursues these ends to realize "significant change that represents the collective or pooled [real] interest of leaders and followers" (p. 425-6).

Transactional leadership is therefore seen as being based on an exchange of "goods" and is an unenduring, possibly ephemeral relationship. It is covered in Part IV of Leadership where Burns presents transactional leadership as being typically manifest in the form of opinion leadership, group leadership, party leadership, legislative, and executive leadership, each of which is briefly reviewed in the following chapter. The

purposes achieved, the goals attained through successful transactional leadership are those promised in the “bargain” struck between leaders and led, the pursuit of these ends being characterized by respect for and enactment of *modal* values such as honesty and integrity. Observance of Burns’ modal values is thus a *necessary* feature of successful transactional leadership, providing a standard against which transactional leadership should be judged.

On the other hand, transformational leadership engages followers in the pursuit of ends which are mutually understood by leaders and led as being of a *higher* level of morality. This morality is best represented by the end-values of equality, justice, and liberty. Pursuit and respect for these end-values figures prominently in Burns’ arguments and examples, both in terms of appropriate goals and as standards by which transformational leadership should be judged. Indeed, the presence of the assumed universal end-values of equality, justice and liberty seems to be a *necessary* theoretical requirement in Burns’ analysis. “Such leadership [transforming] occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality” (p. 20).

Therefore, “both kinds of leadership have moral implications” (p. 426). As Burns writes: “Ultimately the moral legitimacy of transformational leadership, and to a lesser degree transactional leadership, is grounded in conscious choice among real alternatives” (p. 36): the “emphasis is on collective purpose and change” (p. 426). Both types of leadership involve empathy. The leader must understand the values and beliefs of the followers. Leadership is not just one act, but a set of actions or a process.

Finally, “Qualities of leadership emerge out of these imitative, selective, and role-taking or empathetic processes” (p. 78). “Leaders must accommodate followers’ wants and needs without sacrificing basic principles (otherwise they would not be leaders); they must mediate group conflict without becoming mere referees or conciliators without purpose of their own; they must be ‘with’ their followers but also ‘above’ them” (p. 78).

PROSPECTS FOR A GENERAL THEORY OF LEADERSHIP

Burns’ penultimate chapter is entitled “Toward a general theory.” Here he draws together and goes beyond the major themes presented in earlier chapters. In doing so he both clarifies and augments the construct of ‘transforming leadership’ in several important ways.

Leadership in everyday contexts

As previously discussed, purposes and motives are central to Burns’ approach, and crucial for distinguishing between transactional and transformative leadership (and brute power wielding). When the goals pursued concern the satisfaction of some needs and wants of leaders and followers through an exchange of things, emotions, promises, then we have transactional leadership. When the goals are mutually understood by leaders and led as representing the achievement of a “higher” state of affairs, especially with reference to Burns’ trinity end values of liberty, equality and justice, then we have transformational leadership. Through this process, leaders “shape and alter and elevate the motives and values and goals of followers through the vital teaching role of leadership” (p. 425, emphasis added). When successful, this process results in the

“achievement of significant change that represents the collective or pooled interest of leaders and followers” (pp. 425-26).

Burns goes on to explain that, thus understood, leadership, especially of the transforming kind, is far more common than may have been supposed from his preceding analyses. It is not only the prerogative of intellectuals, revolutionaries, mystical figures and exceptional Presidents of the United States, as implied in Part III of Leadership and discussed in the next chapter it is also “an affair of parents, teachers, and peers as well as of preachers and politicians,” all of whom can be engaged “in the day-to-day pursuit of collective goals through the mutual tapping of leaders’ and followers’ motive bases and in the achievement of intended change” (p. 426-27). This line of insight leads to a recognition of the “enormous variety and range of actions” that Burns calls “complete leadership acts” (p. 427). The examples he gives are dizzying in their implied scope:

Not only the building of a new political party ..., but a mother consciously acting in such a way that her small son’s sensitivity to others will be improved, a taxi driver deliberately setting an example of considerate driving, a Red Guard leader making sure that food and drink are equally shared on a work project (p. 427)

Burns’ discussion of complete leadership acts [CLAs] is confined to just a few pages, which is curious and disappointing given his far more extensive treatments of more grandiose forms of leadership, and the potential applicability of the CLA construct to the work of school principals. He does, nonetheless, stress the educative aspect of CLAs, with specific reference to the importance of “grass-roots leaders: parents, teachers, peers, priests, gang leaders, party officials; village elders” (p, 429). Within his theoretical

frame, such leaders are portrayed as contributing to the achievement of broader social and political change by transforming wants into needs, especially in the case of children.

Here he notes that socialization can be as important as formal instruction, as children (and others) “are influenced by what the teachers are as well as by what they teach ” (p. 420, emphasis in original).

Universal foundations for leadership

In his prologue and the chapters in Part 1 of Leadership Burns describes his approach to leadership in broad terms. As quoted earlier, he offers a stipulative definition of leadership and identifies and briefly describes transactional and transforming types of leadership. He argues that morality is a necessary feature of both kinds, drawing on Kohlberg’s theory of moral stage development and Maslow’s hierarchy of needs. Burns signals the centrality of these contributions by observing that “vitaly important but largely unheralded work in humanistic psychology now makes it possible to generalize about the leadership process across cultures and across time” (p. 3).

In his discussion of the prospects for a general theory in chapter 16, Burns explicitly *advances programmatic* re-definitions of the key terms leadership, transactional, transformational, and morality. This is evident in several instances. For instance, Burns writes: “the role of leadership, as we have defined it, in historical causation ...” (p. 425), and “... so defined, leadership - especially transforming leadership - is far more pervasive, widespread - indeed, common - than we generally recognize” (p. 426). On the next page he writes: “leadership, as we have defined it” (p. 427). These are only a few examples; other similar statements occur throughout chapter 16.

It would appear that part of the reason for this programmatic redefinition lies in Burns' interest in the prospects for generalizing his analysis across time and cultures. To attempt this he needs to show or at least suggest that the "higher moral levels" from which the purposes of transformative leadership gain their meaning and value are universal. He points to two grounds for such a claim. First, "the developmental nature of human values and behavior ... in accord with the work of Adler, Maslow, Piaget, ... Erikson, Rokeach, Kohlberg, and others ..." (p. 428). As noted earlier, Burns drew especially on Maslow's hierarchy of needs and Kohlberg's stages of moral development in fashioning his analysis of leadership. But he wants to capitalize further on these stage theories, claiming that we can generalize "about leadership across polities and over time"

because of the concepts and data now available from those working in the field of moral development. These scholars have concluded that all persons in all cultures are not mere internalizers of specific values and beliefs and opinions that surround them, nor are they simply passive inheritors of parental ideology or reflectors of situationist ethics. These scholars believe that they "have rather firmly established a culturally universal invariant sequence of stages of moral judgement" (p. 428; the quotation is cited as being from Kohlberg, 1973, pp 630-631). [see p. 505 for reference]

Second, Burns points to "considerable evidence" for conflict over a common set of end-values, implying a cross-cultural recognition of the centrality of these values. As empirical evidence he cites Cantril's (1965) cross-national study of attitudes and aspirations and a more recent four-nations study (International Studies of Values in Politics, 1971) [see p. 505] which concluded that "relationships among leaders' values in

different countries were highly comparable and that leaders differed more among themselves within the same community than they did from country to country” (p. 431). Here he also enlists the on-going and widespread scholarly debates over concepts of equality and justice, citing John Rawls’ (1971) work in particular.

Burns acknowledges weaknesses in these arguments. He notes that Kohlberg’s conclusions regarding “universal invariant” sequences of moral development is “a bold claim,” (p. 428) and that the evidence for cross-cultural recognition of capstone end-values is “preliminary” (p. 431). Even so, although Burns insists that relationships between leaders and followers will be

... closely influenced by particular local, parochial, regional and cultural forces. In the progression of both leaders and followers through stages of needs, values, and morality, leaders find a broadening and deepening base from which they can reach out to widening social collectivities to establish and embrace “higher” values and principles. (p. 429)

These higher values and principles, he further maintains, take the form of his modal and end-values. Adopting Kohlberg’s stages, he tells us that

typical modal values, such as honesty, responsibility, courage, and simple fairness, in the sequence of moral stages [emphasis added] take on increasingly the qualities of more broadly and socially defined morality. At pre-conventional levels modal values are defined by rewards and penalties.... The post-conventional levels put greater emphasis on adhering to standards that conform to the agreed-on principles of the whole society and to the fundamental constitutional arrangements of its political system.... At the highest level (Burns’ emphasis) modal [sic] values are rights defined on the basis of a conscience that expresses the broadest,

most comprehensive, and universal principles; hence they merge with the end-values of justice, equity, and human rights. (p. 429-430)

Burns makes no reference to the fact that Bandura and Walters (1963) (and others) dispute Kohlberg's theory by arguing that moral judgement are influenced by social as well as cognitive factors. Later, Gilligan (1977) seriously challenged the generalizability of Kohlberg's theory within the socio-cultural confines of American, let alone global, society. This point will be taken up and expanded in the final chapter of the thesis. Here it is sufficient to note Burns' insistence on the "higher" order *moral* status of his "end-values", and the centrality of the pursuit of common purposes which embody these values in his definition of *transformational* leadership. MacIntyre's criticisms of the Kantian approach were published before his, After Virtue, (1981, 1984). MacIntyre's criticisms come from the strong Aristolean / Thomistic tradition, but he does not incorporate the well-known Hegelean criticisms of Kant.

SUMMARY

Burns assumes that leadership is based on the reasoned idea that ultimately people have similar interests in the "pursuit of higher goals" (p. 425). This last statement can be tested by the accomplishment of change of mutual (leaders - followers) goals. As transformational leadership focuses on "end-values" such as "liberty, justice, equality" (p. 426), transactional leadership concentrates on satisfying lower order needs and wants by means consistent with modal-values. The key difference, then, is that transformative leaders "raise their followers up through levels of morality" (p. 426), but it is not just any

morality; it is morality directly linked to the three specific values of liberty, justice, and equality which Burns claims are universal. Nevertheless, both transactional and transformational leadership involve a certain degree of morality. Transactional leaders must understand the values and beliefs of followers just like transforming leaders. In the beginning chapters of Leadership, Burns offers, in effect, a stipulative definition of leadership; however, by chapter 16, he is explicitly offering a programmatic definition of the essence of leadership.

CHAPTER 4
TYPES AND INSTANCES OF
TRANSFORMING AND TRANSACTIONAL LEADERSHIP

The previous chapter sought to identify and relate the major theoretical themes and elements in Burns' approach to leadership, particularly his distinction between transactional and transforming leadership. Parts III and IV of Leadership are devoted to illustrating the nature of these two major types through a series of separate chapters on different forms of each type. By supplementing his analysis with historical examples, Burns considerably enriches and extends his initial theoretical sketches. This chapter of the thesis presents summaries of Burns' discussions. The first and second sections deal with Burns' treatments of types and instances of transforming and transactional leadership respectively. The third section offers a summary of emergent points, concluding with an initial appreciation of the applicability of Burns' theory to the school principalship.

TYPES AND INSTANCES OF TRANSFORMING LEADERSHIP

In Part III of Leadership, Burns elaborates on different types of transforming (i.e., transformational) leadership, devoting separate chapters to what he calls intellectual, reform, and revolutionary forms of leadership, as well as a chapter on heroes and ideologues. These are presented as both subtypes and exemplars of transforming leadership, although some overlap is noted with instances of transactional leadership.

Brief reviews of each of these types are presented below in an attempt to illustrate how Burns expands on and applies his key theoretical principles.

Intellectual leadership

Burns begins his exposition of this form of transformational leadership with a review of the term 'intellectual'. The reader is told that 'intellectual' will be used in the sense of "a devotee of ideas, knowledge, values" (p.141). Furthermore, he writes "an intellectual ... [is] concerned critically with values, purposes, ends that transcend immediate practical needs" (p. 141). Burns proposes that a person "who deals with analytical ideas and data alone is a theorist; the one who works only with normative ideas is a moralist; and the person who deals with both and unites them through disciplined imagination is an intellectual" (p. 141).

According to Burns, the intellectual leader can change society by creating new ideas and theories. The purpose of the intellectuals' changes originate from values. He writes, "Intellectual leadership is transforming leadership" (p. 142) because it changes ideas and philosophy. The "catalyst" of the intellectual leader is conflict. Due to the context of conflict, the leader finds solutions to respond to society's problems. Burns explains that late eighteenth century thinkers in France wanted to achieve a just society but they "were profoundly divided over the means of achieving it and the assumptions underlying such a society" (p. 145). One most significant event influenced the stimulation of people's anger against the established power at that time -- censorship -- which encouraged people to read unauthorized publications. Furthermore, the severity of the penalty for breaking the edict of 1757 on censorship, namely death, alienated people even more. Burns writes

that de Toqueville understood the problems facing writers in the late eighteenth century. In The Old Regime and the French Revolution, Burns explains, "men of letters," such as Toqueville, "took the lead in politics and the consequences" (p. 148).

In the next section of this chapter, Burns discusses the "English experience" (p. 148) in terms of intellectual leadership. English thinkers of the seventeenth century sought "to puzzle out the relation between liberty and power" (p. 150). Two main views existed at that time for an ideal system of government -- a mixed government preserving each group against one another, and a division of power according to the functions exercised by government. Eventually both theories merged to form a new theory through intellectual activity.

In the eighteenth century American intellectual leaders are portrayed as seeing power and liberty as opposites. There was much disagreement regarding which system to adopt to preserve the overarching value of liberty. The problem was resolved by establishing "within government a balance of powers that exploited cross-splitting divisions among men, and to do so by contriving selection processes, terms of office, and powers of opposition so that the natural disharmonies of persons would be converted into friction and conflict in government" (p. 155). According to Burns, "this took a revolution in thought that represented intellectual leadership at its apogee" (p. 155).

According to Burns, "the ultimate test of political leadership" (p. 163) is "the capacity to conceive values or purpose in such a way that ends and means are linked analytically and creatively and that the implications of certain values for political action and governmental organization are clarified. The test is one of transforming power" (p.

163). Burns argues that Woodrow Wilson "above all was devoted to the vocation of leadership as an elevating force" (p. 166, emphasis in original). However, during the worst period of the depression when, according to Burns, intellectual leadership was most needed, Wilson was unable to communicate his message of internationalism effectively and was defeated by the post-World War I forces of isolationism. During the darkest days of the depression the U. S. turned to Roosevelt. The country needed new solutions to existing problems. Burns argues that, although Roosevelt eventually resolved some of the pressing problems, it was not due to his use of intellectual leadership but as a result of "the harsh pressures of depression and war" (p. 167).

Burns concludes the chapter by pointing out that the failure of Americans to accept new ideologies is not because of a lack of intellectual leadership, but is best attributed to other reasons. He cites Royden Harrison's (p. 167) analysis of the following characteristics necessary for an intellectual school of politics to be successful. First, thinkers of the time must have a close relationship, such as a close friendship, and this for a long period of time. Second, they must have principles powerful enough to change the existing "legislative program" (p. 168). Third, they must be able to establish a minimum level of organization to promote their views through various platforms such as newspapers. Fourth, they must be able to mobilize powerful groups interested in "change" while at the same time maintaining the support of upper levels of "established power." Finally, they must be able to effect political change either through their own candidates or an established party.

Burns appears to espouse an implicit political agenda in some of his examples and discussions of intellectual leadership, championing liberal ideas and interpretations above others.

Reform leadership

Burns argues that real leaders “teach and are taught by their followers [and] acquire many of their skills in everyday experiences, in on-the-job- training, in dealing with other leaders and with followers” (p. 169). Burns develops these ideas in his chapter 7 where he discusses and documents attempts to reform established organizations and political systems. He suggests that “of all the kinds of leadership that require exceptional political skill, the leadership of reform movements must be among the most exacting” (p. 169). This is due to the need for strong support from followers in order to effect any meaningful change to the status quo. Furthermore, he argues that reform leaders must also “deal with endless divisions within their own ranks” (p. 169), which will make it more difficult to institute change.

Burns notes that “reform leadership by definition usually implies moral leadership” (p. 170), which as a result “imposes a special burden” (p. 170). The claim here (as elsewhere in his analysis) is that the reform leader may use only strategies that are ethical or moral. In support of this claim, Burns writes that Woodrow Wilson suffered from bad press due to his inability to bring the United States into the League of Nations, and not because of his “high sounding moralistic platitudes” (p. 170). However, in order to be a true reform leader, one needs to be not only “gradualistic” but also be “willing to transform society” or at least part of it. Burns presents Charles Grey (the first Earl Grey

of Howick) as a prototype of reform leadership. Another reformer cited by Burns was Alexander II of Russia because "he recognized that Russia must modernize to survive" and "ordered legal emancipation of the serfs" (p. 181). The consequences, however, were that "it unloosed a flood of hopes and expectations and it polarized attitudes in both bureaucracy and gentry" (p. 184), with the outcome being "the failure of reform leadership" (p.185). Burns identifies three factors contributing to this failure. First was the misinterpretations of the followers' needs. Second, the "structure of social and political conflict discouraged the posing, confronting, and resolving of fundamental political issues" (p. 185). Finally, there "was an absence of a sense of overriding purpose or transcending value" (p. 186).

Even though reform leadership forms part of Burns' typology of transformative leadership, he concludes this chapter by commenting on the typical inability of the reform leader to achieve substantial social change. He argues that the failure of reform leaders is usually due to their acceptance of "the political and social structures within which they act" (p. 200) which results in their efforts being compromised. He concludes "reform is ever poised between the transforming and the transactional -- transforming in spirit and posture, transactional in process and results" (p. 200). In essence, then, reform leadership seeks to modify existing systems to improve them; not change them in a fundamental sense: it builds new structures on old foundations.

Revolutionary leadership

In contrast to reform, "revolution is a complete and pervasive transformation of an entire social system" (p.202). This is radical change, not incremental. However, Burns

warns that attempts at this form of leadership are rare, and successful revolutionary leadership is even rarer. As an illustration, Burns cites Lenin who stayed in power for only a few years. "Only Mao, Fidel Castro, and perhaps a few others have experienced as transforming forces the revolutions they helped to start" (p. 202). Burns claims that perhaps the most important "step" before a society is transformed, is the vision created.

Burns listed characteristics for success in revolutionary leadership. He writes: "The leaders must be absolutely dedicated to the cause and able to demonstrate that commitment by giving time and effort to it, risking their lives, undergoing imprisonment, exile, persecution, and continual hardship" (p. 202). Later he writes that "the revolution, like all genuine leadership, must address the wants and needs and aspirations of the populace -- motives that may not be felt by followers at the time but can be mobilized through propaganda and political action" (p. 202). Another important element of revolutionary leadership is conflict. Accordingly, he writes, "revolution requires conflict, as does all leadership" (p. 202). However, the conflict level in a revolution is much more extreme than in other types of leadership. In brief, Burns writes, the processes of revolutionary leadership are "the raising of social and political consciousness on the part of both the leaders and followers" (p. 203).

In sum, revolutionary leadership "is passionate, dedicated, single- minded, ruthless, self-assured, courageous, tireless, usually humourless, often cruel" and is "committed to conflict" (p. 239). Burns concludes this chapter by drawing a distinction between "leadership when it is reciprocal in a situation of open conflict and as brute power when it

is not" (p. 239), thus hinting at the thin and perhaps impossible-to-draw line between revolutionary leadership and tyranny.

Heroes and ideologues

In his final chapter on forms of transforming leadership, Burns discusses visionary leaders and heroes. He begins this chapter by promoting Moses as "one of the first towering charismatic leaders" (p. 241). He argues, using Freud as his source, that Moses had a huge impact on history "through his personality and through the idea for which he stood" (p. 241). Accordingly, Moses was both an "idol" and a "leader".

Burns then jumps to Joan of Arc, whom he portrays as a charismatic figure and a heroine. However, Burns explains that she was not a leader in his sense since she "left no heritage in the form of political doctrine, institution-making, or fundamental law" (p. 243).

Burns continues his discussion of heroic leadership with a synopsis of Max Weber's theory of authority types. He wrote, "Max Weber concluded that societies passed through a sequence of three pure types of authority: the charismatic, the rational-legal, and the traditional" (p. 243). After a few brief examples of Weber's perceived view, Burns jumps to stating that "the concept of charisma has fertilized the study of leadership" (p. 243). Following Weber, Burns defines charisma as "the endowment of divine grace" (p. 243) but he concludes that because the word has been so misused and trivialized over time it is not possible to use it correctly now. Therefore, Burns advances the alternative term 'heroic leadership', which he defines as follows:

belief in leaders because of their personage alone, aside from their tested capacities, experience, or stand on issues; faith in the leaders' capacity to overcome obstacles and crises; readiness to grant to leaders the powers to handle crises; mass support for such leaders expressed directly -- through votes, applause, letters, shaking hands -- rather than through intermediaries or institutions. Heroic leadership is not simply a quality or entity possessed by someone; it is a type of relationship between leader and led. A crucial aspect of this relationship is the absence of conflict.(p. 244)

He states that this type of leadership often emerges in societies with severe problems and it "plays a vital role in transitional or developing societies" (p. 246). Even so, Burns cautions that "idolized heroes" can not be leaders in his terms because "no true relationship exists between them and the spectators -- no relationship characterized by deeply held motives, shared goals, rational conflict, and lasting influence in the form of change" (p. 248).

On the other hand, Burns writes, "ideological leaders dedicate themselves to explicit goals that require substantial social change and to organizing and leading political movements that pursue these goals" (p. 248). The relationship between these leaders and their followers is often characterized by conflict about diverse purposes and strategies. Burns claims that "the ultimate success of the leaders is tested not by peoples' delight in a performance or personality but by actual social change measured by the ideologists' purposes, programs, and values" (p. 249). Burns urges that the term ideology must be salvaged since it "represents a significant strategy of thinking and of leadership" (p. 249). Furthermore, "it combines both what one believes" and "how one came to hold certain beliefs" (p. 249). Burns chooses to use the term ideology as meaning "a set of major

values and modes of cognition and perception, seated in congruent need and value hierarchies" (p. 250). He claims that once a movement has an ideology which has strong moral purpose and is "united by conflict with opposing ideologies are a powerful causal force" (p. 251) it provides the basis for "transforming leadership" (p. 251). Accordingly, he concludes that "most leaders combine both ideological and charismatic qualities, and great leaders combine them creatively" (p. 251). An exemplar of this, Burns claims, was Mao Tse-Tung.

Thus, even though heroic leadership is treated under the heading of transforming leadership, Burns' description of it does not recognize it as such. Ideology, though, figures prominently in his analysis. The primary role of the leader "in social change," he claims, is mainly based on "his ideological leadership" (p. 252), as well as on the degree to which that he is perceived "as an idol and hero" (p. 252) so that he uses that image to fulfill "his purposes and those of his followers" (p. 252). Burns continues by quoting Mao: "it is permissible to arouse emotions in others but not ever to give vent to them" (p. 252). In the end, Burns writes, "Mao clung to ideology rather than hero worshippers when he felt he had to make the choice" (p. 252). He moves on to praise Mao for his prominent qualities as a leader because Mao had an uncanny ability to understand the present needs of his followers and was able "to mobilize within them newer motivations and aspirations" (p. 254). "That kind of leadership" Burns declares, "is transforming leadership" (p. 254).

TYPES AND INSTANCES OF TRANSACTIONAL LEADERSHIP

In Part IV of Leadership, Burns elaborates on transactional leadership, offering separate chapters on opinion, group, party, legislative, and executive forms. While these forms of leadership are presented as instances of the broader category of transactional leadership, Burns leaves room in some situations for transactional leadership to become transforming.

Opinion leadership

Burns begins by re-describing transactional leadership, writing that it rests on the exchanging of "goods" between the leader and the led. The "goods" are not necessarily tangible, as they may be more elusive than concrete, such as an exchange of promises for votes. The purpose of opinion leaders is to arouse reaction from potential followers. Although Burns categorizes this style of leadership as transactional, he allows that it can be transforming if the leaders "appeal to fundamental, enduring, and authentic wants, to deeply seated latent needs and even to followers' convictions about morality and justice" (p. 258). However, Burns also warns the reader that this is a somewhat unlikely characteristic of opinion leaders. Rather, the opinion leader usually deals with "trivial and convenient problems" (p. 259).

According to Burns, opinion leaders try to tap into the latent wants and needs of followers while at the same time seeking to mold them. The leader has to be able to attract support from his or her opposition. Burns describes three subsets of this type of leadership. First, what Burns referred to as the "most visible and often most consequential type" (p. 262), are leaders with global objectives in ideology, planning, and

policy. This type will solicit followers' participation in relation to previously set goals. Second are leaders "who control the formal media" (p. 262). Two strategies are used by this type of leader -- manipulation and distortion of facts, and direct influence of opinion by specific selection in the media (selection of supporting claims). Third, there are leaders "who mediate between the mass media and the mass public" (p. 262). Burns claims that this form of opinion leadership is very common and is exercised everywhere. According to Burns, this approach is more effective because it can be subtle in expressing ideas and opinions.

Burns holds that opinion leaders may be focused on personal objectives while presenting a front of being interested in potential followers needs. He observes that opinion leaders often try to measure and influence the views and attitudes of established as well as potential followers. Several strategies may be used to gain political support, but the goal remains the same. The leader needs to get the most support while paying politically the least possible. First, the leader may try to organize a personal following such as a fan club or similar group which requires charisma. The problem with this approach is that once the leader is gone the movement usually fails. Therefore, Burns writes, "it is no substitute for transforming leadership" (p. 267). The second strategy to gain political support is "the mobilization of support by socio-economic class" (p. 267). Third, a leader may make use of an existing political party.

Burns offers Theodore Roosevelt as an illustration of a leader using opinion leadership. He describes how Roosevelt studied public opinion in great detail by analyzing the mail, relevant newspapers, looking at opinion polls, and acting on his

conclusions through his marked sense of timing. He was thus, on Burns' analysis, a great mobilizer of public opinion.

Group leadership

Groups have a very wide definition in Burns' usage, ranging from socio-biological-cultural units such as families, through informal gangs, to multinational bureaucracies. An important concern for group leaders is the secondary leader figures. They provide, Burns writes, important information about the concept of group leadership.

Small group leaders provide Burns with his chief instance of bargaining leadership. The small group leader is responsible for maintaining group equilibrium. This balance depends on "give and take" exchanges. These exchanges vary from talk to material goods. An important component is the mutual exchange between members of the group as well as a strong sense of duty to the group. Conformity tends to overtake smaller groups especially when the events that are happening are vague. Burns holds that in a group where the goals are more clearly defined, the leader tends to be judged on ability or competence related to goal achievement. On the other hand, where goals are more ambiguous, the leader tends to be judged or chosen more on the basis of "amorphous criteria such as appearance or congeniality" (p. 292). According to Burns, "the small group can be one of the most solid, durable, and highly structured entities in human society" (p. 292). The level of power held by the leader is dependent on the leader's resources which are related to "wants, needs, motives, expectations, attitudes, and values" (p. 294). Leaders of small groups are evaluated in two ways: by their

effectiveness in achieving these responsibilities and by "the extent to which the task embodies group values and the achievement furthers fundamental group goals" (p. 295).

Burns moves on to discuss bureaucracy. He writes that it may appear that bureaucracy is in opposition to leadership, but points out that he is using the term in its technical rather than pejorative sense to refer to formal organizations in general. He proceeds to give a brief description of bureaucracy as an organization with a specific and clear set of goals, rules, and standards. He writes that bureaucracy "is a world that prizes consistency, predictability, stability, and efficiency (narrowly defined) more than creativity and principle" (p. 296). "The roles and duties" (p. 296) are defined by tradition, rules and structure, and not by the leader. Relationships such as friendly or hostile relations are discouraged which in turn prevents a "response to wants, needs, and values" (p.296) of its members. By definition, then, bureaucracy promotes consensus, and therefore "bureaucracy discourages the kind of power that is generated by the tapping of motivational bases among employees and the marshaling of personal as opposed to organizational resources" (p. 296). Bureaucracies help maintain the status quo, as opposed to "directing social change or serving as a factor in historical causation" (p. 296). This description of bureaucracies places authority before power. "Authority is formal power" (p. 296) given to persons because of their role. People receive authority according to the position they occupy and this level of authority is, in turn, supported and respected by the members of the bureaucracy. Personality, in this case, is inconsequential.

Burns stresses that "reliability and conformity are the hallmarks of bureaucracy" (p. 296). Yet, after reviewing instances of bureaucracy across time and cultures, he concludes that one flaw stands out as universal, and that is the negative criticism of the paperwork associated with bureaucracy. Whether the employee has to respond to the paperwork or the public has to fill it out, the concern is the same. What was at one time "designed to enhance communication now blocks or distorts it" (p. 298). Burns summarizes his discussion by observing that bureaucracy ultimately embodies dichotomies: "To the extent that bureaucracy is in practice the simple application of authority from the top down, it is not leadership. To the extent that it exemplifies conflict, values, and change in accordance with leader-follower needs, it embodies leadership" (p. 298).

As presented by Burns, interest group leadership can be looked upon from the point of view of "the interaction among persons holding varying degrees and types of wants, needs, and expectations" (p. 303). This, in turn, places pressure on the leader, group, or government to act. The leader may try to encourage followers to want and expect a certain thing, and then guide them to receive it, thereby becoming a leader of an interest group. These types of leaders "often operate in a context of conflict" (p. 304). Burns concludes this chapter by noting that group leadership is present in all human societies, primarily as a transactional form of leadership, and rarely as a transformational one.

Party and legislative leadership

Burns views party leadership as stemming from small interest groups which have developed on a larger scale. He notes that the goal of party leadership is seen as being

able to mobilize the masses and gain support for party representatives. Two main types of conflict can be observed in party leadership: first, conflict between different parties, which is conflict for political power, and second, the internal conflict of a party which creates demands for transactional relationships. Burns writes that the power of the political party stems from the capacity of party leaders at every level to identify and activate the wants, needs, and expectations of existing and potential party followers and to meet or promise to meet resulting demands by mobilizing economic, social and psychological resources. (p. 311). This relationship is very much transactional but also has the potential of being transforming when followers are transformed into leaders.

Legislative leadership

This form of leadership, on the other hand, can only be transactional, never transforming. Burns portrays legislative leaders as law makers and policy generalists. This type of leadership is thus incrementalist and mediating. Burns writes that "the legislative structure does not naturally make for positive, comprehensive, principled -- that is, transforming, -- leadership; it makes for an accommodating, incremental -- that is, transactional leadership (p. 362). It "rests on reciprocal responses of leader and led to perceived wants, needs, expectations, and values" (p. 368). This type of leadership can be exercised in diverse committees, parliamentary structure, political parties, and so forth. Finally, Burns writes, "legislatures cannot on their own exercise transforming leadership" (p. 368). For this to occur, legislatures need an unusual executive leader.

Executive leadership

For Burns, Charles de Gaulle, more than any other recent political figure, exemplifies the executive leader in the twentieth century. The characteristics of the executive leader are described as follows:

Assumption of personal authority, marked self-confidence and political skill, the diminution of legislative and party opposition, personal and dramatic links with the people, the enhancement of executive function and responsibility, the exploitation of emergency power (p. 317).

In Burns' view Charles de Gaulle had and used all of these qualities. Some problems with this type of leadership are that the leaders may not always have the necessary political and institutional support to act as they would wish. This may lead to conflict situations where leaders have to depend on themselves to seek public opinion support. Burns writes that "executive leaders have effective power to the degree that they can activate the need and motivational bases of other leaders and subordinates in the organization" (p. 373). This type of leadership has the potential of becoming transformational leadership according to Burns, if it is "solidly founded in power and principle" (p. 397). Burns discusses Barnard's work on executive as decision-makers. Accordingly, the final goal is better because of the repeated nature of refining each decisions in the process until the goal is accomplished. The decisions are reevaluated and modified until the goal is achieved. Burns writes that according to Barnard "the essence of the executive's function is the specialization of the process of making organizational decisions" (p. 379). However, Barnard warns that, at the best of times, the process of decision making is difficult, and when the context is unusual, such as in times of

innovation or creativity, the task is even harder. Burns writes that Barnard's theory of the executive, "is only one step, however crucial, in a long chain of causation" (p. 382). New decisions are made with past decisions in mind and with knowledge as well as with the expected outcome.

SUMMARY AND INITIAL APPRECIATION OF APPLICABILITY TO THE PRINCIPALSHIP

This section attempts to summarize Burns' discussions of his different forms of transforming and transactional leadership with reference to the main theoretical elements surveyed in the previous chapter. The section concludes with a preliminary overview of the problems and possibilities associated with applying Burns' theories to the school principalship.

Summary

Tables 1 and 2 offer overviews of Burns' treatment of the different forms of leadership discussed in the previous sections, Table 1 summarizing his forms of transforming leadership and Table 2 his forms of transactional leadership. Although Burns dealt with Heroic and Ideological leadership in a single chapter, they are treated separately in Table 1 to highlight the major difference between the two, which is taken to reside in the charismatic or messianic qualities of the leader in Heroic leadership as contrasted to the shared commitment to a system of ideas in Ideological leadership. The person of the leader is crucial in Heroic leadership; the dominance of ideas, principles and values together with the leader's ability to interpret and represent them to followers is central in Ideological leadership. Given that an Heroic leader may create or bequeath an

ideology, and an Ideological leader may become invested with charismatic qualities through interpreting and exemplifying the system of belief in question, this distinction is not as clear-cut as might be desirable, but it does seem to capture the essence of the matter. This distinction also points to the element in Burns' account of Heroic leadership that encouraged him to reject idolized heroes as true leaders, namely the absence of a meaningful reciprocal relationship between the idol and the idolizers.

Perhaps the main point to emerge from consideration of Tables 1 and 2 is the extent to which the recognition of these subsidiary forms of leadership enriches and informs understanding of the basal transformative and transactional types. Burns' theoretical account of transactional leadership, for example, may initially encourage an overly limited interpretation, evoking images of "wheeling and dealing" in political back rooms and other implicitly seedy venues. His account of Legislative leadership honours such an understanding, but also illustrates both the necessity as well as the grander ends of such forms of brokerage. At the same time, his discussions of Group and Executive forms of transactional leadership illustrate how the basal principle of exchanging actions for support (or non-opposition) permeates and conditions much of modern organizational life. In a similar fashion, his accounts of different forms of transforming leadership enrich and extend the central theoretical ideas. In this respect his distinctions between Reform and Revolutionary leadership, on one hand, and Heroic and Ideological Leadership, on the other, appear particularly valuable, capturing what appear to be important distinctions that are overlooked in many accounts of charismatic leadership, for

example. His recognition of Intellectual leadership is also potentially powerful, explicitly acknowledging the power of ideas in human affairs.

Even so, comparison of the brief summaries offered in Tables 1 and 2 does not necessarily sharpen the essence of Burns' overall approach to leadership, especially the essence of his key distinction between transactional and transformative types. Table 3 attempts to highlight what appear to be key differences by drawing on the theoretical elements reviewed in chapter 3 and the summaries of the different forms of leadership presented in this chapter and represented in Tables 1 & 2. While an attempt was made to be reasonably comprehensive when constructing Table 3, it is not intended to offer a full and complete summary of his observations.

Given that Burns treats leadership as a special type of power within the context of historical causation, Table 3 compares selected aspects of non-leader power wielders as well as transactional and transformational leaders. Brief descriptive statements are offered to represent Burns' account of how elements of power, such as power base, goals, conflict and so forth, are manifest in the exercise of raw power and transactional and transforming leadership. The Table is further divided into two sections, one dealing with 'Initiators' and the other with 'Responders.' These terms were selected as generic labels to designate and differentiate between those exercising power/leadership (Initiators) and their followers/subordinates/subjects (Responders).

A potentially useful overarching theme that appears to emerge from Table 3 concerns the contrasting levels of complexity and dynamism associated with the different manifestations of power. Taken as a whole, the entries in the "power wielders/tyrants"

column convey an impression of relatively simple, predictable and static orderliness and potential stagnation, whereas the columns dealing with leadership reflect greater levels of dynamic activity. This seems to be particularly so for transforming leadership, where the descriptive statements convey an impression of sustained, possibly accelerating and unpredictable dynamism and energy.

This characterization also emerges from Burns' own summary in the final chapter of Leadership. Here Burns identifies and offers brief comments on four defining characteristics of leadership (pp. 452-455). Leadership, he avers, is:

Collective -- and interactive: It is a social process.

Dissensual -- characterized and formed by conflict.

Causative -- it brings about meaningful social change and has the potential to create new structures, processes, and institutions.

Morally purposeful -- it builds on, affirms and promotes the real, right values.

In addition to these common characteristics, transforming leadership is also elevating. "It is moral, but not moralistic. Leaders engage with followers, but from higher levels of morality; in the enmeshing of goals and values, both leaders and followers are raised to more principled levels of judgment" (p. 455).

Preliminary application to the school principalship

My purpose in writing this thesis was to inquire into the applicability of Burns' theory, especially his account of transforming leadership, to the school principalship. The review of his approach to and account of leadership given in this and the preceding

chapter provides a basis for some initial observations prior to the more detailed examination of pertinent literature presented in the following chapter.

It would seem clear that the position of school principal does not carry with it any implicit properties that would foster the process that Burns calls transformative leadership. Principals of publicly governed and financed schools occupy what are essentially mid-level positions in state bureaucracies and as such would be most readily accommodated in the Group leadership category in Table 2, which summarizes Burns' forms of transactional leadership. Principals of private and other forms of independent schools may be more readily accommodated in Burns' Executive category, which would provide them with greater scope and opportunity for engaging in transforming leadership. In those rare cases where principals have created a new kind of school which embodies revolutionary ideas or ideals, then they would have a clear claim to be recognized as (or as having been) transforming leaders. Such cases are probably exceptional. Principals of the myriad, ubiquitous state schools remain employed officials of centrally regulated bureaucracies.

Yet while this would seem to preclude principals (as principals) from being or becoming transformative leaders of the kind eulogized by Burns, such as Mao, de Gaulle or Luther, two important opportunities would appear to remain. First there are the opportunities embedded in Burns' notion of complete leadership acts. It will be recalled that CLAs are presented by Burns as leadership activities that bring about micro-level, localized, "grass-roots" change which, if it elevates others to higher levels by serving their needs, qualifies as transforming leadership. The prospect here is that principals

would see to be in a position to initiate, sustain and bring to fruition CLAs that will have transformative effects, however modest, on or in their schools. Whether or not this is possible would seem to depend on the character of the principal and the opportunities associated with his or her particular organizational circumstances. Presumably, some configurations of role expectations, coworkers and other organizational variables in school systems will be more favourable for the pursuit of CLAs than others. As far as the character of the principal is concerned, it should presumably suit him or her for the range of processes and activities appearing in the transformational leader column in Table 3. Of central importance here, it would seem, is that the goals realized through CLAs would be mutually understood by those involved as being on a “higher” order as justified by Burns’ end-values of justice, equity and liberty. It is easy to imagine goals of this kind that would not be readily accommodated by the official expectations of some school systems, or endorsed by superordinate officials. As such, the organizational circumstances in which some principals find themselves may well restrict the range of possible CLAs which they could attempt.

The second possibility is for principals to strive to be good transactional leaders. While Burns’ scheme promotes transforming leadership as a superior ideal, it should be remembered that he describes the “crisis of leadership today” as being manifest in the “mediocrity or irresponsibility of so many of the men and women in power” (p. 1). Principals are in positions of power. In addition to the authority awarded them by the state, some, possibly all, will have expanded their power base through skill and opportunities. If, as suggested in the previous paragraph, their prospects for

transformative leadership will frequently be limited to those CLAs that are appropriate to their circumstances, then why should they not be encouraged to practice transactional leadership? For some this may be a sufficient challenge in itself. As summarized in the middle column of Table 3, this would require taking the initiative on issues and problems, engaging in dissensual discussions, observing and exemplifying Burns' modal values. Within the context of Table 3, the only other possibility would be for principals to become mere wielders of the power accorded them.

SUMMARY

It appears that transformational leadership as defined by Burns may not be as applicable to principalship as the educational administration literature presents. While the transformational leadership concepts may be applicable for the exceptional principal who embodies revolutionary ideas, or principals of independent schools, principals of publicly governed schools are offered limited scope for transformational ideals and may better fit the description of Burns' transactional leader.

Table 1

Summaries of Burns' Types of Transactional Leadership

Type	Nature	Instances	Comments
<u>Opinion</u>	Formation and alignment of public opinion on and around issues and potential leaders and policies.	Active at all levels, from local to national. embodies the principle that "most leaders are followers and most followers are leaders" (p. 265).	Central dynamic in democratic political systems, but also pertinent in other systems. In exceptional cases (e.g. Roosevelt) can foster transforming leadership.
<u>Group</u>	Direction and maintenance of small groups; administration of formal organizations and sub-units.	Exemplar settings seen as street gangs and bureaucracies and their sub-units.	Potential for transforming leadership seen as rare (p. 307).
<u>Party</u>	Multi-levelled (hierarchical) system of structured interactions and conflict resolution within political party organizations.	Nature and processes vary according to history and context, especially with regard to single-party and multi-party political systems.	While "generally transactional...has vast transforming potential". Seen as a "structure of leadership" that "converts followers into leaders" through debate over conflicts (p. 343).
<u>Legislative</u>	Brokerage of influence and power between individual legislators and officials.	L. B. Johnson as Senate Leader cited as exemplar.	Together with Group leadership, seen as "exemplifying transactional leadership" (p. 368).
<u>Executive</u>	Chief executives of large complex organizations and political systems.	Chester Barnard's position and writings cited as illustrative. Charles de Gaulle cited as exemplar.	Can be transforming when favourable conditions obtain (usually inherited), provided leadership is "solidly founded in [adequate] power and principle" (p. 397).

Table 2

Summaries of Burns' Types of Transforming Leadership

Type	Nature	Instances	Comments
<u>Intellectual</u>	Creation and promotion of powerful analytical and normative ideas in society.	Examples cited include: Hobbes Locke Marx Keynes.	Always potentially transforming. Seen as preparing the ground for other forms of transforming leadership.
<u>Reform</u>	Attempts to re-make -- reform -- established organizations and larger systems that are seen as needing improvement.	Examples cited include: Charles Grey Alexander II.	While "transforming in spirit and posture," often "transactional in process and results" (p. 200).
<u>Revolutionary</u>	"Complete and pervasive transformation of an entire social system...through the raising of political consciousness" (p. 203).	Examples cited include: Martin Luther Lenin Mao Tse-tung.	Very rare for a single leader to both initiate and implement a revolutionary change.
<u>Heroic</u>	Weberian charismatic leadership. Described as symbolic solution of internal and external conflict through followers' belief in the personage and powers of the leader.	Example cited include: Moses Joan of Arc.	Such leaders seen as often arising in times of crisis. Seen as typically combining compassion and competence while challenging an established order.
<u>Ideological</u>	Dedicated pursuit of explicitly ideological goals dedicated to the promotion and stabilization of substantial social change.	Exemplar cited as being Mao Tse-tung and the Cultural Revolution.	Ideology seen as embodying congruence between cognition, conflict, consciousness, value and purpose for leaders and followers (p. 250).

Table 3
Points of contrast between Burns' conceptions of Power wielders and Leaders

INITIATORS			
Elements	Power wielders/tyrants	Transactional Leaders	Transformational Leaders
Power base: (Capacity to effect change)	Control of instruments of power, typically through exercise of authority.	May have or gain a position of formal authority. Will have actual or potential disposition of "goods" that will satisfy wants or needs of prospective followers.	May have or gain a position of formal authority which may be augmented by heroic qualities. Mobilizes and engages dedicated support of followers.
Goals & purposes:	Self-serving, or in the loyal, unquestioning service of superordinate officials.	Achievement of publicly stated and debated goals.	Shared pursuit of mutually understood and reciprocally formed and re-formed "higher" ends.
Conflict:	Strives to suppress or eliminate competition and conflict.	Open, informed competition between agendas and promises of leaders and potential leaders.	Engages opposing views and persons as part of the process of securing support and defining ends.
Values:	Preconventional level; threats and rewards.	Conventional observance of modal values such as honesty, integrity and fairness.	Postconventional adherence to the end-values of justice, equity, liberty and human rights.
Skills:	Shrewd knowledge of people and institutional context.	Ability to understand and appraise socio-political dynamics, marshal persuasive arguments and influence opinion.	Informed ("higher") understanding of needs of potential followers and social circumstances, which may be informed by an ideology.
Actions:	Dominates and exploits.	Takes initiatives on discrete issues and problems. May teach or educate	Engages potential followers and opponents in addressing problems and values; seeks to educate.
RESPONDERS			
Choices:	Little or no choice regarding who has power and the ends pursued.	Presumed to be sufficiently informed to choose between leaders and their agendas.	Presumed to be able to make informed choice of leaders and interactively influence the ends pursued.
Relationship to power holder:	Subordinate, subservient. May be treated as objects.	Mutually interdependent for a limited time.	Will be elevated through engaging in the transforming process which may require sacrifice

CHAPTER 5
TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP
IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

As explained in my introductory chapter, I was initially stimulated to investigate the applicability of Burns' ideas on leadership by Hallinger's (1992) advocacy of transformational leadership as an appropriate ideal to which school principals should aspire. In the two preceding chapters I concentrated on reviewing Burns' analysis of leadership, concluding with an initial, brief appreciation of the theoretical applicability of his ideas to the school principalship. In this chapter I report on how transformational leadership has been represented and studied in the educational administration literature.

I first present an overview of the methodology used to screen contemporary literature on the topic of transformational leadership in educational administration. Next, I outline the content and character of recent research and scholarship on transformational leadership in the literature surveyed, concentrating on selected themes, commonalities and differences. Third, I discuss contributions made by two particularly influential contributors to the literature, Bernard Bass and Kenneth Leithwood.

METHODOLOGY

The method was to undertake a structured review of the literature. I selected four journals in the field of educational administration, Educational Administration Quarterly, Educational Leadership, Journal of Educational Administration, and the Journal of

Educational Administration and Management. As well, I searched the ERIC database using the key words transformational, transformational leadership, and transforming. The review encompassed the years 1979 to 1997. I found a total of 9 articles in the four journals cited as concentrating on transformational leadership. These 9 papers also appeared in my search of the ERIC database. In total, ERIC search identified 103 references to transformational leadership. Clearly, the articles on transformational leadership represent a sizeable and important part of the educational administration literature.

Of the articles identified through my search of the educational administration literature, I selected 53 for close study. These sources were selected on the bases of three criteria. First, I selected articles on the basis of cross-citation, so as to identify authors who, through their citation by others, can be considered to have been influential in how transformational leadership is presented in the literature. Second, I looked for authors who had written more than one article on transformational leadership. Finally, I selected according to the title and the abstract on the basis of whether these gave reasons to accept the article as relevant and important in relation to the task at hand. The 53 sources identified by this process are listed in the Appendix.

In the course of selecting and reading the literature it became evident that the work of Bernard Bass and Kenneth Leithwood deserved particular attention. Bass and his colleagues (e.g. Bass 1985, 1988; Bass & Avolio 1989, 1994; Bass, Waldman, Avolio & Babb, 1987) have made a substantial contribution to the broader managerial and organizational literature, and are frequently cited by contributors to the educational

administration literature. In addition, Bass' (1988) Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire [MLQ] has been widely used in reported studies of transformational leadership. Leithwood and his colleagues (e.g. Leithwood 1992, 1994; Leithwood & Jantzi 1990; Leithwood & Steinbach 1991, 1996; Leithwood, Jantzi, Silins & Dart, 1991) are also very widely cited in the educational administration literature, with contributions from Leithwood and his associates providing by far the greatest proportion of articles and chapters dealing with transformational leadership made by any single set of contributors. Because of their influence on the literature, I paid particular attention to Bass' and Leithwood's work and specifically address their views and contributions in the final section of this chapter.

THEMES AND EMPHASES IN THE EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION LITERATURE

I searched for commonalities and differences among the diverse sources listed in Appendix. I sought to define common themes and points of contrast. In this section I concentrate on four themes. The first concerns the influence of James MacGregor Burns, the second, applications to the principalship, and the third, various understandings of transformational leadership presented in the literature reviewed. The fourth theme has to do with the general tenor of the literature considered, as represented in the approaches and major assumptions of contributors.

The influence of James MacGregor Burns

The great majority of the sources listed in the Appendix cite James MacGregor Burns' book, Leadership, and most contributors, in one way or another, acknowledge his pioneering work in developing the construct of transformational leadership. A few exceptions were noted. For example, although Clatworthy (1982) discusses transformational leadership in the educational system, he does not make any reference to James MacGregor Burns.

Most of the other sources, however, give explicit recognition to Burns' work. For example, Carver (1989), credits Burns as the first to coin and to have defined the term transformational leadership, as do Sergiovanni (1990), Slack (1990), and Stone (1992). Jean Brown (1993) wrote that "like most writers on transformational leadership, Bennis and Nanus (1985) based their work on earlier writing of James MacGregor Burns. Burns (1978) defines transformational leadership" (p. 11). The contributions of the Leithwood group also invariably recognize and give credit to Burns; the important review by Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge (1996), which is discussed below, begins, in fact, with an epigraph taken from Leadership.

Application to the school principalship

More than three-quarters of the sources listed in Appendix focused on the role of school principals. Those that did not either focused on other administrative positions in educational systems, such district superintendents (e.g. Holland, 1989) or residence managers (Komives, 1991), or presented a more general discussion of the nature of transformational leadership (e.g. Gronn, 1996; Foster, 1989).

Most of the sources that do not report research findings of some kind seek to advocate the desirability of principals being or becoming transformational leaders. Many of these “advocacy pieces” follow Hallinger’s (1992) reasoning as reported in the opening pages of this thesis: principals, it is assumed, are or should be leaders, but the “old” models and styles of leadership are not as well-suited for modern or emergent circumstances as is transformational leadership; ergo principals must be or become transformational leaders.

In an article entitled “The move toward transformational leadership”, for example, Leithwood (1992) follows Hallinger’s reasoning closely by arguing that while instructional leadership was a useful approach during the 1980s and early 1990s, it is unsuited “to take schools into the 21st century” (p. 8). He writes that it is transformational leadership that can best provide the boost to motivate people to take on the task of reforming schools.

In “Three principals who make a difference”, Sagor (1992) reports a study representative of qualitative inquiry into the principalship. This study grew out of a larger action research project in which university faculty and students were working with various schools. From his participation in this project Sagor concluded that “whenever a school presented an organizational culture that teachers and students reported as conducive to school success, there happened to be a transformative leader in the principalship” (p. 4). He selected three of these principals for close study, and collected “[s]hadowing, interviewing and observational data” in an attempt to “flush out and categorize the specific behaviors that appeared to produce the transformative effect” (p.

3). He concluded that the principals studied utilized three of what Sagor calls “building blocks of transformational leadership” (p. 13). The first of these is defining a vision that is clear and common to all staff involved and is jointly developed by those who have a stake in its implementation. Second, the “cultural perspective” must be common to all, which means that “teachers share a common view of their school culture” (p. 13). Finally, the leader acts as a support and guide to promote the improvement of the educational system. To accommodate evident differences in the personal styles of the principals studied, Sagor (1991) claims that a diverse array of personality types may fit the transformational approach. In other words, while one individual may be opinionated and assertive, another can be nurturing and supportive, while still achieving success in accomplishing the tasks he sees as definitive of the transformative model. While common principles may be embodied by disparate leadership styles, the effect they aim to achieve is based on the transformational perspective. As far as specific behaviours were concerned, Sagor reports a wide range of observed activities, such as visiting classrooms each day, listening actively to what is going in the school. Frequent recognition and praise for staff and student accomplishments, and active participation in the everyday life and work of the school by “pitching in”. His analysis distilled observed behaviours into 18 “leadership behaviours” which include “providing growth opportunities,” “visual presence” and “cheerleading” (Sagor 1991, Figure 1).

The Silins (1992) article listed in the Appendix is representative of quantitative studies of transformational leadership and principals. “This study examined the relationship between school leadership and school improvement outcomes within the

conceptual framework of the transformational and transactional leadership model advanced by Bass” (p. 317). Silins used a version of Bass’ Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire to collect data from 670 teachers in 256 schools. As discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, this approach is designed to elicit perceptions of leader behaviours, some of which are theorized as characteristic of transactional and some of transformational leadership. Silins’ factor analysis of her data provided only limited support for the independence of the behaviours considered to represent the two types of leadership. Silins also collected responses to questionnaire items which asked teachers to estimate the effects of various classroom and school innovations. Canonical correlation analysis detected some positive relationships between the perceived success of some school innovations and principal behaviours considered indicative of transformational leadership, but behaviours associated with transactional leadership were also positively related to the perceived effects of other innovations. On balance, Silins concluded that transformative leadership (or more accurately teachers’ perceptions of principal behaviours thought to be indicative of transformational leadership) is more effective than transactional leadership in promoting school reforms. However, Silins noted that

both the constructs of transformational and transactional leadership appear to be useful for explaining variations in school outcomes. The school as a whole may benefit from transformational leadership, but teacher, program and student outcomes are also influenced by some leader behaviours which have been defined as transactional. Considerable overlap between the factors defining the two constructs was evident so that their usefulness in explaining differences in school improvement outcomes was somewhat confounded. (p. 279)

Interpretations of transformational leadership

While nearly all contributors to the literature listed in Appendix gave credit to Burns for first developing the notion of transformative leadership, relatively few directly quoted his definitions. Instead, most contributors either presented a definition of their own or relied on a second-party definition usually taken from either Bass' or Leithwood's work. In consequence, the understandings and interpretations of transformational leadership presented in the literature were characterized more by diversity than consistency. A few examples of the varied and, at times, contradictory definitions and descriptions encountered are given below.

Clatworthy (1982) presents transformational leadership as "a process a school organization can use to become a learning system and as such acquire new competence" (p. 1). Bleedorn (1983) writes that "transforming leadership creates a dynamic connection to the ideas of other enlightened, systemic thinkers and observers of the human scene" (p. 2). Beaven (1989) used the terms transformational and charismatic interchangeably, in an attempt to provide "an alternative perspective on transformational, charismatic leadership" (p. 1). According to Beaven, transformational leadership "typically occurs in a context in which four elements are present: (1) a crisis; (2) emotional distress; (3) a leader; and (4) an inspirational message of deliverance" (p. 2).

Other contributors to the sources listed in Appendix present more accurate accounts of Burns' views. Carver (1988), for example, described transformational leadership as occurring when leaders and followers embrace a shared philosophy, raise one another to greater levels of motivation, and develop an understanding

of mutual needs, aspirations, and values. Transformational leaders assume a vital teaching role. They are able to unite persons with separate but related interests through the pursuit of higher goals. Followers are able to reach and sustain a collective understanding and transcend petty preoccupations. Leaders are concerned with effecting significant change tend to be transformational (p. 31).

Slack (1990) was one of the few contributors to quote Burns directly, defining transformational leadership: “an ability for a leader to engage followers in such a way that they mutually ... raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality” (p.7).

Sergiovanni (1990) discusses differences between transactional and transformative leadership in a way which initially draws on some aspects of Burns’ underlying theoretical framework, but then strikes out onto new ground. Transactional leadership is defined as relating to the satisfaction of basic extrinsic needs (such as salary and benefits), while transformative leadership is portrayed as appealing to a higher order of moral motives. Sergiovanni then goes on to identify three stages in the transformational leadership process. First, there is the “building” stage where the leader empowers followers. “Bonding” constitutes the second stage, where true transformational leadership occurs, with the leader/principal changing the culture of the school. Finally comes the “banking” stage, where the new, elevated culture is “routinized”. Interestingly, this account could be seen as compatible with Burns’ idea of complete leadership acts, Sergiovanni’s second, “bonding” stage being the CLA, and the first and third stages representing more stable pre and post conditions. Sergiovanni does not, however, take notice of the CLA construct.

Jacquelyn Belcher (1996) has no doubt that transformational leadership in education is the way to go. She does not apply the transformative approach to leadership only to the role of the principal; in her view it should be applied to all levels of the educational system. She writes that “the real challenge is to develop transformational leadership at all levels of an organization” (p. 26). She defines transformational leadership as “a process that is systematic, consisting of a purposeful and organized search for beneficial changes, in-depth analyses of the organization, and, finally, the ability and will to move resources from areas of lesser to greater productivity” (p. 26).

Liontos (1992) writes that the term “transformational leadership is still vague” (p. 2). She observes that similar concepts can be seen in both non-educational and educational fields. She briefly reviews instructional and transactional leadership and discusses some views of certain contemporary educational theorists on transformational leadership. It is her view that the main thrust of the model lies in creating ways to be successful by collaborating with everyone involved. In this way each individual feels some ownership in the decisions made and thus becomes more highly motivated to achieve a common goal.

Mitchell and Tucker (1992) argue that transformational leadership is more appropriate or suited for some organizational cultures than others. “As vividly expressed in James MacGregor Burns’ seminal analysis of leadership,” they write, “some cultures emphasize transactional control through the distribution of incentives, while others work by transforming the goals and aspirations of organization members” (p. 31). Finally, in a not uncommon interpretation, Kirby, Paradise, and King (1992) write that “Burns (1978)

conceptualized two factors to differentiate ordinary from extraordinary leadership” (p. 303). According to these and other authors, transactional leadership is thus equated with “ordinary” leadership, while transformational leadership is an “extraordinary” type of leadership.

Overall, the most striking aspects of the various definitions and interpretations of transformational leadership in the literature reviewed was the absence of specific references to Burns’ end-values. While some contributors such as Sergiovanni (1990) and Leithwood (1992) discussed moral elements in leadership and the “elevating” effect of transformational leadership, hardly any stress was placed on the centrality of Burns’ end values of liberty, equity and justice in transformational leadership. And while many contributors contrasted transactional and transformative leadership styles, behaviours and ideals, Burns’ non-leadership mode of tyrannical power wielding was generally ignored. The overall impression left after reading this literature was that principals are or should be leaders, the only issues remaining being that of deciding what type or style is most desirable.

Some observations on the general tenor of the literature

Relatively little criticism of Burns’ theory of leadership was encountered when reading the literature listed in Appendix. Indeed, the tenor of much of the literature was supportive, enthusiastic, and at times prescriptive. When criticism was encountered it was generally sparse, light, and superficial. One exception is Gronn’s (1996) essay which, in sharp contrast to most of the remaining literature, sought to critically appraise the conceptual and practical validity of Burns’ work and the tenability of his conclusions.

I will return to Gronn's analysis in the next chapter. For the most part, however, Burns' work on leadership seems to be almost universally accepted as the basis for further work. Yet while Burns is usually credited with initiating the study of transformational leadership, the literature reviewed was characterized by varying interpretations of this construct, as described above. One of the reasons for this would appear to be the way in which influential interpreters of Burns' ideas have "operationalized" his theory into models of transformational leadership, as discussed in the next section.

An example of the generally shallow criticisms advanced of Burns' work is provided by Bleedorn (1983). In her view, Burns wrote Leadership "with a clarity and insistence that reflects the urgency of the 80's for skills commensurate with leadership needs of a society in the grips of rapid change and increasing global dimensionally" (p.1). She writes that "James MacGregor Burns arrives, in his thinking towards a general theory of leadership, at a dynamic but ambiguous conclusion, incorporating his major arguments for a transforming, leader/follower, interrelated, purposeful process" (p. 5). She concludes that Burns "has provided at least a theoretical vehicle for transcending [sic] the limited perception of leadership as power, bureaucracy, and manipulation to one of mutuality in its most purposeful, human integration" (p. 7).

THE INFLUENCE OF "SECOND ORDER" INTERPRETATIONS

As noted earlier, the work of Bernard Bass and Kenneth Leithwood has strongly influenced how transformational leadership has come to be understood and studied in the

literature of educational administration. This section briefly reviews their main contributions.

Bass' models of leadership behaviour

Bass' influence flows from his publication of two important books, Leadership and performance beyond expectations (Bass, 1985) and Improving organizational effectiveness through transformational leadership (Bass & Avolio, 1994), together with the development and wide use of his Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (Bass, 1990). In these and related works Bass developed and promoted operational models of transformative and transactional leadership that have had great influence.

While Bass' builds on Burns' work, his prime objective has been to develop behaviourally anchored models of transformational and transactional leadership that can be used to assess differences in the performance of managers and administrators in formal organizations. A key assumption in Bass' approach is that leaders can be both transformative and transactional, with each type of leadership being best suited to different organizational circumstances: transactional for maintaining organizational equilibrium, transformative for promoting change and innovation. Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge (1996, p. 787) refer to this approach as Bass' two-factor theory of leadership.

In earlier work Bass (1985) conceptualized leadership in terms of three central constructs: charisma, individualized consideration and intellectual stimulation. A charismatic leader defined as one who communicates a vision. Individual consideration refers to the personal attention given to followers, while intellectual stimulation emphasizes rationality in solving problems.

More recent formulations by Bass and Avolio (1994) identify seven leadership dimensions, three being definitive of transactional and four of transformative leadership. The transactional dimensions are: (1) contingent reward, which has to do with giving recognition and other rewards when justified; (2) management by exception, where the leader only intervenes in organizational operations to deal with exceptional developments; and (3) laissez-faire or ‘hands-off’ management, which is the reverse of the management by exception coin, with leaders presiding or watching over routine operations, thus allowing others to get on with their work. In the Bass formulation, such transactional behaviours are seen as appropriate ways of attending to fundamental needs of organizational members during periods of stability. The four transformational dimensions are: (1) idealized influence or charisma, which is primarily concerned with developing and promoting a new vision and modeling associated behaviours and ideals; (2) inspirational motivation, whereby the actions of the leaders induce followers to follow in their footsteps; (3) intellectual stimulation, which refers to the situation in which “leaders stimulate their followers’ efforts to be innovative and creative by questioning” (p. 3); and (4) individual consideration, where leaders provide personalized encouragement and support to their staff. These four transformative dimensions or factors are at times referred to as the “four i’s”. Bass’ Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) incorporates sets of questions intended to elicit respondents’ estimates of the degree to which designated individuals display behaviours considered indicative of the three transactional and four transformational dimensions. In order to investigate relationships between responses and leader “performance,” the MLQ includes

two questions inquiring about respondents' satisfaction with the leadership provided by the person being rated, and four questions probing respondents' perceptions of his or her effectiveness.

The study by Salins (1992) which was summarized in the previous section provides a representative example of research investigating principal leadership through the Bass model. Other recent studies using the Bass MLQ to inquire into the degree to which principals were perceived as exhibiting Bass' leader behaviours include those by Helm (1985), Hoover (1987), Kirby, King and Paradise (1992), and Smith (1989).

Bass' model has also had a strong indirect influence on the educational administration literature through studies conducted in organizations other than schools. A recently published study by Bass and Avolio (1996) provides a convenient example of such research. In an attempt to investigate gender differences in 'transformational leadership,' 219 female and 658 male employees described their supervisor using the MLQ, 150 of the supervisors being male and 79 female. Note that no justification was given for accepting supervisors as potential leaders, despite the ready accommodation of such a bureaucratic office within Table 2. Still, Bass and Avolio concluded that "women leaders were rated by both their female and male direct reports as displaying certain key aspects of transformational leadership more frequently than men" (p. 5). This may be explained, they suggest, by the fact that women tend to be more nurturing.

Leithwood

Leithwood and his associates have been by far the most prolific contributors to the literature on transformational leadership in educational administration. He appears as the

most frequent author or co-author of the sources listed in the Appendix, and his work was cited more than any other contributor in the other sources identified in my literature search. Some of the earlier work from the Leithwood group drew heavily on Bass' initial Multifactor model, but more recently Leithwood has been developing a refined interpretation of transformational leadership which he believes is better suited to educational organizations and the principalship in particular. Because of this, the account of Leithwood's contribution offered below concentrates on a recently published "state-of-the-art" review by Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge (1996) which appears as a chapter in the International handbook of educational administration and leadership entitled "Transformational school leadership." This essay describes and draws conclusions from their own structured review of published and unpublished research on this topic. There is a substantial overlap between the sources located in their search and those listed in Appendix, but there are differences, especially with regard to the unpublished studies to which they had access.

Leithwood, Tomlinson, and Genge (1996, p. 785) begin their review with an explanation of how they define transformational leadership. Accordingly, we are told they are not using the "loose" dictionary definition of Webster (1971), which embodies the "common-sense, non-technical meaning" of bringing about a complete change. They cite James MacGregor Burns as the precursor of the technical redefinition of transformational leadership with which they are concerned. They provide a serviceable and accurate definition of Burns' notion of transactional leadership, and then explain that "transformational leadership entails not only a change in the purposes and resources of

those involved in the leader-follow relationship, but an elevation of both -- a change for the [morally] better” (p. 786). This is followed by a quotation from Burns on how “transforming leadership ultimately becomes moral in that it raises the level of human conduct and aspiration of both leader and led” (p. 786 [Burns, 1978, p. 20]) No mention is made, however, of the centrality of Burns’ end-values in this process.

They go on to explain that while Burns’ “seminal work provided a solid conceptual footing on which to build the distinction between transactional and transformational types of leadership ... [and] ... also illustrated the meaning of these forms of leadership in many different contexts, ... [it did not provide] ... a testable model of leadership practices or any empirical evidence of their effects” (pp. 786--7). They outline how Bass’ work has helped fill this gap, and then describe how they conducted their review of “published and unpublished research on transformational leadership in elementary and secondary school organizations” (p. 780). Their search identified a total of 34 studies, 22 of which were “largely concerned with the leadership of school principals” (p. 790). Nine of these studies were conducted by Leithwood and his colleagues, all of which investigated the leadership practices and effects of principals.

All 34 studies were examined to identify the “dimensions of leadership” investigated and their reported relationships and effects. This review was guided in part by the leadership dimensions included in Bass’ model, supplemented by those identified by Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman and Fetter’s (1990), who Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge consider to have “offered arguably the most comprehensive set of transformational leadership dimensions available to that point” (p. 788). The Burns/Podsakoff et al.

dimensions used by Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge to organize their review were reported as being

identifying and articulating a vision; fostering the acceptance of group goals; providing an appropriate model; high performance expectations; providing individual support; providing intellectual stimulation; contingent reward; and management-by-exception. (p. 788)

During the course of their review they added two additional leadership dimensions which emerged as being potentially pertinent to school leadership, these being identified as “culture building” and “structuring.”

Table 4 summarizes the dimensions considered by Leithwood, Tomlinson & Genge, and the conclusions they reached regarding how each contributes to transformational leadership. The second column quotes their operational definitions for each of the dimensions, many of which were taken from Podsakoff et al. The third column shows the number of studies in the review that considered each dimension. The final two columns report Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge’s conclusions regarding whether the dimension concerned appears to contribute to transformational or transactional leadership, and their assessment of the strength of the evidence supporting this conclusion. As shown in the Table, they concluded that only Management-by-exception cannot be accepted as contributing to transformative leadership, although they note that the evidence for the contribution of some of the other dimensions remains weak or uncertain. Their acceptance of Contingent Reward as a transformational dimension is contrary to Bass’ model, which treats such behaviours as part of transactional leadership.

With the exception of the definition of Management-by-exception, which is only defined in passing with reference to Bass' work (p. 814), one of the striking aspects of the formal definitions quoted in Table 4 is the emphasis placed on behaviour. This emphasis is further developed by Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge in their discussions of the research findings associated with each leadership dimension where they specify constituent behaviours for each dimension. In the case of Intellectual Stimulation, for example, they identify four constituent "strategies" which are considered to be adopted by transformational leaders, each strategy embodying a set of discrete behaviours. These four strategies are described as (1) changing school norms that might constrain staff thinking, (2) challenging the status quo, (3) encouraging new initiatives and (4) bringing colleagues into contact with new ideas (pp. 808-9). Four specific behaviours are specified for the changing school norms strategy, these being (1a) removing penalties for making mistakes, (1b) embracing and sometimes generating conflict as a way of clarifying alternative courses of action, (1c) requiring colleagues to support opinions with good reasons, and (1d) insisting on careful thought before action. Of these, 1b appears to directly embody aspects of Burns' discussions of leadership activities, but the essence of such behaviour would seem to be better (or at least just as well) accommodated by his discussions of transactional rather than transforming leadership. There is no explicit recognition of engaging others in ideologically informed matters of principle, for example. Similar observations can be made for many of the discrete behaviours identified by Leithwood, Tomlinson, and Genge as characteristic of transformational leadership.

This is particularly so in their discussion of what is called the Charisma / Inspiration / Vision dimension in Table 4. As noted in the Table, they do not provide an operational definition of this dimension. They explain that while other analyses typically focus on one or two of the three component elements in their dimension, there is considerable overlap in the way they are treated in the theoretical literature and in the pertinent empirical evidence. They nonetheless list 14 specific behaviours as contributing to this composite dimension. One of these is

assisting staff in understanding the larger social mission of which their vision of the school is a part, a social mission which may include such important end values as equality, justice and integrity. (p. 803, emphasis added)

This is as close as their discussion ever comes to recognizing the centrality of Burns' end-values in his conception of transformative leadership. But for Burns, of course, there would be no "may" involved, for if the goals embedded in the vision did not include his end-values, then the leadership being exercised would not be transformational. Nor is integrity counted among Burns' end-values, this being one of the modal values that he identifies as important in transactional leadership.

They summarize their main conclusions regarding the nature of transformational leadership as follows:

[1]. The specific leadership dimensions most consistently explaining all transformational effects are charisma/vision/inspiration, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration. Less consistent in their effects, but still important are modeling and holding high performance expectations. [emphasis added]

[2]. The relatively little studied dimensions of culture building and structuring show promising effects but results, as yet, are extremely sparse.

[3] Management-by-exception (active or passive) typically has negative effects, whatever outcome is measured. (p. 829, index numbers added)

The “transformational effects” emphasized in the first of these conclusions are of particular interest, given the distinction made by Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge in their introduction between the “common-place, non-technical” definition of transforming and the theoretical meaning of the term as represented in Burns’ theory. As summarized in their Table 3 (p. 821), most of the effects of leader behaviours that were investigated in the studies reviewed had to do with improved organizational effectiveness or changes in school climate, both of which appear to be associated with successful reforms or innovations, as in the “commonplace” meaning of the term “transform”. Eleven of the studies reviewed examined the effects of leadership behaviour on “followers’ psychological states,” but no report is given on whether or not followers experienced or reported any kind of morally elevating effect, and thus it seems reasonable to conclude that this was not investigated in the research surveyed. Nor were any such effects addressed in the conclusions offered by Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge. As explained in their commentary, the psychological states of followers that were investigated in the studies reviewed included “processes identified in the social-psychological literature as giving rise to teachers’ commitment to change,” and “respondents’ loyalty and attachment to an organization, their agreement with its purposes and values, and their willingness to expend extra effort” (p. 824). Again, it would appear that the main concerns in

investigating such effects have to do with organizational change and loyalty, rather than moral enlightenment or elevation. As should be apparent, such dispositions would likely be seen as worthy of encouragement by tyrants as well as leaders, transformational or not.

Two final points of note arising from Leithwood's work merit attention. As Leithwood (1993) put the first point in a previous article, "organizational type is an under-looked at and confounding variable in much transformational leadership research" (p. 37). His main concern here is that differences between schools and other contemporary organizations may make generic models of leadership such as that proposed by Bass less applicable. One of the important differences between schools and industrial and commercial organizations is the professional or semiprofessional status of teachers, which contributes to the second point, which is Leithwood's concern with empowering teachers and creating collaborative cultures in schools. Many of his concerns in this regard are reflected in Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge's discussions of the Culture Building and Structuring dimensions as defined in Table 4. Elsewhere, Leithwood and Jantzi (1990) observed that successful school restructuring requires "the empowerment of teachers" (p. 249) and the development of "collaborative" school cultures, both of which they argue are characteristics associated with principals who are transformational leaders. They based these conclusions on their study of six such principals who, they claim, demonstrated transformative leadership in the ways they strengthened the school's culture; used a variety of bureaucratic mechanisms to stimulate and reinforce cultural change; fostered staff development; engaged in direct and frequent communication about

cultural norms, values and beliefs; shared power and responsibility with others; and used symbols to express cultural values (p. 269).

SUMMARY

The numerous references to transformational leadership in the recent educational administration literature show its importance and impact on contemporary educational thinking. As reviewed in this chapter, a good deal of this literature is concerned with elaborating definitions and distinctions proposed by theorists external to educational administration, such as Burns and Bass. Nearly all contributors acknowledge that the term transformational leadership originates from James MacGregor Burns' (1978) work. Even so, most of the discussions of transformational leadership located in my search of the literature adopt and/or promote definitions and understandings that are not fully compatible with Burns' original account, some being quite different. This is particularly so in the case of research studies of transformational leadership in the principalship, where inquiry is dominated by the behaviourally referenced models developed by Bass and Leithwood.

The contemporary educational administration literature on transformational leadership also appears to lack a body of analytical criticism. Most contributors see the application of transformational leadership to the principalship as being non-problematic; indeed, desirable. With the exception of essays by Gronn and Hunt (Hoy & Miskel, 1996), critiques are generally sparse, light, and superficial.

In the next and final chapter, I build on these initial observations to present my conclusions regarding the applicability of transformational leadership to the school principalship.

TABLE 4
DIMENSIONS OF TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN THE LEITHWOOD, TOMLINSON & GENGE REVIEW

Dimension	Definition	Studies¹	Contributes to:	Evidence
Charisma / Inspiration/ Vision	Not defined (see text)	14 (2/12)	Transformational	Strong
Intellectual Stimulation	behaviour that challenges followers to to re-examine their work and to rethink how it can be performed	14 (13/0)	Transformational	Strong
Individual Consideration	behaviour indicating the leader respects followers and is concerned about their personal feelings and needs	14 (12/2)	Transformational	Strong
Contingent Reward	behaviour that is seen as frequently telling subordinates what to do to achieve a desired reward for their efforts	10 (10/0)	Transformational	Strong
Management by Exception	attending to an aspect of the organization only when something exceptional or unusual occurs	9 (9/0)	Transactional	Strong
High Performance Expectations	behaviour that demonstrates the leader's expectations for excellence, quality, and/or high performance on the part of followers	4 (4/0)	Transformational	Unclear
Goal consensus	behaviour aimed at promoting cooperation among employees and getting them to work together toward a common goal	5 (4/1)	Transformational	Unclear
Modelling	behaviour that sets an example for employees to follow that is consistent with values espoused by the leader	4 (4/0)	Transformational	Unclear
Culture Building	behaviours aimed at developing school norms, values, beliefs and assumptions that are student-centered and support continuing professional growth by teachers	4 (1/3)	Transformational in schools	Weak but promising in schools
Structuring	behaviours aimed at providing opportunities for members of the school organization to participate in decision-making about issues which affect them and to which their knowledge is crucial	2 (0/2)	Transformational in schools	Weak but promising in schools

¹ The first number indicates the total number of studies considered. The first digit in parentheses indicates the number of quantitative studies, the second number the number of qualitative studies, i.e. Total (quantitative/qualitative). No explanation was given for the incommensurable numbers for Intellectual Stimulation.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter draws together the main differences between Burns' theory of transformative leadership and the images of transformational leadership found in the literature of educational administration, and then reflects on the applicability of these various interpretations of leadership to the school principalship. As foreshadowed in the previous chapter, my main conclusion is that what is presented as transformational leadership in the educational administration literature is not congruent with Burns' conception of transforming leadership. Whether or not Burns' theory could be sensibly applied to the school principalship is thus an open, largely unexplored, question, dependent, in part, on the tenability of the theory itself. The second section of this chapter offers my observations and conclusions on this central question. Implications for theory development, future research, and practice in educational administration are presented in the final section.

CONCEPTIONS OF TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Review of the problem

The major problem pursued in this thesis was to appraise the congruence between Burns' theory of leadership and the ways in which transformational leadership is presented in the literature of educational administration. More specifically, I have sought to examine the degree of agreement between Burns' theory of transforming leadership

and treatments of transformation leadership in recent literature with a view to assessing whether or not Burns' theory is applicable to the school principalship.

Development of the thesis

I began by reviewing Burns' career, interests and earlier work, noting his acknowledged accomplishments as a political scientist and historian together with his long interest in leadership. This was followed by an overview of Leadership and some initial reviews of the book. Burns' academic interests and practical experiences appear to provide a more than adequate background for an insightful analysis of leadership. Furthermore, from reading the numerous reviewers of Burns' work, one would be led to believe that he is well regarded by his peers as a student of leadership; his expertise in this area is clearly widely acknowledged.

Chapter 3 offered an analysis of his treatment of leadership, concentrating on his distinctions between "mere power wielding," and his two main types of leadership, transactional and transforming, with specific attention to his treatment of power, conflict, [real] needs and [right] values. Chapter 4 reviewed his accounts of various forms of transforming and transactional leadership, which were summarized in Tables 1 and 2. Key distinctions and differences between power wielding and his two types of leadership were then summarized in Table 3, and Burns' own summary comments were presented. The chapter concluded with an initial assessment of the applicability of Burns' theory to the school principalship which noted that the bureaucratic nature of the role in modern state school systems imposed structural and theoretical limitations on the exercise of transforming leadership as presented by Burns. Two specific applications of his theory

were drawn out: first, that the role of principal appeared to provide opportunities for incumbents to act as effective transactional leaders, as opposed to officious power-wielders, and second, that it also could provide opportunities for the accomplishment of what Burns called complete leadership acts, that is localized and limited instances of transforming leadership.

Chapter 5 considered how transformational leadership has been presented and treated in the literature of educational administration, drawing on a review of sources located through a search of the ERIC database and influential journals. While it became evident that almost all contributors to the literature cited Burns as the progenitor of the construct of transformational leadership, I have argued that most presented accounts that *differed in crucial* respects from his theory. This was most evident with regard to the role of conflict, choice and values. While a few contributors (e.g. Leithwood & Sergiovanni) accurately reflected the centrality of conflict and formally free choice in Burns' theory, most ignored these elements. Similarly, while contributors commented on the moral aspects of Burns' approach, only a relative few addressed the centrality of his *end-values* to transformational leadership, hardly any specifically noticing Burns' trinity *end-values* of liberty, justice and equality. In consequence, I have argued that little fidelity was found between the images of transformational leadership conveyed through the educational administration literature and that promoted by Burns. To a degree, this was illustrated by the varying definitions of transformational leadership presented in the literature reviewed, many of which disagreed with each other as well as failing to accurately represent Burns' understanding.

Operational models

One point of conceptual convergence did emerge from the various interpretations found in the literature, this being the influential models of transforming leadership promoted through the work of Bass and Leithwood and their associates. As discussed in chapter 5, the detailed models advanced by Bass and Leithwood differ in various respects, but they both share common points of contrast to Burns' treatment. In both cases these scholars present "operational models" which rest on "behaviourally" referenced "dimensions" of leadership. The shared rationale behind these models is a desire to measure the degree to which an individual's actions appear to match the "behaviours" specified in the model, thus allowing them to be designated as transformational leaders or not. The behavioural dimensions accepted as defining transformational leadership in a recent and thorough review by Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge (1996) were summarized in Table 4. Differences between the specifics of these dimensions and those recognized in Bass' model or versions proposed by others are less important for my purposes in this thesis than the basal differences between these various operational models and Burns' theoretical approach. For the balance of the thesis I will thus distinguish between the broad conception of transformational leadership embedded in these various models as the "operational model," as contrasted with "Burns' theory".

Old and new leadership paradigms

Another feature of the literature that emerged from my review was the general lack of critical assessment of the various notions of leadership advanced. There were several

exceptions to this, most notably an essay by Gronn (1996). Although entitled “From transactions to transformations,” Gronn’s article does not concentrate on either Burns’ theory or the operational model, but casts a wider conceptual net encompassing the broader development of leadership theory in recent decades. As his point of departure, he noted that “for reasons that are not entirely clear ... the 1970s marked a sea-change in the study of leadership” (p. 8). After briefly noting some indicative studies, he goes on to explain that

Among the more ardent proponents of a new paradigm in leadership the most popular way of typifying the transition has been to contrast a new version of leading which accomplishes leadership outcomes (or transformations) with an older variety focusing on the mechanics of leadership processes, or transactions. (p. 8, emphasis in original)

This distinction between outcomes and processes offers a means of interpreting the differences between Burns’ theoretical approach and the operational model which is so prominent in the literature of educational administration and other practical fields. The operational model would appear to be rooted in, justified by, and dedicated toward the successful implementation of change in organizations: the objective is to develop a normative model of administrative / executive action that will produce reliable achievement of intended outcomes--hence “transformational” (as in transformed) leadership. Proponents (such as Bass and Leithwood) see this as a “new” approach insofar as the ideas, models and theories which it seeks to replace concentrated on how to “be” an effective administrator / executive / leader by attending to the processes thought

to underlie efficient and effective organizational operations (planning, budgeting, communicating and so forth).

On this view, any overlap between the operational model of transforming leadership and Burns' theory would seem to be, at best, accidental and, at worst, dysfunctional. As discussed in chapter 3, while Burns insists that achievement of intended ends constitutes a definitional requirement for leadership, the nature of the changes pursued is decisive. If the changes do not have a morally elevating effect on followers, ideally by promoting, in some applicable way, one or more of his end-values of liberty, equality or justice, then the leadership exercised cannot qualify as transforming. Nor, of course, would the realized change automatically qualify as an instance of transactional leadership, because for Burns this does not constitute a kind of residual category as appears to be the case in the operational model. In Burns' theory, power wielders and tyrants can also effect organizational and social change, as convincingly illustrated by Burns' arch non-leader, Hitler. On this analysis, the words "transformational" and "transforming" in the operational model and Burns' work do not share enough semantic or theoretical ground. So too with the term transactional. Proponents of Gronn's "new paradigm" typically represent transactional leadership as representative of the "old school" and thus inherently less desirable and theoretically effective than their operationally-modeled form of transformative leadership. Yet, as illustrated in chapter 4 and summarized in Table 1, Burns endows his notion of transactional leadership with a much greater importance, seeing it as central and indispensable to the everyday operation of legislatures, bureaucracies, political parties and other kinds of social systems.

Concluding comment on congruence

With reference to my guiding major problem, I thus conclude that there is little congruence between Burns' original theory of transformational leadership and the accounts of transformational leadership in the recent educational administration literature. This literature does not accurately represent or apply Burns' broad theory of leadership, but presents various conceptions of what is called transformational leadership, the most dominant of which builds on and promotes a normative model of leadership behaviours which seems to ignore ultimately the moral implications of the changes which it seeks to promote. Given the centrality of Leithwood's contribution to the development and popularization of this operational model, it is ironic that the Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge review, as summarized in the preceding chapter, should have begun by drawing a distinction between the commonplace, dictionary, meaning of transform, and the technical meaning claimed to be represented in their understanding of transformational leadership. As became apparent as their review proceeded, the studies they reviewed, as well as the model they developed, embodied a "technical" meaning which was ultimately indistinguishable from the commonplace meaning of transform, resting, as it did, on the realization of "outcomes," rather than [real] moral elevation. A related irony permeates what would appear to be the uninformed homage that many contributors to the literature pay to the moral content of Burns' theory. As again exemplified in the Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge review where they explain how the vision promoted by a transformational leader "*may include* such important end values as equality, justice and

integrity” (p. 803), thus missing the indispensable centrality of Burns’ end values in his theory (and getting them wrong too), most accounts which purport to include Burns’ treatment of morality and values fail to grasp the essence of his argument.

APPLICATION TO THE PRINCIPALSHIP

What emerges as lack of serious, accurate, and sustained attention to Burns’ theory of leadership in the literature of educational administration does not, of course, automatically invalidate the applicability of his theories to the principalship, which remains an open question. I take up this question in the final part of this concluding section, concentrating on these problematic aspects of Burns’ theory which threaten its tenability. First, however, some additional attention must be given to the alternate conceptions of transformational leadership found in the literature review, especially the operational model presented in the Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge review. Unlike Burns’ theory, these other notions of transformational leadership were developed to apply explicitly to educational administration, and more often than not the principalship. Thus, even though these alternate models claim to build on Burns’ work to varying degrees and in various ways, their lack of fidelity to Burns’ theory cannot be assumed to invalidate their potential relevance to the principalship. Given the broad lack of agreement between the various definitions and images of transformational leadership found in the literature, this section concentrates on first considering the applicability of the operational model to the principalship, and then, the applicability of a set of practices that are frequently associated with transformation leadership in the literature.

The operational model

The operational models developed by Bass and Leithwood and exemplified by the version summarized in Table 4 were developed to embody behaviours that are thought to successfully promote *any* organizational change. Insofar as they do this reliably and insofar as principals are expected and required to promote change in their schools, then such models could be taken as providing technically adequate guides for how principals might behave and, by extension, as templates for developing training programs, assessment activities, and selection standards. Yet, even if the models were found to be highly reliable and there were broad agreement that schools should be constantly changing, there would seem to be many potentially important aspects of the work and responsibilities of principals that are not included in the models. The operational definitions of the dimensions for which strong evidence is reported in Table 4, for example, lack any explicitly educative content, all being phrased as if to reflect generic administrative behaviours. In the research reviewed by Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge and other pertinent studies included in the Appendix, knowledge about and actions involving specialized educative matters such as curriculum, pedagogy and state and local policies are typically assumed to be important attributes subsumed within the various dimensions, but they are not explicitly recognized in the model as such. Further, the prime focus appears to be on the putative leader's immediate subordinates, which would be teachers and other staff in the case of principals, and it is the perceptions of such people that are, indeed, solicited in empirical studies of schools that adopt this model. But what about a principal's actions and attitudes toward other members of the school

community, and the extended bureaucracy: toward students and parents, trustees and superordinates? In these and related ways, the dimensions and specific behaviours that comprise operational models of transformational leadership can be judged wanting.

Be that as it may, the research reviewed by Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge (1996) revealed weaknesses in the technical adequacy of operational models of transformational leadership. These weaknesses do not relate specifically to the dimensions summarized in Table 4, as these represent Leithwood Tomlinson and Genge's synthesis of various dimensions investigated in the research they reviewed. Yet, as shown in the Table they concluded that there was strong evidence for only four of the ten dimensions listed contributing to transformational leadership (as defined in this model). Moreover, the strength of this evidence appears weaker than might be assumed. Details are confused as a result of different empirical studies using different questionnaire items. Nevertheless, of 51 relationships between operational measures of hypothesized aspects of transformational leadership and changes in organizational effectiveness reported by Leithwood, Tomlinson and Genge, 16 were negative or failed to reach statistical significance.

In short, there is considerably less consensus about appropriate constituent elements of the operational model than implied by the summary given in Table 4. Partly as a consequence of this, but primarily as a result of limitations in available research, the model must be judged as falling far short of acceptable reliability: principal behaviour that adheres to any version of the model will not likely result in intended changes to a

school. This prompted Leithwood, Tomlinson, and Genge to conclude their review as follows:

While the claim that ‘leadership’ is a critical variable in school improvement is evident, claims about the forms such leadership ought to take are weak, many based on no empirical evidence at all. (Emphasis added, p. 834)

Yet, even if greater robustness could be claimed for the operational model, is it reasonable to want principals to be constantly engaged in promoting change? From the perspective of contemporary notions of school improvement, this would indeed seem to be the expectation. There is, nonetheless, much to be said for stability, especially in an enterprise such as educating the young. But perhaps the most worrisome aspect of the cult of change and the assumed role of the operational model of transformational leadership in the authorization of efficiency celebration is the apparent absence of any means for assessing whether or not the changes to be implemented are worthwhile. This brings us back to Burns’ concern with the purposes of intended changes, and the overriding questions of what and whose values are being served.

Gronn (1996) offered some insightful observations on these concerns under the heading of “Leadership in the new educational dispensation.” He explicitly linked the emergence and promotion of the normative prescriptions embedded in operational models of transformational leadership to “the emergence of a wider enterprise culture in education (and other public policy sectors) as part of the ‘new managerialism’” (p. 19). He identified the two main doctrines in this movement as the removal of differences between public and private sectors in the delivery and control of services, and a shift in

accountability standards from adherence to procedures to the achievement of results.

These doctrines are manifest in transactional educational restructuring which has seen the devolution of greater managerial control to individual schools, on one hand, and recentralization to the state level of curriculum, base funding, and evaluation, on the other. Such developments would seem to create a fertile environment for conceptions of the principalship based in the operational model of transformational leadership. Not only does such a model appear to promise a way of promoting school level changes that will enhance effectiveness while differentiating one school from another in the new “market,” it also somewhat paradoxically conditions principals to accept and unquestioningly implement any system-level changes ordered by central controllers. If this appreciation is tenable, then the moral hollowness of the operational model is revealed, for it would seem to be the end-values of market competitiveness, on one hand, and subservient obedience, on the other, that are being served, neither of which have any obvious connection to Burns’ trinity values. Moreover, it is not unreasonable to suspect that many principals and their staffs caught-up in this process may remain unaware of this broader interpretation, and thus could be seen as unwitting accomplices, a situation which Burns would probably judge as tyrannical.

The applicability of more diffuse ideals

The disturbing conclusions reached above can be tempered by what could be termed a “softer” image of transformational leadership transmitted through the educational administration literature. Elements of this image were championed by Hallinger in the article that originally prompted this study, are reiterated and extended through some of

Leithwood's work, and were by promoted other contributors listed in the Appendix, including Bass, Mitchell and Tucker, and Sergiovvani. Constituent elements in this image cluster around fostering increased collegiality and involvement among professional staff, particularly through participative decision making and goal setting which are seen as promoting empowerment, and through involving other stakeholders in the school, especially parents and other community members. Such activities could theoretically qualify as complete leadership acts within Burns' theory only if the understood intent was to elevate participants to his higher moral levels. As noted earlier, however, this kind of a justification was hardly ever encountered in the literature reviewed. More typically, the recommended ideals and practices were justified on grounds of school improvement, by hazy reference to research results, or simply by an implicit or explicit claim that 'this is the way modern, enlightened principals act'.

Thus, while it is often presented as such in the literature, the practices promoted through this image cannot qualify as transformational leadership as promoted either through the operational model or Burns' theory. It is another kind of leadership, perhaps best called empowerment or collaborative leadership. As such there would seem to be no compelling reasons, so far, for questioning the broad and contingent applicability of this softer image to the principalship. Indeed, in its general form this is already the kind of administrative style that is promoted through many textbooks and training courses. But while there may be no evident reasons to question the applicability of this "apple-pie" image to the principalship, it would seem important to ensure that it is not represented as constituting transforming, or for that matter, transactional leadership. As the early

quotation from Leithwood, Tomlinson, and Genge made clear, there are no solid research grounds for accepting the technical adequacy of operational models of transformational or transactional leadership, and thus it would be misleading and potentially dangerous for advocates to claim or imply that this softer cousin provides a reliable recipe for promoting desired changes. And in the absence of any shared understanding between the leader and the led that they are engaged in the pursuit of some manifestation of Burns' end values, this administrative style also fails to meet Burns' requirements.

The applicability of Burns' theory

The literature review presented in chapter 5 provided no persuasive grounds to substantially alter the initial assessment of the applicability of Burns' theory to the principalship offered toward the end of chapter 4. As currently constituted in modern systems of state schooling, the principalship is an essentially bureaucratic office, with the formal authority of incumbents deriving from legislation. This obviously does not preclude the augmentation of principals' power bases through various ways and means, but, within Burns' analysis, it seems reasonable to expect principals to rely on transactional forms of leadership as well as direct power-wielding to both achieve desired ends and extend their power base. This does not rule-out what would appear to be a strong potential for principals to exercise transformational leadership through what Burns calls complete leadership acts. Indeed, it would seem that the principalship could well provide many opportunities for CLAs if an incumbent was sensitive to appropriate opportunities and not overly limited or precluded by official policy. Appropriate opportunities would be situations that allowed principals to engage one or more others in

a *morally elevating* process that resulted in a change intended to realize or enhance one or more of Burns' end-values of equality, liberty or justice. The crucial question for Burns, it seems, would be whether the participants held or developed a shared understanding of the moral import of the activity.

The chief question that arises at this point concerns the overall tenability of Burns' theory. Does he offer sufficiently convincing arguments to provisionally accept his account of leadership, and the form and nature of his transformational type? If we were to judge his theory as suspect, then the question of applicability to the principalship, or any other social role, do not arise. Given the size and richness of Burns' exposition of his theory, a thorough exploration of this question is clearly beyond the scope of this thesis and probably a score of others. Several potentially telling points have, nonetheless, arisen in previous chapters which deserve notice here. I also add several other previously unexpressed concerns that I have formed while writing the thesis.

Style. Burns began Leadership by claiming that there is a "crisis of leadership today" Nonetheless, he offered little or no foundation for this claim. It appears to be a cliché placed there for the sake of inflating the supposed importance of his message. Leadership is not obviously more in crisis today than it was before, or will likely ever be for that matter. On the contrary, today we see theories of leadership evolving with the world around them; as our knowledge increases, so does our understanding. Moreover, it is difficult to see how power holders are worse today than they were. How could we know or judge this, given that social contexts develop and change with time? Burns makes generous use of other sweeping statements which sound more like clichés than considered

comments. For example, he states that "leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth" (p. 2); he refers to power as "the most badly understood and the most superficially treated subject in political science" (p. 5). Are both leadership and power the least understood concepts? These are essentially matters of style, but the overall effect can encourage a certain suspicion when encountering more substantive claims, such as his attempt to justify the universality of his trinity values.

Ambiguities. Part III of Leadership is dedicated to illustrating and extending Burns' theory through discussion of various types and forms of transformational leadership, as summarized in Table 1. But rather than consolidating the construct of transformational leadership, these chapters reveal ambiguities. The reader is led to believe that Part III is devoted entirely to transforming leadership when, in fact, it is not. We learn that Heroic leadership is not a true leadership form because it does not share common purposes with the led, for one thing. Intellectual leadership has the potential of becoming transforming, if the philosophy presented by the leader is accepted by the masses, and meets Burns' values test. Reform leadership is described as transforming "in spirit and posture," but it is transactional in "process and results." This leaves Revolutionary and Ideological leadership as the only "pure" forms of transformational leadership, it seems. Moreover, Burns warns that "true" Revolutionary and Ideological leaders are very rare. This would seem to imply, therefore, that "true" transformational leadership is also a rarity, thus potentially invalidating its analytical potential.

Great people and commoners. Additional confusion stems from Burns' limited attempts to extend his theory to everyday circumstances. His brief account of complete

leadership acts, however, implies that transformational leadership is a commonplace, everyday phenomenon, manifest in morally uplifting acts performed by people in all walks of life. Burns also sketches ways in which followers can actively participate in a transformational leadership process, and become inspired to engage in supportive leadership activities. These discussions are nonetheless peripheral to Burns' preoccupation with the leadership activities of great historical personages. Just as he portrays his "titans" as dominating crucial historical events, these titans and similar luminaries dominate his examples and discussions of leadership. Consequently, the integrity of Burns' theoretical account is threatened by all of the faults of other "Great Men" accounts of leadership: the anecdotal "evidence" derives from exceptional people in unusual circumstances, and it is difficult to discern where accurate descriptions end and propaganda begins.

Tyrants and despots. Burns' distinction between leaders and tyrants presents other difficult problems, as does his practice of lumping tyrants into the same category as "mere power wielders". There are obviously deep social and moral differences between officious bureaucrats and tyrannical rulers. Burns also seems to want to distinguish between benevolent dictators and tyrants, using the nature of the end-values being pursued as his test. A tyrant, according to Burns, is dedicated to unacceptable values, while another equally dominant power holder, pursuing ends with which Burns sympathizes, is not a tyrant. For Burns, then, the ends appear to justify the means, but only in the case in which the ends are to Burns' liking. As an example of this, Burns recognizes Mao as a leader and not Hitler because Burns does not agree with Hitler's

ends. Therefore, for Burns the ends justify the means, providing that Burns finds the ends acceptable.

Programmatic definitions. Some of the ambiguities and apparent double standards on Burns' analysis would appear to be attributable to a shift in his mode of argument in the final part of the book. Israel Scheffler (1960) offered some pertinent observations in his "Definitions in Education". Scheffler directs our attention to three types of definitions, stipulative, descriptive, and programmatic. The stipulative definition is divided into two further sub-categories, the non-inventive stipulative definition, which pertains to "laying down conventions for the interpretation of terms within certain contexts" (Scheffler, 1960, p. 14), and the inventive stipulative definition, where terms such as "arbitrary letters" are used to mean something which had "no accepted usage prior to their introduction" (p. 13). Scheffler writes that the descriptive definition "may also serve to embody conventions governing discussions, but they always purport, in addition, to explain the defined terms by giving an account of their prior usage" (1960, p.15, emphasis added). Finally, the programmatic definition refers to its "practical role" in that it "is acting as an expression of a practical program" (p.19). This is exactly what Burns appears to be doing in his final chapters, using a programmatic definition without adequately warning readers that he is departing from the standard English definition for the term at hand, in this case transformational in the sense of substantial changes, rather than his programmatic meaning of morally elevating. Thus, while, as noted above in chapter 3, Burns offered initial stipulative definitions of leadership and transformational leadership in the Prologue and Part I of his book, he shifted to altered programmatic

definitions in his final chapters without adequately warning readers that he was doing so. Burns should have informed readers that he was evolving non-standard meanings for his key terms of transforming and transformational, digressing from standard English usage to use these terms in a programmatic way. Failing to do this weakens the whole structure of his argument.

Weak evidence. Burns relies heavily on the stage theories of Maslow and Kohlberg to justify key elements in his theory, Maslow's hierarchy being recruited to underpin Burns' claim that leaders must respond to genuine [real] needs of followers and Kohlberg's theory of moral development to justify the superior status of [right] moral end-values such as justice, equality and liberty. Neither of these theories enjoys anything like the broad critical acceptance that Burns claims or assumes. Maslow's hierarchy of needs together with its crucial trigger device of pre potency has not fared well under the scrutiny of various researchers, as summarized in the review Wahba and Bridwell (1976). More importantly given the centrality of Burns' postconventional end-values, Kohlberg's theory but the work of others show that any neo-Kantian approach – of which Kohlberg's is one— is either totally inadequate or so seriously flawed that it can not be relied upon to provide a plausible view. As noted in chapter 2, Bruce Mazlish (1978) criticized Burns' use of Maslow's and Kohlberg's stage theories and Burns' use of Freudian psychology. He concluded that these concerns present only minor problems, but my analysis leads me to conclude that the problems are more serious than recognized by this earlier reviewer. Kohlberg's theory and the neo-Kantian approach is now widely viewed as having been shown to be either totally inadequate or so seriously flawed that they cannot be relied

upon to provide a plausible view. See the critical work of Gilligan (1982) and the deeper criticisms developed by Macintyre (1982), Margolis (1996), Rorty (1991), and Stout (1988).

Universal values. Burns tries to argue that his trinity of moral end-values of liberty, equality and justice are universal across human cultures. Perhaps the strongest case made to date for this claim is that attempted by Rawls (1993). However, Rawls has not managed to present what has become accepted as a convincing case. The whole question of the primacy of universal values is still at least an open question in the literature, yet Burns seems to assume that it is less open for debate than it really is. He gives his preferred, essentially liberalist values greater weight than he should. It certainly seems to be the case that Burns' own political values have coloured his discussions of revolutionary transformational leaders, for example, his favourable treatment of Mao. But, clearly, not all would share Burns' values.

Some values must dominate. John Rawls (1993) makes this point drawing on Isaiah Berlin:

As Berlin has long maintained there is no social world without loss: that is, no social world that does not exclude some ways of life that realize in special ways certain fundamental values. The nature of its culture and institutions proves too uncongenial. (1993, p. 197)

Who decides and how? Rawls writes that "any system of social institutions is limited in the values it can admit so that some selection must be made from the full range of moral and political values that might be realized" (p. 57). Burns argues that these crucial questions will be settled by transformational leaders engaging followers in a clarification

of needs which will result in the pursuit of his liberal end-values. But why should these prevail? He never gives an convincing answer.

Ethnocentrism in human experience. Whatever end-values do prevail during times of social change, others, together with their proponents and followers, must fail. By engaging followers in a *morally elevating* process, transformational leadership must, it seems, appeal to group uniqueness and its special moral purposes to engender a sense of moral self-confidence and superiority, a pride in group membership, and will do so at the expense other groups. At the extreme, the appeal is to overcome the forces of evil as exemplified in the opposition. History has many examples of followers rallied by fervent calls to confront and sometimes destroy other groups who represent despised ideologies or religions, whose members are painted as “irredeemably crazy, stupid, base, or sinful” (Rorty, 1991, p. 203). This ethnocentrism, despised by Western liberals and “connoisseurs of diversity” (Rorty, 1991, p. 207), is not only the domain of extremist ideologues, but I submit, of all leadership, and most particularly, leadership that seeks to transform, whether what is to be transformed is an organization, a society or the dominant values in either.

A central and defining feature of Burnsian transformational leadership is thus the promotion of values and moral imperatives claimed to be morally superior to alternatives. These values will be embedded in human culture, time, place, and circumstances. But even the belief in human equality must confront the realization that “most of the globe’s inhabitants simply do not believe in human equality, that such a belief is a Western eccentricity” (Rorty, 1991, p. 207). It is difficult to imagine a transformational leader

who maintains that all values are equally valid, and that the “outgroups” values are as good as or better than the ones that the leader is espousing. One could imagine that diversity could become an ideology itself, in which case the despised group would become the ethnocentrists, but the paradox in this position, as discussed by Rorty (1991), is that this too implicitly recognizes that some values are morally superior to others. In the context of leadership, I argue that inevitably a central theme of transformational leadership may be a kind of ideological ethnocentrism, an eloquent appeal to “higher values” which are shared by followers but exclude others.

If there are no universal values, then Burns betrays his own ideological and cultural biases by arbitrarily categorizing leaders as transformational and non-transformational in terms of his own liberal values. Thus, Mao was considered a transformational leader, but Hitler was not. He is silent on Attila the Hun. This is a serious flaw in Burns’ analysis, for surely one can distinguish between the behaviour of leaders and the causes that they espouse. If a transformational leader who promoted liberal causes began to promote an agenda with which Burns would disagree, would he or she become a tyrant? Or if Burns were to experience profound changes in his own values which led to the displacement of his capstone ideals of liberty, equality and justice, would his theory of transformational leadership change? Given the arguments of MacIntyre, Margolis, Rorty, and Stout and given Burns’ reliance on Kohlberg’s discredited theory, it would seem so. If this is the case, then Burns’ theory of transformational leadership collapses. It is not a plausible theoretical framework.

Summary

The weaknesses in Burns' account of his theory of transformational leadership that were noted in this last section provide grounds for seriously doubting its tenability. If Burns' theories are thus found unacceptable, then they can have no sensible application to the principalship, or any other organizational or social role that carries leadership expectations. The earlier discussion of what has been called the operational model of transformational leadership also concluded that, despite claims by supporters, it lacks both the completeness and the empirical reliability to serve as a normative guide for the practice of school leadership, and thus for the training, evaluation and selection of school principals. No persuasive reasons were noted for rejecting the applicability of the more diffuse collection of advocated ideals and actions such as collaborative goal setting, participatory decision making and empowerment, that are presented as 'transformational leadership' in some contributions to the literature. Even so, it appears that this set of dispositions, actions and ideals cannot properly qualify as either the Burnsian or an operational theory of transformational leadership.

IMPLICATIONS

For theory

Perhaps the most useful finding to emerge from this thesis is the identification of competing theories each of which claims to deal with transformational leadership. My analysis implies that, at best, all have weaknesses, and, at worst, none is tenable. As such there is a clear need for improved theories of leadership, and for refined, clarified

accounts of the ideas and claims embedded within both Burns' programmatic conception of transformational leadership and the various operational models. At the very least there is a pressing need for more representative labels to distinguish between what are, in essence, quite different theories. What have been termed operational models of transformational leadership could be more appropriately named theories of change management or, in the case of those specifically targeted at schools, such as the Leithwood variants, strategies for school restructuring. No obvious alternative name for Burns' theory presents itself, but given the need for review and refinement in the light of the potential weakness in his theory discussed earlier, then perhaps the best way forward would be to seek a modified account of moral leadership. Regardless, I suggest that the confusion associated with the term transformational leadership requires its abandonment, a development which should be further encouraged by the implicit tautology: does not standard usage imply that leadership will result in changes, even transformations? To think otherwise would be to tolerate oxymoronic notions such as "leadership for stability," or "leaders against change".

Yet, the superficial plausibility of these essentially nonsensical slogans points to a deeper theoretical confusion over the nature and meaning of leadership. In current usage, and especially in much of the literature in the Appendix, leadership has become virtually synonymous with management, administration and even, by implication, mere office-holding. Such conceptual devolution can only lead to further confusion, both at the level of theory and in practical affairs. This implies that we not only need to pursue sharper semantic distinctions between these terms, we also need better theories of administration

and management, as well as of leadership. There would also appear to be a pressing need for more rounded and better informed conceptions of the school principalship. To imply, as does much of the literature, that “being a (transformational) leader” represents all that needed to be a good principal is surely misleading, and potentially dangerous. Such a view also raises serious ontological issues. Can one be a principal, a leader, an administrator, a colleague all at the same time? Or must one change into such states in sequence, as is were? Burns’ notion of complete leadership acts may provide a promising way forward here by helping to reconceptualize leadership as a social process that involves people from time to time, rather than something which is orchestrated by leaders who are always leaders.

It would also appear that much work remains to be done in the realm of values, especially as they are formed, understood and justified in organizational settings by those holding important office. Burns’ attempt to justify the superiority of his preferred end-values failed with the “demise” of Kohlberg’s theory. {see again, MacIntyre (1984), Margolis (1996), and Stout (1988)}. But it is the case that politicians and officials (putative leaders) seek to establish the superiority of selected values, and perhaps some succeed in doing so. While Burns’ theory may lack the integrity to serve as a reliable explanation for this, his insight into the central importance of this process appears sound.

In seeking to better understand this process, much may be gained by building on Burns’ secondary forms of leadership, as listed in Tables 1 and 2. One of the surprising features of the literature examined while writing this thesis was the widespread neglect of these other types or forms of leadership. I suggest that this is an unfortunate oversight,

and that future attempts to build on and extend Burns' recognition and initial discussions of these forms of (or arenas for) leadership may yield useful dividends. This may especially be the case with his Reform, Ideological, Opinion, Group, and Executive leadership.

For research

As discussed by Bass (1985), Leithwood (1994), Gronn (1996) and others, there has been considerably more social science research into the mysteries of leadership than might be thought by readers of Burns' Leadership. But as documented by these reviewers and exemplified by the weak empirical support generated for the operational model of transformational leadership, the data and conclusions generated have done little to build more reliable and richer understandings. I suspect it would be unreasonable to expect this to change in the near future. Even so, the momentum that appears to have been established behind Bass' MLQ approach and the similar lines of enquiry underway in educational administration appears unstoppable. Perhaps the most useful stance to adopt in this respect is one of careful scepticism and corrective criticism. Whatever claims may be made, current and likely future versions of the operational model should not be allowed to claim spurious validity by masquerading as lineal descendants of Burns' work. To return to the suggestion made earlier, they would be better presented, understood and appraised as normative models for engineered organizational change: as technical blueprints, rather than theories of leadership.

More useful progress may be achieved through ethnographic, biographical and historical research. If leadership is best understood as a morally anchored social process,

then it is likely that little useful data will be generated by check-the-box surveys, however sophisticated. Rich, contextualized, reflective, and interpretative accounts of leadership events would seem to promise more reliable and useful data. Burns' analysis helps illustrate this, but, as noted, he concentrated on significant historical figures. What would seem to be needed are rich accounts of more mundane leadership processes which, for those interested in the principalship, would obviously deal with school-level leadership events. It would be incorrect to imply that such research is unavailable; more than a few published studies exist in the literature. Nonetheless needed, as are more attempts to synthesis and interpret the images and data presented in the extant studies. I would further suggest that the value of ethnographic and biographical studies would be increased by more explicit attention to promising theories of leadership. In this respect, elements of Burns' account could well provide useful conceptual frames to guide and interpret qualitative inquiry

Opportunities for further potentially valuable research also exist in what might be termed the history of leadership ideas. One example of this emerged, when I came across a paper by Rusch (1991) entitled "The social construction of leadership: From theory to praxis". Rusch discusses "research about leadership for women focusing on leadership discourse, feminist perspectives, and organizational change" (p. 3). She describes problems associated with feminist research in leadership and suggests that leadership has been treated mainly from a male point of view. Rusch noticed that Burns' Leadership was cited extensively in the literature and as a result "began a detailed study of bibliographies of other leadership scholars" (p. 8). There she found "an obscure

reference” to Mary Parker Follet. She discovered that “writings and lectures by Follet from as early as 1927 contained references to transformational leadership, the interrelationship of leadership and followership, and the power of collective goals of leaders and followers” (p. 8). Burns makes no reference to Mary Parker Follet in Leadership. Nonetheless Rusch was able to trace what appear to be parallel themes in the works of Burns and Follet. In addition, I found further parallels between Follet’s (1947, 1987) work and Burns (1978). Pursuit of these parallels and their possible implications falls outside the scope of this thesis, but would seem a prime candidate for future research. There would seem to be many other opportunities for investigating the development and mutual interaction of ideas. A detailed examination of commonalities and contrasts between the moral ideas in the work of Barnard and Burns, may, for example, yield interesting results.

For practice

Despite high praise and active promotion of transformational leadership in the professional literature, it would appear that none of the various brands and flavours available under that name can be reasonably expected to realize their advertised potential. To the contrary, the work completed in this thesis implies that the normative behaviours promoted by the operational model will not reliably result in the successful implementation of planned changes, while various difficulties with Burns’ theory pose impediments to its tenability. Moreover, the residual set of advocated behaviours that are represented by some contributors to the literature as transformational leadership lack the theoretical coherence of the operational models and Burns’ account, and thus cannot

sensibly be accepted as a leadership theory or model. These operational model recommendations, which I suggest would be better termed collaborative or empowerment leadership or administration, typically include participative decision making and goal setting and enhanced collegiality and community involvement. There can be no strong reasons for objecting to the adoption of such ideals by school principals, provided that they are understood as constituting little more than recommended professional practices, and appear suited for the circumstances. Principals and their associates, especially their super-ordinates, should nonetheless be aware that these recommended practices do not constitute a recipe for transformational leadership in either of the two main theoretical senses discussed in this thesis. In other words, adoption of these practices should not be expected to result in either a restructured or otherwise changed school or a morally elevated school community. The most important lesson here, it would seem, is that school officials and politicians should be cautious and critical about the adoption of any schemes that promise to improve their schools (and their principals) through any model or theory termed “transformational leadership”.

This should not be taken as implying that there are no professional benefits to be gained from the literature dealing with transformational leadership. Provided they are read with a critical eye, as professionals should in theory always do, the sources listed in the Appendix would likely be of interest to many school administrators and others interested in education. Many practising and aspirant principals would also likely benefit from reading, thinking about and discussing Burns’ book. Indeed, the emphasis he places

on the *moral* purposes of education and leadership would likely stimulate valuable reflection, and may even have a properly transforming effect.

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¹ While the original hard cover edition was published in 1978 by Harper & Row, all page citations in this thesis refer to the paperback edition published by Harper Torchbooks in 1979. The original imprint and copyright date of 1978 has been retained in the text to avoid confusion.

Appendix

Authors (date)	Title	Source	Identified
Journals:			
Bass & Avolio, 1989	Potential Biases in Leadership Measures	Cross-citation # of papers Topic	ERIC
Brown, 1993	Leadership for School Improvement	Topic	ERIC
Crow & Glascock, 1995	Transformational Leadership: Attractions of Women and Minority Recruits to the Principalship	Topic	ERIC
Fisher, 1994	Reflections on Transformational Leadership	Topic	ERIC
Gronn, 1996	From Transactional to Transformational	Topic	ERIC
Hallinger, 1992	The Evolving Role of American Principals: From Managerial to Instructional to Transformational Leaders	Topic	ERIC JEA
Holland, 1989	Stories and Supervision: Tutorials in a Transformative Practice of Supervision	Topic	ERIC
Jantzi & Leithwood, 1996	Toward an Explanation of Variation in teachers' Perceptions of Transformational School Leadership	Cross-citation # of papers Topic	EAQ ERIC
Kirby, King, & Paradise, 1992	Extraordinary Leaders in Education: Understanding Transformational Leadership	Topic	ERIC JEA
Komives, 1991	The Relationship of Hall Directors' Transformational and Transactional Leadership	Topic	ERIC JEA
Leithwood & Steinback, 1993	Total Quality Leadership: Expert Thinking Plus Transformational Practice	# of papers Topic	ERIC
Leithwood, 1994	Leadership for School Restructuring	Cross-citation # of papers Topic	EAQ ERIC
Leithwood et al., 1993	Using the Appraisal of School Leaders as an Instrument for School Restructuring	# of papers Cross-citation Topic	ERIC
Leithwood, 1992	The Move Toward Transformational Leadership	Cross-citation # of papers Topic	EL ERIC

Authors (date)	Title	Source	Identified
Lincoln, 1989	Critical Requisites for Transformational Leadership: Needed Research and Discourse	Topic	ERIC
Mitchell & Tucker, 1992	Leadership as a Way of Thinking	Cross-citation Topic	EL ERIC
Riggs & Skykes, 1993	The Time for Transformational Leadership Is Now!	Topic	ERIC
Sagor, 1992	Three Principal Who Makes a Difference	Topic Cross-citation	EL ERIC
Sergiovanni, 1990	Adding Value to Leadership gets Extraordinary results	Topic Cross-citation	EL ERIC
Sergiovanni, 1979	Is Leadership the Next Great Training Robbery?	Topic Cross-citation	ERIC EL
Silins, 1992	Effective Leadership for School reform	# of papers Topic	ERIC
Silins, 1994	Leadership Characteristics and School Improvement	Cross-citation # of papers Topic	ERIC
Smith, 1993	Leadership: Developing Leaders and Organization	Topic	ERIC
Strodl, 1992	A Model of Teacher Leadership	Topic	ERIC
Tierney, 1989	Advancing Democracy: A Critical Interpretation of Leadership	Topic	ERIC
Walker, 1989	Leadership in an Age of Ambiguity and Risk	Topic	ERIC JEA
Conference:			
Beaven, 1989	Leadership, Charisma, Personality, and Power	Topic	ERIC
Belcher, 1996	Transformational Leaders: Meeting the Challenges of a Changing Society	Topic	ERIC
Bleedorn, 1983	Leadership and Some Related Propositions: A Response to the Idea of James MacGregor Burns	Topic	ERIC
Clathworthy, 1982	Toward a New Paradigm in Staff Development: Transformational Leadership	Topic	ERIC

Authors (date)	Title	Source	Identified
Evans, 1996	Transformational Leadership and Supervision: Promoting Reflective Inquiry in Schools	Topic	ERIC
Groff, 1989	Preparing Proactive Transformational Leaders	Topic	ERIC
Groff, 1987	The Independent Learner: The Key Characteristics in Transformational Leadership	Topic	ERIC
Higgs, 1996	Teacher Efficacy: Influence of Principal leadership Behavior	Topic	ERIC
Hoover, 1991	Transformational and Transactional Leadership: An Empirical Test of Theory	Topic	ERIC
Jantzi & Leithwood	Toward an Explanation of How Teachers' Perceptions of Transformational School Leadership Are Formed	Cross-citation # of papers Topic	ERIC
Leithwood and al., 1992	Transformational Leadership and School Restructuring	# of papers Topic	ERIC
Leithwood & Steinbach, 1993	Total Quality Leadership: Expert Thinking Plus Transformational Practice	# of papers Topic	ERIC
Leithwood, 1993	Contributions of Transformational Leadership to School Reform	Cross-citation # of papers Topic	ERIC
Leithwood & Jantzi	Transformational Leadership: How Principals Can help Reform School Cultures	# of papers Topic	ERIC
Leithwood and al., 1993	Years of Transition: Times for Change	Cross-citation # of papers Topic	ERIC
Leithwood and al., 1991	Toward a Multilevel Conception of Policy Implementation Processes Based on Commitment Strategies	# of papers Topic	ERIC
Leithwood and al., 1993	Secondary School Teachers' Commitment to Change: The Contributions of Transformational Leadership	# of papers Topic	ERIC
Norris, 1994	Cultivating a New Leadership Paradigm: From cohorts to communities	Topic	ERIC
Pejza, 1994	Lead, Follow, or Get Out of the Way	Topic	ERIC

Authors (date)	Title	Source	Identified
Reed, 1996	The Leadership-Culture Dimensional Screening Scale	Topic	ERIC
Sagor, 1991	Operationalizing Transformational Leadership: The Behavior of Principals in Fostering Teacher Centered School Development	Topic # of papers	ERIC
Slack, 1990	Transforming Transformational Leadership: Learning with the Power of the Mind's Eye	Topic	ERIC
Stone, 1992	Transformational Leadership in Principals	Topic	ERIC
Terry, 1996	The Principal and Instructional Leadership	Topic	ERIC
Books:			
Bass & Avolio, 1994	Improving Organizational Effectiveness through Transformational Leadership	Topic # of papers	ERIC
Murphy & Louis, 1994	Reshaping the principalship: Insights from Transformational Reform Efforts	Topic	ERIC
Others:			
Liontos, 1992	Transformational Leadership	Topic	ERIC

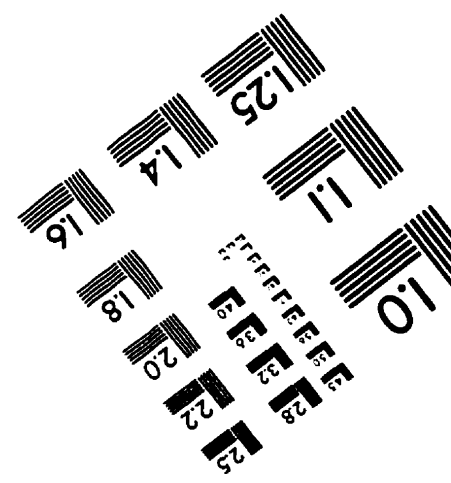
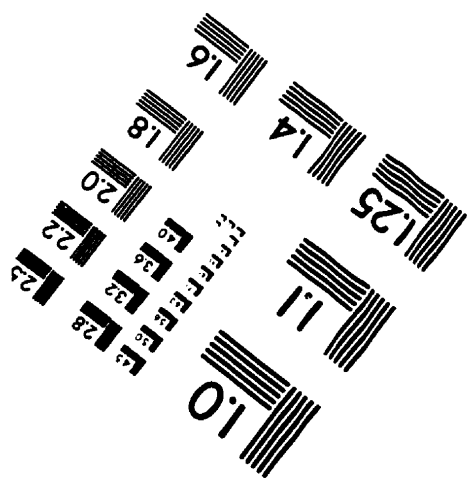
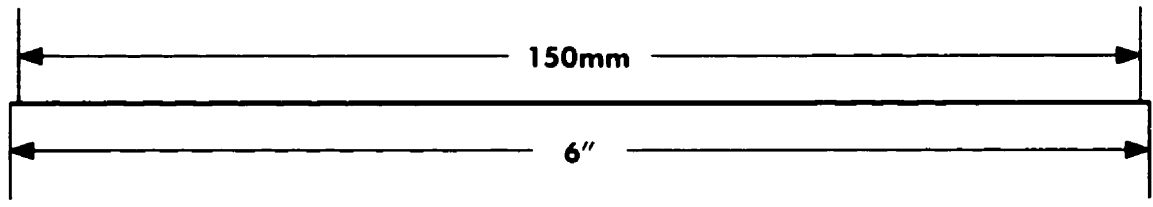
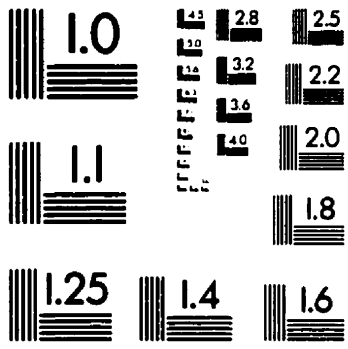
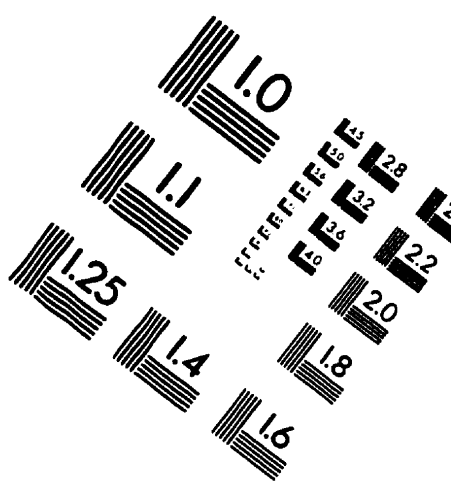
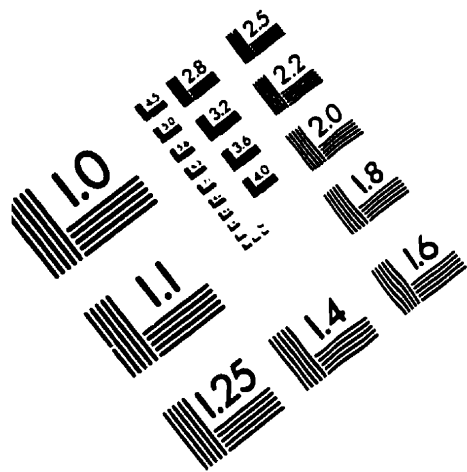
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