



What is the problem? A critical review of social justice leadership preparation and development

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Abstract:	Despite growing interest in social justice leadership and awareness of the need to include this focus in leadership preparation and development, little is understood of practices used to support such commitment. In this article, Bacchi's (2012a) Foucauldian approach is drawn from, to provide a specific means of critically analysing what problem(s) social justice leadership preparation/development is intended to address. Through critical reflexivity, the political dimensions of policy and practice are surfaced. Through this process, key influences of regimes of power are identified, within which leadership development programmes are situated. Considerations for leadership development and school practices foreground the identification of next steps for research.

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Table 1: Search terms

Leadership	Social justice
development	equity, equitable
preparation	equality, inequality
professional learning	race/ethnicity
principal	black
headteacher	gender
	inclusive
	LGBTQI
	disability

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Table 2: Broad Themes in the Literature

advocacy and purposes
curricular frameworks
practice: pedagogies, selection, assessment
course dynamics
specific dimensions: race/ethnicity, gender, disability, SEN, ASN , LGBTQI, poverty
practice in school
capacities, competencies and skills

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Table 3: Critical Questions

Bacchi's questions	Adapted questions
What is the problem represented to be in a specific policy?	What is the problem represented to be in this body of work?
What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?	What presuppositions or assumptions underlie the advocacy for social justice leadership development?
How has this representation of the problem come about?	What are the issues with extant provision that lead to this focus on social justice leadership development?
What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the problem be thought about differently?	What are the underpinning assumptions in the construction of this form of leadership development? Are there missing areas, are there alternative approaches?
What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?	How is leadership development to go forward?
How/where has this representation of the problem been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?"	As a body of knowledge how has this developed and what areas need to be further examined?

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Introduction

Bogotch (2008) highlights debates about definitions of social justice and suggests that education can provide a testbed for the development of social justice practice. Recently social justice has become a key policy concern gaining increasing traction in different systems and this has, as Jean-Maire *et al.* (2009) argue, led to 'a paradigmatic shift in leadership development from indifference or ignorance toward issues of social justice by practitioners and scholars to an embracement of said issues' (p.5). Increasingly, a core component of leadership preparation/development programmes for aspirant and serving headteachers includes social justice in education. Consequently, this is an area for scholarly enquiry where there is a small but expanding literature. There remains limited clarity either about the practices that constitute social justice leadership learning or the issues it is intended to address.

This article examines critically the scholarly literature on social justice leadership preparation/development through formal programmes. This review is underpinned by Bacchi's (2012a) Foucauldian approach to examine the problem(s) social justice leadership preparation/development is intended to address. In doing so we open up to critical scrutiny the purposes and practices of social justice leadership preparation and understand the regimes of power - political and professional - within which such programmes are situated. This article begins with Bacchi's process of problem analysis followed by an outline of the

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3 methods used to gather and analyse the literature on social justice leadership development.

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5 The findings are presented, followed by a discussion of next steps in research.
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10 **“What’s the problem”: Overview of Bacchi’s approach**

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12 There have been previous reviews of the literature on the subject of social justice leadership
13 learning such as Capper *et al.* (2006) and Jean-Marie *et al.* (2009). Using a systematic content
14 analysis Jean-Marie *et al.* have identified a number of themes. Building on this we are
15 interested in exploring critically the unquestioned assumptions underpinning the purposes
16 and practices of social justice leadership learning. Bacchi (2012a), drawing on Foucault’s
17 (1977) argument about the significance of exploring why and how things become named as
18 problems, provides an approach to the critical reading of key texts. Bacchi (2012a) describes
19 her approach as what’s the problem represented (WPR) to BE providing - a means of
20 ‘disrupting taken-for- granted truth’ (p.4). She coins the term ‘problem representation’
21 explaining ‘the WPR approach rests on a basic premise - that what we say we want to do
22 about something indicates what we think needs to change and hence, how we constitute the
23 “problem”’ (p.4) That is, how the problem is identified, classified and regulated. She argues
24 that:
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44 the practice of studying problematizations encourages exactly this form of critical
45 reflexivity. Such a practice prompts researchers to keep a critical eye to their own
46 analyses, which can only ever be part of a problematization (p.7).
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51 Leadership development is well-established in various systems and, following Bacchi’s
52 (2012a) argument, we need to consider the complex relations that produce social justice as
53 an essential policy problem within the discourse and the effects this has on the operation of
54 professional learning.
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6 Part of the purpose of using Bacchi as a tool for analysis is her focus on the political
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8 dimensions of policy and practice. 'Bacchi considers the role played by academic researchers
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10 in the processes of knowledge production and governing, and the relationship between
11
12 researchers and policymakers. She makes a strong case for researchers to pay greater critical
13
14 attention to the effects of the evidence-based policy paradigm' (Partridge 2010, p.12). We
15
16 would extend this to argue that as researchers and teacher educators we need to examine
17
18 critically the assumptions underpinning practice in leadership learning especially in headship
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20 preparation where many such programmes are part of policy and regulation. Bacchi (2012b)
21
22 builds into WPR self-problematization, an undertaking to apply these questions to one's own
23
24 presuppositions and assumptions. Bacchi's approach enables us to surface both the
25
26 unquestioned assumptions and the regimes of power embedded in the processes of social
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28 justice leadership learning.
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37 **Focus, literature search and analysis**

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39 There are two interconnected sets of practices in social justice leadership learning, the
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41 practice of headteachers and that of teacher educators providing leadership development
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43 which is intended to transform the practice of headteachers in school. In this article, we
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45 examine the practice of teacher educators. From a host of common terms for describing the
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47 roles we use the following: headteacher for principal; teacher educators for educational
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49 administration professors and learners for pupils/students. The literature on social justice
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51 leadership learning is diverse covering questions of the curriculum pedagogy and learning in
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53 formal programmes as well as on issues related to inequality and discrimination. As the focus
54
55 is on leadership learning, articles examining teacher professional learning and social justice
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3 were excluded, as were articles on informal leadership development. A systematic search was
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5 conducted to identify relevant material using different combinations of key terms (Table 1)
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7 identifying a diverse set of materials: policy critiques, scholarly discussions and empirical
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9 studies.
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15 **Table 1: Search terms**

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20 There were three stages of the analysis of the literature. The first stage consisted of reading
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22 through the identified articles and generating broad themes to sort items into cluster (Table
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32 **Table 2: Broad Themes in the Literature**

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39 The second stage consisted of reviewing these clusters using four key questions:

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- 42 • Why is social justice leadership development deemed necessary?
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 - 44 • What are the stated purposes of these programmes?
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 - 47 • What sets of practices comprise the processes of social justice leadership
 - 48 development?
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 - 51 • How is social justice constructed?
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57 The third stage was our adaption of Bacchi's (2012b) WPR questions to analyse the data and
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59 prepare a critical commentary on this body of scholarship.
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Table 3: Critical Questions

Using Bacchi's questions: A critical commentary

We now use Bacchi's six questions to provide a critical commentary of the literature on social justice leadership development. In this we are not simply looking at aspects that have been identified as a problem. Rather we are exploring the process of problematisation which enables us to critically scrutinise this literature and to identify 'possible deleterious effects they set in operation.' (Bacchi 2012a, p.7). Framing the analysis in this way enables us to consider the purposes and practices of social justice leadership learning.

What is the problem represented to be in this body of work?

The key problem represented in this literature concerns the limitations of conventional leadership development. There are several facets to the problem with issues relating to societal trends, policy drivers and school level practices. The wider sociopolitical context is identified as a significant issue (Author 2017) with Karanxha *et al.* (2014) highlighting the 'persistence of social inequities (reflected for instance as classism, racism, sexism, heterosexism and ablism)' (p.1187), arguing for the need for a form of leadership development that enables 'educators to respond to the call for equity'. This approach is necessary because of both historical and current patterns of marginalization and prejudice. Demographic changes in the US (Young and Brooks 2008) are raising questions about diversity and achievement :

schools in the United States are becoming more ethnically and linguistically diverse, while the White population is decreasing [...] the achievement gap [...] between

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3 affluent students and poor students and between White students and students of
4
5 color continues (Hernandez and Marshall 2017, p.203).
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8 In other systems too increasing diversity, alongside an achievement gap is evident in the
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10 problem represented: "London is a city of vast disparities between rich and poor and a
11
12 growing racial achievement gap" (Johnston and Campbell-Stephens 2010, p.845).
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14 Conventional leadership development programmes are not deemed to provide adequate
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16 preparation for the increasingly complex headship role of diverse school populations to
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18 address pupil needs.
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25 The complex relationship between these wider socio-political issues and education policy is
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27 brought into sharp focus in the American literature (Marshall and Oliva 2006). Policy is
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29 deemed a useful tool leveraging change. In the USA, *No Child Left Behind*, (DE, 2001) has led
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31 to every school being 'held publicly accountable for the success of all children' (Hernandez
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33 and Marshall 2017, p.203). Similar opportunities have been provided by explicit statements
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35 in policy and professional standards in the UK (Author, 2017). However, policy can have
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37 unintended consequences (Woods *et al.* forthcoming). A driving policy force remains the
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39 improvement of tests scores (Gerstle-Pepin *et al.* 2006) but professional standards that
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41 underpin leadership development programmes do not necessarily surface issues related to
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43 equity and fairness (Celoria 2016).
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52 In the representation of the problem, social justice leadership development is deemed
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54 essential because the tensions around high stakes accountability, performance and ensuring
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56 the progress of all learners, come into play in shaping the day-to-day practice of
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58 headteachers. The achievement gap points to the marginalisation of different groups of
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3 learners: 'the evidence is clear and alarming that various segments of our public school
4 population experience negative and inequitable treatment on a daily basis' (Brown 2006,
5 p.702). These 'disparities in achievement across racial groups' (Hernandez and Marshall,
6 2009, p.318) remain continuing patterns. Consequently, 'a commitment to fight for the
7 success of all students rather than accept their failure is inevitable' (Jean-Marie, 2010 p.110)
8 within a social justice perspective in leadership development. Such a commitment extends
9 beyond simply addressing the achievement gap to a concern with wider school
10 transformation, creating inclusive schools reflecting the lived experiences of learners. Boske
11 (2011 p.84) argues that in American public schools 'children are exposed to the effects of
12 these inequities through the perpetuation of hegemonic school practices, which reproduce
13 and reinforce cultural and educational traditions of White, middle-class, English-speaking,
14 Christian, heterosexual communities'. There is a perceived need to work towards the 'desired
15 future of education' (Feldman and Tyson 2014, p.1112). Social justice leadership learning,
16 then, is about creating "counternarratives" which "reinvent democratic processes' (Foster
17 2004 cited McCabe and McCarthy 2005 p.208). Ultimately, headteachers must be able to
18 address the two goals of academic achievement and preparing students to live as critical
19 citizens (McKenzie *et al.*, 2008).

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47 *What presuppositions or assumptions underlie the advocacy for social justice leadership*
48 *development?*
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52 Bacchi's (2012b) second question invites us to critically appraise the assumptions
53 underpinning the representation of the problem and its proposed solution. In the literature
54 there are two intertwined assumptions about firstly, new forms of leadership and secondly,
55 the role of social justice leadership development in fostering these. Theoharis's (2007)
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3 definition is drawn on frequently providing a broad-based construction of social justice
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5 leadership: leaders who have as central to their practice, advocacy and vision 'issues of race,
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7 class, gender, disability, sexual orientation, and other historically and current marginalising
8
9 conditions'. This new form of leadership is variously described with the emphasis on values,
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11 action and change: for Lopez *et al.* (2006: 14) it is 'leadership for equity'; for Bertrand and
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13 Rodela (2018) a participative approach leadership opportunities for learners, parents and the
14
15 community. Change is central to these new forms of leadership with headteachers described
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17 as 'agents of cultural transformation' (Johnson *et al.* 2011 p.159), 'moral stewards' (Brown
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19 2005, p.155) 'revolutionary educational leaders' (Jean-Marie *et al.* 2009, p.7), 'conscientious
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21 citizens in a global context' (Huchting and Bickett, 2012, p.82) and 'antiracist leaders' (Young
22
23 and Labile 2000, p.3). Leadership learning is perceived as the means to reshape leadership:
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25 'new leaders who have the knowledge, skills and dispositions to close the achievement gap
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27 and who are capable of leading successful efforts to meet the challenges in today's schools'
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29 (Lopez *et al.* 2006, p.12).
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40 The assumption underlying these programmes of social justice leadership learning, is that
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42 headteachers will be able to realise change using the knowledge developed through these
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44 programmes, 'we propose that unless school leaders develop coherent conceptualisations of
45
46 social justice, they will be unlikely to fashion their leadership accordingly' (Feldman and Tyson
47
48 2014, p.1106). Policies such as, for example, NCLB (DE, 2001), mark a move from providing
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50 equal opportunities for all 'to school systems producing equal educational outcomes for all
51
52 their students' (Feldman and Tyson 2014, p.1105). Within this literature there are repeated
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54 references to the preparation of headteachers to 'act equitably on behalf of all of their
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56 students and staff' (Marshall and Hernandez 2012, p.458) to create 'rigorous high-quality
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3 learning opportunities for all students' (Trujillo and Cooper 2014, p.157) and 'contribute to
4 the learning for all' (Johnson *et al.* 2011 p.153-4). However, there is little to indicate the
5 complex nature of this work, notably in balancing the range of (often conflicting) needs for
6 increasingly diverse groups of learners.
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15 The focus on all learners is also a significant theme throughout the literature. It is assumed as
16 a result of social justice leadership learning, that graduates will act for social justice within
17 their schools and wider communities 'shaping their organisations in ways that are inclusive'
18 (Jean-Marie *et al.* 2009, p.11). Miller and Martin (2015) seek to enable leaders to build
19 'various proactive systems of support...focused on student learning needs in specific areas'
20 (p.143). Thus, Hernandez and McKenzie (2010) look for programmes to enable leaders 'to
21 understand their service to their community ... [and] ... the difference they could make in
22 their own communities' (p.54).
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37 *What are the issues with extant provision that lead to this focus on social justice leadership*
38 *development?*
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42 Bacchi's third question is concerned with tracing the ways in which the representation of a
43 problem has come about. In this literature, this representation has come about partly through
44 the critique of extant leadership development programmes and partly from committed
45 teacher educators who have highlighted the gaps and tensions in relation to neutral,
46 especially colour-blind forms of leadership development. The literature is highly critical of
47 conventional practice which does not take cognizance of wider societal change, diversity and
48 the lived experiences of marginalised groups: 'What some preparation programs have found
49 is that too often our students have been ill-prepared to engage the multiple layers of social
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3 and cultural realities within which students and school communities live everyday' (Gooden
4 and Dantley 2012, p.238). Similarly, until very recently leadership development programmes
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6 contained 'only an implicit, rather than an overt, commitment to the enhancement of social
7
8 justice through the management of the English state school system' (Brundrett and de Cuevas
9
10 2007, p.44). The concern relates to a perceived lack of skill and understanding on the part of
11
12 headteachers which may exacerbate existing social inequalities either through ignorance of
13
14 social justice issues from the lived perspective of school community members, or through
15
16 structural barriers and elitist constructions of leadership (Bertrand and Rodela 2018).
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25 The issues raised in the literature concern the content, pedagogies and other practices
26
27 notably selection of programme participants. Teaching strategies to build knowledge and skill
28
29 relating to existing paradigms of instructional leadership are deemed insufficient (McKenzie
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31 *et al.* 2008). The content of conventional programmes does not deal with social justice: for
32
33 example, 'issues of racism continue to be neglected within most educational leadership
34
35 preparation programs' (Diem and Carpenter 2013, p.59), often guised as treating everyone
36
37 the same (Blackmore 2010). Conventional programmes not only repeat ingrained school
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39 perceptions, behaviours and systemic barriers such as colour-blindness the pedagogy of these
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41 is also perceived as problematic:
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47 Much professional development has been modelled on the transmission model—
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49 assuming that passing on information and exchanging ideas will change practice—
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51 with little attention paid to the needs, fears and desires, or lack of motivation and
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53 incentives, amongst recipients to change their practices (Blackmore 2010, p.56).
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57 Although issues of social justice and equality may be dealt with in conventional programmes
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59 these issues are often offered as a single course. This is problematic as Gooden and Dantley
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3 (2012) argue, 'leadership preparation faculty will need to push for more than one diversity
4 course as having only one or none can have the effect of marginalizing content that should
5
6 be integrated within our preparation programs' (p.245). Social justice should be a defining
7
8 feature of leadership development.
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15 Miller and Martin (2015), therefore, argue that 'the social justice leadership discourse calls
16 for preparation experiences that are very different from the theory and research that the
17 academic disciplines provide' (p.131). Further, a hidden curriculum in conventional
18 programmes ignores social justice and operates to discriminate against minority groups.
19
20 Practice related to the selection of programme participants provides an example. Selection
21 is pivotal in shaping the composition of a programme's cohort valuing diverse participants
22 who have demonstrated social justice in their professional experience (Rodríguez *et al.* 2010).
23
24 In addition, selection onto licensure programmes impacts on the future profile of headship,
25 being an important element of headteacher pipelines (Agosto *et al.* 2015). Karanxha *et al.*
26 (2014) and Boske and Elue (2018) provide thought provoking case studies where projects to
27 increase student diversity are resisted by some teacher educators. Even where data
28 demonstrates a disproportionate rejection of candidates of colour - notably Black African
29 American women - on to these programmes, some teacher educators continue to minimise
30 racial and ethnic diversity (Karanxha *et al.* 2014).
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52 The issues related to conventional leadership programmes raise questions about the power
53 and position of teacher educators: 'Problem definition, a core activity that drives ameliorative
54 [social problem] program development, is often a dominant culture's interpretation of reality'
55 (SenGupta *et al.* 2004, p.8). A criticism is that social justice is not a core concern for leadership
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3 development. Faculty attitudes are identified as a block 'despite some promising work and
4 compelling recommendations by particularly committed individual scholars, a vast majority
5 of educational administration faculty members remain silent on issues of race, making
6 unclear the scope of the field's commitment to diversity' (Young and Brooks 2008, p.393).
7
8 This reluctance is sometimes construed as a concern about dealing with difficult issues with
9 participants but equally influential is the fear of being marginalised by other teacher
10 educators: 'it's not simply a fear of discomfort, but may actually reflect a fear of rocking the
11 boat so much that one is dumped out' (Killingsworth *et al.* 2010, p.534). Boske and Elue (2018)
12 and Karanxha *et al.* (2014) illustrate graphically the range of behaviours some teacher
13 educators engage in to resist change within leadership learning programmes.
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30 Advocacy and development of a different approach to leadership preparation is often taken
31 forward by committed individual teacher educators. Jean-Marie (2010) describes this as 'fire
32 in the belly' with teacher educators sometimes in the face of considerable resistance from
33 colleagues, seeking to expose discriminatory practices and build more equitable practices.
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40 In essence, my classroom community is a nurturing place for educational leaders to
41 explore and begin to deepen their commitment to social justice. I view this kind of
42 work as political activism to move the discourse of social justice to deeply embedded
43 practices." (p.111).
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49 Whereas Bacchi's third question helped identify the 'problem' of conventional leadership
50 development programmes, the next question enables us to critically appraise new forms of
51 social justice leadership development presented in this literature.
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3 *What are the underpinning assumptions in the construction of this form of leadership*
4 *development? Are there missing areas, are there alternative approaches?*
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8 There are different dimensions relating to the curriculum and pedagogic practice. In
9
10 advocating for and investigating social justice leadership development, some studies are
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12 more descriptive and evaluative, setting out different areas of the curriculum, techniques to
13
14 be used and participants' responses to this. However, other studies draw more substantially
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16 from theoretical discussions to illuminate different issues related to social justice in education
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18 and to frame pedagogy in these programmes.
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25 Theoretical insights drawn from a wider literature relating to, for example, critical race theory,
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27 feminist theory, queer theory which, as Blackmore (2010) argues, enables participants to
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29 address areas only rarely included in leadership development: 'the complexity of the social
30
31 and structural inequalities, how difference works through power relations, and positions
32
33 them as leaders in and from dominant cultures' (p.55). These theories provide 'alternative
34
35 social justice perspectives' (McCabe and McCarthy, 2005), exploring dimensions such as
36
37 'multicultural leadership, feminist leadership, critical African American and Latino leadership
38
39 traditions' (p.203). Given the US origin of most of this literature, it is not surprising that critical
40
41 race theory (Ladson-Billings 2009) is central tool associated with theoretical constructs such
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43 as racial identity development (Hernandez 2012) whiteness and privilege (Agosto et al. 2015;
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45 Zarate and Mendoza 2018). These theoretical insights provide a critical framework for the
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47 examination of unquestioned beliefs and provide tools to lead to action. The challenge is to
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49 present these theoretical perspectives in ways that are accessible and meaningful to the
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51 participants (Author 2014).
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3 Feldman and Tyson (2014) draw on four theoretical frameworks which provide ‘the backbone
4 for conceptualising and doing the work of preparing leaders’ (p.1112) to become change
5 agents. These frameworks are:
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10 antibias education (combines racial identity development theory with progressive
11 grassroots activism); critical pedagogy (based on critical social theory, conceptualising
12 teaching and learning as a form of social activism); multicultural education (the idea
13 of social transformation through cognition); whiteness studies (locating race as the
14 central structure of oppression operating in society) (Feldman and Tyson 2014,
15 p.1112).
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25 Several detailed frameworks are presented in the literature. Hernandez and McKenzie (2010)
26 provide a set of five questions relating to social justice practice, theoretical perspectives and
27 tensions and dilemmas that guides each class in their programme. Based on their review of
28 literature, Capper *et al.* (2006) propose that critical consciousness, knowledge, and practical
29 skills focused on social justice are built through the curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment
30 oriented toward social justice. Diem and Carpenter (2012) propose five elements related to
31 race: ‘color-blind ideologies, misconceptions of human difference, merit-based achievement,
32 critical self-reflection, and issues of silence’ (p.107). Theoharis and Causton-Theoharis (2008)
33 outline different facets that foster the critical dispositions for headteachers through
34 developing theoretical perspectives, building a vision and sense of agency.
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52 Less theorized are issues related to pedagogic practice and participants’ learning process.
53 Brown (2005) proposes alternative instructional approaches combining ‘critical reflection,
54 rational discourse, and policy praxis’ (p.157). This approach is built on three theoretical
55 frameworks, Adult Learning Theory, Transformative Learning Theory, and Critical Social
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3 Theory, thereby enabling future headteachers to grow in ‘awareness, acknowledgement and
4
5 action!’ (Brown 2006, p.731). Furman (2012) proposes another theoretical framework where
6
7 social justice is constructed as praxis. Praxis has ‘the potential to be a powerful, unifying
8
9 concept in regard to leadership for social justice, because it captures both the reflection and
10
11 action needed for such work’ and to enable the development of innovative approaches. For
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13 Furman (2012) ‘Praxis involves the continual, dynamic interaction among knowledge
14
15 acquisition, deep reflection, and action at two levels—the intrapersonal and the
16
17 extrapersonal—with the purpose of transformation and liberation (p.203). Within this there
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19 are five ‘arenas: the personal, interpersonal, communal, systemic, and ecological’ (p.204). For
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21 Tyson and Feldman (2014) Brown (2006) and Furman (2012) pedagogy is not about a set of
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23 techniques. Instead these practices are an exercise of power to effect personal and
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25 professional change in participants.
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35 Jean-Marie et al. (2009) argue that leadership development programmes need to move in
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37 ‘the direction of a social constructivist approach to teaching and learning involving critical
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39 dialogue and pedagogy, and a concentrated effort to understand knowledge construction and
40
41 social development’ (p.11-12). The overarching approach is that of ‘critical pedagogy’
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43 (Guillaume *et al.*, 2019). This is constructed in different ways including critical reflection on
44
45 practice, on participants’ lived experiences and on beliefs and values. In constructing the
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47 problem of a lack of understanding and lived experiences of the participants, awareness
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49 raising is central to the development of a critical consciousness. McKenzie *et al.* (2008)
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51 describe this as an ongoing developmental journey across the programme which is modelled
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53 by teacher educators: changing minds by interrogating established thinking patterns,
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55 uncontested beliefs and values. Brown (2005) notes the importance of both the personal and
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3 professional spheres, the central presupposition concerned with fundamental individual
4 change where 'aspiring leaders must be masters of their own minds' (Miller and Martin, 2015,
5 p.113). McKenzie and Schneurich (2004) propose 'equity traps' as a teaching tool to surface
6 unquestioned beliefs. Equity traps are defined as 'dysconsciousness' [that] prevents us from
7 seeing and believing in the possibility that all students of color can achieve and that we can
8 have the ability and the will to make this happen (p.603). The intention is to 'prepare new
9 leaders to critically inquire into the taken-for-granted structures and norms that often pose
10 insurmountable barriers for many students' academic success'. (Cambron-McCabe and
11 McCarthy 2005, p.204) and to enable the participants to understand the consequences of
12 their actions on the whole school community.

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30 Fostering a critical consciousness is complex: 'social justice leadership was implied in
31 students' work but the program struggled at times in pushing students to become more
32 critically conscious'. (Hernandez and McKenzie 2010, p.57-58). This is a searching reflection
33 on 'practices, experiences and beliefs' (Gooden and Dantley 2012, p239). Zembylas (2010)
34 highlights the emotionally demanding nature of social justice leadership and seeks
35 opportunities for participants to engage in 'critical emotional reflexivity' (p.621). The power
36 relations that exist in leadership development classrooms is only limitedly acknowledged.
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Constructivist principles allow opportunities for co-construction of courses with participants
(Hernandez and McKenzie 2010; Rodriguez et al., 2010). Nevertheless, these are 'pedagogies
of discomfort' (Boler and Zembylas 2003, p131) in which critical pedagogy is balanced with
creating a safe space (Diem *et al.*, 2013) in which to confront issues.

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3 One area which is central to award-bearing or licensure leadership development programmes
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5 is assessment, a powerful tool for either reinforcing existing paradigms and practices or
6
7 realising change. The literature provides examples of the challenges in developing a critical
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9 consciousness, which is 'far beyond knowledge acquisition at the formal cognitive level'
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11 (Brown 2004, p.81). Young and Laible (2000) assert that: 'Future school leaders should not
12
13 be granted licensure or graduate from their preparation programs without an understanding
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15 of racism, racial identity issues, racial oppression, and how to work against racism in schools'
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17 (p.21). This has implications for the type of assessment tasks required of participants but this
18
19 is also about power relationships. Zarate and Mendoza (2018) propose that weekly peer
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21 reflection 'displaced the instructor's position of authority' (p.7). However, there is little
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23 consideration of the assessment process, either of valid means to assess this learning or of
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25 the power relationships that underpin such processes.
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35 *How is leadership development to go forward?*

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37 We have examined previously the critique of conventional leadership development and
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39 alternative approaches to curriculum, pedagogy and the theories underpinning of these
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41 programmes. Bacchi's question now leads us to consider the effects of these representations
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43 of the problem and the future direction of social justice leadership development. A key theme
44
45 is that such structured programmes of professional developmental for headteachers should
46
47 include the development of social justice leadership: 'social justice as an educational
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49 intervention is a continuously relevant topic that should be infused into every aspect of
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51 leadership preparation' (Jean-Marie *et al.* 2009, p.1).
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3 Bacchi helps us to appreciate the power regimes underpinning programmes of leadership
4 development. As Rusch (2004) argues that 'the power structure of the field of educational
5 administration can also serve as a barrier to engaging in a discourse about complex issues'
6 because 'those in privileged positions—no matter how well intended—are not likely to
7 willingly make changes that result in the loss of privilege' (p.31-32). The pivotal role of
8 committed individual teacher educators provides a foundation but this is insufficient and
9 there is a need to broaden this base. The concerns expressed by teacher educators about
10 confrontation and lack of support for a social justice perspective need to be addressed. This
11 can be achieved at least in part by teacher educators becoming more knowledgeable about
12 issues related to social justice and equity as well becoming more skilled in constructivist
13 pedagogic practices to foster a critical consciousness.
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32 There is also an additional dimension surfaced in only a limited number of studies.
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34 Constructions of social justice leadership in this literature emphasise an activist orientation,
35 where headteachers act to bring about significant change. There is little to be found in terms
36 of developing sets of practices through which headteachers can bring about the
37 transformational change in school (Miller and Martin 2015). Another body of work includes
38 exploration of one of four overarching research questions by the International School
39 Leadership Development Network (Angelle, 2017) conducting research in over 20 education
40 systems into the practice of social justice leadership. Part of the future direction of social
41 justice leadership development would be to connect with this literature on social justice
42 leadership practice.
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3 One particular area of practice seems to be of particular importance. As headteachers are
4 described as 'agents of change' bringing about transformative practice in school, a crucial
5 aspect involves the development of skills to enable headteachers to bring about change
6 beyond school structures, to impact on the day-to-day practice of teachers in schools. Here
7 we need to develop understandings of the processes of developing leadership practice to
8 transform both school leadership practice and the pedagogic practice of classroom teachers.
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20 *As a body of knowledge how has this developed and what areas need to be further examined?*

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22 Rodríguez *et al.* (2010) caution that 'developing social justice university programs in a country
23 of great inequities and injustice is difficult' (p.152) but nevertheless essential 'in a democracy
24 whose rhetoric commits itself to social justice and equity for everyone' (p.153). Leadership
25 development programmes are important in enabling headteachers' social justice leadership
26 practice. As societies become more diverse there is the danger of increasing fragmentation
27 and sectionalism. Public schooling systems are seen as potentially contributing significantly
28 to social cohesion providing opportunities for marginalised groups. There is a strong
29 imperative for action and change across this body of work, with much of the focus on building
30 the commitment of headteachers to achieve this. The perception is that schools and more
31 specifically headteachers are best placed to ameliorate social justice issues and address the
32 'attainment gap' rather than politicians, social policy or society as a whole. However, while
33 the significant contribution of social justice leadership development is underlined in this
34 literature, there is less focus on the significant constraints that existing regimes of power
35 place on those delivering leadership development and on programme participants in realising
36 the ambitions of this approach. As the field evolves one of the tensions to be grappled with
37 is the complex nature of social justice socio-politically and culturally beyond education.
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6 McKenzie *et al.* (2008) put forward a proposal for programmes to tackle inequalities and
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8 injustices on a broad base: ‘racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, and all other abuses of
9
10 power (p.13)’. One of the challenges is to balance this broad-based approach to social justice
11
12 leadership, with building a deep understanding and skill in addressing issues of
13
14 marginalisation and discrimination experienced by particular groups. However, there is a
15
16 tendency for educators to focus on some marginalised groups, raising issues around an
17
18 overloaded curriculum and the expertise of teacher educators. There is a strong emphasis on
19
20 issues related to race (Gooden and Dantley 2012; Diem and Carpenter 2012; Zarate *et al.*
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22 2018), challenging color-blindness (Gerstl-Pepin 2006) and raising issues related to racial
23
24 identity (Hernandez 2012) and White privilege (Young and Laible 2000). The concern raised
25
26 by Marshall and Hernandez (2012) and O’Malley and Capper (2014) is that LGBTQI issues are
27
28 not included in social justice leadership development which is reflected in our review of this
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30 literature. Of the reviewed articles, two dealt specifically with the issue of gender
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32 (Killingsworth *et al.* 2010; Rusch 2004), two issues related to disability and to LGBTQI. When
33
34 LGBTQI is included largely this ‘is determined by individual professor teaching the course than
35
36 any articulated curricular priority associated with the course’ (O’Malley and Capper 2014,
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38 p.313). Pazez and Cole (2012) look for the inclusion of special educational needs in a
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40 ‘culturally responsive pedagogy’ (p.261). Although it might be argued that implicitly, the
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42 intersection of various factors is appreciated, this does leave significant gaps.
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54 Brundrett and de Cuevas (2008, p.248) note the increased focus on social justice leadership
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56 development in the literature: ‘a powerful and persuasive academic discourse has begun to
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58 emerge that emphasises the importance of headship in assisting in the construction of a more
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3 just society'. However, a key issue is the use of the literature in shaping policy and practice in
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5 realising the radical reforms being advocated firstly, around the design and practice of such
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7 programmes and then secondly, around the impact of these programmes on participants'
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9 practice in school for the building of more equitable school practice. Much of the literature
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11 tends to be using small scale studies of an individual programme in one institution. There is a
12
13 small number of larger scale work notably McKenzie *et al.*'s (2008) collaborative proposal for
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15 a curriculum or theoretically informed investigations of issues related to social justice
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17 (Blackmore 2010; Hernandez 2012) and to pedagogy (Brown 2004; Furman 2012). The case
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19 studies often explore complex issues around power and privilege predominantly in relation
20
21 to race. They are also illuminative of different pedagogic practices and learning tools. In this
22
23 body of work, however, evaluation is confined largely to participants' responses to different
24
25 pedagogic practices rather than exploring longer-term impact. The impact of social justice
26
27 leadership development on participants' practice in school and the outcomes of this need to
28
29 be investigated empirically.
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40 The other aspect needing further examination, is the role of teacher educators teaching on
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42 educational leadership programmes, who presumably form a significant audience for this
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44 body of work. There is evidence of resistance (Boske and Elue 2018) by teacher educators
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46 who either prioritise the improvement agenda or see issues of social justice leadership being
47
48 well served by a single course within the programme. A further issue identified is the lack of
49
50 skill and confidence on the part of teacher educators in dealing with complex issues related
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52 to the education of marginalised groups where teacher educators tend to be from privileged
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54 groups White and middle class (Rusch, 2004).
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Summary: Setting a research agenda

A number of issues have been highlighted through this critical literature review both within the current body of work, and with the identified gaps and silences (Bacchi, 2012) in the literature. The vast majority of studies report on work in the USA with only four studies from the UK and one comparative study. Part of this reflects the longstanding place of principal preparation in the USA where licensure is well-established and where there has been significant attention to historical and contemporary issues of diversity, discrimination and education. However, as leadership learning becomes part of policy in different systems, and headteachers grapple with the demands of raising attainment and increasingly diverse pupil populations, there is a need to build research on social justice leadership development contextualised in different systems.

The ISLDN research has highlighted the work of social justice leaders across the world, often working in extreme circumstances (Barnett and Woods forthcoming). Personal commitment and personal experiences of headteachers are important drivers in the development of social justice leadership (Author 2017). However, this is not sufficient in itself. If we are to look for systemic change, it seems important that headteachers have access to leadership development that provides underpinning conceptualisations to inform their practice in taking forward social justice leadership. The issue of learner diversity and the implications for schools remain much contested, with a need to build on the American scholarship in this area by considering the implications for both leadership development programmes and research within systems globally. Different systems are grappling in different ways with increasingly diverse learner populations. Given the deeply contextualised nature of social justice practice, there is a need for comparative work across different systems, comparing the purposes and

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2
3 practices around the advancement of social justice leadership development. The extant body
4
5 of work sets out the purposes, content and pedagogic practices used in the programmes
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7 studied but these are often small scale. There is a need now to conduct larger scale possibly
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9 comparative studies on questions related to why social justice leadership development is
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11 necessary, the purposes and practices of such programmes and the constructions of social
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13 justice underpinning these programmes.
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