CREAM RISING TO THE TOP: A WEBERIAN ANALYSIS OF THE CHARISMATIC HISTORY OF THE FRENCH GRANDES ÉCOLES

by

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THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

In the
Department of Education

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Summer 2005

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TITLE Cream Rising to the Top: A Weberian Analysis of the
Charismatic History of the French Grandes Écoles

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on political charisma in France as it became formalised into the administration and organisational structure of the Grandes Écoles through a process Max Weber refers to as the institutionalisation of charisma. When the institutionalisation of charisma is accompanied by routinisation, it begins to take on what Weber calls traditional and bureaucratic elements and produces a hybrid form.

The thesis follows Weber's theoretical approach, drawing on aesthetic and cultural aspects supported by case studies and historical materials.

A thematic analysis is provided of the elements of the problems of charisma, with examples to show how cases are to be treated under socio-economic, cultural, and causal factors. This thesis investigates Charlemagne, Louis XIV, and Napoleon who contributed to the French educational system via the institutionalisation and routinisation of their personal charisma and that of their administrations.

DEDICATION

For Jordan, Oliver, Julia, and Mikayla for their unconditional love and patience and frozen dinners (albeit home-made ones) that they tolerated throughout this endeavour. For my parents for being so *surprised* that I have been able to do this, and for my brother Lyle, for all of his commas and semi-colons with whom I share this degree.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Chapter I

You see at once, that majesty is made out of the wig, the high-heeled shoes, and cloak . . . Thus do barbers and cobblers make the gods that we worship.

William Thackeray

'An Historical Study', frontispiece to Titmarsh (W. M. Thackery),
The Paris Sketchbook, 1840, British Library, London.

Introduction: Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the institutionalisation of charisma as it affects educational administration using cultural and aesthetic organisational theory. In order to investigate how charisma is used within this context, I explore how institutions, specifically the grandes écoles of France, are set up to maintain charisma within the educational system and French organisational structures. I identify the role of educational social institutions and their contribution to the formation and success of charisma, and how charisma contributes to France's leadership both in government and in industry through the evolution of its education institutions resulting in the grandes écoles. This evolution causes the "cream" of the student populace to rise to the top throughout their educational career. These were, and remain, designed to produce, restock, and maintain charismatic structures within France by producing a leadership elite to run the country and the top producing and grossing companies in France, and in some cases other countries. France will be used as a case to explore this phenomenon as the evolution of the system has been well documented over the past several hundred years. In addition, since France is a liberal democracy, what we can learn about it as a case can easily be drawn from it and can be compared to other examples such as the Canadian educational administration.

The characteristics of the educational system to be examined are: (1) contextual factors; (2) the formation of charisma around an individual that becomes institutionalised; (3) political, economic and legal factors contributing to the institutional development of education; and, (4) moral dimensions. Cultural and aesthetic theories bring to light these

moral implications and problems of charisma. The moral issues raised, often referred to as the dark side, perverse, morally unattractive, or the shadow side of charisma (e. g. Ciulla 1998; Conger & Kanungo 1998), will be discussed in the conclusion.

The key elements focused on are the need for a charismatic leader under certain conditions to stabilise a situation and routine and the instances in which charismatic leaders are appropriate, such as during war, election, crisis, etc., that occurred in France having a significant effect on the education system. Weber argued that over time there is a routinisation of charisma as the charismatic leader and the follower-ship cannot remain stable and will eventually acquire traditional or bureaucratic authority features to create continuity. Once this change has resulted, the charismatic leader can no longer remain in place. At this time, a new charismatic leader may assume this role or succession, initiated by the original leader, can come to fruition. The necessity for removing the charismatic leader once a system has been brought to a routine state will be discussed.

This project will use a case study approach for analysis and will illustrate the cultural and aesthetic aspects as they relate to ethics in charisma affecting educational practice. The selected cases are Charlemagne, Louis XIV, and Napoleon whom I have identified as key individuals exercising charismatic influence during the significant turning points in France's educational history. It is my belief that the people of France were, and remain, willing to adopt charismatic structures due to leaders such as Charlemagne, Louis XIV and Napoleon that in turn allowed them to create the social structures of charisma. The charismatic structure currently in place in France involves the

'enculturation' of the quasi-charismatic role. The aesthetics of this role include: charismatic characteristics; the carrying of a certain social class; the appropriate clothing, food and accent, etc. In each of the three historic cases, charismatic elements included both a source of change that the leaders brought about and a strong charismatic authority that persisted (as under Louis and Napoleon), even when the traditional and legal rationales, or practices, came into play. Throughout these periods, the administrative apparatus, and the educational organisations they administered, served a distinct charismatic purpose – to select, recruit and train charismatic elite and produce the current French system.

The evolutionary genus of this educational system and the relevant political and socio–economic conditions, major historical events, and finally the institutionalisation of the system resulted in its limited change over time. Almost every evolutionary epoch can be defined by who was in power at the time and which religious order (Catholic, Jesuit or Protestant) was most prevalent and endorsed by that power. Although some individuals stand out as pioneers in the field of education in France, the majority was strongly influenced by their own religious orders, affiliations, and philosophies. In medieval times, schooling was structured into four areas of study: theology, law, medicine, and the arts (Barnard 1970, ch.1). As well, girls were excluded from education as they were considered to be of lesser importance than boys. It was not until Italy began to admit girls into the education system that France followed suit, focusing mainly on language and religion.

As early as the eleventh century the schools of that city (Paris) were
already sufficiently famous to attract students from a distance, but it was
not until about the year 1210 that the nascent University received from the
Pope its first written statutes (Barnard 1970, p. 1).

An *ordonnance* of 1560 proclaimed that "…parents are forced under penalty of
fine, to send their children of both sexes to school". Later in that same century, a
representative of the Bishop licensed teachers of "both sexes" (Barnard 1970, pp. 40-41).
In order to compensate for the lack of schools outside of Paris, charity schools were
founded by parishes, individuals and religious orders in order to afford education to
children of the poor. However, the history of education and educational institutions in
France underwent numerous significant changes beginning in the mid 18th century when
it first became formalised. Over the past 200 years, some of the changes to the system
have included the separation of education from the church, the reduction of the number of
'private' religious schools and the granting of freedom to women to enter the university
and grandes écoles system. Throughout its history, the French school system, like most
institutions in France, has been highly centralised. "The French tradition of centralism
that consists of a competition where every school and every student is classified
according to their ranking, and where everybody exactly knows where he stands among
his neighbours, is hard to correct" (Béraud 2000, p. 5).

In the 18th century, Louis XIV identified a need to create "…specialized
institutions outside the realm of the university system…" to address the problems

pertaining specifically to safety and technology in the mines. (Groupe des Ecoles des Mines 2004, p. 1). This long relationship between government ministries and national industry illustrates two of the main features of the grandes écoles: their research collaborations and close alliance with contemporary practices in modern industry. According to The Group of Écoles des Mines (GEM), of all the leaders of the largest companies in France, the President, the Prime Minister, and most of the cabinet, the majority are products of the French elitist education system (2002). Although France does support state universities, the grandes écoles are the more prestigious choice among the population.

> Of the 100 largest French companies, two thirds are managed by former students of the French Grandes Écoles. An even higher proportion exists within the highest levels of the Civil Service. The "Grandes Écoles" supply France with most of its engineers, industrial research specialists, managers and administrators. This means that anyone coming into contact with decision makers in the public or private sector in France must inevitably deal with men whose minds and culture have been deeply marked by an education which results in common characteristics, whatever their specialty [sic] (Education Systems in Europe 2002).

The grandes écoles' pedagogical philosophy is specifically designed to address two areas: to "complete the knowledge" of a student and to make it possible for that student to be able to apply that knowledge to "real objectives" (Education Systems in

Europe 2002, pp. 1-8). Almost all of the promotional literature identified for this paper boasts the grandes écoles' rigorous and 'highly selective' admission process and its almost incestuous ties with industry and business (both national and international). Statements like, "an engineering diploma of a Grande Écoles is directly linked to high social prestige...it is a ticket for power" (Béraud 2000, p. 3) commonly appear to reinforce this belief. Typically, graduates from the grandes écoles are hand picked for professional positions upon their graduation and the contacts made while in school will quickly further the career of all the graduates.

Political charisma is examined as it becomes formalised into a charismatic administrative and organisational structure and how this then becomes institutionalised into major social institutions of a society using the educational institutions as an example. The analysis will use the routinisation of charisma theory because as charisma institutionalises it begins to take on what Weber calls traditional and bureaucratic elements producing a hybrid form. According to Weber, "...the routinization of charisma also takes the form of the appropriation of powers of control and of economic advantages by the followers..." (1947, p. 367). This approach contains social constructivism, although it is much broader in its definition. In *Four Sociological Traditions* (Collins 1994) examines the definition of social constructivism from the perspectives of Berger and Luckmann, Garfinkel, Marx and Weber, and Husserl and Goffman. The essence of all of the arguments boils down to the roles that society plays in the development of an individual. Social reality is something that is constructed by people in the interactions between the individual and others. For the purpose of this project, when using Weber's

approach it is the charismatic qualities which affects society that in turn contributes to the development of the individual.

The need for a study such as this is largely due to the fact that there have been few writers in educational leadership who use charisma theory (Berger, Zelditch, Anderson) when it is a central feature of leadership in history. It is because of the charisma topic that I selected, using Weber's original, complex and comprehensive theory, that I am pursuing an historical approach to the development of an educational system. The historical reference is an important aspect of Weber's work, and a dimension of educational administration not often developed in the field (Gronn). I suggest that the need for examination of historical and charismatic processes is relevant when exploring change and reform in administrative studies.

Approach and Methodology

This project uses analytical and interpretive methods, supported by case studies and historical materials in tracking the institutionalisation of charisma in France as it affected the development of its current educational system. The elements of charisma are identified thematically using content analysis based on Weber's theory of charisma and its institutionalisation and routinisation. There will be a thematic analysis of the elements of the problems of charisma, a content analysis approach, and examples of how cases are to be treated under socio-economic, cultural, and causal factors. The case study method will be used to test these claims. I discuss the case studies in the context of Weber's

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"three sources of legitimacy:" traditional, charismatic and legal-rational legitimacy. I also use Weber's theory of charisma including the charismatic leader, charismatic staff, and the charismatic organisation. Whereas, it is generally accepted among leadership scholars (e.g. Conger & Kanungo 1998; Bass 1990) that the relationship-based philosophy of the charismatic leader and the admiration and loyalty of his or her followers is fundamental, according to Highman, "…charisma is dangerous in the wrong leaders" (1978, p. 98).

In the final area, the educational system in France, I include contemporary journal articles as well as historical literature by Barnard (1970), Fraser (1963), Lewis (1985) and Hall (1976). I supplement the historical methods of research with sources on the using of history in educational leadership. The following areas of literature are used in the project: charisma, psychology of leadership, ethics, French educational history and French political history. Specifically for the educational system in France I reference, Barnard (1970), Lewis (1985) and Baker and Harrigan (1980).

Bredo and Feinberg's *Knowledge and Values in Social and Educational Research* collated numerous authors from a number of fields to introduce and discuss the following three methods of research: positivist; interpretive; and critical approaches. These approaches are developed as they apply specifically to social and educational research. The interpretive approach involves using the researcher's knowledge and cultural perspective and experience to learn about those being researched. Bredo and Feinberg refer to this as the "knower and known" (1982, p. 6). On a broader scale, Creswell

(1998) examines five traditions of qualitative research - biography, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case studies - comparing the positive and negative aspects of each method of research while laying out in simple terms how to select and apply each one to one's work. Biography, ethnography and case study are used in this project as the most relevant approaches. Creswell examines the historical biographical aspects of a study's cultural background and the study of how individuals see themselves and how they are seen by society. This is of particular interest to me as the perception of the charismatic leader by the follower-ship is crucial to the phenomenon. Ethnography, being the identification of the culture, race, life/human experience, and values and conflicts that arise out of these are critical in the development of my theory in this project. Case studies as well, being one of the most common methods of conducting qualitative research today, is crucial to my work as it draws attention to specific individuals and what can be learned from this exploration. In *Storytelling in Organizations: Facts, Fictions, and Fantasies,* Gabriel (2000) explains the value of 'stories' for getting into the emotional, political and symbolic life of an organisation. The story itself acts as the communicator of the character of the organisation. The author establishes a precedence whereby the stories assist in passing along and continuing the spiritual, moral and cultural heritage. This exploration and recording of stories works as evidence in support of the history and biographies which are a type of narrative scholarship. The thesis Gagliardi presents in the '*Exploring the Aesthetic Side of Organizational Life'* in the *Handbook of Organizational Studies* (1996) is that the artefacts and space act in the material reality in the construction and the development of the individual and the organisation. Artefacts and the space (in corporations) and how

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these make up the material culture of a social group – the aesthetic experience – the sensory experience of a physical reality. Williams, in *The Historian's Toolbox: A Student's Guide to the Theory and Craft of History (2003),* presents historical research as "a process of discovery and construction". The author describes the many avenues of 'evidence' that may be used in the construction of history, thus enabling the historian to better understand and then interpret those events. It is here that the theory of history being a text as opposed to a narrative is introduced. Metahistory is also discussed as its emphasis is on patterns and regularities. The author also stresses the importance and the differences between primary and secondary sources. Holton, in *Max Weber and the Interpretive Tradition* (2003), discusses Weber's approach to the comparative historical sociological perspective taken in his writings. The primary interest examined is the study of 'the actors' within the social setting and their impact on social change as it corresponds to the historical case studies in this project and the social setting in which their power and charisma were revealed. It is typical for comparative studies, and especially comparative administration and leadership, when doing a Weber analysis using history that one does not have to go into full historical detail, but locate sufficient detailed information to make the developmental and comparative case. Goffman in *Ritual Interaction* discusses interaction details with language as 'lines' and 'face' to decipher the agenda of a given person and their behaviour in the interaction process. Goffman compares the knowledge that one must hold to that of 'tact', "presumably social skill and perceptiveness will be high in groups whose members frequently act as representatives of wider social units such as lineages or nations, for the player here is gambling with a face to which the feelings of many persons are attached" (1967, p. 13). This interaction fits

into the area of ritual and symbolic theory and as such is not present in a bureaucratic system, such as those in the three case studies, after the charisma had become institutionalised.

Morgan (1997), in *Images of Organization,* presents a series of metaphors used to analyse organisations. These metaphors encompass properties and conditions that align themselves with the style of the administration, leadership and follower-ship within the organisations. Specifically, my interest is in the 'organisation as a culture' metaphor that investigates: symbols; social setting; and shared reality. The elements of the cultural analysis include strong aesthetic elements in the construction of personal and then institutionalised charisma. In this respect, I examine the following three components: (1) a cultural analysis; (2) the formation of charisma, according to the extended Weber model; and, (3) the role of personal charisma, also according to Weber's theory, and the charismatic style of administrative staff and organisations that lead to its institutionalisation. Weber's model will be used as it is arguably the most detailed and complex charisma model in the literature and includes strong cultural elements that complement Morgan's use of organisational cultural analysis.

Daft, in *Organizational Theory and Design* (2001), takes a broad look at organisations and organisation theory through case studies. He examines design principles and strategies of specific organisations while determining their effectiveness: the use of technology; inter-organisational relationships; culture and ethical values as well as the overall structure of the organisations and the decision processes. Denzin and

Lincoln's *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2000) examines the disciplines and practices of qualitative research methods and their applications. The editors review the origins of these methods through the disciplines of sociology and anthropology. Of greatest relevance to this project are the chapters on "Cultural Studies", "Case Studies", "Three Epistemological Stances for Qualitative Inquiry: Interpretivism; Hermeneutics; and Social Constructionism" and the interpretation of documents and material culture.

1. Charisma Theory

Charismatic literature will be analysed using Weber and Conger and Kanungo's work in the area of charisma. The Weberian approach utilised for the purpose of this study is called "comparative historical-sociology". The various categories that Weber constructed for his analytical apparatus were intended to make large-scale historical comparisons, particularly of the evolution of various societies' institutional structures, without losing the particularity of historical and unique details. My study is extremely well-suited to this apparatus as I am tracing the significant role that charisma played in the evolution of leadership and the special nature of the educational system's support for it in France's history.

I am proposing that within the process of institutionalisation, each case study in this thesis represents stages or phases over time, not covered by Weber in his model. Each of the three phases of institutionalisation is represented by each historical leader. These stages begin with the reaction of people to an individual through to the setting up

of state institutions. In essence this theory is adding a dimension to Weber's model. Charlemagne represents a society operating within Germanic tribal tradition with residual remains of the Merovingian and Holy Roman Empires. Ganshof describes him as wanting to "...improve their [political, administrative and judicial institutions] efficiency so as to bring about a more complex fulfilment of his wishes and to achieve greater security for his subjects" (1971, p. 24). The institutionalisation of this charisma was deeply rooted in the barbarian tradition and was established through royal lineage. Louis XIV represents the second phase of the institutionalisation process which is part of the modern era strongly embedded in formalism. By the point at which Louis came into power society was transforming incorporating legal-rational elements along side the traditional. Louis infused his charisma more than once over his reign and because of his charisma he was able to make even more changes, including those to science, technology, the arts, and rational thinking. Napoleon is the third and final phase representing a strongly bureaucratic model based on the legal – rational. This was truly the development of society as it is seen today. Napoleon's contributions to the scientific disciplines, academies of learning and codes of government have survived him and have become integral parts of modern society.

Charisma is defined by Weber in *Economy and Society* as "...a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities" (1947, p. 240). Pertaining to the charismatic leader's authority (1947, p. 240), Weber theorised that authority resides within the individual only under certain circumstances,

some of which include: the requirement of social validation; the articulation of the

leader's vision by using metaphor and analogies; and that there is a relationship formed

with the charismatic leader which in turn produces a strong sense of trust by the

followers. The last distinguishes the leader in a very interesting manner as it is the

follower who grants legitimacy to the leader's claim to leadership. In the case of

Charlemagne and Louis XIV the researcher is faced with the phenomenon of heredity

charisma, in which as Weber states, "…recognition is no longer paid to the charismatic

qualities of the individual but to the legitimacy of the position he has acquired by

hereditary succession" (1947, p. 366). Bass develops this notion by paraphrasing Weber

that once the followers have "…become imbued with moral inspiration and purpose [of

the leader]" (1990, p.184) they become strong supporters and, in turn, leaders themselves.

The followers within this leadership model are critical to its success. The followers

identify with their leader due to the leader's charismatic personality and objectives.

Personal characteristics, the nature of the administrative staff, and the organisational

features that are important for charisma, will be presented in each of these case studies. In

each case I show that the leaders used their power to create formal institutions of study

while maintaining French culture through politics, culture and aesthetics that exemplified

what Weber referred to as the "cultivated man". "A personality cultivated in this sense

formed the educational ideal stamped by the structure of domination and the conditions

of membership in the ruling stratum of the society in question" (Weber 1968, p. 1001).

Henderson and Parsons (1947) explore practical applications of Weber's

methodology of social science as it pertains to analytical methods, specifically types of

'authority' and specifically the routinisation of charisma in Max Weber's *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. I apply these analytical methods when conjecture the types of authority and how it Routinised in the case studies. Through a selection of Weber's theories and writings, Eisenstadt, in *On Charisma and Institution Building* (1968), focuses on the relationships between charisma and institution building in economics, religion and culture.

Samier's "Toward a Weberian Public Administration: The Infinite Web of History, Values, and Authority in Administrative Mentalities" (2004) specifically uses a Weber analysis to explore the importance and relevance of 'mentality over technique' and three of the factors producing it: history; values; and three types of authority. These are identified through examination of three modern case studies. Samier suggests that these three areas or 'features' are often ignored by administration scholars but that the case studies used are perfect examples for such an analysis. According to Samier, "He [Weber] also proposes a theory of the routinisation of charisma, including its transferability, that explains how the movement becomes infused with everyday social institutions…a process by which the missions and ideals can be exploited by the interests of the followers" (Samier 2004, pp. 5-6). In this process, the charismatic has not only the ability to create change and to have an impact on a single event but also the ability to cause continuous impact on the organisational structure. This continuous change is carried out by affecting the everyday social structures or institutions that perpetuate the impacts of the transformation, through the vision of the leader. These visions can outlast the visionary. According to Weber, "…vitality and positive consequences of the leader's

influence might be retained long after his or her departure" (Conger & Kanungo 1998, p. 27). In addition, Conger and Kanungo suggest that, "institutionalisation of the leader's charisma in rites and routines also may not necessarily produce positive outcomes" (1998, p. 30). It is this vision, lasting beyond the reigns of those in my case studies, that I refer to as the institutionalisation or routinisation of leadership. The vision and physical and emotional structural changes within the culture that lasted long beyond the life-spans of these rulers are perfect examples of Weber's routinisation of charisma.

The leaders explored in this paper took on a quasi-aesthetic role, thus creating the charismatic structure of their administration. While all three of Weber's pure types of authority (charismatic, traditional, and legal-rational) are legitimate types of domination, (1968, p. 215), I argue that all three cases were also highly charismatic. People (the followers) were willing to adopt the 'enculturation' – the carrying of social class, charismatic characteristics, clothing, language, religion, and so on – due to the charismatic nature of their leaders. The 'enculturation' of the society allowed the leaders to create the social structures of charisma resulting in, among other things, the grandes écoles. This institutional structure was set up to maintain charisma. "Routinised charisma…continues to work in favour of all those whose power and possession is guaranteed by that sovereign power, and who thus depend upon the continued existence of such power" (Weber 1968, p. 40).

My personal definition of an individual endowed with charismatic qualities or characteristics is love. I believe that love is the motivating factor of a charismatic leader encompassing their love for him or her self, their duty, community and mission.

Aesthetic aspects of personal charisma, according to Weber's theory, and the charismatic style of administrative staff and their organisations are what lead to its institutionalisation. The routinisation of charisma as examined by Eisentadt in his introduction to Weber's *On Charisma and Institution Building* suggests that "…there is another equally important aspect to this process, (routinisation of charisma) the key to which lies in the concepts of "charisma of the office" of kinship, of hereditary charisma or of "contact charisma"…" (1968, p. xxi). Weber uses the notion of 'charisma in office' to explain the organisation of an orderly institutional reality which is created out of a charismatic leader (one possessing the characteristics essential to be deemed as 'charismatic') or a group lacking in organisation and orderliness. In each of the cases examined in this paper, strong organisational structure was created out of a need for organisation and orderliness. As Bacharach and Mundell explain, "the location at which a decision is made affects the decision process" (1995, p. 3). Laws were imposed and a 'culture' was manifested, resulting in routine and controlled methodology of the society as a whole, "bureaucratic administration means fundamentally domination through knowledge (specifically rational)" (Weber 1968, p. 225). There is no question that the leaders analysed in this paper were all very knowledgeable. It can be argued, however, that it was strongly due to their charisma that allowed them to make the changes that they did both to the culture of the society, the expansion of their country through war, and to

social institutions including changes to the educational system. As their charisma was infused into daily life in France they all seemingly exercised leadership by establishing bureaucratic systems. Morgan supports this argument when he describes patterns of culture as being "…created and sustained and how organisations are socially constructed realities" (1997. p. 120), Weber's seventh category of fundamental legal authority reads; "administrative acts, decisions, and rules are formulated and recorded in writing…the combination of written documents and a continuous operation by officials constitutes the "office" (bureau) which is the central focus of all types of modern organised action" (1968, p. 219). Both Napoleon and Charlemagne were ardent contributors to the written laws and bureaucracy within the time of their governance. The following will outline the contributions of Charlemagne, Louis XIV and Napoleon as examples of: public administrative policy (Charlemagne); personal charisma (Louis XIV); charismatic administration (Napoleon); as well as their specific contributions to the educational system in France.

Table 1.1 Characteristics of Charisma

Personal Features[1]
- Heroism
- Mission/spiritual duty
- Endowed w/ superhuman/supernatural powers

Follower-ship[2]
- Obedience and trust
- Hero worship
- Chosen on basis of social privilege & charismatic qualities

Charismatic characteristics of administrative staff[3]
- Continuation and reactivation of ideal and material interests
- The continuing relationships among the charismatic aristocracy of administrative staff and disciples
- Having their relationships and positions put on a stable everyday basis that allows them to participate in normal family relationships and have a secure social position and economic security

Organisational Features or the "Charismatic Community[4]
- Based on an emotional form of communal relationship
- Non-existence of officials but voluntary members
- Lack of emphasis on technical training
- Lack of system formal rules or legal principles and judgments are considered divine
- Recruitment criteria of members/followers: charismatic qualities
- No appointment or dismissal, no career or promotion
- No hierarchy
- No salary
- No specific job scopes

Routinisation[5]
- Members are seeking to sustain their ideal and material interests
- Members' desires in continuing their relationships for ideal and material interests
- Stabilisation and consolidation of the members' ideals and material interests
- Problem of succession

Contribution to Education[6]
- Regeneration
- Isolation
- Educational community
- Complete transformation
- Continuous testing
- Graduated ceremonious reception

[1] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society.* Chapter 3, Volume I.
[2] Ibid
[3] Samier, E., 2004. *Toward a Weberian Public Administration* using Weber's model in *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization.*
[4] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society.* Chapter III, Volume I.
[5] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society.* Chapter XIV, Volume II.
[6] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society.* Chapter III, Volume I.

2. Cultural Analysis

Cultural theory from Strati (1988, 1992, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002), Schultz (1995), Geertz (1983) and Morgan (1997) will be used. The "organisations as cultures" metaphor involves examining an organisation as a cultural phenomenon unto itself. Specifically, Morgan describes culture, in *Images of Organisation* as "…the pattern of development reflected in a society's system of knowledge, ideology, values, laws, and day-to-day ritual" (1997, p.120). It was the developmental pattern of these systems that allowed Charlemagne, Louis XIV and Napoleon to build and develop their personal charisma, leading them to be known as charismatic and powerful leaders of their time. Morgan describes leaders within the organisational culture metaphor as having "…come to see themselves as people who ultimately help to create and shape the meanings that are to guide organised action" (1997, p. 148). This is no truer than when we will look at the case studies and their contributions to their respective cultures through their organisations (reigns). The 'day-to-day ritual' and the concept of 'guiding organised action' as laid out in Morgan's metaphor closely parallel Weber's idea of routinisation.

Morgan stipulates that there is a defined relationship between culture and management. Within that relationship the organisation's character is shaped by culture. Language, rituals, values, models of interaction and a variety of images and themes are all characteristics of an organisational culture. He goes on to say that the patterns of belief are "…supported by various operating norms and rituals [and] can exert a decisive influence on the overall ability of the organisation to deal with the challenges that it

face[s]" (Morgan 1997, p. 129). In each of these cases one of the primary challenges was that the leaders were at war for the greater part of their reigns. Organisational cultures and management styles played a significant role in how well these wars were fought and administered. Morgan establishes in his culture metaphor that "culture is not something that can be imposed on a social setting ... it develops during the course of social interaction" (1997, p. 137). Nevertheless, I suggest that the three cases all imposed a certain culture by implementing the educational systems. For example, "Napoleon sought to regulate not only commerce, industry, but also to dictate the course of public opinion" (Rose 1929, p. 180). Although I do agree with Morgan's argument regarding culture being an ongoing and living process which changes and grows (1997, p. 141), I also believe that when a charismatic power influences a society, whether it be through public policy, legislation or war, that power is the determining factor behind change. Strati's theory provides additional support of this influence over society in his metaphor of the hypertext as being,

> ...both the genesis and the product of the collective imagery of the specific society in which it is developed, while it also philosophically connotes...the modes of being of individuals and their every day lives in organisations (2000, pp. 69-70).

Although Strati defines hypertext as "...an image drawn from technology..." (2000, p. 69), I suggest that in the days of Charlemagne, Louis and Napoleon the technology of those times was utilised for the purpose of influencing society with the

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same outcome as described in the above definition. A clear example of this being Louis founding the Petite Académie des Inscriptions et Médailles, in 1663, for the sole purpose to "…invent inscriptions and mottos, to design commemorative medals, to describe and organise royal festivities…to revise any prose and verse written in the King's honor" (Cronin 1964, p. 151). The common beliefs, values, and ideas of an idealised culture were all carefully constructed to promote the charismatic structure of the Grande Écoles through the institutionalisation of the education system, "every highly privileged group develops the myth of its natural, especially its blood, superiority" (Weber 1968, p. 53). In *Theory and Method in Organization Studies,* Strati (2000) introduces and applies his theoretical views in the field of organisational analysis. He discusses what shapes organisational cultures. It contains an introduction to research methodologies and measurements of analysis and the "weaving together" of the organisation based on the acquired data.

Geertz discusses and analyses the "governing elite" while paying close attention to the suggestive and indicative details that "…justify their existence and order their actions in terms of a collection of stories, ceremonies, insignia, formalities and appurtenances that they have either inherited or … invented" (1983, p. 124). Schulz approaches the study of organisational cultures from the perspectives of rationalism, functionalism and symbolism. The organisational culture from the rationalism perspective uses the culture as a "tool" for achieving the goals of the organisation while the functionalism perspective sees culture as a "…pattern of shared values…which perform functions concerning external and internal integration." The symbolism

perspective is when "culture is a pattern of socially constructed symbols and meanings" (1995, p. 14). Each of these perspectives can be used to analyse the forthcoming case studies in order to better identify how the leader and the organisation functioned.

3. Aesthetic Analysis

The aesthetic analysis is divided into two primary areas of exploration: the internal social construct including the artefacts, symbols, and human interactions that take place within the architectural construct; and the theatrical involving the promotion of the leader and the organisation to the follower-ship through the use of performance and propaganda.

A. Internal Social Construct

Daft defines the organisation as "…existing when people interact with one another to perform essential functions that help attain goals" (2001, p. 12). Regardless of mandate or purpose, Daft identifies all organisations as having characteristics in common. He recognises the people and the relationships as a key element. Strati uses the following definition, "organization…is today much more than the feature which the Roman legions so prided themselves upon: more than being a characteristic of an unusual social phenomenon, it is one of the many aspects of society that constitute our daily lives" (2000, p. 3). Strati sums up his definition by saying "…organizations are one of the main sources of social integration and of modern control over individuals, groups and

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collectives" (2000, p. 5). In *The Temporal Dimension in Organizational Studies* (1988),

Gheraldi and Strati present the concept of organisational time "…as an important variable

in the shaping of the scenario of decision-making processes." This concept involves the

identification, investigation, and examination of previous events within the organisation

in order to better deal with issues or problems which have arisen in the present. Time is

looked at as a 'container' in which the organisational process unfolds. The relationship

between external and internal time is crucial as they are reliant on each other. It is

suggested by the authors that time can be used for the understanding of organisational

actors and culture as an additional method of organisational analysis. An aesthetic

analysis of charisma revels these very properties the authors refer to as being the aesthetic

experience of the followers in each of the case studies. This is further examined in

Haezrahi's *The Contemplative Activity: A Study in Aesthetics* (1956) where the author

makes three assumptions based on the aesthetic experience. The assumptions include the

aesthetic experience being distinct from other experiences, and that it must be

acknowledged and examined in order for the experience to be viable for case study.

Antonio Strati, an Italian researcher, author and lecturer, is the foremost theorist in

organisational theory, aesthetic analysis and theoretical observation detail, and is known

to be the major theorist and practitioner opening up the field presently. In his book, *The

Symbols of Skill*, he looks at the concept of 'skill' as a tool for better understanding the

organisation. Skill is redefined from the work and its usages in a traditional sense in this

thesis to encompass the symbols of skills and what they mean and how they are used in

organisational realities. Strati, in his article, *Introduction: Organizing Aesthetics (2002)*

uses three approaches to the theory of "assigning knowledge value to aesthetics" : Berg

(1987) the archaeological approach; Gagliardi (1996) the empathic approach; and his own, Strati (1992). Organisational actors and the use of their personal knowledge is examined in order to better analyse and understand organisational aesthetics and organisational life.

Interviewing Elites' in the *Handbook of Interview Research: Context & Method* (Odendahl & Shaw 2002) the authors discuss the definition of elites and the methodology for interviewing them. "Elite" as it is discussed in a definitional sense is "closely linked with abstract notions of power and privilege, generally in connection with certain identifiable individuals or groups of individuals" (2002, p. 301). Based on specific case study interviews the authors present a 'workable framework' for this area of research. Within the text the authors chose a cross-section of elites whom they interviewed, and the criteria for: how they chose them; locating and contacting them; access and preparation of the researchers; the interview itself (including the interview format and dynamics); and the interpretation of the material gathered. Qualities of an elite are dependant on their social and economic backgrounds while consideration is also paid to the size of one's fortune and as a group having "...a shared set of attributes, behaviour, values, and lifestyles" (2002 p. 302). This closely parallels the French institutionalised elite studied in this thesis. I apply Morgan's cultural metaphor (1997) to that of Charlemagne, Louis XIV and Napoleon's contributions to leadership and educational administration in France. It includes an exploration into the influence of the construction of their personal charisma as leaders and how these features became integrated into the institutionalised charismatic educational organisations (i.e., the ministry regimes and styles of schools that

were established). This phenomenon occurred even though the French system acquired strong traditional characteristics and, even under Napoleon, strong legal-rational and bureaucratic features. I believe that these institutions always retained a strong charismatic character that was largely responsible for maintaining the underlying values and educational purpose of these institutions in producing a centralised elite power structure. It was the charismatic that drove change in the system. Weber discussed the deadening effects of bureaucracy. He spoke of charisma as the only force strong enough to change bureaucratised organisations or rationalised social relations; while the traditional and bureaucratic institutions tend toward little change. Napoleon's implementation of the grandes écoles was a prime example of this "drive" or charisma as the 'engine" of change. These Grande Écoles would provide France with all the business, scientific, political, military, and administrative elite that it needed. This was also the beginning of the centralised, national system of education. Napoleon saw the grandes écoles as,

> ...an empire building antidote to the decadent universities of the ancient regime, divorced from the real world of men and money....the very names reflect the desire to create a new revolutionary class of bourgeois Frenchmen (Bright 1998, p. 40).

B. Theatrical

The creation of a scene or setting in theatrical terms causes a separation between the actor and the audience. It makes the performer larger than life and in some cases, along with the script and supporting characters, creates a persona of almost mythical proportion. The theatrical term "4th wall", as defined by Stanislavsky (1964), is the invisible wall separating the audience from the performers. It is where in a traditional theatre the curtain would be hung – basically, it is the wall that we look through to see the action on the pre-designed set. Certain leaders have retained the barrier of the 4th wall by creating environments, that only a select group has access to, thus separating themselves even further from their audience. This has been achieved by the use of gates, by having the lead actor high above the audience, as on a balcony or in a window, or inaccessible due to a mass of supporting actors protecting or shielding the lead. When the 4th wall is broken, that is when the actor speaks directly to the audience. Suddenly, the audience is no longer watching a performance but is rather participating in the performance. It is this skill of speaking to one's audience that creates a relationship and therefore allows the actor to draw them into their vision by involving them.

The use of public drama as a tool to sway followers, either through awe or intimidation has long since been of value to historical political leaders. These performances can contain and generate so much power that they can integrate themselves into the culture of that political epoch, to the point that the followers learn to expect it and even need it to support their image of the leader. For the purpose of this paper I define aesthetics, as how something is perceived by all the human senses, and how it is regarded

intellectually, emotionally, psychologically and physically. And how this something is very much considered by great or even charismatic leaders. Charismatic leaders are generally defined by a set of qualities and values bestowed upon them by a supernatural force (Weber 1947, p. 241). One cannot however, overlook the probability of some manipulation of staging and performance by the leader to work in his or her favour and that of the organisation or country, which he or she may lead. I venture to presume that once this manipulation of setting, symbols, ritual and behaviour goes beyond benefiting the common good, and moves toward the unethical or immoral personal agenda setting, the line is drawn between Weber's charismatic leader and some of the more narcissistic leaders I discuss in this paper.

Propaganda, when used in a skilful manner and manipulated by the use of symbols, artistic media, ritual and ceremony, initiates a specific culture leading the followers in a certain direction. Propaganda is saturated into the culture of the follower through symbols that have been manipulated by: having their initial meanings emptied out and replaced with new content and meanings in support of the leader's vision; the presentation and withholding of certain facts and/or truths; and, manufactured ideologies expressed through art, architecture, customs, ritual and ceremony. The moral and ethical quality of a leader who controls this flow of information and creates and integrates ritual and cultural components into a society, much like the examples shown above, is integral to the followers buying into the leader's vision. By controlling so many areas of the follower's life and identity, one might surmise that individuality and free thought on the part of the follower is being suppressed for the sake of the vision. The use of propaganda

generates certain expectations of the leader by the followers. Effective propaganda affects the audience on a deeply emotional level. Propaganda also establishes what is considered to be appropriate and inappropriate behaviour on the part of the leader. In the case of Hitler, he affected the followers through the inclusion of the brown shirts and the SS in order to help communicate his message and spread the symbols even further and his vision deeper into the society. This method of communication incorporated another intimidation tactic, that of peer expectation.

Chapter 2

Charlemagne: Changing Traditional Practices

The great empire of Charlemagne was a brilliant interlude, a jerry-built edifice
held together by the ability, energy, and personality of the emperor;
but with no future in its own right –
even though in its decay it helped to mold the whole future of Europe
as it was to become in later ages
(Easton & Wieruszowski 1961, p. 66)

Throne of Charlemagne

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Charlemagne, also known as Charles the Great, became King of the Franks and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (also known as the Carolingian period) upon the death of his father in 771, until his own death in 814 (Einhard, 1969, p. 10). At age twenty-nine, when his brother died, he assumed authority over all of the land that was originally divided between himself and his brother by their father, King Pepin. Charlemagne's reign represents the first phase within the institutionalisation of France's educational system. In keeping with Weber's theory of the three types of authority, Charlemagne's authority was recognised by his followers as being traditional as a result of his birthright and therefore valid, "he regarded himself as chosen by God for all that he had been granted" (Easton & Wieruszowski 1961, p. 34). However, Charlemagne also created his own personal charismatic authority as a result of being an accomplished warrior, leader and administrator, thus changing traditional practices. His authority was also established through the employment of aesthetics by his decorative dress, emblems and symbols, "...he was clad in a blue cloak, and always wore a sword, with the hilt and the belt of either gold or silver...[occasionally] he used a jewelled sword...on festivals or when he received ambassadors from foreign nations" (Eginhard 1966, p. 39). His extraordinary attributes in a number of areas will be discussed in this chapter as providing the basis for his charisma. The charismatic characteristics that Charlemagne possessed, and that of the office he held, both contributed to the success in establishing the educational system and the bringing about of societal and institutional change. It laid the groundwork for what became an elite institutionalised form of charisma in France up to current times. This examination of the institutionalisation of charisma will be discussed as it affects educational administration using cultural and aesthetic organisational theory.

Surviving historical sources including legal records, library catalogues, chronicles, letters, articles, annals, administrative and other documentation recorded by the scribes within the Carolingian Chancery, architecture, and artwork including coins, statues, weapons, clothes and, jewellery all contribute to the study and understanding of the Carolingian Dynasty and the motivation and approach of Charlemagne as its leader. Einhard the Frank, author of *Vita Karoli* (The Life of Charlemagne), is the primary biographical resource most widely used by the modern historian and biographer. Having regular formal and informal access to his subject, Einhard provides the modern day researcher with an historical narrative based on eye-witnessed accounts and access to administrative texts and legal documents. These accounts, however, as Thorpe argues, are glaringly biased and at times incorrect, "…it [the data] seems deliberately to obscure the truth, always in favour of the Emperor…" (1969, p. 18). In his introduction to *The Life of Charlemagne*, Thorpe stresses Einhard's admission that the biography was written to repay his "…debt of gratitude which he owed to this remarkable king and emperor, who had helped him to continue his education and with whom he had long lived on friendly terms" (1969, p.14). For both of these reasons, and the awareness that Einhard was present and perhaps even an active participant in many, if not most of the events that he recorded in the chapters of his book, this biography can only be part of a historical narrative and interview approach to the study of this subject. Historian Ganshof and biographers Collins, Lyon and Percival and Durant will be used to examine Charlemagne's reign. Odenahl and Shaw's thesis, *Interviewing Elites*, will be used to complement these sources, as they are an important connection in the definition of elites

and the methodology for interviewing them. Odenahl and Shaw outline criteria for determining the definition of "elite" and the methodology, including access, of interviewing such individuals. One of their primary arguments is that the interviewing of elites "...should not be studied in isolation from the communities and organizational contexts in which they operate" (2002, p. 314). When examining the affect the elites, as in the cases studies in this thesis, have on the environment in which they work and subsequently change is of greatest importance when analysing the effect their charisma has on that environment.

The charismatic analysis discussed in the introduction will be developed using cultural, aesthetic and interpretive Weberian method for authority in order to demonstrate Charlemagne's implantation of change throughout all aspects of French society and primarily that of his influence on the education system. Weberian charismatic analysis will be used in this case study as broken down into thematic categories outlined in Table 2.1.

Personal Features and Follower-ship

Einhard describes Charlemagne early on in his biography as, "...the most remarkable king, the greatest man of all those living in his own period...together with his outstanding achievements, which can scarcely be matched by modern men" (1969, p. 25). He goes on to describe the king physically as,

...strong and well built. He was tall in stature...The top of his head was round, and his eyes were piercing and unusually large. His nose was slightly longer than normal, he had a fine head of white hair and his expression was gay and good-humoured. As a result, whether he was seated or standing, he always appeared masterful and dignified...His step was firm and he was manly in all his movements. He spoke distinctly... (1969, p. 63).

Weber's characteristics of a charismatic (1968, pp.241 – 245) as detailed in Table 1.2 include the three important features of heroism, one having a mission or sense of spiritual duty, and one being endowed with superhuman or supernatural powers. During his reign, Charlemagne led numerous and continuous military campaigns, the longest of which, against the Saxons, lasted for close to thirty years, making him a hero in the eyes of his followers. Durant described Charlemagne's mission or spiritual duty as "the finest example of what a Christian king could be. Kind, yet fiercely defensive of his family and Empire..." (1950, p.1). Eginhard stresses that Charlemagne possessed the third of Weber's criteria, describing him as being "...supernaturally wise, if he does not work miracles, miracles are wrought in his presence..." (1966, p. XIX). Ganshof suggests that particular traits of his character were best reflected in his way of life, "full of energy, he hated to waste time and dealt with business as soon as he got up" and personality is best described by his physical disposition, "...his love of violent exercise, riding, hunting and swimming; his huge appetite, and in particular his passion for roast meat..." (1971, p. 8). Loyn and Percival also relate the reign of the king with his physical attributes in an

analogous way, "his was a dynamic reign and his empire depended in large part on the force at the centre of his own physical energy" (1975, p.1). Charlemagne's throne, another extension of his personal features as a ruler, was located in the palace chapel at Aachen was,

> ...approached by a staircase with six steps consists of four stone pillars supporting the *mensa* [base on which chair was raised]. The chair is made of oak planks encased in slabs of white marble. The side pieces are curved to provide elbow rests. The back, rounded at the top, consists only of an upper part; the space below is filled by an upright wooden plank...the throne faced the main altar, which was visible...Charlemagne could thus follow the Mass and liturgical offices... (1971, inside cover).

As a child he was anointed by the Pope at the time of his father's imperial coronation. This, as well as his own imperial coronation, his papal coronation as Roman emperor, and his crowning of his son Louis as emperor, reflect highly ceremonial and cultural aspects that centred on Charlemagne (Loyn & Percival 1975). As such they are all expressions of his charisma through cultural and aesthetic observations, and highlighted what the population thought and perceived as being his exceptional abilities and attributes.

Durant describes Charlemagne as one of the most progressive public administrators (see Table 2.1), gathering informal assemblies of property owners "usually in the open air." He also remarks that "in truth he had always loved administration more than war..." (1950, p. 2). However, as an administrator, he was an absolute autocrat; making all of the decisions and appointments that ensured he was continually informed and kept up to date (Easton & Wieruszowski 1961, p. 35). This autocratic control is another important feature typical of charismatic authority as defined in Weber's model.

Charismatic Characteristics of Administrative Staff

During his military campaigns Charlemagne was deeply involved in diplomatic relations with a number of international rulers. He gave local autonomy to the territories he conquered but kept the important decision-making for himself (Ganshof 1971, p. 19).

Charlemagne used assemblies as legislatures utilising the knowledge and experience of the elders and young of the society in addition to the bishops and nobles. As an administrator, he asked for advice from the assembly, also known as the Field of May, and it was the general assembly that sanctioned the position of the monarch when he ascended the throne. Charlemagne believed in, and instigated, centralised control of his empire and created 65 capitularies whose, "...legislation [is] among the most interesting bodies of medieval law" (Durant 1950, p. 3). Nevertheless, only a portion of the output of these capitularies was actual law, the remainder was, "...answers to

enquiries…[answers to] questions addressed to officials [and] … moral counsels" (1950, p. 3).

The Chancery was considered to be the only bureaucratic institution of the government, which Easton and Wieruszowski describe as having "…supervised the administration of justice in the name of the monarch, and presided over the royal tribunal when the monarch could not be present in person" (1961, p. 62).

At the centre of his administrative rule and control over his land was his appointment of Counts over each of his counties who controlled "…local officials, counts, dukes, margraves and their subordinates and [who] exercised a strict supervision over their work… (1961, p. 70). These positions can be closely aligned with that of Weber's "instructed representation" (1968, p. 293) that describes elected or appointed representatives that are under strict guidelines and mandates to follow the personal instructions of their leader. The society in which Charlemagne operated was highly traditional in Weber's sense (and according to the traditional authority model he elucidates), so there are traditional elements as well which Charlemagne's charismatic features and practices would at times be combined.

The charismatic staff is not primarily motivated by money but rather they as individuals have their own charismatic qualifications as outlined by Weber,

The administrative staff of a charismatic leader does not consist of "officials"; at least its members are not technically trained. It is not chosen on the basis of social privilege not from the point of view of domestic or personal dependence. It is rather chosen in terms of the charismatic qualities of its members…There is only a "call" at the instance of the leader on the basis of the charismatic qualification of those he summons (1968 p. 243).

Capitularies were added throughout Charlemagne's reign in order to address the administration of justice and the military systems that arose, largely due to the increased size of his territory (Einhard 1969, p.12). The *Capitulare de Villis* was a document listing in precise detail what was expected from the Stewards of the monarch's estates. This included the management of the estates, the tolls or taxes that were to be paid for fairs and markets, the rules regarding the transportation of goods within the kingdom, and the income tax that was to be paid directly to the church as a form of donation. Weber notes that "…every true leader in this sense, preaches, creates, or demands *new* obligations – most typically, by virtue of revelation, oracle, inspiration, or of own will, which are recognized by the members of the religious, military, or party group because they come from such a source" (1968, pp. 243-244).

The majority of the economy was supported by the revenue generated and the taxes collected from Charlemagne's estates. As in a typical charismatic administration (Weber 1968, pp. 243-245), Charlemagne had very limited paid staff and, in the case of

the military, the men were not provided with any food or weapons and were imposed with a stiff fine if they did not comply. Military participation under Charlemagne was originally required by all free men, except serfs and monks, although later in his reign he implemented conscription which was limited only to landowners. Those in the military were expected, in an exceptionally detailed section of the 779 Capitularies, to supply themselves with tools, clothes, food, etc. for three months. For these reasons, the expenses of the monarchy were kept fairly low. Money was primarily needed for the long wars, the support of his attendants, and for the general upkeep of his palaces and his entourage that included an archbishop who acted as the King's personal advisor. There were also funds reserved for the limited number of public works in place (Easton & Wieruszowski 1961, pp.54-62).

Organisational Features or the "Charismatic Community"

In keeping with Weber's characteristics of a charismatic administration (see Table 2.1), Charlemagne's inner circle was quite small, the positions of authority were personally appointed by Charlemagne, there remained close contact and communication with the king, and they were held personally accountable for both their duties and their results. As is also typical of a "Charismatic Community" Easton and Wieruszowski note that, "Charles selected as heads of the Chancery persons of high rank and quality and rewarded their services with high ecclesiastical positions" (1961, p. 62). Weber writes about the lack of administrative organs present in the "charismatic community" (See Table 2.1) but notes the presence of "agents", or "Stewards", in the monarchy who were

provided with charismatic authority by the King. These agents are not part of a hierarchy nor do they receive a salary, promotions or specific job descriptions but rather live in a kind of voluntary "communistic" relationship with their leader and are subject to intervention by the leader at his will.

Schultz uses "beliefs, values and meanings" to describe the culture of an organisation (Schultz 1995, p. 5) that further supports a charismatic analysis of Charlemagne's rule. The culture of Europe under Charlemagne's rule included (see Table 2.1) a strong religious belief system, strong family values and loyalty to the monarch, and meanings manifested as a formal structure of society. Charlemagne appeared to have combined all of the functions of Schultz's "culture" into a single sentence: an "oath of fidelity" to him. This oath was a promise to obey "…the laws of the land, to pay taxes on demand, not to damage the land, [and] not in any way to injure the church" (1961, p. 61). The oath, which all men over the age of twelve had to take, was a way of ensuring loyalty to the monarch. As king and then emperor, he was concerned about those he reigned over. "Charlemagne wanted to improve their [political, administrative, and juridical institutions] efficiency so as to bring about a more complete fulfilment of his wishes and to achieve greater security for his subjects" (Ganshof 1971, p. 24). In return, "the vast majority of the population fulfilled its obligations, including the payment of taxes, by contributions in kind" (Easton & Wieruszowski 1961, p. 52). The traditional practice of making an oath was altered and infused with charisma by Charlemagne.

Perhaps the most significant influence Charlemagne had on the culture of the Carolingians was on religion, "he denounced image worship...sent Popes directives...suppressed insubordination in monasteries, and ordered a strict watch on convents..." (Durant 1950, p. 1). The church was given land and money for carrying out their duties such as the administering of social security and having control over wills and marriages. He carefully selected members of the Church as representatives and he "...expected them to perform their tasks with diligence and uprightness" (Easton & Wieruszowski 1961, p.35). Charlemagne had a close relationship with the Pope and the relationship between church and State become so intertwined that, "the papacy was actively involved in the whole process, giving advice, material help..." (Loyn & Percival 1975, p. 5). Pope Leo crowned Charles Emperor (of the Romans) which Durant describes as having the following impact:

It strengthened Charlemagne against baronial and other disaffection by making him the very vicar of God; it vastly advanced the theory of the divine right of kings. It contributed to the schism of Greek from Latin Christianity...all in all, despite its threat to the liberty of the mind and the citizen, the Holy Roman Empire was a noble conception, a dream of security and peace, order and civilization restored in a world heroically won from barbarism, violence, and ignorance" (1950, pp. 5-6).

In numerous military campaigns he offered the option of baptism over death to those whom he captured. In one highly criticised example of this failure to comply he

had, "...4500 Saxon rebels beheaded in one day..." (Durant 1950, p. 1). Charlemagne was most critical of the direction the clergy was to go when he set up the religious components of his realm to initiate a new Holy Roman Empire. Charlemagne believed that government was meant to benefit and protect those it governed. He was a prolific reformer in an attempt to improve the people's lives under his reign and as such set up processes to encourage commerce and a standard of best practices for farming methods while he engrossed the country in Christianity by introducing education systems. Lyon and Percival suggest that "...his main political achievement came in his forcible extension of Frankish rule and Christianity over continental Germanic peoples" (1975, p.2).

Routinisation

The routinisation was achieved largely through traditional structures, but also laid the framework for a later modern bureaucracy of the legal rational tradition.

Toward the end of his reign, in preparation for the charismatic organisation to begin to routinise, there was a significant downturn of the charismatic qualities for which he was originally known, "...the abuses increased [in the state as in the Church]; insecurity grew worse; [and] the authority of the emperor was less and less respected (Ganshof 1971, p. 23). The routinisation of Charlemagne's systems was also supported after his death by his son Louis the Pious, the King of Aquitaine. Weber suggests that charisma can be created or transmitted into a new person, "it involves a dissociation of

charisma from a particular individual, making it an objective, transferable entity" (1968 p. 248). Succession to the throne through birth was critical to the retention of one's legitimate claim during this period in history. According to Weber, the successor must be designated by the original charismatic leader and be recognised by the followers (1968 p.247). In the case of Louis the Pious being Charlemagne's successor by birth and the beginning of the routinisation of the charisma one can relate Weber's model that

...recognition is no longer paid to the charismatic qualities of the individual, but to the legitimacy of the position he has acquired by hereditary succession. This may lead in the direction either of traditionalization or of legalization...Personal charisma may be totally absent (1968 p. 248).

The loss of charisma is explained by Weber as the charisma itself succumbing to the "...permanent structures of social action...which eradicates not only personal charisma but also stratification by status groups, or at least transforms them in a rationalizing direction" (1968 p. 1148). Weber's theory of routinisation expands past birthright to include the idea of the "office" rather than the person himself possessing the charisma, "in this case the belief in legitimacy is no longer directed to the individual, but to the acquired qualities and to the effectiveness of the ritual acts" (1968 p. 248). Along with routinisation that incorporates traditional and/or legal-rational bureaucratic elements is an institutionalisation of charisma – a complex phenomenon in which charisma is retained and perpetuated through a sort of hybrid societal structure, and it is what became

the grandes écoles later on that is the preservation of these charismatic elements in French society beginning with Charlemagne and re-infused under Louis XIV and Napoleon.

Contribution to Education

Charlemagne was actively involved in the creation of educational systems within his regime. The king acknowledged that there was a reason for concern regarding the educational level of the clergy and that it had,

...fallen considerably in comparison not only with the Late Roman period but even with that of the early Merovingians. The degree to which lay literacy survived is debateable, but it is likely at best to have been confined to the uppermost levels of society and to have been limited in character" (Collins 1998, p.120).

In the time of Charlemagne's rule there was a continuous stream of circulars and administrative and government provisions and regulations in a multitude of capitularies produced (Ganshof 1971, p. 128). The king and his advisers saw the level of literacy and grammar as pertinent to the use of these documents and their survival through to future generations. It was then in the late 8th century that France saw (see Table 2.1) the first free education system in history for people of all social classes specialising in literacy and the liberal arts so as to "take care to make no difference between the sons of serfs and of

freemen, so that they might come and sit on the same benches to study..." (Durant 1950, p. 4) that was later reflected in the increased population of ordained clergy coming from a serf heritage. The nobles, however, were not content with sending their children to the same institutions as the lower classes so many of them attended the Palace schools (Easton & Wieruszowski 1961, p. 90). Charlemagne also ordered an increase in the number of primary schools, so that no child had to walk more than two kilometres from his or her home. This arrangement of increasing schools in order to make them more accessible across the land drastically increased the number of literate people within the overall population which in turn prepared a faction for the requirements of literacy within the church and the government. He developed policy regarding the preparation of teachers for the emerging schools (Hall 1976, pp. 4–19) and imported instructors, books and ideas from other European countries that contributed considerably to the changes to the system. "It was, therefore, primarily an educational reform, which gave birth to a new class of literate men and women who then in their turn produced works in a relatively pure Latin idiom" (1961, p. 88).

As a result of the increased number of clergy and the literate population under Charlemagne's rule, a new culture emerged following his death. During Charles' lifetime the educated populace was still too young to reap any benefit but in the generations that followed a new culture grew which incorporated arts and literature. Collins writes, "in the course of this a vital impetus was given to both ideals and institutions of learning that continued to be felt throughout most areas of western Europe long after the Carolingian dynasty had ceased to rule" (1998, p. 102).

The king himself, possessing limited formal education and in fact being illiterate, acknowledged the importance of learning and instigated a policy which resulted in what are now the universities of Europe (Durant 1950, pp. 1–9). It was this routinisation of the administrative hierarchy and the education system and the centralisation of administrative power that, as Weber documented (1968 p. 249), lived on after Charlemagne's death, ending his leadership, but not the continuation of his vision but still retained some charismatic element that became the elite system of the Grande École as a charismatic structure.

Contemporary historian and world authority on the Carolingian monarchy, F. L. Ganshof, described as, "…one of the most prolific and distinguished of twentieth-century students of Carolingian period" (Collins 1998, p.171), does not place Charlemagne in the category of a great leader, or his administration as being one deserving of legendary status as do other historians (e.g.: Einhard, Collins, Easton, Loyn and Percival). Ganshof, instead, argues that the Carolingians were administratively unable to be self supporting or self motivating and due to the monarch's insistence on having complete control over decision making. According to Collins' interpretation of Ganshof's claims, the Carolingian period was "…the fatal legacy for those monarchies that saw themselves as its heirs or borrowed their ideas on government and its institutions from it" (1998, p. 171). According to Ganshof, Charlemagne failed to create an administrative process by which his laws and capitularies were followed through to fruition, including their communication to the public and their enforcement. He goes on to argue that the actions

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taken by Charles were intended to "...compensate for the inadequacies of the existing bureaucratic machinery, but recognized them as being at best partial and incapable of being transformed into a properly institutionalised basis for government" (1998, p.171). As Ganshof notes, toward the end of Charlemagne's reign, in preparation for the charismatic organisation to begin to routinise, there was a significant downturn of the charismatic qualities for which he was originally known, "...the abuses increased [in the state as in the Church]; insecurity grew worse; [and] the authority of the emperor was less and less respected. The capitularies, more and more numerous, constantly renewed warnings, orders, and interdictions which were less and less obeyed" (Ganshof 1971, p. 23). Ganshof should take precedence over the other scholars employed in this study only when looking at the overall Carolingian period. Other resources focus more on Charlemagne the King and his personal qualities as contributing to his reign in comparison to Ganshof's larger picture of European history. By using biographical sources, based primarily on Einhard's observations and his constant access to the King, we obtain a more comprehensive perception of Charlemagne as the man that is more applicable to this particular study of his charismatic qualities.

Table 2.1 Characteristics of the Charisma of King Charlemagne

Personal Features[7] - Heroism - Mission/spiritual duty - Endowed w/ superhuman/supernatural powers	- Personally led military campaigns - "The finest example of what a Christian king could be. Kind, yet fiercely defensive of his family and Empire..."[8] - "...supernaturally wise, if he does not work miracles, miracles are wrought in his presence..."[9]
Follower-ship[10] - Obedience and trust - Hero worship - Chosen on basis of social privilege & charismatic qualities	- Oath of fidelity of 793[11] - "...they [kings of the Scots] always called him their lord and themselves his submissive servants"[12] - Charlemagne used assemblies as legislatures utilising the knowledge and experience of the elders and young of the society in addition to the bishops and nobles
Charismatic Characteristics of Administrative Staff[13] - Continuation and reactivation of ideal and material interests - The continuing relationships among the charismatic aristocracy of administrative staff and disciples - Having their relationships and positions put on a stable everyday basis that allows them to participate in normal family relationships and have a secure social position and economic security	- Enlightened, just and accountable - He carefully selected members of the Church as representatives and bestowed generous gifts onto them - "the vast majority of the population fulfilled its obligations"[14]
Organisational Features or the "Charismatic Community"[15] - Based on an emotional form of communal relationship - Non-existence of officials but voluntary members	- a small inner circle - "...gathering informal assemblies property owners..."[16]

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[7] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society*. Chapter 3, Volume I.

[8] Durant, W., 1950. "King Charlemagne", History of Civilization Vol. III, The Age of Faith.

[9] Eginhard, 1966. *Early Lives of Charlemagne*, Grant, A. J. (Intro), p. XIX.

[10] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society*. Chapter 3, Volume I.

[11] Collins, R., 1998. *Charlemagne*. P. 126.

[12] Eginhard, 1966. *Early Lives of Charlemagne*, Grant, A. J. (Intro), p. 28.

[13] Samier, E., 2004. *Toward a Weberian Public Administration* using Weber's model in *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*.

[14] Easton, S., Wieruszowski, H., 1961. *The Era of Charlemagne*. P. 52.

[15] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society*. Chapter III, Volume I.

- Lack of emphasis on technical training	- public assemblies utilising the knowledge and experience of the elders and the young
- Lack of system formal rules or legal principles and judgments are considered divine	- "Charles selected as heads of the Chancery persons of high rank and quality and rewarded their services with high ecclesiastical positions"[17]
- Recruitment criteria of members/followers: charismatic qualities	- "...[Charlemagne] expected them to perform their tasks with diligence and uprightness"[18] - personally appointed positions - revenue generated from their charges
- No appointment or dismissal, no career or promotion - No hierarchy - No salary - No specific job scopes	- directives from the king as situations arose
Routinisation[19] - Members are seeking to sustain their ideal and material interests	- "...local officials, counts, dukes, margraves and their subordinates... [Charlemagne] exercised a strict supervision over their work..."[20]
- Members' desires in continuing their relationships for ideal and material interests	- "..so well organized...a system [that] gave them...so regular and...so effective a way"[21]
- Stabilisation and consolidation of the members' ideals and material interests - Problem of succession	- Charlemagne crowned his own son Louis king
Contribution to Education[22] - Regeneration - Isolation - Educational community - Complete transformation - Continuous testing - Graduated ceremonious reception	- new schools established - strict focus on what was taught - Charlemagne created the first free education system in history - Students of all backgrounds and classes - Education system prepared a faction for the requirements of literacy within the church and the government - due to an increased number of clergy and the literate population a new culture emerged

[16] Easton, S., Wieruszowski, H., 1961. *The Era of Charlemagne*. P. 35.

[17] Ibid. P. 70.

[18] Ibid. P. 35.

[19] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society*. Chapter XIV, Volume II.

[20] Easton, S., Wieruszowski, H., 1961. *The Era of Charlemagne*. P. 70.

[21] Collins, R., 1998. *Charlemagne*, P. 19.

[22] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society*. Chapter III, Volume I.

CHAPTER 3

Louis XIV: Powerful, Dynamic and Dramatic

I have loved war too much: do not imitate me in this respect,
or in my expenditure, which was too great
(Burke 1992, p. 122)

Throne of Louis XIV

Drama and pomp and ceremony have been an integral part of leadership since the beginning of recorded time. However, few historical leaders can match the magnitude and intensity of the expression of Louis XIV, King of France from 1643 to 1715. According to Durant's summation, aesthetics of pomp and ceremony are used to make leaders appear more powerful, dynamic and dramatic. In Louis' France, they were used to create an internal culture of the monarchy and a grandiose style of domestic and military leadership. The use of aesthetics through symbols and the manipulation of expression through the arts quickly became the accepted model of culture of the time and spread to many parts of Europe. This contributed to the successful institutionalisation of his charisma in bringing about changes in state structures, international relations, and the educational system through the establishment of specialised academies, thus representing the second phase of changes to the institutionalisation as represented by a historical leader.

Personal Features and Follower-ship

From the time of his conception, Louis was regarded as "god-given" as he was born to a woman who had appeared to be barren for the first several years of her marriage. As a result of being in the public eye since birth, one has to recognise that a good deal of his persona was originally manifested and encouraged by someone other than himself. In fact, it was the state's chief minister, Cardinal Mazarin, who acted on his behalf during the early part of Louis' reign. The Cardinal died when Louis was twenty-three years old and at that point Louis assumed complete control or 'absolute power' over

the government until his death some fifty-four years later. As a young adult, it was up to Louis to continue and enhance the performance of cultural aesthetics, rituals and ceremonies that had already been established. Louis was very well educated in the arts and in the ruling of a nation under the guidance of Mazarin.

According to Weber, "...if his leadership fails to benefit his followers, it is likely that his charismatic authority will disappear" (1968, p. 242). It is also generally agreed that only under certain circumstances of time and place can charismatic leaders be effective and that the setting of direction for the followers is crucial and a primary goal of the leader. As Conger and Kanungo argue: "to be effective at this activity, the leader must be adept at perceiving not only environmental opportunities but also obstacles that stand in the way. Failure to do so will result in failed ventures and follies that discredit the leader" (1998, p. 121). Burke applies charisma theory to Louis by his description, "he was charismatic in every sense – the original sense of having been anointed with chrism, a symbol of divine grace, as well as the modern sense of a leader surrounded by an aura of authority" (1992, p. 11). Also identifying the need for "constant renewal," Burke suggests that this was "...an essential aim of the presentation of Louis...as it was the aim of the re-presentation of the king in the media of communication" (1992, p. 11).

One of the ways Louis accomplished this was through the arts. Paintings and other works of art of the time with Louis as the subject often contained a cherubic character hovering alongside Louis holding a laurel wreath above his head. These images would have added considerably to the mythological mystique of Louis both as a king and

as a god to his followers. Further, Louis adopted the name "Sun King" after a character he played on stage as an actor. He also used the sun as his emblem, thereby establishing his association with Apollo, the Sun God. "Louis was regarded as a sacred ruler, and his court was viewed as a reflection of the cosmos" (Burke 1992, p. 12). Louis' assumption of a godlike persona fits in very well with Weber's application of the term charisma, "...supernatural, superhuman...powers or qualities...not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin..." (1968, p. 241).

This phenomenon of followers needing to identify with a leader who possesses qualities with the suggestion of a heroic or religious nature is identified in many other areas of leadership work. Burns (1978), for example, identifies similar terminology, as paraphrased by Bass; "the highly esteemed individual is a hero" (1990, p. 184). Conger and Kanungo also speak about this phenomenon explaining that, "culturally, humans appear to have a need to imagine that a singular individual can play a heroic role in shaping the destiny of their organisations" (1998, p. 141).

Charismatic Characteristics of Administrative Staff

As the leader of an administration, Louis' control created a "stable and efficient government, the enforcement of law and order and a multitude of public works – it was by these achievements that Louis rendered France contented and thriving" (Cronin 1990, p. 251). Louis' administration policy reached into every area of France from mayors and municipal governments to the nobility. And while he made great strides in law and

public order and public works, he also contributed to a code of criminal law. The Council of State was made up initially of four Ministers specifically chosen from the middle class as Louis believed that "...such men were less swayed by passion than powerful nobles" (Cronin 1990, p. 243). The character of his senior officials (see Table 3.1) displayed their own charismatic qualities as part of the inner circle: Cardinal Mazarin described upon his death by King Louis as "...a guide, a faithful Minister and his best friend" (Cronin 1990, p. 114); Michel Le Tellier, Secretary of War, "...a prudent, simple-living administrator from a legal family"; Hughes de Lionne, Acting Secretary for Foreign Affairs, "...a widely experienced diplomat and for twenty years Mazarin's right-hand man"; Chancellor, Comte de Brienne, Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Cronin 1990, p.115); Louis Colbert, assistant to the Superintendent of Finances proved to the king his "honesty and loyalty"; and Nicolas Fourquet, Attorney-General and Superintendent of Finances, described Louis as "by birth a member of the high bourgeoisie...a man of wealth and dazzling gifts. "Fourquet in particular was known to expect that Louis would let his Council govern the country". He displayed "...charm, innumerable friendship and cunning" (Cronin 1990, p. 126). Louis however retained control over the Council having "...forbade them [the Council] to seal any agreements, to sign any dispatch or to pay any money without his knowledge and order" (Cronin 1990, p.116).

On a broader scale, according to the writings of Duc de Saint-Simon as referenced by Burke (1992), approximately one hundred of the most important officials in the kingdom would be allowed to enter the king's bedroom. They would be privy to all of the specifics of his sleep, his washing and his dressing among other details. Although this

intimacy may have served to detract from the image of the king as a godlike entity, the "honour" of being admitted into the king's private world would have served to build loyalty and identity among the individuals administering his kingdom and in turn would have conferred upon them charismatic qualification. This admittance to Louis' private world can be compared to Weber's first definition of the followers or "charismatic community" which are described as living "…primarily in a communistic relationship with their leader…" (Weber 1968, p. 243). The close proximity to the King and the knowledge of his private and intimate details suggests that the inner circle's administrative behaviour would have had to have been affected. The 1660's brought about a significant change by Louis' inner circle (Colbert, Chapelain) who "…intended to re-establish the king's dominance as a patron…his [Colbert] wide ranging concern for the king's glory…" (Burke 1992, p. 50). During this decade there was the establishment of numerous Académies including; the Académie Francais transformed into the Académie des Inscriptions; the Académie de Danse; the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture; the Académie de Francais de Rome etc. Also during this time, instigated by the inner circle, "other kinds of institution formed part of the system" (1992, p.51) including state factories and academies specific to the arts and natural sciences. Even though the education system appears to have been generated out of a need, by the King's Council, to show the State and specifically the King as a patron of the arts and the work produced in these institutions was largely to exemplify the King's glory and his "heroic actions" (1992, p. 51) they proved to be an integral component of the "culture" of France and the educational system as it is today.

Organisational Features or the "Charismatic Community"

Aesthetics was a critical component of how the monarchy was seen. It became very much part of the king's mission to glorify the monarch and monarchy through the arts. One of the means by which Louis XIV did this was by literally appearing on a stage himself. However, the entire palace complex of Versailles was also a highly structured stage on which the king would perform. There were very strict rules and guidelines from dress and side arms, to what kind of chair one was allowed to sit in given their status at Versailles. Aristocracy struggled to be witness to the meticulous and elaborate court etiquette that was established by Louis' court and their numbers ranged from three thousand to ten thousand people on any given day.

As Burke describes, "access to the monarch was carefully controlled and came in a series of stages. The visitors passed from outer to inner courtyards, climbed stairs, waited in anterooms, and so on before they were allowed a glimpse of the king" (1992, p. 8). By creating this elaborate milieu, the court, and Louis XIV himself, had very strict control and influence over the visitors. The drama of walking this convoluted path to the king must have elicited a sense of anticipation and reverence of the environment and the king himself. On a completely different scale, although meant to inspire the same reverence, Louis would open Versailles to the public to admire the works of art he had collected. One of the more obscure scenarios for the crowds to observe was that of the king and his family eating a meal. This was a much-staged event perhaps to make the monarch appear accessible, more human and even similar in some way to the commoner.

One would have to assume however that this attempt at humanising the king, given the enormity of the extravagance of Versailles, would have been a moot point.

In addition to the aesthetics, the culture of France was strongly reflected in the arts. Louis produced grand scale festivities, or 'spectacles', that were reported to have been used to distract the attention of the people from the political condition of the time. Burke says that, "ritual in particular was viewed as a kind of drama, which had to be staged in order to encourage obedience" (1992, p. 7). Through all of the ritual and extravagant displays of his power and wealth, Louis believed that he had fulfilled his vision of bringing international glory to France. The charismatic experience substitutes often for material welfare as people in the charismatic community are not motivated economically, "pure charisma is specifically foreign to economic considerations. Wherever it appears, it constitutes a call in the most emphatic sense of the word, a mission or a spiritual duty" (Weber 1968, p.244).

Louis was an example of Strati's hypertext metaphor, a leader who manipulated the social construction of reality and someone who "...fashioned by artifice as well as by art. It is the outcome by which people view the organisation, think it, feel it, appreciate it aesthetically, hate it, want to change it according to principles of civility or efficiency, or exploit it" (2000, pp. 73-74). Hundreds of paintings, engravings, and tapestries, in addition to images in several other art mediums, were consistently being created throughout his lifetime. Images of the King were used as a means of communicating his activities, such as visiting academies or fighting battles, and those of his court. Monuments numbered in the hundreds and were used by the King as a "...means for the

instruction of the people encouraging them to love and obey their prince" (Burke 1992, p.6). The effect of charisma motivated the people to accept the King's judgements on war and excessive spending while at times remaining hungry for the good of the country.

Routinisation

Through four major wars, Louis XIV was able to establish France as the dominant country in Europe, settle colonies in North America, and structure a centralised government in Paris. A great part of the culture of the society, perpetuated by Louis' grand style of living and preferential treatment of the elite was, for the poor, a culture which included suffering and hardship including starvation and at times fear for their lives. Alternatively, the culture of the elite included what Morgan describes as "being cultured" a word used to, "...refer to the degree of refinement evident in such systems of belief and practice..." (Morgan 1997, p. 120). Burke refers to an "intellectual revolution" that took place during the seventeenth century through Western Europe usurping the "mystical mentality" of the association between the sun and the king and the perception of society thus causing instability and a decline of the power of Louis' charisma (Burke 1992, p.128). Ironically, it was the very scientists and great thinkers of the time (Descartes, Newton, Galileo, Locke etc.) who were nurtured by Louis' attention to pedagogy that lead the revolution, "the Academy of Sciences had been founded in 1666 as part of the scheme to present the king as a magnificent patron of learning (Burke 1992, p. 129). This intellectual revolution also saw the emergence of capitalism over

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feudalism and a "demythologised and demystified" perception of kings throughout Europe.

> Suffice it to say here that a crucial consequence of the revolution was the so-called 'decline of magic' in the sense of increasing scepticism on the part of secularisation or 'disenchantment of the world' discussed by the sociologist Max Weber (Burke 1992, p. 128)

Louis was a curious variant of traditional legitimacy. Although he originally attained his position as king through traditional legitimate authority, he used this charismatic legitimacy to then "authenticate" his role as a military general. Louis reigned as king of France for over seventy years but it was during his reign however and not after it, as Weber's model would argue as the norm, that the routinisation of his vision became infused into the society and culture of France. This occurred because of his many years of effective domestic leadership and despite his armies beginning to lose battles near the end of his reign. This demonstrates the transition from traditional to the modern legal-rational type of society that the power of Louis' charisma was ironically able to institute. Economically, the wars and the extravagant spending incurred by and encouraged among Louis' court brought France close to financial ruin. Further, in the fashion of a true charismatic leader, he left successors behind when he died who continued the work of the country and dealt with the ongoing problems. His son was the "…last king of France to call upon the divine right" (Tulard 1977, p.129).

Louis' charisma became unstable but the institutionalisation and routinisation of

charisma was so well underway before the end of his reign that Versailles itself became a

model of a qualified charismatic structure (see Table 3.1). As Weber explains, "…if his

leadership fails to benefit his followers, it is likely that his charismatic authority will

disappear" (Weber 1968, p. 50). In the end, it was through the side effects of the

institution that the charisma and public support of the person were supported. The image

of Versailles, as well as the institutions of France established by Louis, became a model

for many of the countries in Europe at the time.

Contribution to Education

The effect of Louis' charisma was substantial on the educational system as his

own characteristics became institutionalised into some of its structural features. Burke

suggests that there is official documentation created by Colbert and Louis of a specific

plan where an "organisation of culture" is put into play. This directly involved the

"…construction of a system of official organizations which mobilized artists, writers and

scholars in the service of the king" (1992, p. 50). The plan included the physical

construction of structures for académies and the specific guidelines of curriculum.

During this period of French history there was a fee for schools run by the church

and generally it was only middle-class boys who attended and the sons of aristocrats had

private tutors. Government participation in school instruction was limited to appointing

Bishops to oversee the system. Conflict between the Catholics and the Protestants - both

attempting to have power over the education system - spawned a rash of small schools throughout the region primarily for the purpose of being able to read the Bible, schools were created by a competition emerging from both the Catholic and Protestant religions. "This vast enterprise of religious reconquest, also known as the Counter-Reformation… [involved] the creation of free public schools: the "infant schools" where all children would learn their catechism (Gourdeau 2002, p. 1). The introduction of girls, separate from boys, into the education system acted as a means of teaching future generations. Girls would soon become mothers and as such would have the ability to teach their children. In the later part of the 17th century a number of Académies established by the government (see Table 3.1) were "…bodies of artists and writers most of whom worked for the king" (Burke 1992, p. 51). Institutions created within this education system included: the state factory that was responsible for "…producing furnishings for royal palaces as well as…tapestries…" (Burke 1992, p. 51); the Journal des Savants was responsible for publishing the royal press; and Académies of Sciences, Music, Opera, Dance, and Architecture. The process of creating académies based on the needs of the monarch and his presentation to the public, these institutions furthered into an institutionalised charisma in the elite system that became the Grande Écoles.

The primary features of these académies are closely aligned with Weber's characteristics of charismatic education. The system underwent a regeneration and the institutions were set up for a select group of elites or "educational community" with specific goals. The pupils worked in isolation as the académies were created for the sole purpose of the social construction of the monarchy and organisation of the culture of

France. Louis later created specialised institutions outside the university system to address the problems, pertaining specifically to safety and technology (Burke 1992, p. 50). At these institutions there were often competitions and rewards bestowed on the best work such as the best representation of the king or the best ode to the king in song or music. All of these institutions may have originally been set up for the organisation of French culture in the 1600's as "...an expression of a coherent government policy..." (Burke 1992, p. 51) but it was the routinisation of these policies that have lasted them into the 21st century.

Table 3.1 Characteristics of the Charisma of King Louis XIV

Personal Features[23]	
- Heroism	- "heroic actions"[24]
- Mission/spiritual duty	- "Louis also took the place of God...Rulers were the 'living images' of God, 'representatives of God's majesty'..."[25]
- Endowed w/ superhuman/supernatural powers	- "A myth of Louis XIV existed in the sense that he was presented as omniscient ... invincible, godlike..."[26]
Follower-ship[27]	
- Obedience and trust	- His followers, at times, feared for their lives and suffered hardships including starvation
- Hero worship	- "...the French hero-king...suggests that the official image was...the expression of a collective need"[28]
- Chosen on basis of social privilege & charismatic qualities	- The council of State
Charismatic Characteristics of Administrative Staff[29]	
- Continuation and reactivation of ideal and material interests	-"...housed 7,000 wounded or old soldiers..."[30]
- The continuing relationships among the charismatic aristocracy of administrative staff and disciples	- Ministers learned the art of "managing" Louis
- Having their relationships and positions put on a stable everyday basis that allows them to participate in normal family relationships and have a secure social position and economic security	- Four Ministers were reasonable, balanced men from the middle class
Organisational Features or the "Charismatic Community[31]"	
- Based on an emotional form of communal relationship	- " He [Louis] preferred to employ men with a family tradition of service"[32]

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[23] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society.* Chapter 3, Volume I.
[24] Burke 1992. *The Fabrication of Louis XIV.* Page 51.
[25] Ibid. Page 9.
[26] Ibid. Page 7.
[27] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society.* Chapter 3, Volume I.
[28] Burke, P., 1992. *The Fabrication of Louis XIV.* Page 153.
[29] Samier, E., 2004. *Toward a Weberian Public Administration* using Weber's model in *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization.*
[30] Cronin, V. 1990. *Louis XIV*, P. 250.
[31] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society.* Chapter III. Volume I.
[32] Cronin, V. 1990. *Louis XIV*, P. 243.

- Non-existence of officials but voluntary members	- "......to induce Parlements to co-operate with the Government without drastically curtailing their rights"[33]
- Lack of emphasis on technical training	- Reducing local authorities Louis formed specialised ministries
- Lack of system formal rules or legal principles and judgments are considered divine	- "...Louis was responsible for all the achievements of his reign"[34]
- Recruitment criteria of members/followers: charismatic qualities	- Louis used the bourgeoisie to build his centralised bureaucracy
- No appointment or dismissal, no career or promotion	-"...substitution of middle-class intendants for powerful nobles..."[35]
- No hierarchy	- provincial nobles also lost political power
- No salary	
- No specific job scopes	
Routinisation[36]	
- Members are seeking to sustain their ideal and material interests	- He structured a centralised government in Paris
- Members' desires in continuing their relationships for ideal and material interests	-"Louis also made a number of state visits...giving the inhabitants an opportunity to see him in person"[37]
- Stabilisation and consolidation of the members' ideals and material interests	- "Stable and efficient government, the enforcement of law and order and a multitude of public works...Louis rendered France contented and thriving"[38]
- Problem of succession	- Louis the Great Dauphin, son of Louis XIV, died, presumably by poisoning. Louis XV

[33] Ibid. P. 245.

[34] Ibid. P. 243.

[35] Ibid. P. 248.

[36] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society*. Chapter XIV, Volume II.

[37] Burke, P., 1992. *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*. Page 155.

[38] Cronin, V. 1990. *Louis XIV*, P. 251.

	(grandson of Louis XIV) succeeded the throne
Contribution to Education[39]	
- Regeneration	- He created specialised institutions outside the university system to address the problems, pertaining specifically to safety and technology
- Isolation	- Académies created for the sole purpose of the social construction of the monarchy and organisation of the culture of France[40]
- Educational community	- original academies created for the creation and continuation of the culture of France
- Complete transformation	- created specialised institutions outside the university system
- Continuous testing	- From strictly religious teaching to art and aesthetic studies to sciences etc.
- Graduated ceremonious reception	- Medals and awards

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[39] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society*. Chapter III, Volume I.
[40] Burke, P., 1992. *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*. Page 50.

Chapter 4

Napoleon: Inspirer of Armies, Strategist and Tactician

> *With his keen sense of personal honour,*
> *he could not but respect the same sentiment*
> *in those whom he annoyed; and,*
> *always regarding men as instruments for his service,*
> *he sought to enlist their enthusiastic support*
> (Rose 1929, p. 165)

Throne of Napoleon

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Napoleon Bonaparte was born in Corsica, Italy in 1769 to a family of old Italian

nobility. As a young boy he was identified by an inspector of schools and was selected

for the military academy in Paris (Rose 1929, chapter 1). Even as foreigner, he became a

general in the French military where he achieved many successes including gaining the

respect, obedience and trust of those under his command. Largely due to his charismatic

characteristics he progressed quickly through the military establishment and then onto

ruler-ship from 1799 to 1814. After the "Battle of the Nations," where England, Russia,

Prussia, and Austria became allies against him, Napoleon retreated and was forced into

exile after the capture of Paris in 1814. Napoleon was granted retention of his title as

Emperor and took with him a small group of soldiers to Elba. In under a year, Napoleon

escaped his exile and returned to France, marching through Paris with thousands of his

adoring soldiers, bringing him back to power for a second reign (Fisher 1967, pp. 128–

130). Napoleon once again impressed the masses with his charisma and was able to

come back from exile due to the extreme loyalty of his former troops who he was able to

convince to organise and retake power. Old allies, however, refused to accept him and

overpowered him at the "Battle of Waterloo" (Fisher 1967, p. 132). He was again exiled,

this time to St. Helena where he lived out his final years and died in 1821 (Tulard 1977,

p. 343). Napoleon represents the final phase of the process of institutionalisation in this

thesis' process, representing the setting up of state institutions including the major

features of what we now recognise as the elite French educational system. The system

was a continuation of the specific institutions designed for the advancement of the culture

of France artistically and scientifically during Louis XIV's reign. Napoleon added to this

structure by introducing administrative and military institutions for the political advancement of France.

Napoleon was known for his achievement of, "…the mass mobilization of an entire country, and indeed an entire continent" (Grint 1997, p. 244) and was also a great administrator on a local level. There is a substantial amount of detail known about his personality, his military campaigns and his reign. This is largely due to the era in which he lived and the popularity of styles of recording and record keeping. Numerous forms of documentation through eyewitness accounts, library catalogues, novels, biographies, interviews, newspapers, poetry, pamphlets, architecture, and artwork, including engravings, paintings and caricatures exist today. Some of the most significant records of the time are Napoleon's private diaries and letters as well as the Memoir's of those who lived during the time of his ruler-ship and followed him such as those by politicians, Vincent Marie Viennot de Vaublanc and Count Louis-Mathieu Molé.

Napoleon's charisma was able to effect administrative and institutional change in education in France. It built upon what Charlemagne and Louis XIV had established, but it was the specific features of Napoleon's charisma that are reflected in the formation of the Grande Écoles. The strong bureaucratic features and the "…élitist nature of the regime…" (Tulard 1977, p. 194) profoundly contributed to the modern education system.

Personal Features and Follower-ship

Napoleon did not possess the stature and physical strength of Charlemagne, nor did he don the flamboyant costumes of Louis but rather he was described as a

...small dwarfish, figure, the rounded symmetry of the head, the pale olive cheek and massive brow, the nose and lips carved as it were from the purest marble of the antique world, and above all the deep-set eyes of lustrous grey, now flashing with electric fires, now veiled in impenetrable concentration we know the compact energy of his chest and shoulders, the flashing impetuosity of each gesture and movement, the white teeth and delicate hands, and the little cocked hat and long coat of grey in which he was used to ride to victory (Fisher 1967, p. 1).

In true charismatic fashion (see Table 4.1), Napoleon was known for his bravery and devotion to his position. His "exploits betoken superhuman bravery" (Rose 1929, p. 160) and he was successful in becoming the leader of France largely due to timing. In 1795, Napoleon saved the Revolutionary Government and was appointed commander of the French army in Italy. For the following four years his position allowed him opportunity to construct his charisma through brilliant strategic military campaigns until 1799 when he overtook the Directory. The revolution was just ending and it was a time when the bourgeoisie was ready to identify a new ruler and a new kind of societal structure and "...everything was in his favour even his strange appearance and his authoritarian character" (Tulard 1977, p. 20). The political climate was right for a new

leader and his success in winning the popular vote and his knowledge of government and democracy set the stage for him to step onto with ease, "Napoleon drew his power not from descent but from the fountain of popular will. He claimed that he was the child of the Revolution, that the voice of millions favoured his rise and sanctioned his dominion" (Fisher 1967, p. 41). His talents and skill as a leader were recognised early on and, as Rose describes, "...there burnt in him the flame of genius. It defies analysis; it baffles description; but generals and troops felt the spell. Civilians who sought to control the young warrior found themselves in the meshes of an all-controlling will – why, they knew not but one after another they succumbed" (1929, p. 34).

As ruler, Napoleon enjoyed comparing himself to other great leaders before him including Alexander the Great, but most notably as,

...the new Charlemagne...he appealed to the historic imagination of that people, calling them away from the petty particularism of their two hundred States and Free Cities to a cosmopolitan life centering at Paris (Rose 1929, p. 234).

Weber refers to Napoleon as a "charismatic hero" who utilised discipline in order to, "...expand his sphere of domination..." (1968, p. 29) that, in turn, created a disciplinary organisation that is still in use today. He enhanced his charisma after proving his military prowess and strong legal-rational and bureaucratic features within the administration of France and the countries he conquered. His charisma and

charismatic administration (see Table 4.1), was "said to have generated enormous passion among his army and among the French...through his personality, oratory and example" (Grint 1997, p. 241). He was commonly known as, an "inspirer of armies, strategist and tactician" for who, "men will do anything and go anywhere..." (Rose 1929, pp. 66-67). Rose continues to sing his praises as a "warrior" by stating that,

> ...here again he was an ideal leader. To his generals he, for the most part, turned to the colder side of his nature, exacting instant and unquestioning obedience, giving them abundant opportunities to enrich themselves at the expense of the liberated peoples, and finally dowering them with immense domains (Rose 1929, p. 67).

While acting as Commander, he wisely prepared for his own future by befriending younger officers whom he would later assist in the shaping of their careers. The administration was not without its angst. Napoleon's behaviour, although normally controlled, had an unpredictability to it and appeared to be cause for some concern amongst his subordinates, a tactic "...which kept all Napoleon's Ministers and officials on the stretch, and made the political world tense with expectation as to what next would happen" (Rose 1929, p. 175).

Charismatic Characteristics of Administrative Staff

While Napoleon orchestrated his own birthright out of the legal rational administration he began, he strove to support it by imitating Louis and Charlemagne's authentic charismatic authority. Rose expresses the effect that this crowning had on the country by stating that, "the resentment of a great part of France at the assumption of the Imperial title was destined to strain her relations to Napoleon". Rose goes onto state that, "only those who were utterly ignorant of his soaring ambition and inflexibility could imagine him tamely playing the part of a Great monk…" (1929, p. 151). Tulard suggests that Napoleon dictated the dress of the persons he appointed, "the prestige of public office derived partly from the uniform in which the Emperor dressed his officials. There was an Empire style in dress" (1977, p. 221). Having the intelligence and the opportunity, Napoleon was a great manipulator of propaganda. However, propaganda was employed against him after the fall of the Empire and the exile of its ruler to St. Helena. The violet was promoted as an emblem symbolising Napoleon and he was given the nickname 'Pére la Violette'. Tulard claims that, "…Bonaparte was the first general, perhaps since Caesar, to have understood the importance of propaganda" (1977, p. 19) and, ironically, in this instance it was used against him. Although he controlled the perception of his followers by having his image in allegory, much in the same way as Louis XIV, Napoleon conceded in a letter to Decrés, "…if I were to announce I was the Son of the Eternal Father, there is not a single fishwife who would not hiss as I passed. People are too enlightened today". But as Tulard conjectures, "…by using art for his propaganda, Napoleon undoubtedly continued the Revolution without going back to Louis XIV" (1977, p. 225). Tulard describes the lengths to which art was "made to serve

one man" by describing one painting produced declaring the "adulation" of the public to

Emperor that depicts "…all the peoples of the earth come to salute the bust of the

Emperor…" (1977, p. 225). Rose suggests that Napoleon's personality had a less than

comforting effect on his administration, "where Napoleon could not inspire devotion he

struck fear. He had a poor opinion of human nature that prevails among politicians…he

sought to find out the weak and bad points of men, and in general he exaggerated them"

(1929, pp. 162-3).

Early on in his leadership "the whole Napoleonic system depended on the

notables who dominated the economic, administrative and legal life of the country"

(Tulard 1977, p. 183). However, there was soon a lessening of the power and privileges

of the nobility as a result of the formation and significant growth of a middle class. One

of the means by which he opened up bureaucracy to general society was by offering

judicial, administrative and military positions to capable non-nobles, "the Napoleonic

State possessed a central, uniform bureaucracy of professional and salaried administrators

whose appointments were based…on skill and talent rather than on birth and family

connection" (Grab 2003, p. 206). However, these appointments were given only a

limited amount of authority because, "it was…Napoleon's custom to leave (only) the

minor tactics to the discretion of his subordinates" (Fisher 1967, p.139). In keeping with

the Weberian model, as a leader, the Emperor kept personal control and personal contact

with all senior staff and important political and cultural figures. Biographer Tulard takes

an excerpt from Molé's writings that speak directly to this style of control,

Napoleon's genius, his nature, made him eschew any sharing of

authority…he reproached himself with having given too much freedom to

the Legislative Body, with having allowed them meddle too much in

affairs, and with having granted too great an importance to the Senate

(1977, p. 244).

Napoleon's administrative reforms included the re-centralisation of government

and the creation of departments and appointment of hundreds of government officials

(see Table 4.1). As Weber's model delineates, "there may, however be territorial or

functional limits to charismatic powers and to the individual's mission" (1968, p. 243).

As such, prefects were appointed with administrative control over the division of land

and Mayors were nominated for each commune, "the prefect's role was reminiscent of

that of the *intendant* of the Ancient Régime whose powers had, however, been limited by

the existence of the privileged bodies, the *parlements* and Provincial states" (Tulard

1977, p. 87). Although the vote was given to all members of the commune over the age

of twenty-one, there was not however an election but rather "presentations" from which a

tenth of the electors were appointed positions in the civil administration (1977, p. 83) by

Napoleon personally. These local councils were restricted only to financial concerns.

The Senate and Legislative Body were largely appointed from the group of members of

the former revolutionary assemblies. Napoleon had men selected, based on their

charismatic qualities, "…known for their critical powers" (1977, p. 87) and also included

military generals in an attempt to remind the administration of the "authoritative nature of

the gathering" (1977, p. 89).

Organisational Features or the "Charismatic Community"

Napoleon concentrated his efforts on his military triumphs and the amplification of his status and legitimisation of authority to the public (see Table 4.1). As such, he crowned himself Emperor of France, pronounced himself as the King of Italy and began referring to himself as Napoleon I. The vast range of the changes he brought about were an indication of the power of his charisma. He instituted the metric system, built and named streets and buildings in Paris, including the Louvre, developed in-depth regional government reform including constitutions, abolished feudalism and developed education, the arts and sciences (Rose 1929). He understood as a leader that, "it was not enough to win battles, victory must be enshrined in an aura of legend" and as such he bore Bonapartism which focused on civil war and the issues surrounding the ideological separatism amongst the aristocrats, he believed that "…to be above party politics, set yourself up as a national reconciler" (Tulard 1977, p. 19). This very much set the stage for the aura enveloping the characteristics of Napoleon's charismatic community. Napoleon's charismatic community and the mergence of notables can be closely paralleled with Weber's definition of the charismatic community,

> …persons (1) whose economic position permits them to hold continuous policy-making and administrative positions…(2) who enjoy any social prestige of whatever derivation in such a manner that they are likely to hold office by virtue of the member's confidence, which at first is freely given and then traditionally accorded (1968, p. 290).

Napoleon's entire system by this time in his rule depended on "…the notables who dominated the economic, administrative and legal life of the country" (Tulard 1977, p. 183). These notables, as described by Weber, were most often government officials, but also employers and landowners, appeared to be the cause of a division of the classes and the cause of the return of a caste system in the country, "in the long run only the privileged profited from the conquest of Europe with gratuities from special estates for generals, highly placed officials and members of the old nobility, and commercial profits for manufacturers and traders" (Tulard 1977, p. 192). A hierarchy began to develop and the notables relied increasingly on the government for "honours and their means of existence" (1977, p. 185). As was the policy of wage based on the labourers' position, the notables were also paid based on their role as a public official.

The lengthy wars and conscription caused a sizable depletion in manpower and as such the towns lacked the younger men necessary to the continuation of labour resulting in a considerable immigration (forty thousand workers in the summer months). This shortage of labourers also affected the wages that depended largely on the profession. The variance of these wages later contributed to affect the financial status of the population and of the individual. Weber defines status as "…an effective claim to social esteem in terms of positive or negative privileges…[that] may rest on class position of a distinct or an ambiguous kind" (1968, p. 306). As the status of certain classes developed and strengthened the bourgeoisie were able to secure Napoleon's reign creating a strong alliance between the Empire and the notables. By 1808, however, Napoleon chose instead to separate himself and his ruler-ship from them and felt instead "…more and

more convinced that the aristocracy should be the principal support of the hereditary monarchy which he intended to found..." (Tulard 1977, p. 235). For the next few years the notables saw a loss of their power, Ministers' roles and responsibilities decreased significantly and all of their correspondence had to go through Napoleon, the Council of State lost any influence that it had under the Consulate and, in keeping with Weber's model concerning the lack of formal rules (see Table 4.1), any recruitment of prefects depended solely on Napoleon's decision and the Councils of Ministers were "...by now mere formalities" (Tulard 1977, p. 239).

Routinisation

Napoleon used the 'currency of charisma' while helping to implement a distinct French society until the time when he crowned himself. He used this currency to make reforms to the country's administration and in turn this solidified the institutionalisation of charisma. This occurred even while the revolution tried to tear down society and, "long after Napoleon's death, the Church, the Codes, the University substantially remained as the great architect had left them, and French society was Napoleonic under rulers who violently rejected the Imperial claim" (Fisher 1967, p.130). The Constitution of the year XII had in it 142 articles, the second of which dealt with the problem of succession (see Table 4.1). This article describes the Empire as a "...reality established by force of circumstances. The imperial dignity was to be handed on to the Emperor's direct descendants..." these descendants did not include women and since Napoleon had no male heirs he was permitted to select an adopted child. "...it seemed, above all, to be

the surest means of maintaining a stable government and of putting an end to intrigue and plotting…the Empire was first and foremost a dictatorship of public safety, designed to preserve the achievements of the Revolution" (Tulard 1977, p. 128). Due to his eventual exile, Napoleon never reached the point in his administration of having to deal with succession after all but there was a plebiscite organised wherein the people were asked to accept the "imperial dignity" be passed on to any descendant of Napoleon (biological or adoptive) with no mention of the imperial title being attached to it.

While in power he reorganised the government beginning with a new constitution, the postal service, and a new system of finance and tax collection. He introduced the first printing presses, improved the French canal and river systems, created a health department and even extended his administration into Egypt where he opened an institute, built hospitals for the underprivileged and directed the new study of Egyptology. He reformed France's legal system with the "*code of Napoleon*" and was given the position of first consul for life with the right to name his successor. While Napoleon also created educational institutions such as the University of France (1808), his focus was on government services where he planned and implemented a civil order within that society. His approach was more bureaucratic than Charlemagne and Louis who adopted more traditional forms of routinisation. This approach to the institutionalisation allowed for a natural expansion of programs and formal bureaucracy through the positioning of officials within the administration devoid of the need for birthright.

"In one respect at least the Empire of Napoleon was neither Roman nor Medieval, but intensely modern" (Fisher 1967, p. 96) with an attempt to sustain a feeling of Imperial conformity in a highly centralised Empire. As Weber suggests, tradition and charisma eventually merge resulting in the loss of the charismatic's personal foundation,

> The charismatically dominated masses…become [sic] tax-paying subjects, dues-paying members of a church, sect, party or club…soldiers who are systematically impressed, drilled and disciplined, or law-abiding "citizens." Even though the apostle admonishes the followers to maintain the purity of the spirit, the charismatic message inevitably becomes dogma, doctrine, theory, reglement, law, or petrified tradition (1968, p. 1122).

According to Weber, being an unstable phenomenon, charisma itself eventually becomes part of every day life, also referred to as the process of routinisation. This process later allows for the legitimisation of leadership and succession. Legitimisation occurs when officials are elected into their position by popular vote. Although remnants of charisma can still exist, it is the "office" rather than the individual that it encompasses. Weber stresses that when charisma is exposed to the power of economic interests and the emergence of a "privileged" fraction of society (notables) it eventually causes a transformation. It was also at this time in France's history that Napoleon began to lose his charisma hence his power. The institutionalisation was so well established, including the government, administration judicial and education systems, economic, social order

and religious freedom etc., that was able to survive Napoleon long after his second exile and his death as systems that are still used today.

Contribution to Education

Napoleon's educational reforms laid the foundation for two lasting legacies: the lycée (public academic schools), and a centralised education system involving the state control of education first implemented in 1808 with the University of France that proclaimed,

the idea of a single corporation, comprising of all branches of public instruction, from the village teacher to the university professor, and itself controlled and guided by a few cardinal and directing principles of political hygiene, is naturally seductive to that type of mind which holds that the purpose of the State cannot be too deeply graven on the nature of the citizen (Fisher 1967, p. 91).

While little attention or finances were given to primary education, Napoleon made every effort, both financially and administratively to set up what he saw as necessary educational institutions for the purpose of succession (Rose 1929). In 1793 the French Convention summarised their education reform that included a plan for free education in elementary and secondary schools. The aim of education (see table 4.1) was defined by reformist Condorcet as "...the cultivation of the physical, intellectual, and moral

faculties, so as to contribute to the general but gradual perfecting of the human race, the final end towards which every social institution should be directed. In the case of promising pupils access to the University was to be facilitated." Due to limited funds, the end result of the reform in Paris was that, "only twenty-four elementary schools...rather more central schools were to be found; but in them the training was almost wholly scientific and utilitarian" (Rose 1929, p. 140). The lycée was influenced far more by the government than were the centralised schools. The curriculum was decided on by Napoleon himself and "the pupils at these schools were by no means restricted to government service, but every care was taken to induce them to enter it..." (Rose 1929, p. 142). Upon the implementation of the new education system, Napoleon created 6,400 scholarships to be handed out in the following disbursement; "...4,000 of which went to the most promising pupils of the elementary schools while the remainder were allotted to the sons of officers and officials" (Rose 1929, p.141).

Weber's theory of 'charismatic education' is defined as follows; "...the real purpose of charismatic education is regeneration, hence the development of the charismatic quality, and the testing, confirmation and selection of the qualified person" (Weber 1968, p.1143). Rose quotes Napoleon's very clear intention for what he wanted and expected from the education system, "I wish to create such a nursery for professors, rectors, and teachers generally, and that they shall be stimulated by high motives" (1929, p. 142). With the emergence of the grandes écoles great strides were made in a number of disciplines as students emerged from the institutions including: the founding of descriptive geometry; chemistry resulting in the discovery of the concept of electrical

resistance; natural sciences inventing palaeontology and comparative anatomy; medicine in the areas of mental illness, chest diseases and pharmaceutics; and the discoveries of lighting gas and artificial soda. (Tulard 1977, p. 224).

Napoleon's primary objectives that education be controlled by the State and its basis in the "…military, religious and deferential temper, after the Spartan or Jesuit example" (Fisher 1967, p. 91) are features characteristic of his charisma thus leading to the eventuality of today's grandes écoles. One can clearly see from the cases examined that the institutionalisation of the three leaders' charisma, particularly that of Napoleon's, is contained in a system of education that perpetuates certain charismatic features. These features as defined by Weber involve "…the development of the charismatic quality, and the testing, confirmation and selection of the qualified person" (1968, p. 1143). The grandes écoles, today as during Napoleon's reign, exemplify these qualities. As will be discussed in the conclusion chapter, students are sought out at an early age and streamed into specific areas of study, based largely on birthright and privilege.

Table 4.1 Characteristics of the Charisma of Napoleon Bonaparte

Personal Features[41] - Heroism - Mission/spiritual duty - Endowed w/ superhuman/supernatural powers	- "greatest conqueror and captain of modern times"[42] - "clearness of insight and firmness of purpose"[43] - "such exploits betoken superhuman bravery"[44]
Follower-ship[45] - Obedience and trust - Hero worship - Chosen on basis of social privilege & charismatic qualities	- Patriotism, devotion, love of glory. - "inspirer of armies"[46] - "Enough for them (followers) that Napoleon was in their leader"
Charismatic Characteristics of Administrative Staff[47] - Continuation and reactivation of ideal and material interests - The continuing relationships among the charismatic aristocracy of administrative staff and disciples - Having their relationships and positions put on a stable everyday basis that allows them to participate in normal family relationships and have a secure social position and economic security	- "the worker did not complain so long as he avoided military service"[48] - Society was called to political responsibility. - "authority comes from above and trust from below"[49]
Organisational Features or the "Charismatic Community"[50] - Based on an emotional form of communal relationship - Non-existence of officials but voluntary members	- He set up a democratic democracy - notables relied on the government for "honours and their means of existence."[51]

[41] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society*. Chapter 3, Volume I.
[42] Fisher, H. A. L., 1967. *Napoleon*. 2nd Edition, p.1.
[43] Rose, J. H., 1929. *The Personality of Napoleon*. p. 69.
[44] Ibid P. 160.
[45] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society*. Chapter 3, Volume I.
[46] Rose, J. H., 1929. *The Personality of Napoleon*. p. 66.
[47] Samier, E., 2004. *Toward a Weberian Public Administration* using Weber's Model in *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*.
[48] Tulard, J. 1977. *Napoleon: The Myth of the Saviour* P. 191.
[49] Ibid P. 82.
[50] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society*. Chapter III, Volume I.
[51] Tulard, J. 1977. *Napoleon: The Myth of the Saviour* P. 185.

- Lack of emphasis on technical training	- "the caste mentality began to develop at the top of the hierarchy"[52] - selected staff "known for their critical powers"[53]
- Lack of system formal rules or legal principles and judgments are considered divine	- no elections but rather "presentations" from which a tenth of the electors were appointed positions in the civil administration[54]
- Recruitment criteria of members/followers: charismatic qualities	- Power of the nobles was lessened
- No appointment or dismissal, no career or promotion	- "badly paid judges"[55]
- No hierarchy	- "the councils of Ministers…were by now mere formalities"[56]
- No salary - No specific job scopes	
Routinisation[57] - Members are seeking to sustain their ideal and material interests	- "the privileged profited…with gratuities from special estates for generals, highly placed officials and members of the old nobility, and commercial profits for manufacturers and traders"
- Members' desires in continuing their relationships for ideal and material interests	- the emergence of a large middle class
- Stabilisation and consolidation of the members' ideals and material interests	- Created a new nobility, set up a court and changed the titles of government officials
- Problem of succession	- "Napoleon could choose his successor"[58]
Contribution to Education[59] - Regeneration	- He recognised the need to prepare students to fulfil the requirements of the country
- Isolation	- "controlled and guided by a few cardinal and directing principles of political hygiene"[60]
- Educational community	- "a single corporation, comprising of all branches of public instruction"[61]
- Complete transformation	- Educational reforms of 1793
- Continuous testing	- the most promising pupils were assisted with access to the schools
- Graduated ceremonious reception	- created a business, scientific, political and administrative elite.

[52] Ibid P. 193.

[53] Ibid P. 87.

[54] Ibid P. 83.

[55] Ibid P. 194.

[56] Ibid P. 239.

[57] Weber, M., 1968. *Economy and Society.* Chapter XIV, Volume II.

[58] Tulard, J. 1977. *Napoleon: The Myth of the Saviour.* P. 128.

Like Charlemagne, the end of Napoleon's reign was less than what would have been expected by his grand beginnings. Rose quotes a Councillor of State who observed, "Napoleon looking down from the vast height which he had reached, thought the rest of mankind smaller than they really were; and this was the cause of his downfall" (Rose 1929, p. 163).

CHAPTER 5

We Three Kings: The Enculturation of the Quasi-charismatic Role into the French Education System as Contributed by Three Historical Leaders

> *I regard savants and intellectuals as coquettes.*
> *See them and talk to them, but do not marry the one or*
> *make a minister of the other*
> Napoleon

The areas that will be compared in this chapter include the major aspects of charisma based on the sections of the "Characteristics of Charisma", Table 1.1 introduced in the introduction and analysed in each of the case study chapters. It will also explore the elitism contained in the institutionalised educational system and examine how this has affected the current system that has emerged.

The purpose for this comparison is to describe the long-term evolution of the educational system in France while focusing on specific transformations that occurred in three particular eras. The progression of the broad scale routinisation of the system fits well within Weber's model of charisma and his theory of institutionalised charisma. As seen in each of the three case studies, the French education system went through several phases of institutionalisation. Charlemagne's reign, representing the highly "traditional" phase, led to Louis XIV's reign which began with the "traditional" and lead to the "legal rational" phase; this led to Napoleon's reign which was rooted in the "legal rational" and resulted in the development of modern society. Each phase led to the next and resulted in the overall institutionalisation of both the "office," as described by Weber, (1968, p. 251) and the societal systems and political institutions implemented in each reign. Nevertheless, the institutionalisation that occurred during each leader's period of influence was only part of the institutionalisation of the country's systems that occurred over the course of over one thousand years leading to what is today the education system of France. As well, even though routinisation occurred within both traditional and legal-rational environments, a strong charismatic characteristic existed and is reflected in the elite educational system to be discussed below.

The rulers in each of the three case studies associated themselves, and had some relationship, with their predecessors. Charlemagne's reign was used as a guide and was referred to by Louis and Napoleon as a means of creating a traditional, mythical and allegorical history on which to base their power. Louis was named after Charlemagne's son, St. Louis, and when he was crowned king he took Charlemagne's crown as his own and by doing so, "...Louis made tacit claim to his predecessor's title and heritage" (Cronin 1990, p. 69). Napoleon often referred to himself in his letters as "...the new Charlemagne" (Tulard 1977, p. 142) and as Fisher suggests, during the latter part of his regime, "he was already, like Charlemagne of old, a part of the national legend, called by quaint, endearing nicknames, and the theme of innumerable anecdotes" (1967, p. 129).

The "personal features" and "follower-ship" of each leader incorporated an element of "heroism," which was largely due to their military prowess, a strong sense of duty to their echelon, obedience and trust on the part of their follower-ship, and the fact that each was chosen on the basis of social privilege and charismatic qualities. The existence of these features allows the term "charisma," as defined by Weber, to be applied to each leader. Charlemagne and Napoleon transformed themselves from charismatic military leaders to charismatic civil leaders while Louis XIV, who was bestowed with the characteristics of traditional authority as part of his birthright, infused his reign with charisma that in turn allowed him to make changes to society. The follower-ship of each leader perceived them and treated them as,

...persons with a reputation for therapeutic or legal wisdom, leaders in the hunt, or heroes in war. [That] the quality in question would be ultimately judged from any ethical, aesthetic, or other such point of view is naturally entirely indifferent for purposes of definition. What is alone important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority, by his "followers" or "disciples" (1968, pp. 241-242).

Each administrative staff, as outlined in Tables 2.1, 3.1 and 4.1, portrayed the charismatic characteristics essential to Weber's model. There was a continuation and reactivation of the ideal and material interests, a structured tax collection system and a delegation of responsibility endowed upon the appointed officials (but with little control or power over decision making). As Weber further characterises the definition,

The administrative staff may seek and achieve the creation and appropriation of individual positions and the corresponding economic advantages for its members. In that case, according to whether the tendency is to traditionalize or legalization, there will develop (a) benefices, (b) offices, or (c) fiefs... [and] the revenue sources become appropriated and replace provision from gifts or booty without settled relation to the everyday economic structure (1968, p. 250).

Each of the small inner circles of leaders fell under Weber's definition of the "Charismatic Community". Each community was based on an emotional communal relationship where there was no emphasis on technical training; instead, the leader identified specific people, who assumedly possessed charismatic qualities, for official positions and responsibilities. There were also no apparent hierarchies of power since in all three cases the leader autocratically assumed power.

To Weber, "in its pure form charismatic authority has a character specifically foreign to everyday routine structures" (1968, p. 246), and, as such the routinisation of charisma begins to take place. In each of the three case studies we see the gradual disappearance of the personal charismatic leader and, in his place, the implementation of routinised structures. Although the leader's strict supervision over his subordinates remains, we see an emergence of an increase in the desires of the "officials" and the development of an alternate system to designate a successor becomes a principle focus. In the cases of Charlemagne and Louis XIV, succession was predisposed by birth; however, by the time of Napoleon a new system based on written law was required, in accordance with what Weber describes as Napoleon's "legal authority". Nevertheless, in the case of Napoleon, important features of charisma were retained in some areas such as the educational system as discussed in Chapter 4, he prescribed, controlled and guided the "cardinal principles" of the educational institutions in the late 1700's including admission requirements.

During his reign, each leader had a substantial influence and contribution on the

education system in France. New schools maintaining a strict focus on what was to be

taught and by whom were established, and each was heavily endowed with traditional,

religious and relevant studies to the period. Each phase of development built on the one

previous one to produce, restock, and maintain charismatic structures within France. In

each case we also see a concurrent effect on the culture, which is often not seen until after

the leader's reign ends. Charlemagne's reign generated a culture of a contemporaneous

literate populous within an organised structured society based on tribal tradition.

Likewise, Louis' developments produced rational thinking saturated with a strong elitist

nature and Napoleon's produced a society in which civil administration, state institutions,

and scientific research and studies emerged.

As the transformation of charisma into an institution begins to take place,

"permanent structures and traditions replace the belief in the revelation and heroism of

charismatic personalities [and] charisma becomes part of an established social structure"

(Weber 1968, p. 1139). Weber identifies as the "office" a social institution that possesses

a "state of grace". In the French education system the grandes écoles are a "grande

office" of charisma and are one of the many means by which the leaders in the case

studies moulded the culture of France and the social realities of much of Europe. When

studying the Grande Écoles through the lens of Morgan's *organisation as culture*

metaphor, one can see how the organisation of the Grande Écoles creates the recreates a

cultural elite as it, "…points toward another means of creating and shaping organised

activity: by influencing the ideologies, values, beliefs, language, norms, ceremonies, and

other social practices that ultimately shape and guide organized action" (1997, p. 147). The 'organised activity' of the Grande Écoles, and all that is taught within its doors, influences the minds of the new French cultural elite through the language, social norms, and the introduction to ceremony and values corresponding directly with the level at which they will become part of upon graduation. This is the 'organisational life' for which they are being prepared.

Charlemagne brought the idea and reality of education to the masses, Louis XIV encouraged the enculturation of the arts and sciences into society and Napoleon identified the need for succession of leaders by implementing schools specialising in military and political leadership. All of these led to the streaming of students into the Grande Écoles system that identifies and hones their skills and intellect and makes them the leaders of the future. The graduates of the grand écoles become integral mechanisms within the organisational structure. They will be responsible for perpetuating and enforcing the 'engine of change' within the society thus continuing the institutionalisation of bureaucracy and the routinisation of charisma resulting in enforcing the socially constructed reality in France.

As Weber says, "…the real purpose of charismatic education is regeneration, hence the development of the charismatic quality, and the testing, confirmation and selection of the qualified person" (1968, p. 1143). The most important features from Table 1.1 - "The Contribution to Education," in Table 1.1, subsequently analysed in each of the case study chapters, are present in the current French education system. These

elements are developed further in the section called "The Institutionalisation of the French Education System" below.

French Culture and the Elitism of the Institutionalised French Education System

The following will give a general outline of the institutionalised French school system and its elitist nature and the process of streaming students from a very young age. In France, 85% of all schools are public and the majority of the remaining 15% are private institutions associated with the Catholic Church. The separation of church and state was formally decreed in 1905. Originally initiated by Charlemagne, today there is no fee for public, primary or secondary education and the public universities charge only a token amount of approximately 100 Euros per year. The grandes écoles, however, are considered to be 'private institutions' in the sense that admittance to them is heavily regulated and the annual tuition ranges from 8,000-10,000 Euros per year. (Educational Advising Centre, 2003, p. 1- 3).

Curriculum has always been based on strict guidelines and fairly long hours of study as well as being mandatory for children ages 6 to 16 while "…around 80% of children continue their schooling beyond age 16" (French State Education, 2004, p.2). (See Table 2.1) All children in France attend kindergarten (Maternelle) by the age of 3 and sometimes as early as age 2. Elementary school (Grande primaire) is for students 6 to 11; secondary school (Ecole secondaire) educates children 10 to 14 and is followed by high school (Lycée) for children 15 to 18. (French State Education 2004, pp. 1 – 3). It is at Lycée that children are identified as having a certain skill-set or talent for a specific

area and the courses are then tailored to the student's university ambitions. A high school final exam, or Baccalauréat (Bac) is required to gain access into a university or college. Nearly 30% of the students fail this exam.

The last few decades have seen significant changes in the number of pupils and students in the French education system. In the 1960s the sudden opening-up of access to secondary education to all children led to a veritable "explosion" of the numbers of pupils in colleges. In 1985, the announcement of the goal of 80% of young people obtaining the *baccalauréat* [a vocational *baccalauréat* was introduced that year] by the end of the century, and reaffirmed in the Outline Act of July 1989, led to a second influx of pupils. The *lycées* and then higher education were becoming accessible to the great majority of young people (France from A to Z 2002, p. 4).

When looking at the French design of the grandes écoles, one may ask whether this type of system is effectively serving only a specific sector of society or if its exclusivity is causing both a national and international rift leading to prejudice due to the sense of 'eliteness' or 'privilege' surrounding it. Weber discussed the social prestige of receiving an education (1968, p. 1001) and its place within the bureaucracy. Clearly, the Grandes Écoles are strongly representative of the French bureaucratic system at least as far back, as Napoleon's centralisation of the education system that parallels Weber's description of the elements of charismatic education which include Weber's elements of charismatic education as follows:

1. isolation from the familiar environment and from all "family ties": the Grande Écoles of today are generally residential schools;

2. invariably entrance into an exclusive educational community: students are streamed from an early age to qualify for the heavily regulated private institutions where lineage is often a determining factor;

3. complete transformation of personal conduct; asceticism; physical and psychic exercise of the most diverse forms to awaken the capacity for ecstasy and regeneration;

4. continuous testing of the level of charismatic perfection; and,

5. graduation ceremonies and reception into the circle of those who have proven their charisma

All these elements identified by Weber could be seen in Charlemagne, Louis and Napoleon's reigns and are also present within the current system of the Grande Écoles, making the French system a compelling example of Weber's model of "Charismatic Education" (1968, pp. 1143 – 1157).

The organisational features of the grandes écoles have a vast effect on the purpose and practice of these educational organisations. The grandes écoles promote "the French way of life" within the structure of the institutions. Students attend field trips to other European countries, are members of organisations and clubs and participate in wine tasting and other social events, all with the express purpose of providing the students with "…a taste of French culture" (Groupe des Écoles des Mines 2002). This exposure to the

social side of life, or 'culture' as a Frenchman, also encourages introductions to and relationships with certain members of society that will be of value to them upon graduation. It is in these elements that we see charisma, as described by Weber, as, "...a very important element of the social structure..." (Weber 1968, p. 1146). This social structure envelopes the culture in which the students are immersed and in turn will produce. As Bright describes in his 1998 article 'Last Days of the Grande École', the schools are blamed for creating "...a complacent and self-serving elite" and the system of the Grande Écoles is primarily set up to "...create a new revolutionary class of bourgeois Frenchmen" (Bright 1998, p. 40). In this examination of the Grande Écoles one can see culture depicted within the design of the educational system that in simple terms is the formation of charisma and the process of institutionalisation. According to Weber, "the cultivation of a stereotyped prestige and style of life of a status group...will have a strongly conscious and rationally intended character...this factor effects all culture in any way influenced by these status communities" (1968, p. 29). Morgan further argues that culture is a living entity and a proactive course of action of reality construction, which supports the culture within it. It is through this reality construction which, "...people jointly create and recreate the worlds in which they live" (1997, p. 141).

The need to propagate a unique French culture has been discussed extensively in the articles on the grandes écoles reviewed in this section. However, as with so many others published on the subject, they do not apologise for their use of discriminatory or slanderous language. They often use American Ivy League schools as a comparison, but almost always describe them as something that France does not wish to reproduce or

emulate (e. g.: Economist, Frenchculture.org, Trilling). The language in the articles also assists in broadening the gap even further between France's own post secondary institutions, the American post secondary systems and the grandes écoles. They even insinuate that even the vast majority of France's own young adults are not suitable for the grandes écoles.

For example, an *Economist* article, "Fraternal Equality", introduces the 2001 decision by grandes écoles Director, Richard Descoings to accept students to the Institut d'Etudes Politiques "Science Po" who would not normally be admitted to the school based on their socio-economic backgrounds and lineage. The theory behind the decision is to simply democratise the admission process as the grandes écoles throughout France have, since their inception in the 18th Century, been visibly and overwhelmingly for the exclusive benefit of the higher social class. However, in the first paragraph, the author (who is not named in the article) uses obviously biased and arguably rude language to introduce the decision "to accept a batch of students from suburban slums, on the basis of their school record and a 45-minutes (sic) interview, rather than the terrifying examination that others who hope to join…must go through" (Economist 2001).

Without hesitation or apology the writer continues to be selective and biased when citing individuals. Oddly, the author manages to select what appear to be supporters of the new policy to argue their points while using their own words to downplay the effectiveness of the policy; this in turn tricks the reader into thinking that even the supporters of the new initiative are somehow against it. An example of this is a quote by

Genevive Zeringer, President of the body that represents France's leading academics, whose words are manipulated when the phrase "boat people" is cited when describing the new students to be admitted. The stigma of these newly admitted students, being less than appropriate for admission, is further encouraged when the author cites unspecified "traditionalists" when comparing the elite grandes écoles to that of American institutions, "Science Po will start slipping down an American-style slope of lower standards and the meritocratic foundation of modern France will be undermined for the sake of political correctness" (Economist 2001, p. 1).

Trilling, in his article "Technological Elites in France," appears at first glance to have a slightly more balanced view in his comparison between the grandes écoles and the Massachusetts Institute for Technology; however, one could argue that his conclusion lends little support to the superiority of the French system. Trilling's describes the students themselves as "distinguished" and having been "drawn into" and "prepared for" this level of training (1988, p. 5). Trilling, however, does not hesitate to stress that it was indeed the French system that "…provided the model for the United States Military Academy at West Point…" (1988, p. 5) while at the same time stressing that it is only one of the only similarities. He explains the significant difference between the American and French models in graduate schools and even biases slightly in favour of the American system when citing an American instructor as saying, "…the staff of the school consisted of generalists…". He also notes the "…French emphasis on public need and public service to motivate the development of new technologies and their systematic large scale…" (1988, p. 6) stressing a lack of research as the essential concern within the

grandes écoles versus the focus on research within the American system. He goes on to

explore the general differences in the courses and electives provided by both educational

systems. He strongly insinuates that the French system does not tend to provide the same

kind of incentives after graduation, as does its American counterpart. He stresses the

French system's lack of elective courses and notes that the teaching includes, "…lectures,

recitation classes, or problem solving sessions…with frequent examinations…". Finally,

he notes that American Universities produce technological innovations due to their

encouragement of research, while the French graduate "…is given a civil service

appointment in an office or department of his choice…" (1988, p. 6).

The author of the article "Elite Syncopations" describes the uproar by students in

France in 2003 protesting the policy changes to the diploma system that was meant to

more closely align itself to that of America and the rest of Europe. It is suggested in the

article that the modelling of the new system on the American system is the main bone of

contention by the students. The alignment with the American and British systems is said

to be, "…a humiliating assault on French diplomas…" (Economist 2003, p. 48). The

author cites Education Minister Luc Ferry as he attempts to justify the adoption of the

new model, "to fight competition from American universities" (Economist 2003). The

author extends this justification to support competition between the grandes écoles and

the public universities of France by declaring that the "overcrowded, non-selective

universities for the rest of [French students] cannot hope to keep up" (Economist 2003).

The author continues by remarking that the changes to the system are a modernisation to

which not all institutions will be subject. The National School of Administration, (ENA)

which the author boasts, "has trained two of the past three French presidents and seven of the past 12 prime ministers" (Economist 2003), will not be undergoing the new diploma model. The public universities will not undergo any change in their current system and the author suggests that this is because "competitive excellence, it seems, is fine – but only for the elite" (Economist 2003). Once again we must question whether this type of system is effectively serving only a specific sector of society or if its exclusivity is causing problems for the country on both a national and international scale leading to prejudice caused by the 'eliteness' or 'privilege' surrounding it.

"*Last Days of Grande École*" by Martin Bright reports on a document by Jacques Attali on the future of French universities. Jacques Attali is critical of the grandes écoles system and their elitist nature. French writer, professor, political advisor, and holder of more than one degree from the grandes écoles himself, (Leading Authorities, Inc. 2004) Attali describes the grandes écoles as,

> ...closed, incestuous institutions, designed to protect and reproduce the very elite that has shown itself consistently incapable of running the country's economy and winning the trust of the French people (Bright 1998, p. 40).

Attali proposes two reforms to the admission process to the grandes écoles. The first, is to reduce the numbers admitted in order to correspond to the needs of the country; the second, is to deflate the "eliteness" of admission from those who can afford it to those

who have the aptitude necessary to attend and attain a degree. The latter, it is recommended, can be achieved by students having to attend a university for two years in order to prove their aptitude for the sciences and math.

Throughout the article, Bright describes the grandes écoles as a significant problem for France claiming that, "...the ENA produces more graduates than the civil service can cope with...", that the universities are blamed for "...creating a complacent and self-serving elite" and that the system of the grandes écoles is primarily set up to "...create a new revolutionary class of bourgeois Frenchmen" (Bright 1998).

As each of the above articles emphasise, whether in favour of the grandes écoles system or not, there is preferential treatment its applicants and graduates. There is a high level of what can only be referred to as institutionalised charisma, which is designed to directly feed into the highly developed infrastructure of France's educational system. For all intents and purposes, France is, and has been for some two hundred years, run by graduates of the grandes écoles. According to The Group of Ecoles des Mines (GEM), of all the leaders of the largest companies in France, the President, the Prime Minister, and most of the cabinet, the majority are products of the French elitist education system. (2002) Although France does support state-run universities, the grandes écoles are the more prestigious choice among the population.

What we see most in the articles is the language used when referring to the grandes écoles. There is no apology made for the pretentious and overstated language when supporters of the grandes écoles pontificate about the long and rich history of the system that produces the best of the best. The critics of the system use the same language to deflate the pomposity of the supporters. They suggest that elitism and preferential treatment is not necessarily a good thing and that this moves the graduates, and indeed France into a position that is not conducive to Europe's current political environment. It is also often insinuated that the graduates from these institutions may not be of the same calibre of some of their international counterparts. Perhaps when Napoleon first pointed out the need to prepare students in order to fulfil the needs of the country, (Bright 1998) the grandes écoles were a good idea, but it now appears that the these preferential institutions should be providing more than simply slanderous remarks like those from the former French finance minister, Alain Madelin, "…other countries have terrorism and organized crime, France is blighted by the Grandes Écoles" (Bright 1998).

The difference between the charismatic analysis presented in this paper and the comments made in the above articles about the current system is that in the times of the leaders examined there was an initial need for an education model to be implemented. This need stemmed from fulfilment of the needs of society in the producing of literate populations, the patronage of artists and scientists and pupils trained in the art of war and leadership. Today in France this process of education is so entrenched in its elitist nature that its pupils are strictly streamed into a materialisation of the cream rising to the top theory in closed educational institutions created for what appears to be the production of

a select few to run the country and its largest companies regardless of the need or quality of scholarship of its pupils. This system remains so traditionalised and routinised that it appears to be at a standstill in expansion and development of itself within a growing and changing society both that of France and of the European Union.

Further research into the above analysis would be to look at the economic performance of France compared to that of the United States and the European Union. Is France falling behind in economic performance, development of new technologies, levels of trade, creation of jobs etc. and can this be attributed to its elitist system? I may also question how else is the elitist system of France affecting its overall well-being, especially compared with other countries? Finally, how does France compare to other countries on international education rankings of its students and what other countries have this type of education system and is it working for them?

CHAPTER 6

Cream Rising to the Top

Men are like figures, which only acquire value
in virtue of their position
Napoleon

Largely due to its strong traditions, which have survived numerous centuries, France has developed into the culture-rich country that it is today. It is also due in part to charismatic leaders such as King Charlemagne, King Louis XIV and Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte that the education system has evolved to become uniquely influential in forming France's domestic and international political, administrative, and industrial leaders. Charlemagne's enterprising ideals of offering literacy to the masses for the purpose of furthering his religious beliefs, Louis' self-centred artistic and scientific exploration and Napoleon's highly administrative and bureaucratic system of government all contributed to the dynamic nature of education in that country. Through their charisma these leaders were able to influence the institutional development of education during each of their reigns. Because of their obedient and trustworthy followers' perception of them as heroes endowed with superhuman or supernatural powers and a spiritual duty to their position (Weber 1968) they were able to harness the respect and commitment necessary to implementing the changes to the systems of France and in turn affect the culture of those societies in which they lived. Those also endowed with charismatic qualities themselves became the charismatic community that followed and believed in their leader and his mission. Routinisation of social institutions resulted when the leaders' charisma traditionalised (1968, p. 246) and, even though it incorporated both traditional and legal-rational elements, the educational system in particular retained charismatic features.

This chapter will focus on three main aspects; (1) the importance of using aesthetics and cultural analysis in educational leadership and, based on the work that I

have done, how to best analyse certain aspects of educational administration; (2) the examination of moral dimensions of a) the self, and b) the perverse and the problematic where, in a society like democratic France, this kind of very elitist system is a problem for equity and social justice reasons; and, (3) the use of historical processes and historical approaches (as Weber originally designed them to be used) to examine educational systems and to explore how charisma became incorporated into a structure, on a national level, to promote an elitist system. Alternatively, in recent times Weber's theory is used rather in the analysis of modern case studies.

The Symbolic Nature of Culture within Social Construction

Symbolism is a major component used in aesthetic and cultural analysis. It assists in identifying the authority of a leader and the construction by the followers of a societal structure within the framework of the leader's influence. Symbolism is a chief component of Morgan's culture metaphor as, "it directs attention to the symbolic significance of almost every aspect of organisational life" (1997, p. 146). Bass quotes Geertz (1983) as describing an inspirational leader's use of symbols to, "...justify their existence and actions by their insignias, formalities, stories, ceremonies, conferences and appurtenances. The symbols mark them as the center of attention and influence" (Bass 1990, p. 209). A culture's social identity is also formed by the ritual and ceremony that are part of the metaphor. As such "ceremony weaves past, present, and future into life's ongoing tapestry. Ritual helps us to face and comprehend life's everyday shocks, triumphs, and mysteries. Both help us experience the unseen webs of significance that tie a community together" (Bolman & Deal 2001, p. 117). Morgan says that the mythical

stories or legends of an organisation contribute to its success when there is some mysticism, including an epic or a hero surrounding the beginnings of an organisation. This, in turn, causes the contemporary members of that culture to have a historical reference of meaning.

The epic stories surrounding Charlemagne, Louis XIV, and Napoleon's crusades and battle-legends chronicle their bravery and military intelligence. These stories helped to define and add to their already established charisma within the socially constructed realities in which the societies existed. "Charlemagne was the finest example of what a Christian king could be…fiercely defensive of his family and Empire, there is much to admire. His exploits spawned both histories and romances, like all good legends it stood firmly rooted in history" (Durant 1950, p. 1). Louis XIV commissioned artists, much like embedded reporters in wars today, to record history through their art. Perhaps some of the most blatant measures taken to enforce Louis' image, and provide a historical reference for society, were those portraying Louis as a god through the painting, bronzing, and etching of his image in allegorical settings as a Roman Emperor, Apollo or Hercules battling Christ or in attendance at a Dionysian Feast. Napoleon adopted the simile of the solar system to describe the structure of government where it, "…plays the part of the sun in the social system, whose various bodies should revolve around this central luminary, each keeping strictly to its own orbit" (Rose 1929, p. 167). This allegory, much like that of Louis' Sun-king, places the leader in a place far removed from the everyday man and raises him in the heavens appealing to a more mythical perception of him which creates a mythical reference for the followers.

Charisma is shorthand for the emotional power of certain (rare) leaders
but is unfortunately, without ethical value...the very notion of charisma
connotes an irrational as opposed to a rational influence
(Ciulla 1998, p. 94)

In *Aesthetic Understanding of Organizational Life*, Strati introduces the aesthetic

approach to the study of organisational life as "... an epistemological metaphor, a form of

knowledge diverse from those based on analytical methods" (2002, p. 2). He does not

reduce the aesthetic down to beauty or ugliness but rather sees it as the experience and

motivations affecting the members of the organisation and the expressive form that these

take. Specific to the analysis of charisma, Samier defines the study of aesthetics as

requiring an examination "...by which the symbolic, behavioural, and visionary

dimensions of charisma, as art work, bring order out of chaos, shape physical and social

reality, and embody values and visions" (2003, p. 5). Cultural analysis (Strati, Schultz,

Geertz, Morgan etc.) is based largely on the values and ideology already present within

the organisation (or culture) that puts into play the daily rituals and routines. For the

purpose of this project both of these models of analysis will clarify the development of

the routinisation and traditionalisation of the French system.

Moral Dimensions

The purpose of this section is to examine the relationship between the positive

and the perverse traits of charismatic leaders. It will define and compare their attributes

and personal characteristics within the definition of charisma as identified by Max

Weber. It will also examine various theoretical perspectives on the personalities of the

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three leaders including the definitions of transformational and transactional charisma and authentic and inauthentic leadership. This examination will highlight the specific ontology of the perverse and the positive aspects of a personality and the effect that it has on its followers, the organisations they lead and the moral dimensions of the three charismatic leaders examined in this project.

The Self

"The Self" as theorised by Carl Jung in *The Development of Personality*, is a model representing of opposites, so that every aspect of one's personality is expressed and balanced equally. He explains that as young children we focus on our ego and as we age we begin to focus on the self and become more sensitive to all people, community, and the universe. This person is known as self-realised and is far less selfish than was the child. Jung's theory also introduces the idea of the shadow, the dark side of the psyche or ego where the evil that people are capable of is stored. Jung describes the self as being both and neither the ego and shadow, and both and neither good and bad (1954). Rather than addressing 'evil' in its religious, moral or supernatural connotations, I will concentrate on how it is influenced by personality and character. I will consider 'evil' in leadership to be the perverse charismatic qualities exhibited by certain leaders that deliberately cause harm to others. Jung's theory of "persona" is the 'face' that represents one's public image. In the case of any type of leader, the persona, or that is shown to the outside world, would be the qualities and values, which the leader wants to indicate that he possesses (Jung 1954). This representation of qualities can, at its worst, be a false

representation used to manipulate opinions and control behaviours, much like that of the perverse charismatic leader.

The concept of "self" is often a topic when examining transformational leadership. Howell and Avolio suggest that it "provides a more reasonable and realistic concept of self – a self that is connected to friends, family, and community whose welfare may be more important to oneself than one's own. One's moral obligations to them are grounded in a broader conception of individuals within community and relates social norms and cultural beliefs" (1999, p. 6).

Birnbaum's observations of the persona, in the context of the university structure, reveal that, "…the focus on a leader's persona diverts attention from the long-term job of building an institutional infrastructure of mutually accepted practices, rights and responsibilities." Birnbaum goes on to state the importance of charisma as a leadership trait, "charisma has more to do with impression management than with the hard work of running an institution" (Ciulla 1998, p. 139). Obviously, this observation extends to almost any political environment.

The Bass model is built around the leader who articulates a vision that excites followers and who engages in behaviours that build intense loyalty and trust. Once that trust has been established can the leader then become perverse, immoral or unethical and still retain the loyalty of his or her followers? This then leads one's thoughts to the

question of Hitler and his status as a charismatic leader possessing the traits and features traditionally explained by Weber's definition of a charismatic. According to Ciulla, "under the morally unattractive definitions (perverse) he is a leader, perhaps even a great leader, albeit an immoral one." Ciulla supports her argument further by suggesting that, "he mirrored the hopes and hates of the German people, he won elections, and he fulfilled his promises by changing Germany along the lines his followers wanted" (1998, p. 12). Burns' rebuttal to Ciulla's argument of Hitler as a leader reads, "He was a terrible misleader: personally cruel and vindictive, politically duplicitous and treacherous, ideologically vicious and annihilative in his aims. A leader of change? Yes, he left Germany a smoking devastated land" (1998, p. XII). It would appear that while Ciulla argues that a leader can be charismatic while being perverse, Olive has adopted Weber's religious philosophy of the positive charismatic leader. When looking back at historical leaders, David Olive warns that;

> The world has never lacked for individuals who possessed a bold vision, and who could inspire a nation or mob. The ones who actually affected the course of history, however, and whose enduring example still shows us the power of ethical enlightenment in our own era, were those few leaders who were willing to compromise certain principles that went to the core of their personal character, and which could not be sacrificed on the altar of any cause (Evans 1998, p.VII).

Management writers Nanus and Bennis have their own characterisations of leadership that include discussion discerning the differences between leaders and managers. In their determination they argue that "Hitler is neither unethical nor a leader, he is a manager" (1998, p. 13). Ciulla continues this argument by stating that morally unattractive leaders are defined as those "who appear to be coercive and manipulative and disregard the input of followers" whereas, morally attractive leaders form "non-coercive, participator, and democratic relationship between leaders and followers" (1998, p. 12). As "attractive leaders", Charlemagne, Louis and Napoleon all constructed environments that appeared to instil a sense of democracy built into the bureaucracy. The followers, specifically those within the charismatic administrative community, were bestowed with authority and responsibilities conducive to the Weberian model.

The Positive and the Perverse

In *Charismatic Leadership in Organisations,* Maslow (1998) describes self-actualisation as the catalyst for generating greater performance. Could this self-actualisation then cause a leader to become perverse? Can an immoral leader knowingly assume a noble role, trick his followers into granting him their support, loyalty and trust and then lead them in an immoral direction? Are his noble motives promoted by wearing a different "face" or "persona"?

Conger and Kanungo suggest that "…more rarely, dramatic problems can arise because of certain character flaws" and that "…charismatic leaders can be prone to extreme narcissism that leads them to promote self-serving and grandiose claims" (1998,

p. 211). They go onto suggest that, "an overpowering sense of self-importance and strong need to be at the centre of attention..." (1998, p. 211) can result in the charismatic leader's "shadow side" to overtake them thus transforming their positive qualities into negative or perverse ones. "Negative charismatic leaders are driven by personal achievement motives, and engage in behaviours that benefit themselves rather than others" (1998, p. 215).

If it is possible for a positive leader to transform or evolve into a perverse one, through either a character flaw or due to narcissism, can this explain how such leaders as Hitler came to their overwhelming power? Certainly Hitler expressed the values and views of his followers through his conduct and persona. He was able to powerfully articulate his vision while gaining support and as Conger and Kanungo explain, "...the dependence of followers affords charismatic leaders innumerable opportunities for manipulating the relationship" (1998, p. 228). This may be explained by looking at Hitler's style of speaking. Conger and Kanungo go on to explain, "leaders' communications skills often make it easy for them to mislead followers with exaggerated descriptions of future visions...the leader may employ certain communications tactics to acquire commitment unethically" (1998, p. 228). Even with charismatic leaders generally regarded as positive, like Charlemagne, Louis XIV, and Napoleon, some questionable behaviour may have been inevitable because of the intense character of charisma and its effect on their followers. In the literature I used in this project, they were never described as "evil" one can observe a number of ethical concerns and behaviours of the three case studies. During Charlemagne's reign entire countries were

forced to convert or were killed, masses of Louis' follower-ship were starving and Napoleon caused extreme changes to the societal structure and class system.

I have explored a number of academic scholars in the areas of education, management, philosophy, and humanities (e.g.: Bacharach & Mundrell, Conger & Kanungo, London, Mintzberg) and have discerned that while a number of similar personality character traits are common amongst the charismatic or positive leader, these same traits are also present in the perverse or inauthentic leaders. It would appear that it is in the leader's ethical and moral traits where the differences occur. Nevertheless, leaders who appear to be positive at the beginning of their headship can still possess unethical motivations that are not always identified early on in the leader's tenure. These motivations may not manifest themselves until the leader has gained the trust, loyalty and admiration of his or her followers. It is at this time that the followers can be too involved and inspired with their leader to separate themselves from him or her even due to the unethical nature of their motivations. Assuming that Howell and Avolio (1992) were correct in their summation that followers will remain loyal even when they are being manipulated, harshly disciplined and in some cases harmed, it is the follower who gives permission to the leader to continue in an unethical manner as they remain in the position of being suppressed. Is it then the follower who allows for the immoral nature of the leader to go unchallenged? Examples of this immoral nature that remains unchallenged by the follower-ship could be seen when Charlemagne and his armies fought the Saxons for thirty years at great expense in both lives and resources of his follower-ship, Louis spent almost all of France's funds on war and his extravagant lifestyle and Napoleon

crowned himself Emperor changing an ancient tradition for his own benefit. As we have seen from a number of references, it is the follower who grants authority to the leader thus granting legitimacy to the leader's claim to leadership. Therefore, moral actions are not always the sole responsibility of the leader.

In addition, by suppressing the followers' ability for growth, by lack of encouragement, the perverse leader, unlike the positive one, does not create an environment conducive to the succession of future leaders. By controlling the growth of the individual follower, the perverse leader then promotes more dependency on him or her thus narrowing the field of leadership even further. Moreover, if followers are crucial to the creation of the leader, then one cannot exist without the other whether they are perverse or positive. Conger and Kanungo defined the dark side of charismatic leaders as "...narcissism, authoritarianism, Machiavellianism, flawed vision, a need for power coupled with lack of activity inhibition and promotion among followers of dependency, personal identification, and lack of internalization of values and beliefs" (1998, p. 212).

The Psychology of Legitimacy: Emerging Perspectives on Ideology, Justice, and Intergroup Relations (2001) presents numerous research papers on the process of legitimation in social, organisational and political psychology. The collection studies legitimacy through: historical perspectives the cognitive and perceptional processes, consequences of self and society, and the study of stereotyping and ideology in the legitimation of inequality. The chapter by Crandall and Beasley on "A Perceptual Theory of Legitimacy," (specifically the sections on 'Heroes' and 'Perception by Elites and

Masses") is of greatest relevance to this project. The authors establish that perceived moral value is the basis for leadership and that one's moral character can easily be undermined thus having a powerful effect on the public's perception of that person. They go on to suggest that, "...a perceiver is able if motivated to tolerate a modest amount of the negative along with the positive; we refer to this as "tolerance of ambivalence"" (2001 pp. 93-93).

Bass, in *Ethics, the Heart of Leadership,* discusses charisma being displayed by leaders "...to whom followers form deep emotional attachments and who in turn inspire their followers to transcend their own interests for subordinate goals" (1998, p. 95). Kets de Vries, in *Leadership* agrees with this argument by suggesting that "...only where leaders empower their followers is there any chance of enacting the vision" (Grint 1997, p. 227). Howell and Avolio (1992) went so far as to say that charismatic leaders are regarded by their followers as being heroic, omnipotent, and even mystical in nature.

Ciulla expands on Weber's theory by suggesting that, "... (charisma is) perhaps, the only such term that so explicitly refers to the emotional quality of leadership" (1998, p. 94). She argues that charisma is not essential to be a leader but rather it is a "...generalized way of pointing to and emptily explaining an emotional relationship that is too readily characterized as fascination but should more fundamentally be analyzed in terms of trust" (1998, p. 95).

Essentially, when the idea of trust is introduced to the equation of what qualities a leader possesses, the concept of ethics and morals must also be associated with that definition. As stated by David Olive, moral leadership is defined as "...the means to inspire others in the realization of that vision, and the fortitude to pursue that vision within a framework of principle beliefs" (Evans 1998, p. VII). It is that set of principle beliefs that then become the cornerstone for that individual's moral and/or ethical conduct and which determine either the positive or the perverse personality.

Conger and Kanungo (1988, Ch. 11) defined charismatic leadership in a very similar way to transformational leadership. For the sake of this paper the two terms will be used interchangeably. Bass argues that there are two separate and distinct leadership types: transactional and transformational (1999, p. 5). He defines transactional leadership as involving contingent reinforcement that is exhibited when the followers are rewarded, through, for example, praise or financial benefit, based on their completion of a task to the satisfaction of the leader. This type of leadership can also include threats, negative feedback and in some cases disciplinary actions. The transactional or perverse leader "...endorses perverse modal values such as favouritism, victimization, and special interests and end values such as racial superiority, submission and Social Darwinism" (1999, p. 11). Alternatively, transformational leadership contains charisma as one of its focal attributes. It also encompasses strong values and the qualities of stimulation, motivation and consideration of the followers. It embraces the Judaic-Christian model of ethics and morals. Transformational leadership is primarily a set of moral assumptions concerning the relationship between leader and followers. Followers in the

transformational leadership model are critical to its success, they identify with their leader, due to the leader's charismatic personality and objectives. It "…fosters the modal of values of honesty, loyalty and fairness, as well as the end values of justice, equality and human rights" (Bass & Steidlmeier 1999, pp. 5, 11).

Having done some research on the subject, I have determined that the dark side or perverse side of the charismatic leader appears to be neglected in the literature. By exposing this other side of charisma, I am opening up an area of further research for myself. I would specifically like to research the extremes to which a leader is permitted to proceed before the follower-ship or an outside power attempt to stop him or her and if these extremes are the cause of a character flaw, such as narcissism, or a lack or moral fibre consistent with a contented personality.

Ciulla has adopted the terms "morally attractive" and "unattractive" to describe what this paper refers to as the positive and the perverse. Authentic and inauthentic are words used by Bass, among other scholars, to mean the same thing. The authentic transformational leader, or positive leader, possesses what the status quo considers to be positive traits and behaviours. This leader is able to, "…persuade others on the merits of the issues" (1998, p. 8), while encouraging individualisation and promoting personal growth in his or her followers. Howell and Avolio state specifically that the (ethical) charismatic leader assists with the transition of their followers into leadership roles. Conversely, the inauthentic, or perverse leaders "…set and control agenda to manipulate values of importance to followers often at the expense of others or even harm to them"

(1992, p. 8). This leader abuses his or her power, suppresses the individuality of their followers, and encourages a greater dependence on him or her.

Accountability

Accountability accompanies the leadership role, and, as such, if a leader behaves in a manner unacceptable to his or her followers it is assumed that they will hold that leader accountable. However, in cases where the culture has been fashioned in a way that intimidation and fear is built into its foundation, very often, the opposition remains silent or flees.

> Leaders should have a responsibility for the drama...the details of the drama are the responsibility of all of those who have parts in the play in the drama, but leaders especially will want to see that the drama is working well (Starratt 1993, p. 131).

One must consider the image-making, pomp and ceremony, use of rituals, initiating of culture and manipulating of symbols by many historical and contemporary leaders when examining the theatrical ploys used by the charismatic leader. It is also essential that we as followers take a good look at those whom we recognize as being leaders and ask what makes those people so attractive to us? Are we attracted to their charisma or intoxicated by their use of drama? Has our exposure to specifically designed propaganda caused us to place these leaders in a category of mythical status? I suggest that "modern" followers continue to be manipulated into accepting the beliefs and visions

of leaders that are not necessarily representative of their own. I also suggest that leaders have become even more sophisticated with their use of drama, due primarily to technological advancements. One must also hope that followers have become more proficient at recognising those ploys.

This study will contribute to the academic and practical spheres in that the education change and reform literature does not look at the role of charisma when a significant change or influence takes place within that structure, this role also relates the affect of an individual's charisma to entire organisational structures. In the area of teaching Education Administration in leadership studies or professional graduate programs, one must be acutely aware of the careful nature with which charisma should be dealt. As a powerful and potentially dangerous phenomenon, charisma within the practice of leadership must be promoted carefully.

The theoretical component identified is that the institutionalisation of charisma is used to perpetuate the current system of education, to generalise or routinise it. It is highly legal – rational with strong traditional elements, they are in fact a Weber hybrid versions of charisma whose leaders have still found a way to maintain charisma in the society.

Finally, this thesis is of value because ethical leadership has charismatic potential which is morally a highly problematic phenomenon. In the French education system one

can see how it would be very difficult to maintain an elitist system without it. Certainly, with the relatively new European Union, and its democratic principles, one can see how the elitist nature of the system may become influenced and forced to change.

An area for further discovery and discussion I have identified through this exploration of charismatic leadership pertains to human behaviour and interaction within a specific social establishment as detailed by Goffman in *The Presentation of Self* (1959) where an individual's theatrical performance and the acts he or she performs and his or her presentation is of a dramaturgical nature. This "performance" combined with charismatic leadership is seen quite clearly in the Louis XIV case study, but my interest for future research lies in the area of an historical leader with charismatic features identified as perverse or immoral and the implications of their power and acts on society or as Goffman suggests that,

> When an individual plays a part he implicitly requests his observers to take seriously the impression that is fostered before them. They are asked to believe that the character they see actually possesses the attributes he appears to possess, that the task he performs will have the consequences that are implicitly claimed for it, and that, in general matters are what they appear to be. (1959, p. 17).

I find this most insightful when looking at Hitler and his regime, that, as stated previously, are far too difficult to deal with in a Masters thesis and as such I will be reserving further analysis of him as a charismatic leader for my dissertation.

A second element I would like to pursue is the concept of the "office" (Weber 1968). Can the office hold enough power that regardless of who resides within it, have the same supremacy as an individual recognised for their charismatic qualities? For example, the position of Pope reflects this query. The magnitude and historical significance of the position is so highly revered, after centuries of traditionalisation and routinisation, that regardless of the one who is bestowed with the title, it is a charismatic office that holds the "charisma" itself.

Using Weber's charismatic theory supplemented with cultural aesthetic analysis this thesis has explored three case studies of charismatic leaders and their influence on the French education system. In so doing, the result extends Weber's theoretical framework in explaining societal development. Weberian theory, as referred to by Samier in *Demandarinisation in the New Public Management: Examining Changing Administrative Authority from a Weberian Perspective,* outlines the importance of looking at change,

Change in the administration of any social sphere reflects changing attitudes towards legitimate authority, and the elective affinity of political ideals and administrative practice (Samier 2001, p.235).

France's venerable Grandes Écoles structure is no exception. There appears to be pressure for change from both external and internal sources (Bright, Attali). But the Grandes Écoles' elitist nature is so deeply routinised and traditionalised that change will not come easy. The impetus for any change to the system is bred out of its participants since childhood by a system that resists change and makes elitism its own reward; one that favours cream rising to the top.

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