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

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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 traction in different systems leading to an increasing focus on social justice leadership. In this article we draw from Theoharis' (2007) definition with social justice leadership exercised by headteachers who 'make issues of race, class, gender, disability, sexual orientation, and other historically and currently marginalizing conditions [...] central to their advocacy, leadership practice, and vision.' (p. 223). The concern for social justice leadership has 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' (Jean-Maire *et al.* 2009 p.5). Consequently, social justice leadership development 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 development or the issues it is intended to address.

This article examines critically the scholarly literature on social justice leadership development through formal programmes. This review is underpinned by Bacchi's (2012a) Foucauldian approach to examine the problem(s) social justice leadership development is intended to address. In doing so, we open up to critical scrutiny the purposes and practices of social justice leadership development 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 methods used to gather and analyse the literature on social justice leadership development. The findings are presented, followed by a discussion of next steps in research.

"What's the problem": Overview of Bacchi's approach

There have been previous reviews of the literature on the subject of social justice leadership development such as Jean-Marie *et al.* (2009) which used a systematic content analysis. Building on this we are interested in exploring critically the unquestioned assumptions underpinning the purposes

and practices of social justice leadership development. Bacchi (2012a), drawing on Foucault's (1977) argument about the significance of exploring why and how things become named as problems, provides an approach to the critical reading of key texts. Bacchi (2012a) describes her approach as 'what's the problem represented' to be (WPR), providing a means of 'disrupting taken-for-granted truth' (p.4). She coins the term 'problem representation' explaining 'the WPR approach rests on a basic premise - that what we say we want to do about something indicates what we think needs to change and hence, how we constitute the "problem"' (p.4) That is, how the problem is identified, classified and regulated. She argues that:

the practice of studying problematizations encourages exactly this form of critical reflexivity. Such a practice prompts researchers to keep a critical eye to their own analyses, which can only ever be part of a problematization (p.7).

Part of the purpose of using Bacchi as a tool for analysis is her focus on the political dimensions of policy and practice. 'Bacchi considers the role played by academic researchers in the processes of knowledge production and governing, and the relationship between researchers and policymakers. She makes a strong case for researchers to pay greater critical attention to the effects of the evidence-based policy paradigm' (Partridge 2010, p.12). We would extend this to argue that as researchers and teacher educators we need to examine critically the assumptions underpinning practice in leadership development including headship preparation where many such programmes are part of policy and regulation. Bacchi (2012b) builds into WPR self-problematization, an undertaking to apply these questions to one's own presuppositions and assumptions. Leadership development is well-established in various systems and, following Bacchi's (2012a) argument, we need to consider the complex relations that produce social justice as an essential policy problem within the discourse and the effects this has on the operation of professional learning. Bacchi's approach enables us to surface both the unquestioned assumptions and the regimes of power embedded in the processes of social justice leadership development.

Focus, literature search and analysis

There are two interconnected sets of practices in social justice leadership development, the practice of headteachers in school and that of teacher educators providing leadership development which is intended to either prepare teachers for headship or provide ongoing professional development for serving headteachers. In this article, we examine the practice of teacher educators. From a host of common terms for describing the various roles, we use the following: headteacher for principal; teacher educators for educational administration professors and learners for pupils/students. The

literature on social justice leadership development is diverse covering questions of the curriculum, pedagogy and learning in formal programmes as well as issues related to inequality and discrimination. For this review articles examining teacher professional development and social justice and informal leadership development were excluded. A systematic search was conducted using combinations of key terms (Table 1) to identify a diverse set of materials: policy critiques, scholarly discussions and empirical studies.

Table 1: Search terms

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

There were three stages of the analysis of the literature. The first stage consisted of reading through the identified articles and generating broad themes to sort items into clusters (Table 2).

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

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

- Why is social justice leadership development deemed necessary?
- What are the stated purposes of these programmes?
- What sets of practices comprise the processes of social justice leadership development?
- How is social justice constructed?

The third stage was our adaption of Bacchi's (2012b) WPR questions to analyse the data and prepare a critical commentary on this body of scholarship.

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?

Using Bacchi's questions: A critical commentary

We now use the adapted 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

problematic. 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 critically the purposes and practices of social justice leadership development and the underpinning power regimes.

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 (Torrance and Forde 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 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 affluent students and poor students and between White students and students of color continues (Hernandez and Marshall 2017, p.203).

In other systems too increasing diversity, alongside an achievement gap is evident in the problem represented: ‘London is a city of vast disparities between rich and poor and a growing racial achievement gap’ (Johnston and Campbell-Stephens 2010, p.845). Conventional leadership development programmes are not deemed to adequately support the endeavours of headteachers looking to address the learning needs of all learners.

The complex relationship between these wider socio-political issues and education policy is brought into sharp focus in the American literature (Marshall and Oliva 2006). Policy is deemed a useful tool leveraging change. In the USA for example, *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB), (DE, 2001) has led to every school being ‘held publicly accountable for the success of all children’ (Hernandez and Marshall 2017, p.203). Similar opportunities have been provided by explicit statements in policy and professional standards in the UK (Author, 2017). However, policy can have unintended consequences (Woods *et al.* 2020). A driving policy force remains the improvement of attainment (Gerstle-Pepin *et al.* 2006) but professional standards that underpin leadership development programmes do not necessarily surface issues related to equity and fairness (Celoria 2016).

In the representation of the problem, social justice leadership development is deemed essential because the tensions around high stakes accountability, performance and ensuring the progress of all learners, come into play in shaping the day-to-day practice of headteachers. The achievement gap points to the marginalisation of different groups of learners: ‘the evidence is clear and alarming that various segments of our public-school population experience negative and inequitable treatment on a daily basis’ (Brown 2006, p.702). These ‘disparities in achievement across racial groups’ (Hernandez and Marshall, 2009, p.318) remain continuing patterns. Consequently, ‘a commitment to fight for the success of all students rather than accept their failure is inevitable’ (Jean-Marie, 2010 p.110) and therefore is central in social justice leadership development. Such a commitment extends beyond simply addressing the achievement gap to a concern with wider school transformation, creating inclusive schools reflecting the lived experiences of learners. Boske (2011 p.84) argues that in American public schools ‘children are exposed to the effects of these inequities through the perpetuation of hegemonic school practices, which reproduce and reinforce cultural and educational traditions of White, middle-class, English-speaking, Christian, heterosexual communities’. There is a perceived need to work towards the ‘desired future of education’ (Feldman and Tyson 2014, p.1112). Social justice leadership development, then, is about creating ‘counternarratives’ which ‘reinvent democratic processes’ (Foster 2004 cited McCabe and McCarthy 2005 p.208) and enable headteachers to understand and dismantle barriers to learning to address the two goals of academic achievement and preparing students to live as critical citizens (McKenzie *et al.*, 2008).

What presuppositions or assumptions underlie the advocacy for social justice leadership development? Bacchi’s (2012b) second question invites us to critically appraise the assumptions underpinning the representation of the problem and its proposed solution. In the literature there are two intertwined assumptions about firstly, new forms of leadership and secondly, the role of social justice leadership development in fostering these. Theoharis’ (2007) definition providing a broad-based construction of social justice leadership around ‘issues of race, class, gender, disability, sexual orientation, and other historically and current marginalising conditions’ is drawn on frequently. This new form of leadership is variously described with the emphasis on values, action and change: for Lopez *et al.* (2006: 14) it is ‘leadership for equity’; for Bertrand and Rodela (2018) a participative approach with leadership opportunities for learners, parents and the community. Change is central to these new forms of leadership with headteachers described as ‘agents of cultural transformation’ (Johnson *et al.* 2011 p.159), ‘moral stewards’ (Brown 2005, p.155) ‘revolutionary educational leaders’ (Jean-Marie *et al.* 2009, p.7), ‘conscientious citizens in a global context’ (Huchting and Bickett, 2012, p.82) and ‘antiracist

leaders' (Young and Labile 2000, p.3). Leadership development is perceived as the means to reshape leadership: 'new leaders who have the knowledge, skills and dispositions to close the achievement gap and who are capable of leading successful efforts to meet the challenges in today's schools' (Lopez *et al.* 2006, p.12).

The assumption underlying these programmes of social justice leadership development, is that headteachers will be able to realise change using the knowledge developed through these programmes, 'we propose that unless school leaders develop coherent conceptualisations of social justice, they will be unlikely to fashion their leadership accordingly' (Feldman and Tyson 2014, p.1106). Policies such as, for example, NCLB (DE, 2001), mark a move from providing equal opportunities for all 'to school systems producing equal educational outcomes for all their students' (Feldman and Tyson 2014, p.1105). Within this literature there are repeated references to the development of headteachers to 'act equitably on behalf of all of their students and staff' (Marshall and Hernandez 2012, p.458), to create 'rigorous high-quality learning opportunities for all students' (Trujillo and Cooper 2014, p.157) and 'contribute to the learning for all' (Johnson *et al.* 2011 p.153-4). The focus on all learners is a consistent theme throughout the literature. Miller and Martin (2015) seek to enable leaders to build 'various proactive systems of support...focused on student learning needs in specific areas' (p.143). Thus, Hernandez and McKenzie (2010) look for programmes to enable leaders 'to understand their service to their community ... [and] ... the difference they could make in their own communities' (p.54). However, there is little to indicate the complex nature of this work, notably in balancing the range of (often conflicting) needs for increasingly diverse groups of learners.

What are the issues with extant provision that lead to this focus on social justice leadership development?

Bacchi's third question is concerned with tracing the ways in which the representation of a problem has come about. In this literature, this representation has come about partly through the critique of extant leadership development programmes and partly from committed teacher educators who have highlighted the gaps and tensions in relation to neutral, especially colour-blind forms of leadership development. The literature is highly critical of conventional practice which does not take cognizance of wider societal change, diversity and the lived experiences of marginalised groups: 'What some preparation programs have found is that too often our students have been ill-prepared to engage the multiple layers of social and cultural realities within which students and school communities live everyday' (Gooden and Dantley 2012, p.238). Similarly, until very recently leadership development programmes contained 'only an implicit, rather than an overt, commitment to the enhancement of

social justice through the management of the English state school system’ (Brundrett and de Cuevas 2007, p.44). The concern relates to a perceived lack of skill and understanding on the part of headteachers which may exacerbate existing social inequalities either through ignorance of social justice issues from the lived perspective of school community members, or through structural barriers and elitist constructions of leadership (Bertrand and Rodela 2018).

The issues raised in the literature concern the content, pedagogies and other practices notably selection of programme participants. Teaching strategies to build knowledge and skill relating to existing paradigms of instructional leadership are deemed insufficient (McKenzie *et al.* 2008). The content of conventional programmes does not deal with social justice: for example, ‘issues of racism continue to be neglected within most educational leadership preparation programs’ (Diem and Carpenter 2013, p.59), often guised as treating everyone the same (Blackmore 2010). Conventional programmes repeat ingrained school perceptions, behaviours and systemic barriers such as colour-blindness and the pedagogy of these is also perceived as problematic:

Much professional development has been modelled on the transmission model—assuming that passing on information and exchanging ideas will change practice—with little attention paid to the needs, fears and desires, or lack of motivation and incentives, amongst recipients to change their practices (Blackmore 2010, p.56).

Although issues of social justice and equality may be dealt with in conventional programmes these issues are often offered as a single course. This is deemed problematic, ‘leadership preparation faculty will need to push for more than one diversity course as having only one or none can have the effect of marginalizing content that should be integrated within our preparation programs’ (Gooden and Dantley 2012, p.245). Social justice should be a defining feature of leadership development.

Miller and Martin (2015), therefore, argue that ‘the social justice leadership discourse calls for preparation experiences that are very different from the theory and research that the academic disciplines provide’ (p.131). Further, a hidden curriculum in conventional programmes ignores social justice and operates to discriminate against minority groups. Practice related to the selection of programme participants provides an example. Selection is pivotal in shaping the composition of a programme’s cohort, valuing diverse participants who have demonstrated social justice in their professional experience (Rodríguez *et al.* 2010). In addition, selection onto licensure programmes which are part of headteacher pipelines, impact on the future profile of headship (Agosto *et al.* 2015). Karanxha *et al.* (2014) and Boske and Elue (2018) provide thought provoking case studies where projects to increase student diversity are resisted by some teacher educators. Even where data

demonstrates a disproportionate rejection of candidates of colour - notably Black African American women - some teacher educators continue to minimise racial and ethnic diversity (Karanxha *et al.* 2014).

The issues related to conventional leadership programmes raise questions about the power and position of teacher educators: 'Problem definition, a core activity that drives ameliorative [social problem] program development, is often a dominant culture's interpretation of reality' (SenGupta *et al.* 2004, p.8). Faculty attitudes are identified as a block:

despite some promising work and compelling recommendations by particularly committed individual scholars, a vast majority of educational administration faculty members remain silent on issues of race, making unclear the scope of the field's commitment to diversity (Young and Brooks 2008, p.393).

This reluctance is sometimes construed as a concern about dealing with difficult issues on the programme but equally influential is the fear of being marginalised by other teacher educators: 'it's not simply a fear of discomfort, but may actually reflect a fear of rocking the boat so much that one is dumped out' (Killingsworth *et al.* 2010, p.534). Boske and Elue (2018) and Karanxha *et al.* (2014) illustrate graphically the range of behaviours some teacher educators engage in to resist change within leadership development programmes.

Advocacy and the development of a different approach to leadership development is often progressed by committed individual teacher educators. Jean-Marie (2010) describes this as 'fire in the belly' with teacher educators, sometimes in the face of considerable resistance from colleagues, seeking to expose discriminatory practices and build more equitable practices:

In essence, my classroom community is a nurturing place for educational leaders to explore and begin to deepen their commitment to social justice. I view this kind of work as political activism to move the discourse of social justice to deeply embedded practices." (p.111).

Whereas Bacchi's third question helped identify the 'problem' of conventional leadership development programmes, the next question enables us to critically appraise new forms of social justice leadership development presented in this literature.

What are the underpinning assumptions in the construction of this form of leadership development? Are there missing areas, are there alternative approaches?

In advocating for and investigating social justice leadership development, some studies are more descriptive and evaluative, setting out different areas of the curriculum, techniques to be used and

participants' responses to this. However, other studies draw more substantially from theoretical discussions to illuminate different issues related to social justice in education and to frame pedagogy in these programmes.

Theoretical insights drawn from a wider literature relating to, for example, critical race theory, feminist theory, queer theory which, as Blackmore (2010) argues, enables participants to address issues of power and exclusion, are only rarely included in leadership development: 'the complexity of the social and structural inequalities, how difference works through power relations, and positions them as leaders in and from dominant cultures' (p.55). These theories provide 'alternative social justice perspectives', exploring dimensions such as 'multicultural leadership, feminist leadership, critical African American and Latino leadership traditions' (McCabe and McCarthy 2005, p.203). Given the US origin of most of this literature, it is not surprising that critical race theory (Ladson-Billings 2009) is a central tool associated with theoretical constructs such as racial identity development (Hernandez 2012), whiteness and privilege (Agosto et al. 2015; Zarate and Mendoza 2018). These theoretical insights enable participants to examine their unquestioned beliefs and provide tools to leading to action.

Feldman and Tyson (2014) draw on four theoretical frameworks which provide 'the backbone for conceptualising and doing the work of preparing leaders' (p.1112) to become change agents. These frameworks are:

antibias education (combines racial identity development theory with progressive grassroots activism); critical pedagogy (based on critical social theory, conceptualising teaching and learning as a form of social activism); multicultural education (the idea of social transformation through cognition); whiteness studies (locating race as the central structure of oppression operating in society) (Feldman and Tyson 2014, p.1112).

Several detailed frameworks are presented in the literature. Hernandez and McKenzie (2010) provide a set of five questions relating to social justice practice, theoretical perspectives and tensions and dilemmas that guides each class in their programme. The purpose of this focus is to build as Capper *et al.* (2006) propose, a critical consciousness, knowledge, and practical skills focused on social justice. Diem and Carpenter (2012) propose five elements related to race: 'color-blind ideologies, misconceptions of human difference, merit-based achievement, critical self-reflection, and issues of silence' (p.107). Theoharis and Causton-Theoharis (2008) outline different facets that foster the critical dispositions for headteachers through developing theoretical perspectives, building a vision and sense of agency.

Less theorized are issues related to pedagogic practice and learning. Brown (2005) proposes alternative instructional approaches combining 'critical reflection, rational discourse, and policy praxis' (p.157). This approach is built on three theoretical frameworks, Adult Learning Theory, Transformative Learning Theory, and Critical Social Theory, thereby enabling headteachers to grow in 'awareness, acknowledgement and action!' (Brown 2006, p.731). Furman (2012) proposes another theoretical framework where social justice is constructed as praxis. Praxis has 'the potential to be a powerful, unifying concept in regard to leadership for social justice, because it captures both the reflection and action needed for such work' and to enable the development of innovative approaches. For Furman (2012) 'Praxis involves the continual, dynamic interaction among knowledge acquisition, deep reflection, and action at two levels—the intrapersonal and the extrapersonal—with the purpose of transformation and liberation (p.203). Within this there are five 'arenas: the personal, interpersonal, communal, systemic, and ecological' (p.204).

Jean-Marie et al. (2009) argue that leadership development needs to move in 'the direction of a social constructivist approach to teaching and learning involving critical dialogue and pedagogy, and a concentrated effort to understand knowledge construction and social development' (p.11-12). The overarching approach is that of 'critical pedagogy' (Guillaume *et al.*, 2019). This is constructed in different ways including critical reflection on practice, on participants' lived experiences and on beliefs and values. In constructing the problem of a lack of understanding and lived experiences of the participants, awareness raising is central to the development of a critical consciousness. McKenzie *et al.* (2008) describe this as an ongoing developmental journey which is modelled on the programme by teacher educators: changing minds by interrogating established thinking patterns, uncontested beliefs and values. McKenzie and Schneurich (2004) propose 'equity traps' as a teaching tool to surface unquestioned beliefs. Equity traps are defined as 'dysconsciousness' [that] prevents us from seeing and believing in the possibility that all students of color can achieve and that we can have the ability and the will to make this happen (p.603). The intention is to 'prepare new leaders to critically inquire into the taken-for-granted structures and norms that often pose insurmountable barriers for many students' academic success'. (Cambron-McCabe and McCarthy 2005, p.204) and to enable the participants to understand the consequences of their actions on the whole school community.

In this, critical reflection is a central concern with a range of approaches drawn from different theoretical understandings. Hernandez and Marshall (2009) advocate multifaceted approaches where through reading, discussions, experiential learning and reflection, participants develop greater self-

awareness of their own cultural identity and the unquestioned assumptions underpinning this. Here, transformational learning experiences include 'cultural plunges, reflective writing, neighbourhood walks, home visits and equity audits' (p.204). For Tyson and Feldman (2014), Brown (2006) and Furman (2012) pedagogy is not about a set of techniques. Instead these practices represent an exercise of power to effect personal and professional change in participants.

Fostering a critical consciousness is complex: 'social justice leadership was implied in students' work but the program struggled at times in pushing students to become more critically conscious'. (Hernandez and McKenzie 2010, p.57-58). This is a searching reflection on 'practices, experiences and beliefs' (Gooden and Dantley 2012, p239). Hutching and Bickett (2012) in this endeavour stress the importance of supportive structures on an individual basis. Mullen *et al.* (2014) advocate cultural dialogues which explore meanings along with practising interchanges in safe contexts. The power relations that exist in leadership development classrooms is only limitedly acknowledged. 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. However, leadership development classrooms are not necessarily always a safe space. Boske and Elue (2018) and Diem *et al.* (2013) explore course dynamics which operate to marginalize and exclude groups of participants from minority backgrounds.

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

How is leadership development to go forward?

We have examined previously the critique of conventional leadership development and alternative approaches to curriculum, pedagogy and the theoretical underpinning of these programmes. Bacchi's question now leads us to consider the effects of these representations of the problem and the future direction of social justice leadership development. Jean-Marie *et al.* (2009) argue that 'social justice as an educational intervention is a continuously relevant topic that should be infused into every aspect of leadership preparation' (p.1). However, we need to appreciate the power regimes underpinning leadership development programmes. Thus, Rusch (2004) argues that 'the power structure of the field of educational administration can serve as a barrier to engaging in a discourse about complex issues' because 'those in privileged positions—no matter how well intended—are not likely to willingly make changes that result in the loss of privilege' (p.31-32). The pivotal role of committed individual teacher educators provides a foundation but this is insufficient and there is a need to broaden this base. The concerns expressed by teacher educators about confrontation and lack of support for a social justice perspective need to be addressed. This can be achieved at least in part by teacher educators becoming more knowledgeable about issues related to social justice and equity as well becoming more skilled in constructivist pedagogic practices to foster a critical consciousness.

There is also an additional dimension surfaced in only a limited number of studies. Constructions of social justice leadership in this literature emphasise an activist orientation, where headteachers act to bring about significant change. There is little to be found in the literature in terms of developing sets of practices through which headteachers can bring about the transformational change in school (Miller and Martin 2015). Brown's (2006) discussion is an example of the listing of programme activities such as 'cultural biographical life histories, prejudice reduction workshops, reflective analysis journals, cross-cultural interviews, educational plunges, diversity panels' (p.204). It is in only the last example that there is an explicit link to practice in school, 'activist action plans' (p.204). As headteachers are described as 'agents of change' bringing about transformative practice in school, a crucial aspect of concern involves the development of skills to enable headteachers to bring about change beyond school structures, to impact on the day-to-day practice of teachers in schools. Here we need to develop understandings of the processes of developing leadership practice to transform both school leadership practice and the pedagogic practice of classroom teachers. Part of the future direction of social justice leadership development would be to connect with this literature on social justice leadership practice. Research conducted in over 20 education systems by the International School Leadership Development Network (ISLDN) (Angelle, 2017) could contribute to the developing the practice of social justice leadership through leadership development programmes.

As a body of knowledge how has this developed and what areas need to be further examined?

Rodríguez *et al.* (2010) caution that 'developing social justice university programs in a country of great inequities and injustice is difficult' (p.152) but nevertheless essential 'in a democracy whose rhetoric commits itself to social justice and equity for everyone' (p.153). Leadership development programmes are important in enabling headteachers' social justice leadership practice. As societies become more diverse there is the danger of increasing fragmentation and sectionalism. Public schooling systems are seen as potentially contributing significantly to social cohesion providing opportunities for marginalised groups. There is a strong imperative for action and change across this body of work, with much of the focus on building the commitment of headteachers to achieve this. The perception is that schools and more specifically headteachers, are best placed to ameliorate social justice issues and address the 'attainment gap' rather than politicians, social policy or society as a whole. However, while the important contribution of social justice leadership development is underlined in this literature, there is less focus on the significant constraints that existing regimes of power place on those delivering leadership development and on programme participants in realising the ambitions of this approach. As the field evolves one of the tensions to be grappled with is the complex nature of social justice, socio-politically and culturally beyond education.

McKenzie *et al.* (2008) put forward a proposal for programmes to tackle inequalities and injustices on a broad base: 'racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, and all other abuses of power (p.13)'. One of the challenges is to balance this broad-based approach to social justice leadership, with building a deep understanding and skill in addressing issues of marginalisation and discrimination experienced by particular groups. There is a tendency in this body of scholarship for educators to focus on some marginalised groups, raising issues around an overloaded curriculum and the expertise of teacher educators. There is a strong emphasis on issues related to race (Gooden and Dantley 2012; Diem and Carpenter 2012; Zarate *et al.* 2018), challenging color-blindness (Gerstl-Pepin 2006) and raising issues related to racial identity (Hernandez 2012) and White privilege (Young and Laible 2000). The concern raised by Marshall and Hernandez (2012) and O'Malley and Capper (2014) is that LGBTQI issues are not included in social justice leadership development which is reflected in our review of this literature which identified only two articles. The inclusion of LGBTQI 'is determined by [an] individual professor teaching the course than any articulated curricular priority associated with the course' (O'Malley and Capper 2014, p.313). Further, of the reviewed articles, two dealt specifically with the issue of gender (Killingsworth *et al.* 2010; Rusch 2004) and two dealt with issues related to disability. Pazey and Cole

(2012) look for the inclusion of special educational needs in a 'culturally responsive pedagogy' (p.261). Although it might be argued that implicitly the intersection of various factors is appreciated, this does leave significant gaps.

Brundrett and de Cuevas (2008, p.248) note with the increased focus on social justice leadership development in the literature: 'a powerful and persuasive academic discourse has begun to emerge that emphasises the importance of headship in assisting in the construction of a more just society'. However, a key issue is the use of the literature in shaping policy and practice to realise the radical reforms being advocated firstly, around the design and practice of such programmes and then secondly, around the impact of these programmes on participants' practice in school with the goal of building more equitable school practice. Much of the literature tends to be drawn from small scale studies of an individual programme in one institution. There is a small number of larger scale work notably McKenzie *et al.*'s (2008) collaborative proposal for a curriculum or theoretically informed investigations of issues related to social justice (Blackmore 2010; Hernandez 2012) and to pedagogy (Brown 2004; Furman 2012). The case studies often explore complex issues around power and privilege, predominantly in relation to race. They are also illuminative of different pedagogic practices and learning tools. In this body of work, however, evaluation is confined largely to participants' responses to different pedagogic practices rather than exploring longer-term impact. The impact of social justice leadership development on participants' practice in school and the outcomes of this need to be investigated empirically.

The other aspect needing further examination, is the role of teacher educators teaching on educational leadership programmes, who presumably form a significant audience for this body of work. There is evidence of resistance (Boske and Elue 2018) by teacher educators who either prioritise the improvement agenda or see issues of social justice leadership being well served by a single course within the programme. A further issue identified is the lack of skill and confidence on the part of teacher educators in dealing with complex issues related to the education of marginalised groups where teacher educators tend to be from privileged groups, White and middle class (Rusch, 2004).

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 there has

been significant attention to historical and contemporary issues of diversity, discrimination and education. However, as leadership development 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 for aspiring and serving headteachers 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 practices around the advancement of social justice leadership development. The extant body of work sets out the purposes, content and pedagogic practices used in the programmes studied but these are often small scale. Larger scale possibly comparative studies on questions related to why social justice leadership development is necessary, the purposes and practices of such programmes, the constructions of social justice underpinning these programmes and the relationship between social justice leadership and practice in school would extend the field considerably.

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