Critical Studies in Educational Leadership, Management and Administration

FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Kay Fuller

"In this book Kay Fuller takes her readers on a richly nuanced and insightful reading of the continuities and strengths and transgressive potential of feminist scholarship. We are reminded of the historical and contemporary antecedents of feminism and challenged to think about how the field might further be deconstructed and decolonised. A compelling, authoritative and timely contribution."

Tanya Fitzgerald, *Professor of Higher Education, The University of Western Australia*

"Without doubt the most comprehensive treatment of feminist perspectives on leadership in education globally, Kay Fuller's new book is a vital resource for researchers and educators alike. She provides the field with re-theorized insights into thoughtful leadership for the 21st century."

Margaret Grogan, *Professor of Educational Leadership & Policy, Chapman University, USA*

"Occasionally, a book with a critical analysis on feminist perspectives in the field of educational leadership, management and administration comes along reminding and reinvigorating us in the fight for gender equality. In this riveting monograph, Kay Fuller impeccably takes us through a holistic theoretical journey of feminist scholarship, tackling deep questions about change infused with social justice. The book is a contemporary feminist classic and a must-read for all those who believe in and care about gender equality in educational leadership."

Pontso Moorosi, *Associate Professor of Educational Leadership and Management, University of Warwick, UK*

"Congratulations to Kay Fuller for a comprehensive, succinct and well-researched contribution. *Feminist Perspectives on Contemporary Educational Leadership* is a valuable addition to literature on feminism after a phase when there have been conversations about 'death of feminism'. It provides an historical overview, while also exploring current nuances such as digital feminism, Queer theory and feminism, or Islam and feminism, and flags up certain future possibilities. A must-read!"

Saeeda Shah, *Reader/Associate Professor in educational leadership (retired), University of Leicester, UK*

"Kay Fuller's *Feminist Perspectives on Contemporary Educational Leadership* makes a significant contribution at a critical moment for women across the globe. Her autobiographical approach to narrating the evolution of feminist perspectives and their contributions to education leadership over time is executed to powerful effect and demonstrates the potency of intersectional feminism. This theoretically rich work both challenges and guides, making it an informative and simulating read."

Michelle Young, *Dean of the School of Education and a Professor of Education Leadership and Policy at Loyola Marymount University, USA*

Feminist Perspectives on Contemporary Educational Leadership

This timely book explores how various feminist perspectives fruitfully explain women's experience of educational leadership, drawing on a contemporary conceptualisation of fourth-wave feminism that is intersectional and inclusive.

The book asks which and whose feminist theory is used to explain gender and feminism in educational leadership, management and administration (ELMA): the scholar's, the research participant's or a combination of the two in the co-construction of knowledge from an intersectional feminist perspective. It conceptualises intersectional and inclusive feminist perspectives on educational leadership, theorising research through a Black British feminist perspective, a gender and Islamic perspective and a queer theory perspective, depending on the self-identification of participants. It explores digital feminism and men's pro-feminism. The book identifies feminist leadership praxis as a focus for future research and explores how leaders can draw on funds of knowledge, identity cultural wealth and lead and educate diverse populations of students.

Highlighting the importance of intersectional feminist perspectives in ELMA, the book will appeal to scholars, researchers and postgraduate students in the fields of inclusive educational leadership and management, gender studies and feminism.

Kay Fuller is Associate Professor of Educational Leadership at the University of Nottingham, UK. Her research focuses on women, gender and feminism in educational leadership.

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This series draws on social and political theories from selected key thinkers and activists to develop critical thinking leadership tools. Each text uses the work of a particular theorist or theoretical approach, explains the theory, suggests what it might bring to the educational leadership, management and administration (ELMA) field, and then offers analysis and case studies to show how the tools might be used. Every book also offers a set of questions that might be used by individual leaders in their own practices and in areas of further research by ELMA scholars.

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Feminist Perspectives on Contemporary Educational Leadership

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Dedicated to women who taught me

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Series Editor Foreword

The job of educational leaders has become much harder in the twenty-first century. The world has become a much more risky place in the last decade. As a profession, educators urgently need to think in new ways about our purposes and role in what promises to be a highly challenging future. We can now clearly see the warnings – about climate, species extinctions and food supply – playing out. Melting glaciers, raging fires, destructive floods and tornadoes feature regularly in the media, next to reports of the divisive cultural politics of populism and ever wider gaps between rich and poor countries and the rich and poor within nation-states. The life and death geopolitics of race, gender and sexuality are impossible to ignore. The Covid-19 pandemic was a powerful reminder of our global interconnectedness and vulnerability as well as the capacity of globally connected health scientists to develop life-saving interventions. These risks and urgencies have clear implications for policy and curriculum and thus the work that educational leaders might do.

In many parts of the world, education and public policy agendas are struggling to ensure that the next generation is equipped to tackle the global challenges that face us. Many nation-states have not only managed to dodge these challenging issues but also demonstrably failed to produce more equitable educational outcomes. Schools, colleges and universities have been pitted against each other, and public education systems have been redesigned to become sources of profit for a wide range of edu-businesses. Nevertheless, on the ground, school, college and university communities find ways to make a difference where, and as, they can.

This series is dedicated to research in educational leadership, management and administration (ELMA) which brings theory to pressing practical and professional problems. Authors in the series take a critical approach to the realpolitik of leading in education today. Our interest in critical ELMA scholarship means that our authors offer a range of resources less familiar in the field. We are interested in what social theory and traditions of scholarship from other disciplines might bring to ELMA. We are also keen to see more familiar ELMA approaches problematised and re-thought.

Our editorial team has recently changed and Amanda Heffernan has replaced one of the founding editors, Helen Gunter. Jill and Pat want to thank Helen for the many stimulating and productive conversations and contributions over the years. This change in editorial team gave us an opportunity to reflect on what we wanted to see for the series in the coming years.

While our focus is still on contributing to critical ELMA scholarship, we have more recently been commissioning books which use theoretical resources to focus on the realpolitik of leading in education today. It is not that the first tranche of books in the series ignored these questions – they took them very seriously. But we are convinced that the series emphasis on real-world problems needs to become even more prominent. This shift in focus has already begun and can be seen particularly in edited collections which are organised around key questions. These editorial collections are now being published alongside books focusing on particular theorists or theoretical approaches.

This subtle shift in emphasis is a testament to the word "critical" in the series title. The broad traditions of critical scholarship in education are always concerned with the ongoing production and reproduction of inequalities and injustices. Critical scholars begin with the understanding that knowledge is socially constructed and that, like the wider world, it is not neutral. Knowledge cultivation and mobilisation always work in particular interests. Critical scholarship in education is this always geared to practical theory which is made into practices in situ.

This book, by Kay Fuller, exemplifies the slightly changed emphasis of the series. Kay brings an impressive range of reading on feminism and feminist scholarship to empirical research on contemporary issues largely ignored in mainstream ELMA literatures. The book addresses current debates on the role of social media, queer theory, Black British feminism and Islamic feminisms and offers two new lines of ELMA enquiry: digital feminism and pro-feminist/profeminist masculinities. Her discussion of the 'Trojan Horse' affair, for example, shows how schools become caught up in contemporary populist politics which, in this case, utilised femonationalism in order to mobilise Islamophobia. The linkage of ELMA, schooling and policy to ongoing questions of race, class, gender, sexuality, neurotypicality and able-ness has always been a concern in the series but here has a sharper intersectional focus. We hope that you find Kay's book as stimulating and useful as we have.

Pat Thomson, Jill Blackmore, Amanda Heffernan

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Part I

Mapping feminist perspectives in educational leadership, management and administration (ELMA)

1 Waves of feminism

Introduction – A resurgence of interest

The twenty-first century has seen women's exposure to, and revelation of, the worst symptoms of patriarchy: sexual harassment, abuse and violence against women. Social media campaigns such as #MeToo (from 2017) and #TimesUp (from 2018) are responses from women worldwide to high-profile cases of misogyny and sex crime. Nor are ordinary workplaces free of sex discrimination, sexual harassment and sexual assault. For example, in the UK, over half of women have experienced workplace sexual harassment (TUC, 2016). Gender pay gap statistics, first reported in 2018, reveal that educational organisations are among the worst offenders (GOV. UK, 2018). Gender inequalities persist in education, employment and wider society in the UK and globally. In 2020, during the global Covid-19 pandemic and resurgence of Black Lives Matter protests following the murder of George Floyd, further racial and gender injustices surfaced with respect to what it means to work and lead from home outside education (Antonacopoulou and Georgiadou, 2020) and inside with equity and diversity matters in mind (Gedro et al., 2020; Wargo, 2020; Watson, 2020). Women were impacted by the pandemic because they dominate essential services in health and social care, cleaning and cashiering (essential retail) work; they balanced clerical work from home with childcare and home schooling; and they lost jobs in catering. They have provided education on- and offline throughout school and university closures.

Feminist activists and scholars maintain a critical perspective in their commitment to social justice. Goals of empowerment and emancipation specifically focus on addressing multiple intersecting gender *in*justices, such as economic, cultural and representative injustices (see Blackmore, 2016). Some might be forgiven for being confused by descriptions of a resurgence of interest in the experiences and perceptions of women leading in education (Torrance et al., 2017) and a fourth wave of feminism (Chamberlain, 2017). Immersed in projects focused on gender in educational leadership, scholars swimming in the wider ocean of feminism have been engaged in an 'ongoing fight for equality' (Chamberlain, 2017, p. 7) for over 30 years. We persist regardless of the ebbs and flows of interest in our work.

This book aims to provide a discussion of *feminist perspectives on contemporary educational leadership* in and for the twenty-first century. It charts stories of feminist resistance to neoliberal education policy and its focus on competition and

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compliance, efficiency and effectiveness and of systemic and structural inequalities. Wo/men's voices speak clearly and loudly about their commitment to social justice and to achieving equity alongside excellence. They say what makes them angry and hopeful about social in/justice in education and society. So doing, they reveal an abundance of cultural and professional wealth brought to leadership in education. Theirs is a discourse of assets as opposed to professional deficit. This understanding of leadership work done in this context demonstrates that they have the critical thinking tools necessary for leading education in turbulent times.

The book begins with a chapter that notes a resurgence of interest in gender inequalities and injustices. There follows an account of four waves of feminism relating to multiple feminist theories of interest in educational leadership, management and administration (ELMA). I position myself as a white woman scholar and, following feminist scholars and a critically reflexive approach to research, provide accounts of my relationship with feminism. I describe the research projects that inform the book. Finally, I introduce each chapter that follows.

Feminist theory and waves of feminism

Feminist theory is predicated on the inclusion of women and their experiences in knowledge production. It aims to understand the nature of gender inequalities and injustices and support activism to challenge the status quo. It is emancipatory in intent. Feminist standpoint theory valorises 'insider' perspectives (see Harding, 1991; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Smith, 1979). Women's individual standpoints uncover multilevel power relations in families, communities, organisations, institutions (including education) and society. It is concerned with the simultaneity of multilevel identity, institutional and social practices (Holvino, 2010). Standpoint must be

> …wrestled out against the hegemonic dominant ideologies that structure the practices of daily life as well as dominant forms of belief, and […] thus hide the very possibility of the kind of understanding that thinking from women's lives can generate.
>
> (Harding, 1998, p. 185)

It is not automatically acquired by virtue of identifying as a feminist or woman. Even though Spivak (1993) posits that a scholar does not need to be the subject of knowledge production in order to produce it, there is a sense that epistemic privilege affords insiders insight and empathy (Narayan, 1988).

Feminists have long connected the personal with the political. An account of feminist theory is also an account of feminist identity politics and movements seeking to improve women's and girls' lives. As such, the feminist project is as important in the twenty-first century as it has ever been. Far from living in a 'post' feminist world where gender equality and gender justice have been achieved, feminist activism and scholarship remain indispensable to those concerned with equality, diversity and inclusion in creating a more socially just world, particularly in the context of global neoliberal education reform.

It is feminist theory's association with feminist activism that results in a chronological perspective documenting each movement in terms of historical waves. The wave metaphor has been thoroughly explored and exploited by feminist scholars as ocean waves surging and receding, taking to the airwaves, women making waves, permanent waves (white women curling hair and Black women suppressing waves) and a new wave (David, 2016). Whilst the chronological organisation of feminist theories has been critiqued (Baxter, 2003; Kohli and Burbules, 2011), the feminist wave narrative persists. Each wave of feminism is characterised by contemporary debates and issues (Pillow, 2002) and therefore is sociohistorically and geopolitically context-specific. So how did these waves develop in their sociohistorical and geopolitical contexts? How do they connect with multiple feminist theories and perspectives? What is my relationship with them?

Pre-first-wave feminism

Women's resistance to sex inequalities dates back further than most scholars acknowledge. Khadijah al-Kubra, the first Muslim woman (567–619 CE), was a leading businesswoman when early Islam advocated for equality between women and men in a patriarchal society (Ullah et al., 2015). Christine de Pizan (c. 1405/1999) wrote *The Book of the City of Ladies* (Willard, 1984), which begins with a critique of the prevailing misogynist writing by men. Mary Wollstonecraft's (1792/2004) *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* argues for women's right to education.

Oral histories of Indigenous and African-American women date back further (Pillow, 2002). Filomina Chioma Steady declared that African women were the first feminists; they had 'an actual experience of oppression, a lack of the socially prescribed means of ensuring one's wellbeing, and a true lack of access to resources for survival' (Steady, 1981, p. 36 cited in Decker and Baderoon, 2018, p. 219). Feminism was a response to oppression.

First-wave feminism

First-wave feminism is associated with the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was concerned with women's suffrage, property ownership, divorce, employment rights and access to education (Kohli and Burbules, 2011). It is associated with liberal feminism in its focus on individualist and meritocratic goals of equality and inclusion. It achieved women's suffrage in New Zealand in 1893, Australia by 1902 and several European countries before 1918. Suffrage was granted to women in the UK partially in 1918 and fully in 1928. It was granted in the US in 1920.

Accounts of first-wave feminism have been whitewashed by excluding Indian, African-American and Indigenous women, such as Catherine and Sophia Duleep Singh in the UK (Visram, 2002), Sojourner Truth in the US (Davis, 1981; Brah and Phoenix, 2004), E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake) in Canada (Forestell and Moynaugh, 2014), Emily Stephens in Australia (Grimshaw and Nelson, 2001) and Māori women in New Zealand (Crawford, 2018). Black British feminists have long challenged the white Eurocentric and Western tradition of imperial feminism (Amos and Parmar, 1984/1997; see Devereux, 1999 for an account of the relationship between feminism and colonialism).

The re-narration of my story as a critical autoethnography in direct response to research that informs this book led me to recognise the place of white privilege in an account of social mobility (Blackmore, 2016; Caine et al., 2018; Fuller, 2020). An exploration of family history led me to think about my relationship with first-wave feminism. I am forced to acknowledge the juxtaposition of socioeconomic precarity and stability among my foremothers. Alongside the illiteracy of both maternal great-grandmothers, there was privilege in women's ownership of property in the early twentieth century. One of my maternal great-grandmothers, having been widowed in a railway accident circa 1900, both was illiterate *and* owned her own home. Compensation was awarded as my deaf railway engineer great-grandfather stepped out of the way of one oncoming train into the path of another, driven by his best friend. My paternal grandmother bought the family home in 1913 because her husband was at sea fishing for long periods. Her continued ownership was insurance against fishing business failure, but the story was told to me as my grandmother's refusal to sign it over to him when he returned from sea. He was subsequently bankrupted. Both sides of my family avoided homelessness in families raised largely by women who turned their homes into businesses by letting rooms to make or supplement a living. The expectation of a woman's home ownership was instilled before I was born.

Women's suffrage was awarded in 1918 to women property-owners who were more than 30 years old. I have not discovered whether my foremothers' properties were sufficiently valuable to enfranchise them. There is no evidence of engagement with the Suffragette movement. Unlike Suffolk suffragettes, they did not boycott the 1911 census (BBC, 2011). However, there is photographic evidence of a Suffragette 'Great Campaign for Lowestoft' (my home town) that coincided with pro-suffrage motions proposed at the National Union of Teachers conference held there in 1914 and of Emmeline Pankhurst's intention to speak at a public meeting in Lowestoft in April 1914 (Gupta, 2014) and replacement by Annie Kenney owing to illness (Garrett and Thomas, 2019). Women teachers (the National Union of Women Teachers) campaigned for suffrage in Lowestoft in 1914 (Garrett and Thomas, 2019; UCL, 2011). The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies office, shop and tea room was situated in the heart of Lowestoft, opposite the railway station next to a prominent department store. My foremothers must have been aware of the women's suffrage movement.

Second-wave feminism

Second-wave feminism is linked with the 1960s and '70s. Betty Friedan's (1963) *The Feminine Mystique* is credited with beginning second-wave feminism or is seen as its consequence (Banks, 1981). It captured the zeitgeist for educated, unhappy and unfulfilled women as housewives and mothers in the US.

This wave of feminism is associated with two main strands: liberal and radical. The focus on women's equality with men led liberal feminists to seek sex discrimination legislation in employment and education. Women were the same as men, or their biological differences were irrelevant (Scott, 1988). They sought to join men in the workplace – to '"lean in" (i.e. bite the bullet, do the job, stand tall' (Azmanova, 2016, p. 750).

Women were also different. Scott (1988) draws on poststructuralism to argue for equality *and* differences. But second-wave feminism was marked by a split between these

two positions. Radical feminism is committed to ending patriarchy, promotes women-only spaces and focuses on male violence against women, including in pornography and prostitution (Mackay, 2015). There is a link with cultural feminism that re-appropriates the female 'to revalidate undervalued female attributes' (Alcoff, 1988, p. 408). A female counterculture seeks to preserve differences between women and men. Its perpetuation of a hierarchy of dualism worked to give 'subordinate woman the rights and privileges of dominant man' (Grumet and Stone, 2000, p. 360). But it failed to emancipate women (and men) by bringing down institutionalised gender inequalities in 'the competitive production of profit in globally integrated economies' (Azmanova, 2016, p. 771).

Both positions homogenised and essentialised women and men as universal binary social categories. The insistence on 'historical priority, universality, and overriding importance of patriarchy' excluded Black, Hispanic, Indigenous American and Asian American women in the US (Dill, 1983, p. 63) and demanded the problematisation of patriarchy by and for Black British feminists in the UK (Carby, 1982). Again feminist theory neglected the experiences of women identifying with Black and global majority (BGM) heritages (Davis, 1981; Mirza, 1997). Feminism has been rejected for its white Western roots and as an instrument of colonialism by some scholars, including, for example, those who focus on gender justice in Islam (e.g. Barlas, 2008).

I was born at the same time as second-wave feminism in 1962. However, I doubt whether women in my family read Friedan's (1963) *The Feminine Mystique*; I never heard they did. By the time I was seven years old, the women's movement was under way. I remember television reports of the Miss World boycott in 1970 and being half-teased but encouraged by my godfather to see myself as a 'women's libber'. I benefited from social and educational reforms that led to academic success and a place at a Russell Group university as a manual working-class girl (Fuller, 2020). Our generation was the first to graduate, although an aunt qualified as a teacher in the 1930s. My parents expected and encouraged my sister, Lynn, and me to achieve well and, although we both had Saturday and holiday jobs to earn pocket money (caring, cleaning, catering, cashiering – four of five Cs of women-dominated work – clerical work came later) (see Duffy, 2007; Perrons, 2009), we were allowed to miss doing household chores in favour of playing outside, reading, watching television and doing school work. In our upbringing, my parents endorsed the second-wave liberal feminist goals of women achieving equality with men. Indeed, neither parent wanted their daughters to be financially dependent on men. But they also perpetuated traditional sex roles and I learned to value and was taught women's (mother's and grandmother's) handiwork such as crocheting and embroidery, balanced by an interest in football (both sexes), and a progressive experimental middle-school (ages 11 to 13) education where I chose to do woodwork (father's interest) and wore a boys' football kit instead of a girls' skimpy athletics kit for physical education. I benefited directly from first and second waves of white privileged feminism.

Third-wave feminism

Third-wave feminism is connected to the 1980s and 1990s. Rebecca Walker's declaration is cited as a starting point: 'I am not a postfeminism feminist. I am the third wave' (Walker 2001, p. 80). However, a third generation of feminism had already

been described (Kristeva, 1981). Feminist theories were influenced by postcolonial, poststructural and postmodern disruptions of gender theory. Black feminist thought (Collins, 1990/2000), intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1991), Black British feminism (Bryan et al., 2018; Mirza, 1997), postmodern feminism (Butler, 1990), poststructural feminism (Butler, 2004) and queer theory (Rudy, 2000) each disturbed the assumption of a universal womanhood from different perspectives. Each resisted essentialist constructions of gender and recognised womanhood as heterogeneous.

The concerns of African-American and Black British women were not the same as for white American or white British women. Black feminist thought, developed in the US, depicts self-definition and self-determination within 'intersecting oppressions' (Collins, 1990/2000, p. 273) as a matrix of domination. Intersectionality theory ensures that the intersections of 'race' and gender are a focus for Black feminist research (Crenshaw, 1991). Postcolonial feminists have written '"back to the centre" from globalised perspectives', acknowledging that 'diaspora space is where genealogies are interlinked' regardless of women's migration histories (Phoenix, 2010, pp. 101–102). Nor were issues the same for women living in countries enduring and recovering from colonialism and decolonisation. Mohanty (1988, p. 336) critiques contemporary imperialism and the 'global hegemony of Western scholarship' that controls 'hearts and minds' to homogenise 'Third World women'.

Poststructuralists 'trouble both discursive and material structures that limit the ways we think about our work' (St. Pierre, 2000, p. 477) so that the taken-for-granted concepts of 'language', 'discourse', 'rationality', 'power, resistance and freedom', 'knowledge and truth' and 'the subject' are 'reinscribed in poststructuralism' (p. 488). Importantly, the constructs of 'woman' and 'man' were questioned. Nancy Fraser argues that poststructural feminism is valuable for its explanatory power with its focus on subjectivity but not the rapidly changing context arising from globalisation and neoliberal policy that undermined political commitment (Blackmore, 2016). Queer theory developed to challenge heteronormativity (Butler, 1990, 2004).

My relationship with third-wave feminism developed during an apparent crisis about boys' education (Epstein et al., 1998; Lingard and Douglas, 1999). As Head of English at a large urban secondary school in the mid-1990s, I recognised that not *all* boys underperformed in English and some girls did. I used professional observations and large datasets to identify *which* boys were underperforming. It was not biological sex but it *was* to do with gender performance, namely boys with particular sports interests, from working or workless social classes, and some minoritised racial and ethnic groups. White middle-class boys reading at home succeeded; those who secured a place in high-ability classes succeeded (Black children were excluded) (Fuller, 2017, 2020). Boys in middle-ability classes did not succeed, but most girls in those classes did. My practical knowledge told me that gender was more complicated than the dominant essentialist binary discourse that homogenised girls and boys. It took another decade for me to draw on third-wave feminism (i.e. poststructural gender theory and intersectionality) to articulate that. There was a time lag in my connection with third-wave feminism. I had unwittingly adopted a postfeminist perspective in the corporate world prior to becoming a teacher. I failed to recognise that the glass ceiling persisted in the workplace, including in ELMA, until I studied gender in a professional doctorate programme.

Whilst writing *Gender, Identity and Educational Leadership* (Fuller, 2013), I became caught up in the *either/or* debates of powerful feminist theorisations. To avoid intellectual paralysis, I looked for a way of thinking with *both/and* dominant gender theories that recognised bodies *and* gender performativity (Fuller, 2014a). Spivak (1993) and Blackmore (1999, 2016) argue for strategic essentialism as a way to mobilise for political action whilst recognising difference and operating on multiple fronts in a form of strategic pluralism, or as Mirza (1997) puts it, 'you can have difference (polyvocality) with a conscious construction of sameness' (Mirza, 1997, p. 2).

Queer theory in third-wave feminism enabled me, as a heterosexual/straight cis woman (I identify with the gender I was assigned at birth), to recognise multiplicity, diversity and fluidity in sexual identities and to have an interest in decentring (hetero)sexuality. My 'twist' (Allen, 2006, p. 168) is embodied as a child-free, usually single woman benefiting from economic independence that sometimes feels like going against the flow (Blount, 2000; Lugg, 2003). It is in resisting traditionally negative connotations of single womanhood, despite rising numbers (see Blount, 2000; ONS, 2014; Traister, 2016), and not being a parent in a family-oriented society.

Fourth-wave feminism

Some scholars accept the existence of a fourth wave of feminism without question (Mauro-Flude, 2015). Others variously argue that it is insufficiently different in the UK from third-wave feminism (Aune and Holyoak, 2018), that it arose there during the summer of 2013 to coincide with the centenary of British suffragette Emily Wilding Davison's death (Cochrane, 2013), or that a social media–based fourth wave is a site for teenage activism (Retallack, Ringrose and Lawrence, 2016). It has been associated with spirituality, community and the downtrodden (Wrye, 2009) or '[t]ransgenderism, male feminists, sex work and complex relationships within the media' (Baumgardner, 2011, p. 251; Munro, 2013) or both.

Chamberlain (2017, p. 1) commits to the narrative of a fourth wave of feminism, theorising it as 'affective temporality'. Intense anger and a hopeful mindset move feminists towards taking action at a particular moment in time. Gender justice remains central to feminism, but the nature of injustices changes according to temporal context. The personal moves into the public sphere as women share experiences with one another through social media platforms as spaces of 'extimacy' (Chamberlain, 2017, p. 81). Hashtag or digital feminism has become an important tool of fourth-wave feminism as women speak up to challenge everyday sexism and misogyny (Munro, 2013). Zimmerman (2017) argues that it is focused on activism that takes place on- and offline, is concerned with and informed by intersectionality theory, and began in North America and the UK.

This 'long-awaited "fourth wave" of feminism – a fusion of spirituality and social justice reminiscent of the American civil rights movement and Gandhi's call for nonviolent change' began as early as Schaaf's call to *Gather the Women*, across faiths, for world peace in response to 9/11 (Peay, 2005, no page). Activism was fuelled by joy and not just anger. Far from only appealing to feminist killjoys as critics of sexism and feminism alike (Ahmed, 2009), it also promoted joy. In building on important aspects of third-wave feminism that recognise diversity and complexity, a fourth

wave markedly differs in its ability to include marginalised groups, grow networks and more easily enable discussion (Hohenstein, 2016). In short, it calls for inclusivity. It publicly challenges the misunderstandings and misrepresentations of white feminists to argue that they are responsible for their own education and must check themselves, and others, for their 'racist, anti-feminist and derogatory comments/actions' (Zimmerman, 2017, p. 64).

My engagement with fourth-wave feminism coincided with the development of a grassroots social media–based movement for women in educational leadership using the hashtag #WomenEd. The resurgence of interest in the experiences and perceptions of women leading in education (Torrance et al., 2017) was and is taking place online among education professionals leading in education, formally and informally, from early years to higher and adult education. It occurs in the context of an increasingly fragmented English education system that resonates with educators and leaders working in neoliberal education systems globally. Engaging with the movement, by listening and speaking to women (and men) online, at events and through my scholarship, I have gained a broader and deeper insight into what matters to them about gender injustice in education and leadership and in their lives in the twenty-first century.

Research over the last decade has led me to deepen and articulate my position ontologically, epistemologically and methodologically as an intersectional feminist who values the multiplicity of human experience and draws on multiple ways of coming to know and understand that experience. Indeed, I see 'gender [as] simultaneously a relational, performed and conferred identity' that 'necessarily intersects with identity factors such as "race," social class, religion, sexual orientation, nationality as well as learner, educator, leader, and scholar identities' (Fuller, 2020, p. 11).

Gender, 'race', religion, sexuality, social class and any number of characteristics are simultaneously performed, and read by others, in particular sociohistorical and geopolitical contexts. Identity, and the empowerment and powerlessness that accompany it, is discursive, dialogic, relational and intersectional, as is educational leadership. A feminist re-theorisation of educational leadership requires a multidimensional approach to making sense of women's lived realities and multiple feminist theoretical perspectives to do justice to women's and men's accounts of leadership in education.

Global perspectives

The nature of women's rights, needs, interests, desires and experiences varies according to geopolitical context. Notably, the most recent award of women's suffrage was in Saudi Arabia in 2015. Social media has been used by activists in campaigns to reverse the country's driving ban for women and in mass protests associated with the Arab Spring from 2010 (Yuce et al., 2013).

Scholars have attempted to decentre hegemonic gender theories to recognise Southern gender theory in African and South Asian countries (Fennell and Arnot, 2008). Connell (2007) distinguishes between Northern and Southern theory to argue for the inclusion of Indigenous knowledges in social theory. Fennell and Arnot (2008) draw on Mohanty's (1988) critique of Western feminism developed in the

English-speaking, Eurocentric West or global North as a vehicle for neocolonialism. There is no 'single story of male violence and oppression on subjugated and powerless women […] seen as dependent on men, oppressed by religion and family systems and where the way forward was to create a single sisterhood […] united in its struggle for "freedom"' (Fennell and Arnot, 2008). Transnational, multicultural, radical, anti-racist and non-heterosexual feminism is needed to challenge the multiplicity of hegemonic patriarchal and capitalist regimes (Fennell and Arnot, 2008; Mohanty, 1988). Postcolonial feminists highlight the importance of de-universalising categories of girl and woman, relational worlds that value the kinship, friendship and community engagement that empower women, alternative embodied categories of age and experience as opposed to sex and gender, and of questioning agency, dislocation and positionality (Fennell and Arnot, 2008).

African and Māori researchers recognise the interplay between space, time and spirituality (Nnameka, 2003; Smith, 1999). Braidotti (2008, p. 1) provides an account of the post-secular turn in feminism that argues that agency can be 'conveyed through and supported by religious piety'. Focusing on monotheist religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, she explores polarised discourses of 'our women' as Western, Christian, white or whitened, who were raised in post-Enlightenment traditions and were apparently already liberated and 'their women' as non-Western, non-Christian, not white or whitened, raised in traditions alien to the Enlightenment who therefore are backward and in need of emancipatory social action. Including spirituality and faith in feminist theories may be a way to decolonise and de-masculinise knowledge.

In the next section, I describe the research projects that inform this book.

The research projects

This book is informed by three main research projects. Two projects – 'A comparative analysis of intersections of gender and race among Black (BGM/BME) female school leaders' in South Africa, the UK and the US (Moorosi et al., 2017) and 'International Perspectives on Women in Educational Leadership' (Torrance et al., 2017) in England, Scotland, Jamaica and New Zealand – were developed in response to an invitation to participate in Miller's (2017) 'Cultures of educational leadership' project. Scholars collaborated on a comparative project across at least three countries, including a developing country. I was invited to participate in two projects as the principal scholar in England (Moorosi et al., 2017; Torrance et al., 2017). My co-researchers have given permission for single-authored work based on research in the English context. Qualitative research focused on women headteachers' experiences of becoming and being school leaders. One project focused on the experiences of women identifying with BGM heritages; the other included women identifying with BGM heritages, although 'race' was not the primary focus. Women identifying with BGM heritages are under-represented and have been marginalised in educational leadership in England. In-depth semi-structured interviews, as conversations with purpose (Ribbins, 2007), were designed to enable headteachers to tell their stories as they wanted. The women had prior sight of the questions and the opportunity to comment on, edit and delete the transcripts in an attempt to establish narrative

justice (Caine et al., 2018), resist a 'paternalistic and hierarchical' approach to interviews and establish the co-construction of knowledge (Coleman, 2012, p. 262). Some interviews were followed up with telephone calls or emails for the purpose of clarification or interpretation (Fuller, 2018). The research influenced me profoundly and led to deepened scholarly reflection through a critical autoethnography and renewed self-narrative (Caine et al., 2018; Fuller, 2020). Data from these projects inform Chapter 3 ('Intersectionality and Black British feminism'), Chapter 4 ('Islam and feminism') and Chapter 6 ('Applying critical leadership'). These research projects were self-funded with the intellectual work supported by the University of Nottingham.

Throughout the book, I follow Campbell-Stephens (2009) in referring to research participants' identification with BGM heritages. Occasionally, I use the terms Black and minority ethnic (BME) or Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) because scholars or participants have used those terms. I try to be clear about participants' self-identification. In Chapter 9, I state how I recognised someone's identity if it was not articulated by people themselves.

The third project – '#WomenEd: A movement for women leaders in education' – explored the motivation for a network of women educational leaders and the role of social media in network growth (Fuller and Berry, 2019). #WomenEd is a social media–based movement for serving and aspiring women leaders in education. It currently has 40,300 Twitter followers. Participants held formal leadership positions as (executive) headteachers, senior, middle leaders and teachers in educational settings from early years to higher and adult education across the UK, Australia and some North American and European countries. They influenced education as school governors, trustees and directors, consultants and academics. Importantly, they were also parents and university students. This breadth of influence leads to a wide definition of ELMA that encompassed 'the activities of Parliament at one end of the scale and the activities of any home with children and students at the other' (Baron and Taylor, 1969, p. 6 cited in Fuller, 2014b, p. 327).

Online and offline #WomenEd events were organised in various regions in the UK from 2015. Regional and country networks are currently located in Australia and 18 countries in Europe, North America, the Middle East and North Africa. The project was informed by intersectionality regarding focus, methodology and analytical strategy (Fuller, 2022). Indeed, intersectionality has been at the forefront of the #WomenEd founders' thinking (Choudry, 2015). Fuller and Berry (2019) provide a detailed account of the mixed methods sequential multi-stage research design comprising four stages of data generation as 44 telephone interviews, 356 responses to an online survey and the analysis of 632 blogposts.

The co-researchers were insider researchers; each had engaged with the network by tweeting and writing blogs tagged with #WomenEd. The author is a regional leader for #WomenEd in the East Midlands and has presented at national and regional events on feminist leadership in education. Co-researcher Jill Berry joined the early discussion and contributed a blog that shaped the development of the network (see Chapter 7). She is a regular keynote speaker and provided coaching, mentoring and advice to women about their career development (Berry, 2019). The research project was funded by the University of Nottingham. Chapter 5 ('Queer theory and

feminism'), Chapter 7 ('Digital feminism') and Chapter 8 ('Men and pro-feminism') draw on data generated by the project. Jill Berry has given permission for this single-authored work.

Finally, Chapter 9 ('Femonationalism: The "Trojan Horse" affair') was informed by data generated during research projects I undertook whilst working in Birmingham, the location of the so-called 'Trojan Horse' affair in 2014. I was working as an initial teacher educator with beginning teachers. Former students worked as early-career teachers in some of the schools involved. The topic came up in interviews carried out with headteachers during that time, although it was not the focus of research. Earlier interviews demonstrated how the Muslim community was served in Birmingham. For ethical reasons, I have deliberately broken links between research projects and Chapter 9.

Outline of the book

It remains to provide an outline of the book. The book is structured in three main sections. Part 1 maps the explicit use of feminist theories in ELMA scholarship. Chapter 1 has provided an overview of the different waves of feminism, their socio-ohistorical and geopolitical roots and ideological underpinnings. Chapter 2 proposes a series of maps necessary to develop a fuller account of how feminist perspectives have informed scholarship in ELMA. Although there is not scope to provide a comprehensive review of the literature, the chapter identifies key relevant literature within specific frames of reference to propose a series of five maps: geographical, theory and empirical maps, a map of feminist leadership praxis, and a chronological map.

Part 2 comprises an exploration of feminist theoretical perspectives in ELMA scholarship relating to features of fourth-wave feminism. Specifically, Chapter 3 uses Black British feminism (e.g. Mirza, 1997) to look at gender and 'race' intersectionality in experiences of women headteachers in becoming and being school leaders. Chapter 4 takes a closer look at Muslim women's school leadership by looking through lenses associated with Islamic feminism and progressive Islam (e.g. Badran, 2008; Barlas, 2008). Chapter 5 uses queer theory and feminism to look at sexual and gender diversity in educational leadership (Rudy, 2000). Chapter 6 uses applied critical leadership (Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012) to theorise about headteachers' funds of knowledge and identity (Esteban-Guitart and Moll, 2014) and the cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) used in their leadership.

In the third part, I focus on gender-related issues in ELMA. These pertain to features of fourth-wave feminism, such as digital feminism in Chapter 7 and, in Chapter 8, men's pro-feminist engagement in #WomenEd as a movement that explicitly champions women's leadership in education. In Chapter 9, I explore the exploitation of gender justice in far-right and mainstream politically motivated education reform during a particularly hostile period in British immigration policy (2010–2020). The decade is marked by the securitisation of education (Miah, 2017), the vote to leave the European Union in 2016 (Brexit), the Windrush scandal that saw people wrongly deported (Rawlinson, 2018) and the re-surfacing of structural inequalities during the Covid-19 pandemic and expressed through the Black Lives Matter protests (2020) as well as the acceleration of neoliberal education policy. I use Farris's (2017)

conceptualisation of femonationalism to explore how gender justice was used to discipline Birmingham schools and, in particular, Muslim school leaders and children.

Finally, in Chapter 10, I draw conclusions about fourth-wave feminist perspectives on contemporary educational leadership and the implications for the field with respect to scholarship, practice and policy-making. I discuss the importance of affective temporality (Chamberlain, 2017) as the anger associated with multiple social injustices as contemporary events and personal experiences reveal them (Ahmed, 2009) and the hope for a more socially just future as it might be achieved through education and its leadership (Blackmore, 2016). I demonstrate what an intersectional feminist re-theorisation of ELMA comprises in relation to establishing parity of participation in feminist leadership praxis.

Summary

This chapter provided an outline of various waves of feminism linking them with the development of feminist theories and their sociohistorical and geopolitical contexts. In line with adopting a critically reflexive feminist scholarship, I included an account of my relationship with waves of feminism to demonstrate the fluidity of one white cis woman scholar's feminist perspective over time. The chapter provided information about the research projects that informed the book and ends with an overview of the book's structure and introduction to each chapter.

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2 Feminist theory and educational leadership

A review of selected literature

Introduction

The field of women, gender and feminism in educational leadership, management and administration (ELMA) emerged in the 1980s. Earlier work existed (e.g. Cairns, 1975; Glenday and Price, 1974) but scholarship flourished as conference papers from the early 1980s in the US and Australia. Very little published scholarship in the UK (e.g. Davies, 1986; Glenday and Price, 1974; Marland, 1982) pre-dates ground-breaking works by Charol Shakeshaft (1987), Estela Mara Bensimon (1989) and Jill Blackmore (1989a, 1989b). Shakeshaft (1987) places women at the centre of a major work in ELMA research for the first time to identify six stages of research. Bensimon's (1989, p. 153) feminist discourse analysis reveals two college presidents' 'dramatically different' leadership discourses exposing the inadequacy of existing theoretical frames in understanding a woman's account of leadership. Blackmore's (1989a) radical feminist critique and reconstruction of educational leadership lay the ground for the explicit use of feminist theories in ELMA research.

There is not scope here for a comprehensive review of the literature on women and gender in ELMA. Instead, I aim to focus on the development of feminist scholarship in ELMA and the consequences of feminist knowledge production based on where and when it was produced and by whom. I draw on various frames of reference to propose a series of five maps: a *geographical* map, a *theory* map, an *empirical* map, a map of *feminist leadership praxis* and a *chronological* map. Importantly, the maps overlap; they intersect.

Thus, each of the proposed maps takes a different feminist perspective, namely geographical, theoretical, empirical, political and temporal.

Questions addressed in this chapter include the following: What feminist theories were used at various stages of ELMA research? What questions does fourth-wave feminism raise? What is meant by affective temporality in educational leadership? (Chamberlain, 2017). I argue for a fourth-wave feminist re-theorisation of women, gender and feminism in ELMA that foregrounds inclusive and intersectional feminism, for example, as it explores intersections between gender, 'race', religion and sexuality and feminist leadership praxis that prioritises socially just education, leadership and activism. Theoretical frames need to take account of research participants' positioning with respect to gender justice as well as the scholar's feminist positioning. Contemporary issues in the twenty-first century relate to women's relationships with

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social media and the concept of digital feminism, men's relationships with feminism and the place of wo/men's professional activism focused on combating gender injustice in education and wider society. Finally, I consider the implications for ELMA.

Five maps and their frames of reference

In mapping theoretical perspectives, models, methodologies and methods of knowledge production in ELMA, some scholars recognise the importance of gender perspectives and the contribution of critical and feminist scholarship (Gunter, 2016; Gunter and Ribbins, 2003; Heck and Hallinger, 1999, 2005). However, little scholarship charts the course of feminist scholarship in the field and arguably feminist theory has been misappropriated or goes unacknowledged (Blackmore, 2016). Here, I draw on multiple frames of reference to propose a series of maps that might be useful in understanding feminist perspectives on educational leadership.

A geographical map

A *geographical* frame of reference focuses on the region, country and/or continent in which feminist scholarship takes place as empirical research and intellectual work. Anglophone and Western-centric scholarship dominates the field of women, gender and feminism in ELMA just as it dominates the broader field (Samier, 2017). The English linguistic hegemony of knowledge production and dissemination reproduces Western-centric perspectives, thus further marginalising forms of knowledge from non-English-speaking countries (Tietze and Dick, 2009).

The proposal for a geographical map recognises and critiques the dominance of English-speaking countries and continents in the field as evidenced by a recent bibliometric analysis (Kuzhabekova, 2021). However, by focusing on peer-reviewed journal articles, the analysis omits feminist scholarship published as monographs, edited volumes and book chapters; though highly influential, widely cited works written in English (e.g. by Charol Shakeshaft (1987) and Jill Blackmore (1989a)) are credited for recognising women's under-representation. Omitted from the exploration of international collaborations are edited book collections and journal special issues from international collaborative projects and networks such as 'Women Leading Education across Continents' (Fuller et al., in press; Grogan, 2015; Lyman et al., 2012; Malachias et al., 2018 (in a multilingual journal); McNae and Reilly, 2018; Reilly and Bauer, 2015; Sobehart, 2009) and comparative studies focused wholly or in part on women's leadership (e.g. Miller, 2017; Watson and Normore, 2017). Some, though by no means all, contributors to these collections draw on intersectional and feminist scholarship in their exploration of gender, 'race' and educational leadership (e.g. Malachias et al., 2020; Moorosi et al., 2017; Santamaría et al., 2017).

A comprehensive geographical map charting feminist perspectives on contemporary educational leadership needs to include scholarship from South America (e.g. Malachias et al., 2020), non-English-speaking countries in Europe (e.g. Wilson, 1997; Macha and Bauer, 2009), Africa (e.g. Moorosi, 2014; Odhiambo, 2011), Asia (e.g. Shah, 2018) and the Middle East (e.g. Oplatka and Hertz-Lazarowitz, 2006).

A theory map

A frame of reference through which to consider different theoretical perspectives draws on Wallin's (2015) account of *feminist thought and/in ELMA* that explores the contributions and limitations of liberal, radical, social/ist, poststructural/postmodern and postcolonial feminisms as well as Blackmore's (1989a) radical reconceptualisation of leadership, underpinned by critical and feminist theories that established *critical feminist scholarship* in ELMA.

The proposal for a theory map begins with an account of intersecting theoretical positions as they relate to feminist scholarship in ELMA. First, Blackmore (1989a) critiques the positivistic epistemological underpinnings and decontextualisation of existing androcentric leadership research (see also Shakeshaft, 1987). She critiques liberal feminist individualism (despite its achievements), abstract morality and bureaucratic rationality and notes the influence of radical separatism. Key elements of a feminist reconstruction of leadership include

> … a view of power which is multi-dimensional and multi-directional. Leadership is seen as being practised in different contexts by different people and not merely equated to formal roles. Leadership looks to empower others rather than have power over others. [It] assumes a relational view of morality in which moral practice is rational within given contexts and social and political relations and not according to abstract moral laws or principles. Leadership is concerned with communitarian and collective activities and values. Thus the process of leading is both educative and conducive to democratic process, and, one would hope, consistent with education.
>
> (Blackmore, 1989a, p. 94)

Blackmore (1989a) notes the irony of including emotionality, sociality and caring when these qualities have been used to bar women from leadership. She combines critical and feminist theorising in subsequent empirical and theoretical work (e.g. Blackmore, 1999, 2016; Blackmore and Sachs, 2007). It informs the conceptualisation of emancipatory leadership praxis (e.g. Grundy, 1993), and scholars have adopted a critical feminist approach in their exploration of leadership (e.g. Young and Skrla, 2003).

Second, Wallin's (2015) account of *feminist thought and/in educational administration* focuses on multiple feminist perspectives as liberal, radical, social/ist, poststructural/postmodern and postcolonial feminisms. Liberal feminism informed much early scholarship by taking an individual rights perspective to argue for women's equal opportunities for career advancement and proportionate representation in educational leadership from early childhood to higher education. There remains interest in women's representation (e.g. Fuller, 2017) and career progression (e.g. Coleman, 2002). Radical feminism is associated with undermining patriarchal structures and institutional hierarchies by valorising women leaders' ways of being and knowing (e.g. Grogan and Shakeshaft, 2011). It rejects the mind/body dualism to suggest 'women's experiences were very much an extension of their embodied lives as women' (Wallin, 2015, p. 84). Wallin (2015) does not distinguish between social

and socialist feminism; she refers to both. Social feminism is underpinned by a social constructivist ontology; socialist feminism, like Marxist feminism, links patriarchy with capitalism and provides a way of thinking about social class as it intersects with gender. This thinking leads to transformative leadership that serves the interests of those who are typically less well served living in less affluent communities (e.g. Strachan, 2002). Poststructural/postmodern feminism necessitates the deconstruction of long-held understandings of, for example, what it means to be a woman or leader or the nature, location and exercise of power (e.g. Grogan, 2000). The poststructural feminist theorisation of heteronormativity and minoritised sexualities is connected with the development of queer theory (Butler, 1990, 2004) in ELMA (e.g. Rottmann, 2006).

Wallin (2015) refers to Blackmore's (1989a) scholarship but not specifically to a critical feminist perspective. Her exploration of feminisms includes postcolonial feminism in relation to Indigenous Canadian and 'racially and colonially minoritised women' (p. 95), and the discussion is framed in Fitzgerald's (2003) discourses of (white women's) privilege. But what is also missing is a discussion of the influence of African-American feminism (e.g. Dillard 1995), Black feminism and intersectionality (e.g. Horsford, 2012), womanism (e.g. Witherspoon and Taylor, 2010), and critical race perspectives and feminism (e.g. Santamaría, 2014) in ELMA. A theory map needs to include these.

An empirical map

Shakeshaft's (1987, p. 13) six *stages of research on women in administration* provide a frame of reference through which to consider empirical research. The first three stages take a liberal feminist perspective to focus on (1) absence of women, (2) search for women who have been or are administrators and (3) women as disadvantaged or subordinate; the last three take a more radical perspective as (4) women studied on their own terms, (5) women as challenge to theory and (6) transformation of theory.

Despite an argument that how leadership is done and for what purpose supersede the characteristics of the leader, there remains interest in research associated with liberal feminism: the absence of women (e.g. Fuller, 2017), the search for women who have been leaders (e.g. Fuller, 2014) and women who have been disadvantaged or subordinated (e.g. Coleman, 2002; Fuller, 2022). This scholarship has gained nuance in asking which women are under-represented. Minoritised women's under-representation with respect to 'race' (e.g. Showunmi et al., 2016), religion (e.g. Shah, 2010) and sexuality (e.g. Rottmann, 2006) remains a contemporary issue in many countries, including the UK. The discriminations and the intersecting injustices (i.e. cultural, economic, representative) that women face as symptoms of structural oppressions such as racism, socioeconomic disadvantage, Islamophobia and homo/transphobia and the resources they develop to resist them remain pertinent (e.g. Fuller, 2022).

Radical feminist perspectives developed through research with women leaders on their own terms enable challenge of dominant leadership discourses about what constitutes 'effective' leadership (e.g. Benham, 1997; Dillard, 1995; Grogan and Shakeshaft, 2011). The inclusion of multiple feminist perspectives that lead to the transformation of theory in ELMA and education more widely remains relevant in

the twenty-first century (e.g. Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012). But there is an opportunity here to recognise a seventh stage that focuses specifically on *feminist leadership praxis*.

A map of feminist leadership praxis

The frame of reference for this map comprises a conceptualisation of theoretically and politically informed socially just, transformative *feminist leadership praxis* (Grogan and Shakeshaft, 2011; Grundy, 1993; Shields, 2010; Wilkinson et al., 2010) that might be seen as a form of professional activism (Sachs, 2003).

The proposal for a map of feminist leadership praxis, a seventh stage of feminist research, begins with Blackmore's (1989a) feminist reconstruction of educational leadership and Grundy's (1993) articulation of emancipatory praxis. Arguing that feminist discourse enables challenge of dominant assumptions of reality, Grundy (1993, p. 166) saw knowledge constituted 'by an emancipatory interest [as] knowledge which recognizes that freedom is inextricably linked with truth and justice'. People-driven action, as opposed to externally dictated task-driven practical action, would enable shared reflection on and analysis of the outcomes of action within an educational setting. So emancipatory leadership practice takes place within a socially critical framework. Decision-making is inclusive. Collaborative action and critical self-evaluation mean 'emancipatory educational administrators […] become students of their own work and that of their institution, recognizing the hegemonic social construction of that work' (p. 172). Importantly, feminist leadership praxis brings together feminist politically and theoretically informed practical leadership action that is 'amenable to investigation, evaluation and improvement' (p. 173). It focuses on enabling practitioners 'to control their knowledge and practice' (p. 174), curriculum development as a way of making schooling relevant to the needs of the community served, and inclusive leadership as a socially just practice that seeks parity of participation (Blackmore, 2016).

Women might exercise values-driven feminist management and emancipatory praxis focused on social justice (Adler et al., 1993; Fuller, 2013; Grogan and Shakeshaft, 2011; Hall, 1996), but in practice women are also pragmatic in their approach, recognising the duality of their role (Grace, 1995; Hall, 1996). Their everyday resistance might be concealed (Fuller, 2019), as might their identities as feminists and activists. Wilkinson et al. (2010), Shields (2010) and Santamaría (2014) have each located the influence of feminist politics on leadership practice framed respectively as leading praxis, transformative leadership and applied critical leadership. I suggest that *feminist leadership praxis* is found where leaders consciously base their leadership practice on feminist theories and politics to develop socially just and transformative leadership designed to benefit the community (Blackmore, 2016) (see Chapter 10). It is needed to resist the oppressiveness of global neoliberal education policies that systematically disadvantage women.

Such leadership is not the monopoly of women. Men exercise pro-feminist leadership with emancipatory intent (Fuller, 2012, 2013; Hall, 1999; Lingard and Douglas, 1999). A map of feminist leadership praxis needs to include the pro-feminist leadership praxis of those who identify as men.

A chronological map

From a chronological perspective, the frame of reference comprises *multiple waves of feminism* generally thought to consist of first-wave feminism from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, second-wave feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, third-wave feminism in the 1980s and 1990s and fourth-wave feminism from the second decade of the twenty-first century (i.e. the mid-2010s).

The proposal for a chronological map begins with observations about first-wave feminism and ELMA to move through second and third waves of feminism making a case for a contemporary fourth-wave feminist perspective.

First-wave feminism and ELMA

The marginalised histories of women in English educational leadership have been recovered in charting the shift from 'lady-teachers' (Pedersen, 1987, p. 102) to educated 'professional wom[en]' (p. 171) and accounts of women leading high schools in the nineteenth century (Glenday and Price, 1974; Watts, 1998) (see also Kyle, 1993; Weiler, 1994 for historical perspectives in other national contexts). Women's radical contributions were as public servants leading education reform – first as suffragettes then as elected politicians (Banks, 1955; Fuller, 2014; Simon, 1948). Some 'headmistresses' were 'active suffragettes' (Glenday and Price, 1974, p. 68); others dismissed suffragette teachers (Watts, 1998). Women teachers' campaign for suffrage clearly posed a risk to professional and personal lives (Garrett and Thomas, 2019; UCL, 2011).

Shakeshaft (1987) writes US women into the field, noting that the first wave of feminism focused on suffrage and the professions with little change in 100 years. Weiler (1994, p. 26) documents the ebb and flow of feminism in US rural education:

> feminist educators were supported by networks of like-minded women and often worked in separate women's institutions or organizations. After the achievement of suffrage in 1920, the language of feminism - demands for women's rights, the denunciation of gender discrimination - tended to disappear. But in education, as in the wider society, sexist and discriminatory practices and beliefs did not disappear and, in fact, when left unacknowledged and unchallenged, led to the erosion of women's gains, the retreat of women in educational, professional, and social worlds, and eventually to the deeply sexist and discriminatory culture of the 1950s.

Rural contexts had afforded women some autonomy in small schools and therefore opportunities to take on leadership.

Second-wave feminism and ELMA

In the 1970s, schools of education were 'among the most resistant to the impact of the women's movement' despite a decade of women's studies on campus (Howe, 1979, p. 413). Elsewhere, I have shown how difficult it is to find women in a key

work on ELMA published in 1969 at the height of the women's movement (Fuller, 2014). Lyman and Speizer (1980) report a decade of failure in changing 'the virtual exclusion of women from administrative positions' (Howe, 1979 p. 413) and the circular socialisation whereby 'women are not perceived as being competent to hold administrative jobs, therefore do not hold them, and consequently cannot change the perception' (Lyman and Speizer, 1980, p. 25). Cairns (1975) similarly reports on the reasons for women's under-representation in Canadian schools. Cairns (1975) and Shakeshaft (1987) refer directly to the two phases of women's political activism that we think of as the first and second waves of feminism.

Whereas Howe (1979) makes explicit reference to feminist researchers, feminist research methodology, feminist analysis, feminist theory and The Feminist Press, Lyman and Speizer (1980) and Cairns (1975) do not. Questions arise, then, about what constitutes feminist research and whether it is enough to focus on 'women' and their lived realities as leaders in education without explicitly drawing on feminist theories, methodologies and analyses. Noddings (1990, p. 410) notes that despite interest in gender few educationists were interested in feminist theory. She suggests that gender-focused research 'may still be categorized properly as feminist research'. Feminist theory in education was generally liberal/individualist *or* radical/relational, not the 'third generation thought' that challenged both first- and second-generation thinking (Noddings, 1990 p. 407; see Kristeva, 1981).

By contrast, Sprague (2016, p. 3) argues that feminist researchers find consensus in focusing on 'gender, in interaction with other forms of social relations such as "race"/ethnicity, class, ability, and nation' as 'a key organizer of social life' but that is not necessarily linked to a 'simple dichotomy of male and female' (p. 241). She adds that 'understanding how things work is not enough – we need to take action to make the social world more equitable' (p. 3). The political purpose of feminist research is clear. It is designed not simply to describe but to be 'useful to progressive social change' (Sprague, 2016, p. 3).

Third-wave feminism and ELMA

Towards the end of the 1980s, during the period associated with third-wave feminism, research into women, gender and feminism in ELMA emerged more clearly as a field of study. Conference papers reveal explicitly that feminist scholarship, including male scholars' engagement with critical feminism (e.g. Anderson, 1989), was disseminated in the US (e.g. Biklen, 1995; Biklen and Brannigan, 1980; Biklen et al., 2008; Shakeshaft, 1980) and Australia (e.g. Randell, 1984). But there remained very little published scholarship in the UK (e.g. Davies, 1986; Marland, 1982). Acker (1995) attributes this to a focus in feminist education scholarship associated with teachers and teaching in the UK (e.g. Arnot and Weiler, 1993; David, 1980; Weiner, 1989) as opposed to administrators, leadership and management in the US.

Arguing for equality *and* equity, Marland (1982) was among the first ELMA scholars to demonstrate the multiple disadvantages that women faced in the English education system. He argues for affirmative measures such as actively seeking women leadership candidates, data collection about representation in leadership, the education of appointment panels to reduce bias, non-sexist job descriptions, encouraging

mature women to re-enter the profession, a salary structure review and importantly a programme of career development support. The last would comprise in-service training and career counselling with 'help appropriate to [women's] needs' (Marland, 1982, p. 24).

Marland (1982) acknowledged feminist scholarship in a way some women gender (feminist) scholars do not. Davies (1986, p. 61), with no reference to feminism, notes that equity in educational leadership was a 'growth industry' in the US but sees Marland's (1982) paper as an exception in the UK. There was much to learn from women in developing countries given their success in achieving leadership in the face of 'compound constraints' (Davies, 1986, p. 62). Her comparative exploration outlines multilevel barriers to women's career advancement, including individual sex role scripts or the internalisation of organisational constraints and power relations within society. Such patterns crossed cultures to a greater or lesser degree. An individual's position in relation to three interlocking dimensions – the individual, the institutional and the relational – influenced the degree of ease or difficulty they may find in achieving career advancement in educational leadership. This theorisation foreshadowed Cubillo and Brown's (2003) oft-cited conceptualisation of multilevel (i.e. individual, organisational and sociopolitical) barriers faced by women in international settings. In line with third-wave feminist thinking, women leaders, in their heterogeneity, were seen in their cultural and organisational contexts with no attempt to universalise them and their experiences despite clear patterns of gender inequality and inequity.

In the 1990s, two studies drew explicitly on feminist perspectives to explain women's leadership in the English education system (Adler et al., 1993; Hall, 1996). Each reports constraints associated with women leaders being identified as feminist, although ambivalence about that was not necessarily associated with a lack of commitment to women's interests (Hall, 1996). Women leaders did not adopt the emancipatory praxis identified by critical scholars such as Grundy (1993) but worked within the system for change where they could (Hall, 1996). That might be easier in a classroom as a feminist teacher than as a feminist leader (Adler et al., 1993). Indeed, Grace (1995) notes that it was difficult enough for a woman to achieve headship in inherently conservative regions of England without the additional perceived burden of being thought a feminist. This English experience is in marked contrast with studies that focus on feminist administrators and policy-makers in Australia (e.g. Blackmore, 1989b) and New Zealand (e.g. Strachan, 1999) and change agents in Canada (e.g. Coulter, 1996; Taylor, 1995). In the main, the feminist perspective is that of the scholar rather than the leader herself (Wallin, 2015).

Through the 1990s, distinctions can be made between liberal and radical feminist perspectives in ELMA. However, Coulter (1996) and Ehrich (1998) make a case for combining liberal and radical perspectives for collective action that might benefit women – the 'different but equal' strategy. However, the tension still played out in the leadership of some women in their desire for career progression (an individualist liberal feminist perspective) and their commitment to effecting social change (a relational feminist perspective) (Taylor, 1995). Similarly, the case for cross-gender alliances is made both in shared leadership (Aronson and Hanson, 1998) and for pro-feminist scholarship by men (Hall, 1996; see, for example, Lingard and Douglas, 1999).

Increasingly, an emphasis on emancipatory leadership praxis meant that identity characteristics mattered less in feminist leadership than the practice of leadership (i.e. how it was done and for what purpose mattered more than who did it) (Adler et al., 1993; Hall, 1999; see Blackmore, 2013).

The intersection of theoretical stances – i.e. leadership theory with gender or feminist theory (or both) (e.g. Shakeshaft 1987) and leadership theory with feminist and critical theory (Blackmore 1989a) – opened up the possibility of further intersectional theorisations with Black feminist thought (e.g. Benham, 1997; Case, 1997; Dillard, 1995) and postcolonial feminist (e.g. Blackmore, 2010), poststructural/postmodern feminist (e.g. Grogan, 2000) and queer feminist (e.g. Rottmann, 2006) theories. The apparent incompatibility of some feminist theories has challenged scholars to find ways to think with *both/and* rather than *either/or* particular feminist perspectives (Fuller, 2013, 2014).

Fourth-wave feminism and ELMA

At the time of writing, there is no ELMA scholarship that explicitly draws on conceptualisations of fourth-wave feminism outlined here as intersectional and inclusionary, concerned with social media and digital feminism, men's relationships with feminism, and professional activism focused on combating gender injustice in education and wider society.

In the period 2000–2020, feminist scholarship in educational leadership increased exponentially. A simple internet search for 'feminist theory' and 'educational leadership' reveals a three-fold increase in hits in the 2000s (938 hits compared with 280 hits in the 1990s) and a similar increase in the 2010s (2600 hits). A review of the 21 most relevant and most-cited works (i.e. one per year 2000–2020) demonstrates that feminist theory has influenced and been acknowledged in the theorisation of leadership for social justice (Blackmore, 2009; Bogotch and Shields, 2014; Larson and Murthada, 2002; Theoharis, 2007), including a postmodern feminist and critical perspective on the superintendency (Grogan, 2000), transformative leadership (Dantley, 2003) and social justice in leadership (Brooks and Miles, 2008; Gooden and Dantley, 2012; Tooms et al., 2010). Black feminist perspectives informed the discussion of 'doing diversity' (Ahmed and Swan, 2006), critical spirituality in leadership (Dantley, 2003), the development of critical race theory (Yosso et al., 2004), intersectionality (Agosto and Roland, 2018) and the decolonisation of school leadership (Khalifa et al., 2019). They informed research about the leadership of Black women principals (Aaron, 2020), Black women faculty (Davis and Brown, 2017) and Black women student leaders in higher education (Domingue, 2015). Feminist psychology informed the discussion of gender and leadership in higher education (Madden, 2005).

Gooden and Dantley (2012) suggest that a critical feminist perspective is helpful in thinking about 'race' within a social justice discourse in educational leadership. Blackmore (2013) takes a critical feminist stance in arguing for the (re)politicisation of feminist theory, having noted its depoliticised use in the mainstream. For example, Smylie et al. (2016) draw on the ethic of care associated with feminist theory but rest responsibility for care in the person of the school leader (including their

self-care) and collectively in the school community without explicitly critiquing the external pressures of neoliberalism that care must alleviate. By contrast, Blackmore (2001) critiques the marketisation of higher education and draws on feminist theory of difference in her review of a perceived crisis in universities.

The vast majority of these papers were produced in the US, three in Australia (Blackmore, 2001, 2009, 2013) and one in the UK (Ahmed and Swan, 2006). One paper was produced in Kenya. To explore women and leadership in higher education, Odhiambo (2011, p. 667) draws on African feminism that 'demand[s] a more holistic perspective that does not pit men against women; instead such a perspective must root out the unjust social arrangements between men and women' (Ngunjiri, 2010, p. 757 cited by Odhiambo, 2011, p. 673). Although he dared 'to go where very few male scholars have gone and in doing so liberate those who will follow me in the necessary task of joining women in gender discussion' (p. 676), over a third of the 21 papers reviewed here were first-authored by scholars whose first names I recognise as male.

In the following section, I discuss the time lags, synchronicities and leading feminist scholarship as they relate to the temporality of the four waves of feminism.

Time lags, synchronicities and leading scholarship

The chronological map of feminist scholarship in ELMA, analysed through the temporal lens of multiple waves of feminism, reveals evidence of *time lags*, particularly in the UK; *synchronicities*, particularly in the international literature; and examples of *leading scholarship*.

The first and inevitable *time lag* relates to feminist historical scholarship that recovered women's educational leadership histories. Beginning in the midst of second-wave feminism (e.g. Glenday and Price, 1974) and continuing into the third wave (e.g. Watts, 1998) and beyond (e.g. Fuller, 2014), scholars explore women's absence from the UK-based literature even during second-wave feminism.

The second time lag describes just how late scholars were to acknowledge feminism in ELMA in the US (Howe, 1979) but even more so in the UK (Acker, 1995). There is feminist scholarship during the third wave but in the UK that is very limited (Adler et al., 1993; Hall, 1996). Thereafter, a number of scholars (e.g. Coleman, 2002) position themselves as feminist researchers but that does not necessarily translate into explicit feminist theorisation of leadership. For example, I refer to two works of feminist scholarship (Adler et al., 1993; Blackmore, 1999), but although I have always identified as a feminist, I, like Davies (1986), do not mention feminism in-text in my first publication (Fuller, 2009). Explicit feminist theorisation of ELMA followed (e.g. Fuller, 2010). Such reticence contrasts starkly with scholarship focused on femocrats and gender equity policies in Australia, a context not yet impacted by neoliberalism (e.g. Blackmore, 1989b). Waves of feminism occur(red) in response to social and economic conditions and (inter)national politics. For example, Nancy Fraser links the seduction of poststructural feminism and neoliberalism's promise of women's agency to disengagement from feminist politics and activism in the 1980s and 1990s (Blackmore, 2016). This could account for different approaches to scholarship in the UK, US and Australia as neoliberalism crossed the globe.

The third time lag relates to delay in taking a multidimensional approach to gender. In particular, there is a time lag relating to research in 'race' alongside gender using postcolonial and critical race feminisms and the concept of intersectionality to theorise minoritised women's educational leadership in the UK. Rosemary Campbell-Stephens (2009) and Saeeda Shah (2010), writing about Muslim women's leadership in Pakistan, challenged Western-centric theories of educational leadership but without an explicitly feminist position. So, too, there was delay in researching minoritised sexualities in educational leadership, leading to a shortage of scholarship that draws on queer and feminist theory (e.g. Courtney, 2014). A further time lag can be seen in the use of poststructural feminist/gender theory (Fuller, 2010, 2014).

Synchronicity can be found during third-wave feminism in international scholarship. It is in Blackmore's (1989a) radical critique of multiple feminist perspectives (not just existing leadership theories) that Noddings (1990) claimed did not exist. It is in Shakeshaft's (1987) drawing together of what is interpreted as both liberal and radical perspectives in empirical research. It occurs in intersectional perspectives on Black women's leadership and their important challenge to mainstream constructions of effectiveness and acknowledgement of emotionality (e.g. Dillard, 1995 on hope; Benham, 1997 on principals' anger and hope; Case's, 1997 acknowledgement of anger and hopelessness in the community). It is also to be found in the pro-feminist scholarship of male scholars (Lingard and Douglas, 1999). Each disrupts existing leadership theories drawing on feminist perspectives associated with third-wave feminism to do so.

But, because of the existing time lag in developing feminist perspectives in ELMA, these examples of scholarship are actually examples of *leading scholarship*. In the fourth wave of feminism, ELMA scholarship could build on such examples of critical feminist–informed leading scholarship in recognising the diversity, complexity and intersectionality of multidimensional leader and learner identities. An inclusive and assets-informed, as opposed to deficit, approach in theorising the leadership and learning of racially, religious, sexually minoritised and other marginalised groups could be explored further. The same could be said of feminist leaders' explicit recognition and attempts to alleviate the impact of racism and white privilege, Islamophobia and further religious discriminations, heterosexism and homo/transphobia in education and educational leadership. This is at a time when some feminist debates are centred on transgendered identities and the place of men in feminism. It is in a digital age, when speaking up publicly via social media, to express anger and hope (e.g. #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo), is potentially both liberating and dangerous for learners, educators, leaders and scholars (Retallack et al., 2016). It occurs at a time when passions as they relate to gender and other social injustices are exacerbated by global crises such as the coronavirus pandemic and climate change alongside neoliberal education reform. In the chapters that follow, I aim to explore many of these perspectives and issues further.

Implications for ELMA

The implications for ELMA scholarship in the fourth wave of feminism are clear. Scholars must establish what constitutes affective temporality in contemporary educational leadership. What makes feminist educational leaders who are committed

to gender and other sorts of social justice angry? What gives them hope? These are questions that will be addressed, at least in part, in the chapters that follow. There is likely to be similarity with the concerns of feminists in earlier waves of feminism, but solutions might look different from different perspectives. There are also issues and concerns that relate specifically to the challenges of the twenty-first century.

Summary

This chapter reviewed a selection of the existing research into women, gender and feminism in ELMA that takes an explicitly feminist perspective. It proposed that a series of intersecting maps might chart the field from geographical, theoretical, empirical, political and temporal perspectives. A geographical perspective would recognise the imbalance of Western-centric research that might inform the decolonisation of the field from Global South feminist perspectives. A theoretical perspective would reveal the ideological underpinnings of feminist scholarship and its influence on knowledge production. There is potential dissonance with research participants' non-/anti-feminist or postfeminist perspectives (Jones, 2020). An empirical perspective would highlight the focus of research as well as methodological perspectives. Importantly, a map of feminist leadership praxis would re-focus research and practice on the purpose and process of education as a feminist educational project designed for progressive social change. Finally, a chronological map would enable a historical perspective that enables us to see where we have been and use that to chart a course for where we might go.

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Parts II

Using feminist theories in ELMA research

3 Intersectionality and Black British feminism

Introduction

Fourth-wave feminism resists a narrow sense of women's experiences, rights, interests, needs and desires (Zimmerman, 2017). It privileges an anti-racist perspective to destabilise the dominance of white liberal feminism. Postcolonial and critical race feminisms enable a nuanced understanding of gender as it intersects with 'race'. Conceptualised as intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991), this perspective developed during the third wave of feminism and remains a key feature of fourth-wave feminism (Zimmerman, 2017).

This chapter outlines links between intersectionality, critical race theory and Black British feminism. A Black British feminist perspective is used to explain how 11 women constructed the multiple dimensions of their identities as headteachers in primary and secondary schools. In alignment with the postcolonial perspective associated with Black British feminism, I draw on Holvino's (2010, 2012) concept of simultaneity. Opportunities as well as oppressions are associated with 'racing' oneself, or being 'raced', outside the mainstream in relation to the simultaneity of identity, institutional and social practices (Fuller, 2018) (also Chapter 10).

Black and postcolonial feminists have critiqued white Western feminism for assuming a universal womanhood regardless of women's 'raced' identities, contexts and circumstances (e.g. Amos et al., 1984; Collins, 1990/2000; hooks, 1984/2015; Mirza, 1997; Mohanty, 1988). Rooted in the twin concepts of 'raced' sexism and gendered racism in critical legal studies (Crenshaw, 1991), intersectionality has become 'the theory of choice for feminist and antiracist research' (Lumby, 2015, p. 30). It is a '"catch-all" term' and '"new-fangled buzz word"' that includes women of colour (Davis, 2008; McCall, 2005; Mirza, 2015, p. 3). Nevertheless, the danger remains that difference is re-inscribed as '"difference from", that is, the difference from the "white woman"' (Puar, 2011, no page; Seedat, 2013).

This chapter draws on a conceptualisation of intersectionality focused on 'raced' and gendered identities in educational leadership. Women headteachers who narrated experiences of achieving and practising school leadership 'raced' themselves outside the mainstream. They identified with Black and global majority (BGM) heritages (Campbell-Stephens, 2009). Their diasporic histories from African Caribbean, South American, Asian and Middle Eastern countries situated them as women 'of the Two-Thirds World in the One-Third World' (Mohanty, 2003, p. 507).

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The problematic nature of a white woman's interest in researching with women of diverse heritages was discussed in interviews: Nicola questioned the low number of Black women scholars in the UK, concluding that a white woman could and should facilitate the telling of Black women's stories (Fuller, 2020); Annette participated because no-one else would tell the story as she would. I remain cognisant that a white feminist scholar risks misappropriating voices and stories: by speaking *for* Black women (i.e. 'whitesplaining') (Spatz, 2019), misunderstanding nuance (Fuller, 2018), reifying colonial discourse by way of a voyeuristic colonial gaze (Mohanty, 1988; Rollock, 2013), and furthering a career by enhancing white privilege without engaging in social activism beyond research dissemination (Rollock, 2013). At the same time, 'guilty paralysis' engendered by the Black feminist critique needs interception (Mirza, 1997, p. 19). Critical alliances and coalitions of Black and white women working together for social justice need building among community activists, educators and scholars (Ali et al., 2010; Ledwith and Asgill, 2000; Mirza, 2015). White scholars must reflect carefully on their motivation before, during and after the research process and foreground, name and analyse 'peripheral race moments' (Rollock, 2013, p. 492). I have described my reasons for researching educational leadership, management and administration (ELMA) with women of diverse heritages (Fuller, 2019) and continue to reflect on 'race' moments in an effort to establish some reciprocity (Fuller, 2017, 2018, 2020). I am honoured by the trust shown to me by women who participated in these research projects.

This chapter ends by considering the implications for ELMA.

Intersectionality

The combined impact of intersecting oppressions such as racism, sexism and poverty on the lives of women of BGM, BAME (Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic) (see BAMEed, 2019), and Indigenous heritages has long been a focus for activism and scholarly attention (Amos et al., 1984; Davis, 1981; Mirza, 1997; Mohanty, 1988; Smith, 1999). Before its coinage and widespread use, early work centring the standpoints of women of colour implicitly used the concept of intersectionality in Black feminist scholarship framed as the 'combined disabilities of sex, class and race' (Davis, 1981, p. 144) or the 'interlocking nature of gender, class and race' (hooks, 1984/2015, p. xiii). Lorde (1984) expressed the multiplicity of 'simultaneous oppressions' without naming intersectionality (Ilmonen, 2019, p. 11). Taking a postcolonial perspective, Brah and Phoenix (2004, p. 76) evoke Sojourner Truth's nineteenth-century demand 'Ain't I a woman?' to contest ahistorical or essentialist conceptions of womanhood. They demonstrate the longevity and significance of Black women's activism, such as in anti-colonial movements for independence, Civil Rights protests and political identification with Black British feminism.

Since the 1990s, the conceptualisation of intersectionality has articulated an alternative to white women's feminism and Black men's accounts of race (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). It is a tenet of critical race theory (CRT) (see Delgado and Stefanic, 2001) used to reveal racism in the English school system and wider society (see Chakrabarty, Roberts and Preston, 2012; Gillborn, 2005, 2015; Rollock et al., 2015). However, a critical race perspective remains largely missing from the field of

ELMA (López, 2003). Few papers explicitly draw on either intersectionality or CRT (Capper, 2015; Fuller, 2018).

In a review of CRT-informed research in ELMA, Capper (2015, p. 799) defines intersectionality as moving 'beyond racial essentialism and a Black/White racial binary to considerations of race across races, and also considers how race intersects with other identities, such as language, ability, gender, social class, gender identity, and sexuality'. Even though it stems from a different theoretical perspective and context, this definition speaks to the polyvocality of Black British feminism that deliberately embraces a 'collective "black" but far from uniform voice' (Mirza, 2015, p. 3) speaking in solidarity from postcolonial (e.g. African, Asian and Middle Eastern) perspectives against British imperialism.

Scholarship focused on women educational leaders of colour does not necessarily refer to intersectionality, including when an African-American feminist theorisation draws on work by critical race theorists (e.g. Dillard, 1995). A developing body of international ELMA research shows a focus on multilevel identity, institutional and social practices (Holvino, 2010) associated with individual 'raced' and gendered identities of public service (Showunmi et al., 2016) and school leaders (Arnold and Brooks, 2013; Bloom and Erlandson, 2003; Coleman and Campbell-Stephens, 2010), superintendents in North America (Alston, 2005; Mahitivanichcha and Rorrer, 2006), staff (Walker and Riordan, 2010) and students (Irby, 2014; Mansfield, 2014; Santamaría, 2014; Shah, 2006; Shields, 1999) (see Chapter 6). Research also includes 'raced', gendered and sexual identities (Capper et al., 2006; de Leon and Brunner, 2013; Lugg and Tooms, 2010; Marshall and Hernandez, 2013; O'Malley and Capper, 2015) (see Chapter 5). However, sometimes the term is used as a shortcut to suggest a sense of the complexity and inter-relatedness of identity characteristics without an explanation of how intersectional identities impact on lived realities.

Using alternative terminology, scholars refer to 'intercentricity' as centralising intersecting identities to recognise the pervasive nature of racism in multiple communities (Smith, Yosso and Solórzano, 2007). Blackmore (2010a) considers the inter*action* of multiple dimensions of identity (my emphasis). Semantic differences to some extent reveal the variety of theoretical perspectives in ELMA scholarship (e.g. critical race and feminist, postcolonial and critical pedagogy theories with which 'mainstream' leadership theory barely engages) (Blackmore, 2010a, p. 47).

Scholars based in the US and UK have used intersectionality (tentatively sometimes) to think about women's ELMA experiences, including in a broadening range of country contexts (e.g. Murakami et al., 2017 (US, Canada and New Zealand); Moorosi et al., 2017 (South Africa, the UK and the US); Showunmi and Kaparou, 2017 (UK, Malaysia and Pakistan); Torrance et al., 2017 (Scotland, England, Jamaica and New Zealand)). Each of these countries shares the experience of British colonialism, including the internal colonisation of Scotland (Tomlinson, 2019).

The intersectionality associated with critical race theory developed from a different 'race' legacy in the US, resulting from institutionalised slavery, to that of postcolonial constructionist work in the UK and Europe (Ilmonen, 2019; Phoenix and Pattyama, 2006). These two theoretical perspectives might be seen in terms of a new alliance (Gandhi, 2019) alongside accounts of Indigenous women's leadership (e.g. White, 2010) and decolonial feminism (see Lopez, 2020) even though they do not all necessarily theorise with intersectionality as such.

A Black British feminist perspective

Intersectionality scholarship in ELMA, undertaken in the UK, rarely names Black British feminism. (For exceptions, see Curtis, 2017; Curtis and Showunmi, 2019; Jones and Ludhra, 2019; and Moorosi et al., 2017, 2018.) Postcolonial theoretical perspectives have largely been absent (see Curtis and Showunmi, 2019; Fuller, 2018; Moorosi et al., 2017; and Showunmi and Kaparou, 2017), although there has been disruption to notions of leadership from feminist postcolonial positions in the international literature (Blackmore, 2010b).

Initially, in the UK, scholars called for analyses of the workings of power and privilege 'in and through the social relations of gender intersecting with race, class and linguistic difference' (Blackmore, 2006, p. 191). They recognised the complexity, fluidity and hybridity of multiple identities relating to the various groups to which they belonged, whether they were students or staff (Lumby and English, 2009). For example, the construction of a British Muslim identity discourse occurring at intersecting 'cultural and political contestations' (Shah, 2006, p. 223) post 9/11 (US terrorist attacks) and 7/7 (London bombings) had profound consequences for Muslim students in British schools (see Chapters 4 and 9). Increasingly, more nuanced and inclusive ELMA scholarship draws on intersectionality, across phases of education from the early years (e.g. Curtis, 2017) to higher education (e.g. Morley, 2013).

Black British feminism locates individual and collective stories of diaspora, belonging, self-definition, cultural preservation and agency in a broader examination of racism in the UK (Mirza, 1997). An inclusive political kinship or identity as Black British feminists extended a heterogeneous invitation to all women with individual or collective, recent or historical diasporic stories of colonialism, decolonisation and postcolonialism. Black British feminism became a space for alternative ways of knowing, making visible the invisible and creating a third space for Black women (Bhabha, 1994; Spivak, 2010). Activists and scholars have challenged gendered racism in society, British state institutions, the workplace and education, in identity politics and imperial feminism (Amos et al., 1984; Bryan et al., 1985/2018; Gunaratnam, 2014; Mirza, 1997, 2015), to demonstrate the possibility of 'difference (polyvocality) within a conscious construction of sameness (i.e. black feminism)' to argue '[a]s long as […] exclusion is produced in regions, nations, and places, there will be a Black *British* feminism' (Mirza, 1997, p. 21 original emphasis).

Almost four decades on, Black British feminists still undertake the 'risky business of strategic tactical cultural re-inscription' (Mirza, 1997, p. 14) to disrupt, counter and weaken contemporary hegemonic discourses of 'race', class and gender. Eddo-Lodge (2018, p. 235) argues that there is a 'renaissance of black critical thought and culture' and that despite 'no longer talking to white people about race' (p. ix) a dialogue is developing. Black women 'claim[ing] our space on these islands, knowing that "we are here, because you were there"' (Larasi, 2019, p. 9) in 'a process where they weren't an afterthought or add on […] a representation of resistance, freedom and sisterhood' (Okanlawon, 2019, p. 11). Social media and new technologies enable Black British feminists to 'harvest our collective intelligence' (Mirza, 2015, p. 1).

Black women's success in education must be considered in this context. They encountered essentialised and self-contradictory stereotypes of 'superwoman'

(Reynolds, 1997) and 'passive victim', the exoticised and eroticised object of sexual fantasy perpetuated by patriarchal colonialism (Spivak, 2010). Indeed, their success in a racist society might be constructed as a radical act:

> Is the desire to do well and succeed in education a subversive act? The positive orientation of black women to education is significant. They may appear on the surface to be engaged in instrumental, seemingly conservative acts of buying into the system, but this is an illusion. Black women, without access to power and privilege, redefine what education is for.
>
> (Mirza, 1997, p. 18)

Ross et al. (2018, p. 104) describe the BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) attainment gap as the ongoing 'great unspoken shame' of UK higher education; that is, when entry qualifications, subject and student characteristics are accounted for, BME students attain less well than white students. Teaching workforce data show that white teachers (British and white minorities) (90%) and headteachers (93%) dominate the English education system (GOV.UK, 2018a). When teachers and headteachers of marginalised ethnicities succeed, they encounter systemic and structural racism (Haque and Elliott, 2017). So women headteachers of BGM heritages have succeeded despite contemporary injustices of societal, systemic, institutional and individual acts of racism. They succeeded despite the historical and contemporary brutal realities of colonialism, decolonisation and diaspora (Tomlinson, 2019).

Next, I draw on the relationship between postcolonial and Black British feminisms to explore the simultaneity of multiple dimensions of headteacher identity practice against the backdrop of social and institutional practices as they relate to the following: diasporic histories, belongingness, self-definition and cultural preservation, the exercise of agency through educational and professional success, and the search for, seizure and creation of opportunities to challenge gendered racism/raced sexism.

Multiple dimensions of headteacher identity practice

Diasporic histories

Each headteacher reported being raised by parents who moved to the UK for work, education and a 'better life' (Inderjeet) (Bloomfield, 2019; Bryan et al., 1985/2018). Their mothers were nurses, and their fathers worked in factories or as bus drivers or mechanics. Some established businesses. Just one was educated to university level.

Their stories recount family success and high aspirations for their daughters' education and careers. However, Hasna gave a powerful account of her mother's depression, caused by the pain and guilt of separation from a family living lives of subsistence in a former British colony. Her account demonstrates the difficulties of migration:

> She was depressed and yearning for her home and her family and found it hard to adapt to this country. […] I mean I remember when we used to have… It sounds really silly now [laughs], you know, chicken or something like that and

> she'd be crying because she knew that her mum and her family back home didn't have the food that was in front of us.
>
> (Hasna)

Headteachers described family heritages from Caribbean islands (Jamaica, St Lucia and Antigua), South America, South Asia (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh), the Middle East and East Asia; two had white British parents. Countries of origin were former British colonies with the impact of decolonisation ongoing.

Belongingness

A sense of belonging was achieved in multi-racial, multi-ethnic and multi-faith spaces in cities (e.g. London), communities, schools they attended, schools where they worked and international spaces (e.g. during a visit to the US). Headteachers made racial and cultural distinctions that demonstrated difference in the midst of diversity and not just difference amidst whiteness (Puar, 2011). Hasna was the only girl of her 'racial' and ethnic heritage in a school largely populated by Pakistani heritage children. Inderjeet taught

> children from an Asian background, that hadn't had a similar upbringing to myself. I hadn't appreciated the cultural differences between the Indian community, the Pakistani community, in the way that I sort of learnt as I started teaching.
>
> (Inderjeet)

Unbelonging (Maylor, 1995) was associated with headteachers' location in predominantly white spaces and, for some, resulted in conscious imitation of white others (Bhabha, 1994). They lived in a predominantly white family or community, attended predominantly white schools and universities, and worked as teachers where white leaders dominated educational leadership. In a shift from earlier research suggesting the 'ghettoiz[ation]' of minority ethnic teachers (Wilson et al., 2006, p. 250), five led predominantly white schools.

Six had married white men and raised children of mixed heritages. Sharon described her friendship group as majority white:

> So growing up as one of very few Black people in the neighbourhood, [where racist name calling was ignored but affected her deeply]. I grew up in that same kind of demographic again. So like I say, most of my friends are white. So it's kind of the norm for me to be in the minority.
>
> (Sharon)

The youthful desire to be like white others was strongly expressed by two headteachers. Inderjeet's school peers engaged in multiple extracurricular activities forbidden to her; Sharon rejected her grandmother's food, refusing to eat anything but cornflakes on a visit to the Caribbean. Each recounted stories of self-re-identification: resisting the stereotype of 'submissive Asian' (Inderjeet), Sharon's increasing politicisation later in life, and Nicola's early political conscientisation (Moorosi et al., 2017).

Self-definition and cultural preservation

The women used family national heritages (e.g. British Pakistani) or religion (e.g. British Sikh) to hyphenate hybridised British identities (Rattansi, 2000) and to recognise the simultaneity of Blackness and Britishness as Black professionals (Young, 2000). Dee retained her maiden name to pre-empt 'microaggressions' when meeting someone for the first time (Sue, 2010, p. xv). Annette highlighted a mismatch between her name and her family's country of origin: '[ethnic group] people certainly don't think I'm [that ethnic group] [laughs]'; she identified as 'politically Black, but also just Black' (Annette) (Mirza, 1997). Sharon identified as 'British' on official forms, but 'Do I call myself Black British? Generally not. No.' (Sharon).

Having desired sameness as a child, Sharon increasingly reclaimed her heritage in later life:

> … a normal meal that I would cook for my family on a Sunday, it would not be roast potatoes and whatever and whatever. They [white friends] needed to see that that's not the norm for me. So I suppose as a child I would be embarrassed by that and pretend that I did have roast potatoes and Yorkshire pudding, whereas now and increasingly as I'm getting older because I'm probably getting more belligerent, "Why are you trying to tell me that when you're talking as if everybody has roast potatoes and Yorkshire pudding on a Sunday? We don't actually." Do you know what I mean? So bringing it out. Sometimes in a jokey way. Some time when it was my fiftieth birthday for example, it was all Caribbean food. "Now if you're going to come and turn your nose up, there's going to be a bit of a problem really, but this is what we do. This is what we eat." And probably that audience was I would say, I don't know, 60/40 white to Black and so the majority of people in the room, that is not their normal diet, but I'm saying, "This is me. This is how I eat normally." There was no issue there. So it's that kind of as I've got older I have made people aware of the fact that I have Black skin. That is who I am. I suppose it's been a- I don't know what changed really. Maybe I just grew up.
>
> (Sharon)

Securing educational and professional success meant their re-identification as headteachers in positions of power in the English school system.

Educational and professional success – exercising agency

Educated in an institutionally racist English school system (Gillborn, 2005; Rollock et al., 2015; Tomlinson, 2019) between the 1960s and 1990s, the headteachers graduated from British universities, including elite universities. Despite the rhetoric of commitment to promoting equality, diversity and inclusion, these institutions have done little to ensure equitable experiences and attainment in higher education (Bhopal, 2018; Ross et al., 2018). Three had entered higher education as mature students.

Their parents were educationally aspirational, wanting 'the best for me' (Ann). Vicky's aspirations for a higher education developed during an extended stay in the

US; Inderjeet saw university as an escape from cultural constraints and broadened horizons with a year abroad.

They achieved educational success despite individual experiences of racism such as name-calling, staring, and comments on skin and hair and despite their awareness at a young age of systemic and societal racism (Fuller, 2018). Dee and Inderjeet constructed bilingualism as an obstacle in education, whereas Saeeda used her linguistic resources as assets in leadership (Fuller, 2018). Headteachers exercised agency by moving schools owing to inadequate teaching, teaching about apartheid (Moorosi et al., 2017), choosing a college away from 'bad' influences, participating in an international exchange placement, studying at institutions beyond their geographical experience, choosing a vocational degree course, changing degree course, and entering teacher education as mature students.

As teachers, they secured professional success choosing schools by breaching the teacher recruitment 'pool' system, taking jobs at training placement schools, working in a specific community, or moving for promotion. They sought, seized or created opportunities for early leadership and management responsibilities, developed ambitious career plans, and secured internal promotion. They enrolled in professional courses and programmes, networked, and sought and provided career coaching. They engaged with initiatives designed to develop leadership or support teachers of minoritised ethnicities (or both). They resisted traditional career 'ladders' by changing schools for the same leadership status, took advisory or inspection and other seconded roles, took temporary 'acting' roles, or resigned when it suited.

Headteachers achieved professional success despite individual acts of racism: name-calling by pupils and pupils' parents, thinly veiled challenges to their leadership or abuse from the wider local community, including via social media, and expressions of negative stereotypes of women working and leading in some communities. They experienced racism and sexism in the selection process (tokenism, direct discrimination although it was hard to provide evidence, exoticisation and eroticisation) and everyday workplace micro-expressions and microaggressions (i.e. surprised facial expressions and shuffling body language) that exposed racist assumptions about professional and personal identity when they spoke up in meetings (Ali, 2009; Sue, 2010). Such behaviours resulted in 'double consciousness' as headteachers were acutely aware of how white others saw them (Du Bois, 1903). The challenges of working in a white patriarchal education system were noted, and all expressed concern about the under-representation and minoritisation of BGM heritage women in school leadership.

However, experiencing minoritisation also enabled confident negotiation of the white education system and school leadership. Vicky made the direct link:

> [My upbringing] wasn't in a very multicultural area at all. […] there was me and my sister and I think maybe a couple of others in the whole school that were not white which I know for some people would make them feel very isolated, but actually for us, we were just one of the school, and so I was always used to being around white people and always used to being maybe the only BME person in the room. So in a way that kind of toughens you up for that. […] And I know from the work that I do with [a group working for diversity in

> school leadership], that for other teachers and their background that may have been different. Say if they've been brought up in a mainly Muslim community […] and then suddenly they get into education and they are, you know, maybe you've got some kind of promotion, go to a meeting and they're then the only BME teacher in the room, then that's quite intimidating for them. So I think in a way, even though I was brought up and didn't have a lot of BME people in my school or whatever, it prepared me more for that, not isolation but being that single person in a room full of white people.
>
> (Vicky)

Each headteacher subverted the system by securing educational success that enabled the achievement of leadership in education and their re-identification as powerful women in the community (Mirza, 1997).

Seeking, seizing and creating opportunities to challenge gendered racism/raced sexism

Turning experiential knowledge of oppression into opportunities, headteachers took positions focused on raising the achievement of children of BGM heritages. They challenged oppressions associated with racism and sexism through their presence and practice. Their presence in school leadership directly challenged the system and attitudes in wider society: 'I guess I am [doing something] by being here even without doing anything else' (Ann). They subverted the discourse about success:

> I wanted to go into teaching because I think I wanted to show people that [associating success with whiteness is] not the case and I think you have to present children with role-models at all levels and that was one of my motivations.
>
> (Saeeda)

Their visibility challenged assumptions and stereotypes:

> from a very early age in teaching I […] made the decision that I would use my ethnicity to challenge people's perceptions and stereotypes both white and black minority ethnic families as well, and expose them to, and give them an insight to a different way of thinking.
>
> (Inderjeet)

Experiential knowledge and commitment to doing leadership as a woman mattered:

> role-modelling for me is very important and so for the mothers who are on the staff, [I] want them to know that being a mother is not a barrier but that also there are times when being a mother, you do have to do things for your family and I appreciate that and understand that. […] you're not imitating a man [laughs]. You are a woman and you have all of the things with you that…, […] so of course I still have guilt about what I'm not doing with my son like lots of women have, but as much as possible try to ensure that the women particularly on the team know that that's not a barrier. We can work a way through. I'm not

> sort of lowering the bar for them in any way, shape or form in terms of what I expect from them professionally, but that life happens [laughs].
>
> (Nicola)

Recognition spread into the community among parents: 'it does have that positive permutation that it's not just being said, but it's real and it's life and it's tangible' (Nicola). Headteachers demonstrated success for their daughters: 'they can see that they can have everything' (Dee).

All the headteachers were committed to providing effective education in terms of pupils' academic and social outcomes that was also equitable (see Chapter 6). That commitment extended to providing professional development for colleagues, including beyond their schools. They confronted racism among school children and racism and sexism from staff and the community (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of Islamophobia) but chose to ignore overt discrimination in the selection process and racism on social media. They built positive professional relationships with staff and children.

Beyond school, they led and supported national and regional programmes for teachers and leaders of BGM heritages, featured in the national and local media, spoke about intersecting oppressions at national conferences and wrote about education. There was no aversion to speaking up and speaking out, publicly or privately critiquing the education system, including academic scholarship, the prevalence of white scholars, and white women leading initiatives for teachers from BGM heritages:

> And it isn't even saying that white women or white males or whoever wouldn't or shouldn't teach on a programme, but it's a bit like what I was saying with our young people. There is saying it and there is seeing it, and sometimes you have to tangibly see to believe that that is reality, to believe it can be a reality, because you know, if I think of sort of other Black females who I know who I think should have been Heads or could have been Heads, I don't quite understand why they're not.
>
> (Nicola)

Black women demonstrated that they were 'both succeeding and conforming in order to transform and change' (Mirza, 1997, p. 270). The educational imperative and urgency they described are 'strategic, subversive and … transformative' (Mirza, 1997, p. 270). Using the lens of Black British feminism reveals the simultaneity of oppression and power in headteachers' lived realities (see Chapter 10 for further discussion).

Implications for ELMA

This contemporary account of the lived realities of women headteachers of BGM heritages, working as leaders in the English education system, has implications for research, policy-making and practice in ELMA.

Clearly there remains a need for further critical scholarship in ELMA that asks questions about connections between identities and power relations; whether

experiences are individual or collective, contemporary or historical, they lead to oppression or privilege (or both). Scholarship must resist perpetuation of the stereotypes that women in this research described. Here is a narrative of agency and success. But the exploration of successful women's lived realities risks neglecting the lived realities of women of BGM heritages who do not succeed in education, who do not become teachers or enter the other professions, or who do not become headteachers or leaders in their fields. The majority do not. Injustices of underrepresentation, misrecognition and maldistribution remain (Blackmore, 2016).

In the most recently available data, 14.3% of teachers self-identified with an ethnic minority group (i.e. not white British) (GOV.UK, 2020) compared with 20% of the population at the time of the 2011 census (GOV.UK, 2018b), 32% of primary school–aged children and 29% of secondary school–aged children (DfE, 2017). Previous data reveal that just 1.8% of English secondary and 2.3% of English nursery and primary school headteachers were women identifying with BGM heritages in 2015 (DfE, 2016). How scholars contextualise qualitative accounts such as this is made problematic by the way that official statistics are presented. In 2020, statistics are not as clearly presented as in previous years. There is certainly room for scholarship about the experience of white minority women but their experiences of discrimination are likely to be influenced by access to the privileges associated with whiteness.

Feminist theorisations of leadership need to take account of women participants' particular perspectives and not just those that a scholar favours (Wallin, 2015). Here, an intersectional approach that draws from Black British feminism provides an appropriate framework through which to explain the experiences of women with diasporic histories located in British colonialism, decolonisation and postcolonialism. Similarly, a postcolonial feminist perspective might be valuable in an exploration of women, gender and feminism in ELMA in contexts such as other European settled countries, countries whose political and education systems are influenced by the US, and post-Soviet countries as well as countries that continue in the struggle of de/recolonisation, such as Hong Kong and the Yemen, depending on how the women see their realities in the sociohistorical and geopolitical contexts in which they live and work.

Scholars have a responsibility to draw attention to the way that intersecting oppressions operate in education by engaging with policy-makers and politicians at national, regional and local levels. In turn, if policy-makers are serious about combating the multiple social injustices associated with 'race' (economic, cultural and representative), they must fund further research and act on its findings.

For those aspiring to and serving in leadership, the significance of multidimensional identities among staff and students and the recognition of how intersectionality operates is vital if educational leaders are to work for equitability alongside excellence in education (Fuller, 2013). So too is the possibility of drawing on one's own identity in leadership with social justice in mind (see Chapter 6).

Summary

This chapter foregrounded the usefulness of a Black British feminist perspective in theorising intersectionality in contemporary educational leadership. Eleven women headteachers, who self-identified with BGM heritages, recounted their diasporic

histories and personal experiences of (un)belongingness in a pluralist, dominant white society in a country with a brutal history of colonialism, decolonisation and postcolonialism and in which recent immigration and race relations policies have demonstrated ongoing and recent hostility and ignorance in the home office (Rawlinson, 2018; Syal, 2020). They recounted examples of their self-definition and cultural preservation, their exercise of agency through educational and professional success, and their search for, creation and seizure of opportunities to challenge gendered racism/raced sexism. Indeed, their achievement of educational and professional success embodied a challenge to racism and sexism in the English education system and enabled them to resist it in their institutions and beyond. This account of success is contextualised by recognising just how few women of BGM heritages achieve headship in English schools. In the chapter that follows, I explore intersectionality further by focusing on the experiences of the three Muslim women headteachers.

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4 Islam and feminism

Introduction

Fourth-wave feminism has been associated with spirituality and community, healing and education, human rights and the environment (Wrye, 2009). In Chapter 2, there were glimpses of spirituality, faith and religion in the individual and collective diasporic experiences and histories of women headteachers who identified with Black and global majority heritages. They acknowledged religious and faith identities as Christians, Sikhs and Muslims. All (including those who did not identify with a faith or religion) revealed something of their spirituality in their self-awareness, sense of self in the world, the emotions felt (e.g. anger, hope and joy), and the care expressed for the school population with whom they worked to achieve equitable life chances. That included the wider community – local, regional or national. Here, I make a distinction between religious identities located within an historic and cultural system that evolved over time and faith identities that are individually and personally experienced and expressed.

Sociohistorical and geopolitical contexts have bearing on the intersectional complexity in the religious/faith, gendered, 'raced' and ethnicised identities of the three Muslim women headteachers of English schools (e.g. see Shain, 2003 on the racialisation of religion in the UK from the late 1980s; Shah, 2006a on Muslim youth identity after the London bombings (7 July 2005); Brown, 2008 on securitisation of mosques; O'Donnell, 2016 on securitisation and counter terrorism in education). There is a growing population of Muslims in the UK (ONS, 2015). The women told their stories during a period of particularly febrile national debate about what constitutes British identity and values. Empirical research took place *after* investigations into unfounded allegations of the radicalisation of Muslim students in Birmingham (UK) schools in 2014 (Mogra, 2016) (see Chapter 9) and *before* the European Union referendum in the UK (23 June 2016). One interview took place as the EU Referendum Act (2015) was being debated by parliament, and two after legislation was passed. Following the referendum, the Equality and Human Rights Commission urged politicians to 'be aware of the effect on national mood of their words and policies, even when they are not enacted' (Isaac and Hilsenrath, 2016, no page). Reports of hijabs being pulled off were 'stains on our society' (Isaac and Hilsenrath, 2016, no page). In the international geopolitical context, the research took place when millions of Syrian Muslims were being displaced and dispersed

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across Europe (Yazgan et al., 2015) and against the backdrop of a US presidential election campaign marked by the 'incendiary rhetoric' (England, 2017, no page) of racism, misogyny and Islamophobia. International scholars have noted the nature of contemporary Islamophobic rhetoric in non-Islamic countries (e.g. Brooks, 2018).

This chapter begins with an overview of the relationship between education and religion in the English education system. It goes on to discuss the relationship between Islam and feminism and to review a small body of literature with an Islamic perspective on gender and educational leadership, management and administration (ELMA). The following section presents three accounts of what it means to be a Muslim woman headteacher. The discussion that follows is concerned with negotiation of boundaries, engagement in multiple critique, the complexity and heterogeneity of Muslim women's identities, and the implications for intersectional feminism in ELMA.

Religion and education

Formal schooling in England dates back to the arrival of Christianity. Historically, the collective institutions of religion and education imposed cultural imperialism throughout the British Empire. These were powerful mechanisms of colonialism and colonisation that complemented actual and symbolic violence in imposing imperial governance. Religion supplied the civilising Christian mission (Carey, 2011), and education, supplied by missionaries, reinforced the subordination of colonised peoples (Mwiria, 1991). Education provided a vehicle for imperial propaganda (Tomlinson, 2019).

In England, the connection between education and religion persists in the twenty-first century with compulsory religious education in English state schools and collective worship that comprises a 'broadly Christian character' (DfE, 1994, p. 1). Schools can apply for an exemption if they serve a different faith population. A quarter of all state-funded mainstream primary schools are designated Church of England (the established church in England) faith schools; 19% of state-funded mainstream secondary schools are designated faith schools. Non-Christian schools remain in the minority (Long and Bolton, 2018). Faith schools may be divisive (Cowden and Singh, 2017; Dwyer and Parutis, 2013; Singh, 2007) but an argument has been made for their continued existence in England (Grace, 2012; Jackson, 2003). In faith schools, preference may be given in the selection process to teacher or headteacher candidates who share the school's religious character (Scott and McNeish, 2012). Scholarship focused on the leadership of faith schools has been largely neglected (e.g. Grace, 2009; Hammad and Shah, 2019; Sullivan, 2006).

Education in England is not secular. The relationship between religion and education contrasts starkly with the division between religion and state in other countries. For example, in France, laïcité (secularism) means that the conspicuous wearing of religious symbols in public institutions, including in state schools, has been banned (Byng, 2010). It contrasts with Islamic countries, such as Pakistan, where knowledge of Islam as the state religion is a basic requirement in securing a post in an educational institution (Shah, 2018).

Although the UK claims to be a pluralist society, an ongoing debate there has focused on Muslim women's dress (Byng, 2010), including in education, where a simplistic interpretation of wearing the hijab or headscarf has led to assumptions about women's and girls' perceived freedoms in the family and religious community. Politicians – for example, home secretary Jack Straw (2006), former education secretary Michael Gove (2006) (then opposition politician) and Prime Minister Boris Johnson (PA Media-point and Press Gazette, 2019), then backbench member of parliament – have disparaged Muslim women's attire. To determine whether fundamental British values were being promoted, school inspections focused on whether girls wore a hijab (Ali and Whitham, 2018; Weale, 2018). The political discourse about Islam is gendered. Muslim women and girls are simultaneously portrayed in an orientalist discourse as victims in need of rescue (Brown, 2006; Rizvi, 2007) and mothers responsible for community cohesion (Singh, 2007). Muslim men are demonised as dangerously misogynist (Ali and Whitham, 2018) (see Chapter 9 for further discussion).

In response, Muslim women declare *It's Not About the Burqa* in discussing contemporary issues, including the relationship between Islam and feminism (Khan, 2019, p. 1). Muslim women are 'reclaiming and rewriting our identity… [in] essays about the hijab and wavering faith, about love and divorce, about queer identity, about sex, about the twin threats of disapproving community and a racist country, and how Islam and feminism go hand in hand' (Khan, 2019, p. 2). This debate builds on an existing discourse about Islam and gender justice by Islamic feminist scholars (e.g. Badran, 2001, 2008), scholars who resist identification with feminism (e.g. Barlas, 2008) and progressive Muslims (women and men) who draw on feminist thinking to develop multiple critiques informed by a scholarly interpretation of Islam in the twenty-first century (Safi, 2003).

Islam and feminism

The relationship between Islam and feminism is highly contested. Scholars question whether the conjunction of Islam and feminism is an oxymoron, a contradiction in terms (Abboud, 2016; Moghadam, 2002; Mojab, 2001; Pepicelli, 2008). From a Western perspective, the challenge belies Muslim women's consciousness of feminine identity and lack of parity with men, such as in women's writing in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Iran or Lebanon (Mojab, 2001); social activism in settings such as Iran as early as 1907 (Mojab, 2001), in relation to family law in Morocco (Eddouada, 2008), during the Arab Spring (2011) (el-Husseini, 2016); the 'slut walk' in London (2011) (Lim and Fanghanel, 2013); scholarly activism (Kynsilehto, 2008); and holding political power in countries such as in Pakistan (Shah, 2016) and Iran (Moghadam, 2002). From the perspective of Muslim scholars, the challenge deliberately rejects Western feminist ideology in favour of Islamic beliefs, resists labels and demonstrates postcolonial sensitivity whilst recognising the value of, for example, Black feminist thought (Barlas, 2008). In the 1980s, religious women in Egypt were re-examining the Qur'an from a gender perspective; however, they eschewed feminism and the label feminist (Badran, 2008).

There are clear distinctions between secular feminism (Moghadam, 2002), Islamist feminism (Badran, 2008) and Muslim or Islamic feminism (Kynsilehto, 2008;

Saadallah, 2004). Secular feminism is located in a discourse of international human rights and universal standards such as the United Nation's Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (Moghadam, 2002; Saadallah, 2004). It operates outside religious belief and can be found in countries where Islam is the dominant (and/or state) religion. Islamist feminism is associated with women's involvement in political Islam (Saadallah, 2004). It argues for women's involvement in the public world, except in matters of religion, and upholds the patriarchal family in the private world (Badran, 2008). Islamic feminism argues for women's equality with men in all public spheres, including the religious. Its challenge to religious patriarchy is particularly radical (Moghadam, 2002).

By definition, Islamic feminism is based on Muslim women scholars' interpretation of the Qur'an and hadiths or *ijtihad* (Badran, 2001, 2008), reconciling this with international human rights (Saadallah, 2004). Moghadam (2002) claims that a proper debate on Islamic feminism began in 1994 (see Kynsilehto, 2008 for a continuance of the debate). In short, Islam is seen as compatible with gender justice (Mojab, 2001; Safi, 2003). Islamic feminism might be aligned with feminist and liberation theology (see Raphael, 1999 for a discussion of Jewish feminism; Braude, 2004 for a discussion of Christian feminism) (Moghadam, 2002; Mojab, 2001; Salem, 2013).

To summarise, Seedat (2013) frames gender justice and sex equality in Islam alternatively as 'discoursing Islamic feminism away' (p. 31) or keeping Islam and feminism separate; 'discoursing Islamic feminism into (a way) of being' (p. 32) by, for example, using feminist methods but rejecting feminism's hegemonies; resisting being positioned as feminism's 'other', the imposition of feminist conceptualisations and labels; and taking for granted that sex equality has always been present in Islam.

Gender, Islam and educational leadership management and administration (ELMA)

Feminist and gender scholars in ELMA do not focus solely on the exclusion of women's perspectives and a consideration of gendered power relations (Blackmore, 2010; Khalil and DeCuir, 2018; Shah, 2010). Contemporary feminist perspectives include a critique of the field for its ethnocentric approach in the predominance of Western perspectives, negation of non-Western epistemologies and assumption that Western concepts might be applied in a range of non-Western contexts (Blackmore, 2010; Brooks, 2018; Brooks and Mutohar, 2018; Samier, 2017; Shah, 2010; Thomson et al., 2014). Over the course of a decade, an Islamic perspective on educational leadership has developed (e.g. Arar and Haj-Yehia, 2018; Brooks, 2018; Oplatka and Arar, 2017; Shah, 2006b, 2010, 2016, 2018) that works towards the decolonisation of the field (Samier, 2017). Arguably, this is a rejection of contemporary forces of globalisation and the internationalisation of education as forms of neo-imperialism and neocolonialism in which mainstream ELMA is complicit. The persistent exclusion of diverse and pluralist discourses, including an Islamic perspective, is a form of epistemic violence perpetuated by the mainstream ELMA (Samier, 2017).

Important contextual and cultural distinctions necessitate a nuanced exploration of Muslim women's experiences leading in Islamic or non-faith schools in countries where they are in the majority or minority (Shah, 2006b). For example, Khalil

and DeCuir (2018) focus on leadership in US Islamic schools and Ezzani and King (2018) on a Muslim woman's experience as a student and educator in the US public school system, as a mother of children being raised in Islam in the US, and as a school leader in an Islamic school. Shah (2010, 2018) theorises about women's culturally constructed leadership practice from the perspective of Muslim women's educational leadership in an Islamic country but her scholarship spans contexts where Muslims are in the majority and minority, in Islamic and non-faith schools in England (Hammad and Shah, 2019; Shah, 2006b, 2008, 2009). Regardless of whether an individual is a practising or non-practising Muslim in a non-Muslim country, Islam remains a guide to life, including in educational leadership (Brooks and Mutohar, 2018; Fuller, 2013; Shah, 2006b, 2010, 2016, 2018). The interpretation of religious texts differs depending on cultural traditions so that the intersection of religious belief and culture provides a space for women's resistance to patriarchy (Safi, 2003; Shah, 2016).

In the section that follows, I focus on the nature of women's faith and religious devotion, what it means to be 'a good Muslim woman' (Shah, 2018, p. 82) with respect to the support and resistance women received from families and communities, the use of the 'culture and religion trope' (Shah, 2016), and the paradox that Islam is used by society to oppress whilst it provides a source of sustenance as a counter-response. All three Muslim women were headteachers of mixed non-faith primary schools in the English state education system. They participated in research projects designed to explore the gendered headship of women identifying with Black and global majority heritages (Moorosi, Fuller and Reilly, 2017) and an international perspective of women's leadership (Torrance, Fuller, McNae, Roofe and Arshad, 2017). Each identified as a Muslim woman and was married with children of school age. Their ages and 'racialised', ethnicised and cultural heritages differed. Given the attention afforded to Muslim women's dress noted above, I also comment on what they were wearing.

Three Muslim women headteachers

Saeeda

Saeeda identified as a British Pakistani woman in her forties (Fuller, 2018). She made few references to her Muslim identity, responding 'I'm a Muslim' only when directly asked about faith. She wore the business attire worn by many women headteachers, namely a jacket and trousers. There were no visible signs of her Muslim identity. She defied simplistic assumptions of what her faith identification meant:

> although my name suggests I'm Muslim, I might be practising or I might not be practising. There could be all sorts of scenarios couldn't there?.
>
> (Saeeda adapted from Fuller, 2018, p. 7)

In a follow-up telephone interview, Saeeda acknowledged that her understatement of a Muslim identity was due to leading a school serving a multi-faith population and it would be inappropriate to do otherwise in a non-faith state school (Fuller, 2013,

2018). For example, Saeeda referred to varying levels of interest in music among the majority Muslim pupil population. To ensure breadth in the curriculum, she invited local musicians from diverse heritages (see Chapter 6). Saeeda's experience of institutional racism in one school coincided with unfounded allegations of radicalisation in Birmingham (UK) schools. Saeeda did not construct it as Islamophobia. However, she had experienced obstacles in the appointments process on the basis of assumptions drawn from her appearance and name as well as opportunities when work with ethnic minority children served to pigeon-hole her career.

Saeeda described family relations in her roles as mother, daughter and wife. Her parents and husband supported her career in practical ways:

> my parents live locally and I have had to put the middle child, he went into day care. My husband's been very supportive and his business, the fact that he's self-employed, but I think we've engineered that situation because he's always known that I'm going to be in a situation where I'll probably earn more than him. So it's our conversation, the way we've engineered it.

Her husband relocated to help balance Saeeda's career with family life. She secured her first headship whilst pregnant, taking her baby into school to work whilst still on maternity leave. Even though Saeeda earned more than her husband, he offered her the opportunity to step away when she faced conflict tackling institutional racism in school. She constructed his offer as adhering to a cultural norm in having responsibility 'to look after me' (Saeeda in Fuller, 2018, p. 6). This was about her British 'Asian woman' identity meeting her husband's Pakistan-born identity. It was constructed as a cultural rather than religious issue.

Saeeda identified children among the school population in terms of country-of-origin heritages as Pakistani, Indian or Eastern European. Children may have been born in the UK or newly arrived; it was her responsibility as an educator to find out about their cultural and religious heritages. Saeeda observed that she had been culturally stereotyped by white British leaders and educators as well as by an Asian male–dominated governing body who were in danger of selecting (male) school leaders just because they appeared confident and would fit in.

Nazia

Nazia identified as an Asian woman in her thirties. Stating her parents' country of origin might make her identifiable. She never once called herself British. She was a Muslim but practised less than her parents. She wore a dress with a low neckline and high heels. There were no visible signs of her Muslim identity. Nazia self-identified as a 'fatalist' and referred to things happening 'for a reason' but never attributed that philosophy to religion or faith.

Nazia described racist and Islamophobic abuse in her professional career, being referred to as 'effing Muslim' (Nazia) by pupils' parents. It resonated with childhood racist bullying. Turning it into positive action, she taught children and parents about Islam (see Chapter 6). Muslim women in another school community appreciated Nazia's success:

> …she said, "Wow! How old are you? And you're a Muslim too! I need that picture of you from the paper. I need to put it on the wall".
>
> (Nazia)

Discrimination in the selection process related to age, gender, pregnancy or cultural heritage (or a combination of these):

> When they gave me the feedback they said, "It's not really your time now is it?", and then my friend met the gentleman who […] said, "Oh yeah. We really liked her. We wanted to offer her the job", but it was because I was pregnant.

One selection panel focused on her Asian heritage during a presentation about securing school improvement:

> I'd done a big thing on the […] temple where you have your pillars and you have your roof and all of that. […] They'd said something about my parents or something about my background. You know when you're stood there and they say it and you think, "I'm not really sure what you meant by that?" […] I just remember it's because I'm Asian and I just switched off after that, after what they were saying, because I was so angry at the time. […] you think, "Well actually are they interviewing me because actually they like what's written on the form or are they interviewing me because I'm female or because I'm the token Asian person?".
>
> (Nazia)

Nazia described family relations in her roles as daughter, mother, wife, sister and cousin. Her upbringing was outside community cultural norms that included expectations of arranged marriage and a legal or medical career – not a career in education:

> …this woman was obviously looking for a wife for her son […] she said, you know, very blatant, "What job do you do? How much do you earn?", etc., etc. I told her I was a Deputy Head. She just looked down at me completely.
>
> (Nazia)

Nazia's white British husband converted to Islam and provided practical support as primary child carer. She referred to difficulties in the community about her husband's conversion or racial heritage (or both).

Nazia consistently identified as Asian, at times conflating religion with Asian-ness or country of origin. Asked about a parent's identity, Nazia replied 'She was Muslim. She was Pakistani. Yeah.' Nazia acknowledged her cultural and ethnic identity more than her religious identity:

> …the culture that my parents instilled in me was like to work hard […] So I'd say it's impacted in terms of my ethos for the way I am and the way that I work

> and I'm not lazy. I'm very driven. That's the [national heritage] part of me I guess [laughs].
>
> (Nazia)

Her work ethic and drive were attributed to cultural heritage.

Hasna

Hasna identified as a woman in her forties and by ethnicity and national and regional origin, the details of which might make her identifiable. Our meeting was arranged around the celebration of Eid. It began with the understanding that Hasna was a practising Muslim, which she confirmed. Hasna wore a headscarf.

Hasna had worked in an Islamic school as well as non-faith schools. When asked about faith and engagement with Mosque and community life, Hasna said:

> It's variable [laughter]. It's one of those things that go up and down. So you'll have your moments when you are much more spiritual and I have to say it's probably more in the holidays… which is unfortunate I suppose.
>
> (Hasna)

Her faith provided sustenance in difficult times:

> it gives me a sense of purpose and […] [helps me] accept the hardships as well as the good things because you feel that there's some higher power that's planning this for you and there may be some, well there will be some, reasons why. We don't [question it]. You just accept it and think, "Right. Well this is part of my journey and I'm being tested or whatever and maybe my faith is being tested." I don't always feel as spiritual as I'd like to and really that's sad because I get more engrossed in my job and that takes up most of my time and then certain things get left. Then other times you'll wake yourself up and think, "Right. No. You've got to go do your prayer or you've got to go and…" So it's I suppose that constant struggle really with daily life.
>
> (Hasna)

Her state non-faith school served an area where Muslims were concentrated and 96% of children were Muslims. Like Saeeda, she experienced discrimination as a headteacher in the English education system at the time of investigations into radicalisation in English schools (Fuller, 2018):

> I knew I was coming here not only from an Islamic School but being an ethnic minority with a headscarf on and all of those things. So I knew all of that, but maybe it was naivety. I wanted to kind of put that behind me and move on and just think, "Right. I'm just going to do a good job and I'll win people's respect and people will see that the work will speak for itself".
>
> (Hasna)

Her practice was challenged by professionals working in and outside school; she attributed it to the dominant political and educational discourse of the time about schools that served Muslim families:

> At the back of people's minds people are going to be thinking, "Well she's come from an Islamic School. What's she got to offer here?" Or, "She's a Muslim and she wants to…".
>
> (Hasna)

She resisted labelling it as Islamophobic or racist, 'but they were reporting things in a way that made it seem that there was another agenda' (Hasna). Hasna wanted to serve her community; also, it might be harder to secure a position in a school that served a different population.

Hasna experienced discrimination in the Islamic faith school. With autonomy for the primary school, she was judged a successful school leader. Nevertheless, it was assumed that she could not lead the secondary phase: 'There's this thing between secondary teachers and primary teachers and "We do the real teaching and you just babysit"' (Hasna). Even though she felt patronised and marginalised in meetings, it was too simplistic to attribute it solely to sexism in the community. Her professional (male Muslim) mentor simultaneously provided opportunities and capped her ambition, but he was someone she could work around:

> …he was the traditional old-fashioned kind of leader […]. I'd grown up in a house full of men and my dad and our community and everything else. So I knew how to work with people like, you know, with that kind of psychology and had gradually got to the point where he had given me autonomy for the primary school which is what I'd wanted.
>
> (Hasna)

Hasna described family relations in her roles as daughter, sister, mother and wife. She and her husband did not live in the same way as their parents:

> …culturally it wouldn't have been acceptable for me to go away and stay away for a weekend or a few days, without my husband or my family or just travelling all over the country. Maybe it depends if you're a middle-class [ethnic group], maybe that would have been different, but from my background that wouldn't have been [acceptable].
>
> (Hasna)

Hasna's husband supported her in multiple ways: in her return to education, career development, during times when work was difficult, in the breach of cultural norms by accompanying her on initial trips, by providing childcare and by deceiving Hasna's mother about her whereabouts during professional trips. They defied both families. Hasna, the only graduate in the family, wanted to provide an example for her children:

> I just got sick of [shop work] [laughs]. […] I just thought one day, "You know what? If I don't do something, I'm going to be here forever", and also it wasn't the life that I wanted for my children. So I knew I wanted them to have a good education […] and I thought I had to set the example for them.
>
> (Hasna)

Hasna breached cultural norms and traditions by building a career as headteacher and working at a national level as a school inspector. She relished a bicultural heritage:

> I can't change who I am. I don't know if that's because of my heritage, the way I was brought up, or the fact that I'm the eldest. […] Or being brought up within two cultures, but I would say I'm a people's person. My interpersonal skills, I think, are my strength. So when I'm talking or when I'm even trying to handle a challenging situation with a member of staff or whatever, I always try and empathise but try and understand what they're thinking or what they want to say if they're not being able to articulate it […] So I believe in people and I think, no, I think I find that certain women… I don't think it's a man/woman thing. No. I think everybody's different.
>
> (Hasna)

Hasna recognised nuanced distinctions between generations, intersections between gender, social class, professional expertise and culture. She returned to uniqueness of humanity to sum up her approach to leadership (Fuller, 2013).

In the section below, I discuss how these accounts contribute to a theorisation of gender and Islam in ELMA.

Gender and Islam in ELMA

These accounts demonstrate four important points with respect to feminist perspectives on contemporary educational leadership. First, there was careful, confident negotiation of family, community and professional boundaries. Second, as Muslim women headteachers, they engaged with a multiple critique. Third, there is complexity and heterogeneity with respect to women's intersecting identities. Finally, thinking with a single feminist perspective is unhelpful; there is an argument for intersectional feminism as a way forward for thinking about gender and Islam.

The permeability of boundaries

Shildick's (1997) poststructuralist conceptualisation of 'fluid boundaries' (p. 17) that 'organise us into definable categories that are in any case discursively unstable' (p. 60) enables 'beyond "between two cultures" thinking' (Meetoo, 2019, p. 1). It resists the representation of Asian schoolgirls caught between conflicting sets of values (Ghunam, 2001). Indeed, Hasna saw a bicultural upbringing as an asset providing greater interpersonal knowledge, understanding and skill in school leadership. It resists a clash-of-civilisations thesis (Safi, 2003). But resistance and disruption of boundaries are necessary in identity formation. Thus, cultural and religious boundaries were

negotiated, agreed or disregarded in the process of re-inscribing identities. Arguably, all three women crossed boundaries with respect to family, community, education and school leadership with care and confidence although the experience might have caused some difficulty and pain (Mabokela, 2007; Oplatka and Arar, 2016; Shain, 2003; see also Bhimji's (2010) discussion of British Pakistani Muslim women's political empowerment and boundary crossings).

In families, Saeeda's determination to sustain her career, despite the obstacles imposed by white women, was constructed as a cultural difference with her husband because she was born in the UK, he in Pakistan; Nazia's attitude to paid work differed from that of her cousin, who was raised in the same household; Hasna's return to education and subsequent career were questioned by both her and her husband's families - ultimately, there was outright deception of her mother. All women, as headteachers and mothers, were supported by their menfolk: husbands relocated, provided childcare and supported their wives taking on new challenges.

In communities, assumptions about Nazia's career choices were associated with Asian-ness and not Muslim-ness; Hasna's marriage at a young age could be read as compliance with community norms (cultural or religious or both). But Nazia's marriage to a white British Muslim convert can be seen as resistance to community *and* compliance with religious norms. There were few references to the policing of boundaries by wider communities, whether cultural or religious.

Instead, the policing of boundaries occurred in their schoolgirl lives marked by isolation and racism (see Crozier, 2009; Shain, 2003). Likewise, it occurred in their professional lives through discriminatory attitudes and behaviours. Saeeda recognised and confronted institutional racism, and assumptions about her religion were made on the basis of her name and ethnicity; Nazia experienced verbal abuse, tokenism and direct discrimination; assumptions were made about Hasna's previous experience in an Islamic faith school and wearing a headscarf. Use of the culture/tradition/custom trope to distinguish between culture and religion enabled multiple critique (Jouili, 2019; Shah, 2016).

Multiple critique

Cooke's (2001, p. 113) conceptualisation of multiple critique is of a 'fluid discursive strategy taken up from multiple speaking positions'. An individual remains in the community even when criticising its problems. It is a position that Safi (2003, Loc. 180–7) takes, drawing on feminist scholarship, to think about multiple critiques by progressive Muslims 'exposing the violations of human rights and freedoms of speech, press, religion, and the right to dissent' in Islamic countries as well as 'standing up to increasingly hegemonic Western, political, economic, and intellectual structures that perpetrate an unequal distribution of resources around the world'.

All the Muslim women headteachers engaged in multiple critique with respect to the dominance of white and/or male school leadership and traditional attitudes in their communities. Saeeda confronted institutional racism in the school and education system whilst recognising the shortcomings of the Asian male–dominated governing body (Fuller, 2018); Nazia critiqued discriminatory practices in the selection process among white males and rejected arranged marriage and refuted cultural

stereotypes; Hasna questioned whether a white male leader would be treated like her and recognised the limitations of mentorship from a 'traditional old-fashioned kind of leader' familiar to her because of men in her family and community. They were undeniably committed to gender justice (Duderija, 2010; Safi, 2003) within a broader notion of social justice (see Chapter 6). But none used the language of feminism or Islam to articulate that. Islam was not seen as a source of oppression; it was used by non-Muslims to oppress through the racialisation of religion (Shain, 2003). For Hasna, in particular, it was also a source of sustenance in helping her make sense of and work her way through trying times.

Complexity and heterogeneity

In its complexity, the characteristics of religion/faith, 'race' and ethnicity, gender, social class and professional identities intersected with various forms of discrimination:

- Historical and contemporary micro-discriminations that were responded to with
- Emotions and feelings (e.g. Saeeda's sadness when recounting her confrontation of institutional racism; Nazia's surprise when asked about her parents in interview and subsequent anger; Hasna's hurt when she realised there was an agenda other than her professional performance);
- Multilevel discriminations, namely individual, institutional and social;
- The fluidity of discrimination over time depending on context and circumstances; and
- Women's lived realities in positions of power.

(Fuller, 2022)

In a holistic appreciation of identity, it is impossible to disentangle these experiences and their repercussions.

This is an account of heterogeneity. That is inevitable given the cultural plurality and diversity of Muslims in countries where they are in the minority or the majority. Islam is a religion that crosses nations and cultures to defy homogeneity despite efforts to create a one-dimensional representation of Islam and consequently of Muslim women (Shah, 2016; Shaikh, 2003). Whilst *Ummah*, as 'an overarching concept for a wider faith community operative beyond geo-political bounds' (Shah, 2016, p. 13), transcends diversity, so too individual Muslims are responsible for engaging in 'critical conversations' (Safi, 2003, Loc. 264) to enable 'the fluid exchange of ideas and the acknowledging of a wide spectrum of interpretations' (Loc. 288) to move beyond previous interpretations of Islam. Each Muslim is responsible for her religious belief and devotion. Saeeda acknowledged the possibility of not practising Islam; Nazia practised less than her parents; and Hasna regretted work's interference with daily prayer. None drew on the Qur'an to explain their school leadership (see Brooks and Mutohar, 2018 for accounts of Islamic leadership; Shah, 2016). None drew on the Qur'an to talk about gender justice. The sociohistorical context in which the interviews took place influenced the openness of headteachers in discussing their Muslim identities: Saeeda later confirmed that Islam played an important role in her

identity (Fuller, 2018); Nazia was open about name-calling; and Hasna was critical of assumptions made about her for wearing a headscarf. The embodied intersectionality of lived realities was revealed through experiences of othering influenced by the external material world and the 'embodied interior world' at 'unique historical moments' (Mirza, 2013, p. 7). An intersectional approach makes an explanation of how 'marginalizations and positionalities intersect in order to create unique situations' for Muslim women possible within Islamic feminism (Salem, 2013). It also enables exploration within alternative approaches such as progressive Muslim, secular feminist or feminist resistant approaches to recognise, accept, value and celebrate difference (Fuller, 2012; Seedat, 2013).

The implications for ELMA

This discussion of the lived realities of Muslim women headteachers, working as leaders in the English education system, has implications for research, policy-making and practice in ELMA.

First, further exploration of women headteachers' Muslim identities in which women are invited to identify as secular or Islamic feminists (or not) or to identify with progressive Islam (or not) would enable them to influence the interpretation of the relationship between Islam and educational leadership practice in the UK context.

Second, one way women lead is through spiritual leadership (Grogan and Shakeshaft, 2011). Explicit links have been made between spiritual leadership and feminist scholarship (Grogan and Shakeshaft, 2011; Laible, 2003; Shah, 2016, 2018; White, 2010; Witherspoon and Taylor, 2010). Defined broadly and inclusively as 'a source of personal strength as well as a way to understand connectedness to others and to the greater world' (Grogan and Shakeshaft, 2011, p. 14), this conceptualisation of spiritual leadership extends beyond understandings of specific religions, although some women leaders and scholars have attributed their sense of spirituality to religious (Fuller, 2013; Laible, 2003; Shah, 2010, 2016; Witherspoon and Taylor, 2010) and Indigenous belief systems, such as in Hawaii (Benham and Murakami-Ramalho, 2010), Australia (White, 2010) and New Zealand, Australia and Canada (Fitzgerald, 2010). Some of these leadership approaches might be linked to decoloniality. They are available to minoritised educational leaders, although, like the South African philosophy of Ubuntu, they remain marginalised in mainstream ELMA scholarship (Campbell-Stephens, 2009).

Third, the influence of spirituality, faith and religion has largely been neglected in the mainstream of ELMA scholarship. However, women (and men) headteachers of faith and non-faith schools have drawn on religious or faith discourses in their discussion of values that underpin leadership; others were cautious about openly identifying with their faith for fear of being accused of proselytising (Fuller, 2013, 2018). In non-faith schools in England, school leadership supposedly operates outside religious belief. On the surface, it is a secular form of leadership despite individual leaders' faith and religious identities. There is a need for further research about the way faith and religion intersect with educational leadership among women and men.

Fourth, social and educational policy-makers need to revisit assumptions about gender and Islam in English schools and wider society (see Chapter 9 for further discussion). Specifically, how wearing the hijab is perceived and other forms of

Islamophobia in the education system need examination in the light of existing UK Equality legislation and the DfE's (2014, p. 5) sense of what constitute fundamental British values, namely to 'further tolerance and harmony between different cultural traditions by enabling students to acquire an appreciation of and respect for their own and other cultures' and 'encourage respect for other people'.

Finally, in terms of leadership practice, spirituality engenders hope, passion and a sense of social justice in leadership, particularly when practised by women of colour who embody the change they seek (Grogan and Shakeshaft, 2011). Women's spirituality, faith and religious beliefs might be sources of sustenance and resilience. Educational leaders need to develop self-awareness and a sense of self in the world in order to lead learners and educators preparing for the major global challenges of the twenty-first century, such as global health, climate and environmental crises and their associated social injustices, in neoliberal policy-driven education systems.

Summary

This chapter explored a range of feminist perspectives that were variously useful in thinking about the lived realities of three Muslim women headteachers leading English schools to explain their experiences of becoming and being headteachers in a country where Muslims are minoritised. It demonstrated a need to include spiritual, faith and religious identities in an intersectional appreciation of leadership identities and practice. In particular, the chapter surfaced the multiple critique in which they engaged as well as the complexity and heterogeneity of their faith and religious identities as they intersected with 'race', ethnicity, gender, social class, age and leadership.

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5 Queer theory and feminism

Introduction

Fourth-wave feminism is concerned with gender and sexual diversity. It builds on third-wave queer and poststructural feminist theorisations that suggest that gender and sexuality are fluid constructions and that these social categories are not static and do not straightforwardly match binary fe/male identities (Butler, 1990, 2004; Munro, 2013). Indeed, a contemporary debate concerns the inclusion of transgender women in feminist activism and some radical and prominent feminists take an exclusionary stance (Munro, 2013; O'Connor, 2020; Rowling, 2020).

In the UK, legislation since the 2003 repeal of Section 28, a clause in the UK Local Government Act (1988) prohibiting the promotion of homosexuality, resulted in a positive shift in attitude towards minoritised sexualities, gender diversity and equality in education. There was a specific commitment to tackle homophobic bullying in schools (HM Government, 2010a), and the Equality Act (HM Government, 2010b) made provision to protect people against discrimination regarding sexual orientation and gender reassignment in education and the workforce. Homophobic bullying in schools has decreased but there remains much to be done (Bradlow et al., 2017), not least for educators and leaders who may or may not be 'out' in their workplaces (Duffy, 2018; Ramsey, 2018). From 2020, there has been a commitment to teach about same-sex relationships in relationships and sex education (RSE) (DfE, 2019). Nevertheless, the dearth of educational leadership, management and administration (ELMA) scholarship that considers the minoritised sexual and diverse gender identities of leaders, educators and learners persists, both in the UK and internationally. The paucity of research has been attributable to the slow pace of legislative change caused by, and further contributing to, the dominance of heteronormativity in organisations and wider society. The scholarship that exists demonstrates that a climate of fear was created for teachers and leaders in the UK and the US and other international contexts.

In this chapter, I provide contextual information about the UK. I explore the relationship between queer theory and feminism and go on to review a small body of work that uses queer theory in ELMA in the UK. I present findings from a mixed methods research project carried out with participants in the #WomenEd movement (Fuller and Berry, 2019). In particular, I discuss the sometimes simultaneous queerification and reification of heteronormativity as it relates to sexuality, gender and

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feminism in ELMA. I explore the implications for ELMA relating to homophobia, heteronormativity and recent changes to education policy.

First, I make some points about the use of language in this chapter. Exploring its etymological roots, Sedgwick (1994, xii, original emphases) states

> Queer is a continuing moment, movement, motive – recurrent, eddying, *troublant*. The word "queer" itself means across - […]: *across genders, across sexualities, across genres, across "perversions"*. […] The *queer* of these essays is transitive – multiply transitive. The immemorial current that *queer* represents is antiseparatist as it is antiassimilationalist. Keenly, it is relational, and strange.

Queer might be used as a noun, adjective or verb. To avoid a binaried analysis and the homogenisation of participants, I, as a 'non-queer', cisgender researcher, follow Lugg and Tooms (2010) and do not use the word 'queer' to refer to participants' minoritised sexual and diverse gender identities. Instead, I use identifiers – namely 'asexual', 'bisexual', 'gay', 'lesbian', 'questioning'; 'transgender', 'intersex', 'none of these' and 'non-binary' – that participants used (or rejected) to self-identify. I have resisted using 'queer' as a noun or adjective but use it as a verb (Chan and Howard, 2020; Lugg and Tooms, 2010): for example, to queer(y) dominant discourses relating to sexuality, gender and feminism. However, following Lugg (2016, p. 4), I use 'non-queer' to make 'queer' normative; that is, 'gender typical heterosexuals are *non-queer* or are somehow lacking' (original emphasis).

The UK context

Historical and legislative context is significant. Magee (1966, p. 163 cited in Blount, 2000, p. 93) claimed

> The number of homosexuals in the teaching profession is so great that a successful witch-hunt would come near to decimating the staffs of [British] schools, and would create a shortage of crisis proportions. It would also, of course, ruin many people's lives, and produce a crop not only of nervous breakdowns but also, probably, suicides. So it could not conceivably be justified, not even in the name of children's interests.

Teachers of minoritised sexualities were clearly not absent from the English education system in the 1960s nor presumably at any time before or since. Media reporting has fluctuated with respect to transgender school leaders (e.g. Halliday, 2018).

Discrimination against people of diverse and minoritised sexual identities has persisted despite gradual de-criminalisation of homosexual behaviour from 1967. For example, Section 28 of the Local Government Act (1988) stated

> A local authority shall not – (a) intentionally promote homosexuality or publish material with the intention of promoting homosexuality; (b) promote the

> teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship.
>
> (HM Government, 1988)

This was interpreted to mean that teachers should not be open, teach about or discuss minoritised sexual identities in the classroom. Teachers were fearful of their sexuality being discovered and losing their jobs as a consequence. Heteronormativity was institutionalised in English education. Legislative repeal in 2003 became a watershed moment for understanding teachers' different experiences of openness about their sexuality and homophobia in the workplace (Lee, 2019a). Further legislation and government policies – namely the Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) Regulations (2003), Part 3 of The Equality Act (2006), the Equality Act (HM Government, 2010b) and Coalition Agreement (HM Government, 2010a) – have outlawed homophobic bullying, including for employees in the workplace and pupils in school. Legislation enabling same-sex civil partnerships (Civil Partnership Act 2004) and marriages (The Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act 2013) furthered a 'cultural shift towards greater acceptance' of sexual diversity in UK society (Lee, 2019a, p. 677). These pieces of legislation were passed largely during the New Labour government (1997–2010), whereas the Coalition Agreement was drawn up between Conservatives and Liberal Democrats.

Some networks, organisations and movements – such as School's Out (2017) from 1974, Stonewall (2017) from 1989 and LGBTEd (Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender) (n.d.) from 2018 – have long supported teachers and students of minoritised sexual identities. More recently, education policy recognised the need for greater diversity among senior school leaders (DfE, 2016, p. 49): 'groups who are underrepresented in leadership positions, like women and LGBT candidates and those from a BME [Black or Minority Ethnic] background'. Leadership development such as the Courageous Leaders programme, specifically for LGBT+ (including those who identify outside LGBT identifiers) teachers, was funded by the Department for Education (Lee, 2020a, 2020b), although networks and programmes for marginalised and minoritised aspiring leaders existed prior to government intervention (e.g. for women and people of Black and global majority heritages). However, anti-bullying funding for LGBTQ+ (questioning or 'queer') young people was cut during anti-bullying week a day after the anniversary of the repeal of Section 28 in what was described as an 'especially callous' move (Quinn, 2020, no page).

There remains resistance to new RSE policy (DfE, 2019). From 2020, RSE is compulsory and includes teaching about same-sex relationships and families

> Schools should be alive to issues such as everyday sexism, misogyny, homophobia and gender stereotypes and take positive action to build a culture where these are not tolerated, and any occurrences are identified and tackled.
>
> (DfE, 2019, p. 14)

Christian and Muslim parents have protested about the 'No Outsiders' programme, designed initially to counter homophobia in schools and then to teach about the Equality Act (Moffat, 2017), in a number of English cities (Lee, 2020b) (see Lightfoot,

2016; Parveen, 2019), as have critics of a transgender 'trend' to medicalise and socialise teenagers' self-identified gender differences (Charlesworth, 2019; Transgender Trend, 2020). Whilst there was a reduction in homophobic bullying (Bradlow et al., 2017), the reconciliation of different beliefs and attitudes among school communities is needed, not least to benefit educators and leaders who may or may not be 'out' in their workplaces (Duffy, 2018; Ramsey, 2018). There persists concern about so-called conversion therapies yet to be delegitimised (see Stonewall, 2017).

At the time of writing, the trans-inclusionary/exclusionary feminist debates persist in the UK. The UK Equality Act (2010) recognises gender reassignment as a protected characteristic with respect to discrimination law. However, self-identified feminists such as J.K. Rowling and Emma Nicholson are among those who, seeking to preserve 'women-only' spaces, have been accused of transphobia and consequently Harry Potter actors and fans have distanced themselves from Rowling's statements (O'Connor, 2020; Rowling, 2020).

In the next section, I explore the relationship between queer theory and feminism and go on to review a small body of work that uses queer theory in ELMA in the UK.

Queer theory and feminism

The relationship between queer theory and feminism is not straightforward. Liberal, cultural and lesbian feminists arguing for equality with, and/or recognising women's differences from, men did so on the basis of embodied sex differences determined and assigned at birth. It was a 'stable reign' (Rudy, 2000, p. 195) that queer theory made 'precarious and disaccommodating' (see Rudy, 2001 for an account of painful engagement with shifting discourses).

Queer theory recognises that interpretation plays an important role in understanding human life; it is not solely about diverse and minoritised sexualities but challenges what is 'normal' (Rudy, 2000). Rudy (2000, p. 198) asserts that sexualities are historically and socially constructed categories 'which can and have been assembled differently at different times'. An anti-essentialist resistance to a homo/heterosexuality binary enables political coalitions to supersede identity politics (Rudy, 2000, 2001). It is a politics for every body in the multiplicity, diversity and fluidity of sexual and gendered identities (Lewis, 2016). However, arguably, the history of bisexuality has been ignored by queer theorists still thinking along 'the two axes of gender and sexuality vertically and hierarchically rather than relationally and obliquely' (Angelides, 2006, p. 127). Simultaneously, there is a positive approach to sexuality in 'loud and proud' (Herman, 2005, p. 18) protests, declarations and celebrations of self-identity in discourses of 'coming out'. Each of Rudy's (2000) assertions aligns with poststructuralist gender and feminist theories developed in conjunction with queer theory (e.g. Butler's 1990 heterosexual matrix) informed by Derrida's (e.g. 1967/2016) theory of deconstruction, Lyotard's (e.g. 1979/1984) rejection of grand narratives, and Foucault's (e.g. 1976/1998) history of sexuality and theorisation of power (Lewis, 2016).

Cossman (2004, p. 851) recognises disjuncture between feminist theories, associated with gender, and queer theory associated with diverse sexualities but argues for using multiple feminist and queer theory lenses to explain sex-positive discourses instead of framing sexuality solely or 'primarily as a site of danger and oppression for

women' (also Glick, 2000). Doyle (2009) combines feminism with queer theory to re-think society's relationship with abortion and motherhood and the place of family in heteronormative society and increasingly, alongside marriage and domesticity, in liberal gay politics. The queer baby boom and proliferation of gay marriages may dilute the definition of queerness in relation to 'the holy trinity of hetero sexuality, biological reproduction, and the nuclear family' (Marcus, 2005, p. 206). Glick (2000, p. 31) suggests that the politics of lifestyle focused on 'who we are - how we dress or get off – […] fails to engage with institutionalized systems of domination'.

Queer theorists focus on lived experiences alongside a 'queer pedagogy' (Britzman, 1995, p. 151) or 'queer(y)ing methodology' (Gowlett, 2015, p. 159) applied to discourses far beyond the personal. However, Marcus (2005, p. 196, original emphasis) suggests that 'reducing the term's pejorative sting by universalizing the meaning of *queer*' depletes its explanatory power through overuse by queering discourses unrelated to sexualities and through its looseness and inclusivity.

Importantly, queer theory's relationship with intersectionality theory (Chan and Howard, 2020), looking at sexualities in relation to genders, races (Somerville, 2010) and social classes (Lewis, 2016; Neacşu, 2005), enables the exploration of identities in the context of multiple oppressions of homo/transphobia, sexism, racism and classism. Neacşu (2005) and Lewis (2016) each argue for a Marxist understanding of feminism and queer theory as the way to ensure a focus on distributive justice rather than just lending credibility to the corporate world, such as the 'woke capitalism' through which large corporations adopt progressive anti-homophobic/anti-racist/anti-sexist politics without genuine institutional reform (Lewis, 2020).

An important contemporary feminist debate concerns trans-exclusionary radical feminism (TERF) that excludes transgender women from feminist and lesbian spaces (Earles, 2019). Speaking out against transphobia, Ahmed (2016, p. 22) recounts how thinking about transfeminism enables recognition of cisgender (gender identity matches birth-assigned sex) privilege and argues for an 'affinity of hammers' to 'chip away at the system' as reciprocal tools 'through which we, too, can chip away at the surfaces of what is, or who is, including the very categories through which personhood is made meaningful—categories of sex and gender, for instance, that have chipped away at us'.

Some claim that 'the widespread take-up of queer might mean that queer theory's time is up' (Jagose, 2009, p. 159). But resisting definitions and the narrow rubrics of sexualities, by troubling essentialist notions of lesbian/gay, is precisely what queer theory offers to scholars of sexualities and gender whether they see themselves as feminist or not. The lived realities of educators and leaders of minoritised sexualities and diverse genders who are working in heteronormative organisations enable scholars and activists to trouble how those organisations are managed and led (Capper, 2018; Kirton and Greene, 2015).

Next, I review a small body of literature that draws on queer theory in ELMA scholarship.

Queer theory and ELMA

Capper (1999) outlined research possibilities with sexually minoritised administrators that built on stages of research into women's leadership (Shakeshaft, 1987)

(see Chapter 2). Twenty years later, she shows that scholarship, mainly in the US, focuses on nine main themes: the pervasiveness of homophobia and heterosexism in education; the disruption of what is normal; taking an anti-essentialist, non-binary, social constructionist perspective on the fluidity of identities; the pervasiveness and critique of heterosexuality; the anti-queer bias embedded in law and policy; the contestation of power; a resistance or liberationist goal; the importance of language; and intersectionality (Capper, 2018). There is evidence of challenge to dominant theory in ELMA.

Although queer theory is seen as an appropriate approach to problematise educational leadership (Young and Lopéz, 2005), few studies draw on queer theory in UK ELMA scholarship. Those that do theorise inadvertently queer leadership among school leaders taking a largely essentialist perspective of diverse sexualities as lesbian, gay and bisexual (Courtney, 2014). Thompson-Lee (2017) uses queer theory to underpin an autoethnographic study of heteronormativity in a rural school to reveal the actions and responses of a headteacher to a lesbian teacher. Her research reports the experiences of teachers and aspiring leaders of diverse sexualities before and after the repeal of punitive legislation (see discussion of Section 28 above) (Lee, 2019a) and the benefits of a bespoke leadership preparation programme (Lee, 2020a, 2020b). In the main, scholarship has been focused on teachers and teaching rather than on leaders and leadership (Allen, 2020; Gray, 2013; Harris and Gray, 2014; Lee, 2019b; Rudoe, 2010, 2017). Some of this scholarship uses feminist, poststructuralist and queer theory perspectives to, for example, underpin a focus on coming out as a lesbian, gay or bisexual teacher (Gray, 2013), heteronormative school cultures (DePalma and Atkinson, 2009) or advocates thinking 'queerly' in non-binaried and pluralist ways about sexuality (Rudoe, 2010, 2017).

The multi-stage mixed methods project that explored the #WomenEd movement for aspiring and serving women leaders was designed to enable intersectional analyses. It provides valuable insights into minoritised and diverse sexual and gender identities in education (Fuller and Berry, 2019).

The #WomenEd research

Seven per cent of the #WomenEd survey sample (n = 356) had witnessed homophobia in educational settings; 1% witnessed transphobia (Fuller and Berry, 2019). Two per cent had experienced homophobia; 1% transphobia. The paucity of responses about transphobia suggests a possible lack of awareness among the school workforce. (See Payne and Smith, 2014, 2018 for discussions of teachers' and school leaders' work with transgender children; Hellen, 2009 and Bowskill, 2017 for discussions of transgender children's experiences in UK schools; Wells, 2018 for an account of transgender teachers' experiences; and Bartholomaeus and Riggs, 2017 for a discussion of transgender people and education.)

I focus here on 65 participants who commented on sexual and gender diversity, including three participants who discussed women's and girls' (hetero)sexual objectification and behaviours. I aim to resist the binaries of fe/male, wo/man and homo/heterosexual by being clear about participants' self-identifications.

Participants of minoritised sexualities and diverse genders identified as follows

Sex/gender		*Sexuality*	
Female/woman	31	Lesbian	15
		Bisexual	10
		Questioning	3
		Gay	1
		Asexual	1
		None of these	1
Intersex/non-binary	1	Asexual	1
Male/man	3	Gay	3
None of these/prefer not to say	1	None of these/prefer not to say	1
Total	36		36

Non-queers identified as:

Sex/gender		*Sexuality*	
Female/woman	28	Heterosexual/straight	28
Male/man	1	Heterosexual/straight	1
Total	29		29

Very few identified with a minoritised racial identity. Under half identified with a religion: among participants of minoritised sexualities and diverse genders: Christianity (11), Hinduism (1), Islam (1) and Paganism (1); and among non-queers: Christianity (11), Hinduism (1) and 'personal' (1). Many were parents (13 of 36 participants of minoritised sexualities and diverse genders and 18 of 29 non-queers) with children still in education. Participants' ages ranged from twenties to sixties. Participants were site-based headteachers, senior or middle leaders, teachers and support staff as well as system leaders (multiple sites), school governors, trustees and directors, consultants, coaches and researchers. They worked in primary, secondary, further, higher and adult education. Their organisations were mainly state-funded, and a few were working in independent fee-paying institutions.

The lived realties of educators, leaders and learners revealed homophobia and transphobia, invisibility and silencing in educational organisations marked by 'heteroorganizational culture and structure' (Capper, 2018, p. 206), resistance and activism. Homo/transphobic behaviours consisted of inappropriate language use; comments by colleagues, pupils and parents; homophobic bullying and heterosexism. They related to employment practices, included an intersectional perspective, and concerned the availability of facilities and curricula for children and young people. A senior leader recounted, 'A colleague wrote to me and [two] other out

gay colleagues and offered religious "help" to fight our sexual orientation' (lesbian, senior leader, secondary) (adapted from Fuller, 2022, p. 106). This intersection with religion persisted with accounts from two non-queers about the availability of washrooms for transgender students in Catholic schools (see Goodyear, 2016) and support for a transgender teacher being 'fired' from their job in a Catholic school (see Johnston, 2017). Objections to equalities education were made by parents on religious grounds, 'under the banner of, "you are teaching our children that being gay is ok" this is not ok on religious grounds' (non-queer, Christian, woman, senior leader, primary) (see Lightfoot, 2016 for a report of Christian parents' protests and Parveen, 2019 for Muslim parents' protests). There is support among religious leaders for LGBT+ inclusion and the banning of conversion therapies (Farley, 2020).

One headteacher posited that representation of 'lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender staff' in educational leadership was 'worse' than the representation of racialised and ethnicised minority groups (gay, man, headteacher C, secondary and post compulsory). Citing a lack of focus on diverse sexual identities in leadership preparation, he surfaced invisibility and the overwhelming heteronormativity in schools, although more 'LGBT+' teachers entering the profession after Section 28 was repealed were open about their sexuality than those who entered whilst it remained (Lee 2019a). Headteacher C's career spanned Section 28 (1988), its repeal in 2003, the Coalition government's commitment to tackle trans/homophobic hate crime and homophobic bullying in schools (HM Government 2010a) and the enactment of the Equality Act (HM Government 2010b)

> When I first started as a teacher it was a conversation that I didn't really want to have with my colleagues. I'm not quite young enough to have fully embraced that in my early career but, at the same time, my partner will attend school events and I am in no way ashamed of who I am but I've not been part of a culture that has shouted about it in the workplace too. So I guess I fall somewhere in between.
>
> (gay, man, headteacher C, secondary and post compulsory)

Headteacher C challenged heteronormativity by taking his partner to school functions, the thought of which discouraged teachers from aspiring to headship (Lee, 2019a). He experienced heterosexism

> I have been asked this year about my wife and whether I have children. So whilst I don't hide it I haven't done a whole school assembly and announced the fact that I'm a gay man. But if I was asked the question I would certainly answer it.
>
> (gay, man, headteacher C, secondary and post compulsory)

One woman's experience spanned a similar timescale. She recounted a poignant episode in her teaching practice before the repeal of Section 28

> I was teaching like a PSHE [personal, social, health education] class and I was absolutely convinced that if anybody found out that I was gay, that I'd be out [lose her job]. […] So I had to do everything I could to make sure that nobody

> guessed […] I was teaching a lesson about stereotypes, particularly about gender stereotypes. […] I remember being absolutely terrified that the person who was observing me, my mentor, would realise, would click, that I knew a lot about this and I knew more than most people would know about it stereotypes, prejudices and issues. And I deliberately chose an interesting take on the impact of heteronormativity. If anybody had the thought […], "Gosh she knows a lot about this. I wonder." I look back at that now and I just think, "God." You talk about the 10% braver [#WomenEd mantra] for me there, that was what I had to do to get through that lesson and to get through that teaching practice because I was so genuinely scared that I would be identified as being gay and I was scared I would lose my opportunity to train, parents would complain about me, and that was the impact of probably Section 28 on me because I didn't want to be accused of unduly influencing the young minds. That awareness of how you are perceived and how your actions or your words or your behaviours or your appearance is interpreted, that stayed with me throughout my career and that's true for me as being gay as much as it is as me being a woman. So that's why I say, you know, the [heteronormativity] is a big factor.…
>
> (lesbian, woman, middle leader B, pre-school to further education)

There were multiple reasons for not putting her 'head above the parapet', including organisational loyalty, assumptions about and dismissal of her views, desire to avoid conflict and associated pain, and a heightened sense of how others saw her. All of this reveals the compound damage of everyday aggressions as 'micro-behaviours that I think certainly have imprinted on me and that you pick up and you don't necessarily overtly acknowledge unless you're tuned into them' (lesbian, woman, middle leader B, pre-school to further education) (adapted from Fuller, 2022, p. 110). Collectively they led to desire for invisibility or self-erasure: 'I want to be invisible' (lesbian, woman, middle leader B, pre-school to further education) (see Lugg and Tooms, 2010). Some sorts of activism were highly problematic.

Middle leader B recounted the degree of care it took to have conversations about the appropriate use of language and effort to be present without speaking in public about discrimination. She asked

> How do you challenge the small things in a compassionate way? Because, […], I'm not adversarial and I'm absolutely sure that many things that I've experienced, many of us have experienced, is completely unintentional and unthinking and ignorant […] (lesbian, woman, middle leader B, pre-school to further education).
>
> (adapted from Fuller and Berry, 2019, p. 68)

In discussion of #WomenEd's mantra '#10%Braver' (Porritt and Featherstone, 2019), she noted

> It's almost like the 10% happens before you get into the room that nobody else sees. So it takes me or it takes person X 10% more energy to get themselves to do that presentation […] if it's there at all, it happens underneath that line. It's

> underneath that surface, that you don't actually see it and therefore that can take its toll over time because it takes more energy to get to the same place as other people. It's not 10% to get ahead […].
>
> (lesbian, woman, middle leader B, pre-school to further education)

Everyday acts of resistance (see Fuller, 2019) consisted of handling emotional responses to 'micro moments' of intersectional discrimination as homophobia, misogyny and heteronormativity and plucking up courage to take part in research: 'I probably can't express strongly enough how nervous I have been about having this conversation' (lesbian, woman, middle leader B, pre-school to further education). By contrast, two gay, male headteachers identified as activists in teacher union School's Out (see 2017) work, supporting Stonewall (see 2017) and international LGBT+ rights.

Resistance was also present in the queerification of heteronormativity in relation to sexuality, gender and feminism in ELMA.

Queer(y)ing or reifying (hetero)normativity?

Research participants queer(ied) or reified the hegemonic model of gender and sexual intelligibility conceptualised as heteronormativity. Everyday discourses produce, maintain and reproduce 'norms' (Capper, 2018). To queer(y) sexuality, gender and feminism in leadership and scholarship is to present an anti-essentialist non-binary perspective recognising fluidity and fluctuation.

Sexuality

The presence of leaders and educators of minoritised sexualities offered resistance to heteronormativity whether they queer(i)ed discourses of school leadership or not (Courtney, 2014). But heteronormativity was reified by lack of identifiable representation: 'I'm looking for people to identify with, within that community [#WomenEd] as well, and I know that they are there' (lesbian, woman, middle leader B, pre-school to further education) (see Hannay, 2021). Representation was difficult when teachers and leaders remained cautious about disclosing their sexuality (Lee, 2020a); self-identification was fluid within the professional arena.

One non-queer revealed how easily the interests of sexual (and other) minorities were overlooked when catering for majoritarian interests; provision for LGBT+ learners was 'not exactly the same message', 'mov[ing] away from [the message]', 'diversifying too much' and 'trying to cover all bases… [when we should/could say] "We're going to do this one thing and we're going to do it really, really well"' (co-founder D). LGBT+ interests were constructed in opposition to an assumption of essentialist and stable identities: 'Well it's about women isn't it?' (co-founder D). One stretch of speech about strategy revealed how easily the dominant heteronormative discourse was reproduced that was not about the difficult work of establishing equality, equitability and inclusivity in education. Contentious conversations were needed to 'think about this a little [further]' (co-founder D). Such strategising work resonates with earlier debates among feminists (Rudy, 2001).

Non-queers' comments showed further reification of heteronormativity when (hetero)sexuality was used to undermine: 'A young colleague of mine was questioned by a female teacher, "Who did you sleep with to get here?"' (non-queer, woman, head-teacher, secondary) and 'Suggestive comments about my love-life. […] some prejudice about not being a mother and not having children as well' (co-founder B). The (hetero)sexual and (presumably) consensual behaviours of young adult women and senior (married) men were used to police discourses of professional morality, ethics and values. Double standards existed in an educational setting that policed children's (sexual) behaviours but tolerated extramarital affairs among staff: 'I was dealing with a very young female [subject] department who'd got themselves into stupid situations every weekend with senior members of male staff and I was going into my Headteacher and call them out on it and he was promoting them not knowing the kind of crap they were getting up to' (co-founder B). This is a complex discourse that recognises how heteronormative power relations in the workplace reinforce patriarchy. By contrast, middle leader B was clear that workplace relations with men operated differently, possibly owing to a lack of heterosexual banter (Kirton and Greene, 2015).

The (hetero)sexual objectification of girls and women in the media was seen as something against which they needed protection. Nowhere was there a sex-positive discourse (Glick, 2000). It remains to be seen what will be the impact of the new RSE policy that reinforces the acceptability of diverse sexualities (DfE, 2019) and teaches children that sexuality is concerned with more than sex acts (i.e. affection and companionship) (Marcus, 2005).

Gender

Homophobia and misogyny were inseparable, leading to feelings of alienation in heteronormative spaces: 'my experience of discrimination and chauvinistic, misogynist attitudes, also go into the realms of heteronorm[ativity]' (lesbian, woman, middle leader B, pre-school to further education). But heteronormative gender stereotypes were simultaneously queer(i)ed and reified. Middle leader B taught about gender stereotypes whilst conforming to them in terms of dress, verbal and body language to mitigate her anxiety about being identified as a lesbian. The irony reveals the depth of fear and pressure to comply in order to fit in (Lugg and Tooms, 2010). A gender-normative dress code at a school leavers' celebration led to her absence and sense of loss at missing a school ritual (see Lee, 2019b, 2020a for a discussion of social events).

Women who adopted masculine traits were criticised: 'She would sit there at the head of the table with very masculine body language. Sort of legs spread apart and arms back resting on the chair' (co-founder E). Masculine characteristics embodied by women were associated with a lack of soft leadership skills (Fuller, 2014). Advice to tone down femininity and to teach 'the girls at the school that it's not about how we look, it's about our intelligence' revealed a headteacher's attempt to police the gender identities of both the girls and women staff. His efforts backfired when non-queer co-founder E answered back, 'Can't I have my hair and my make-up the way I want? Can't I wear the clothes that I want and still be a positive role-model?' (co-founder E).

This applied where prevailing heteronormative discourses relating to workplace protocols, relations and use of language interacted with intersecting gender and sexual identities: 'if you refer to women as the ladies who interviewed or ladies in a room, you know, I wouldn't know where to start with working with colleagues who constantly refer to female members of staff for example as lady' (lesbian, woman, middle leader B, pre-school to further education). Women's use of 'ladies' reinforces difference from normative gender presentations associated with men; it could be read as appropriation of a particularly feminine identity with connotations of privileged social class that leads to being seen as lacking seriousness, being precious or being dubbed a 'princess' (Fuller and Berry, 2019, p. 46).

There is ambivalence in these accounts of gendered leadership. An account that reifies heteronormativity reveals deliberate attempts to feminise leadership, by valorising the normativity of traditionally feminine interests that are socioculturally constructed, such as feminine dress codes, family and childcare, and domesticity (see Chapter 7), as well as women's ways of doing leadership, such as relational leadership that requires interpersonal skills (Grogan and Shakeshaft, 2011). This could be interpreted in terms of cultural feminism. Queer(y)ing the heteronormative leadership discourse challenges us to consider whether women's resistance to masculinised leadership as the embodiment and perpetuation of patriarchy results in two unintended consequences: non-recognition of diverse gender identities and further reification of heteronormativity. It leads us to reconsider questions such as the following: Who is doing leadership? How? Why like that? And, so what?

Feminism

Cultural feminism provides a useful lens in theorising accounts of heteronormativity. But there are further complications. Men are welcome in what might have been a separatist movement (see Chapter 8). Middle leader B responded to men's physical and virtual presence, moving from consternation at their presence through positive recognition of men's efforts to imagining the possibility of a political coalition that supersedes identity politics (Rudy, 2000) in the cause of reforming educational structures and institutions. #WomenEd's discourse is inclusionary in explicitly seeking to challenge 'sexist, racist, transphobic, ableist words and actions' (person specification for global strategic group member, personal email 6/7/20) as well as homophobia (clarification provided, personal email 21/7/20).

Another twist can be seen in feminism inspired by popular culture. Arguably, the Spice Girls inspired gender identity constructions that were multiple and shifting, and diverse femininities were legitimised by diverse personalities (Zaslow, 2009). Contrary to the belief that 'girl power' was a way to identify with feminism without using the 'dirty word' (Spice Girls, 1997, p. 49), it inspired political interest

> … they showed me that girls could all be different. And I know it was manufactured by men, but for me as a teenager, [they] piqued this interest and sort of were my first steps I guess. They were strong women who talked about girl power and from there wearing, whether it's a Union Jack dress or your jogging bottoms, you're still equal. […] from there I then got really interested in

> [feminism] and studied sociology as an A-level and sort of started reading up on feminist theory and this sort of idea that I was frustrated that, […] feminists and women who had a strong voice seemed to be generalised and sort of put into pigeonholes.
>
> (co-founder E)

Although her gender identity appears to conform with heteronormativity (see above discussion of make-up), its fluidity (growing up, she identified as a tom-boy) simultaneously queer(ied) and reified normative gender identity construction and her relationship with feminism. She resisted stereotypes of feminism in an anti-essentialist discourse.

Anti-essentialist, anti-assimilationist and anti-categorical challenges queer(ied) aspects of the #WomenEd research project as well as existing research findings about women, gender and feminism in ELMA (Rudy, 2000, 2001). For example, open text comments included 'I'd challenge the premise of this statement [survey item]', 'I would challenge the premise of this interpretation' and 'I struggle with the research findings' (lesbian, woman, middle leader B, pre-school to further education). Another participant thought one item was 'An absurdly phrased question', that language used in the survey design was 'emotive' and 'leading' even when it followed up interview findings, and multiple choice options, including 'none of these applies to me', and data-gathering methods were critiqued as insufficiently positivist (lesbian, woman, consultant, pre-school to higher/adult education). All of this suggests frustration with a survey that appeared to take an essentialist approach to sexuality, gender and/or feminism but that aimed to take an intersectional perspective in its intercategorical complexity. Responses resonated with the anti-categorical stance of participants who de-identified in relation to some protected characteristics (Fuller, 2022). This queer(y)ing aligns with a poststructural and queer feminist discourse.

In the process of analysis, a 'straight' or heteronormative response can be seen in the researcher's desire to confirm whether one woman's reference to her 'girlfriend' indicated a same-sex relationship or not, whereas a queer theory reading is to see and accept the ambiguity as anti-essentialist, anti-categorical and anti-assimilationist. All of this serves to reveal the inadequacy of essentialist categorisations and the tendency to construct knowledge from a 'privileged place', 'ask questions of the privileged' and 'use analytic categories and forms of discourse that support continued privilege' (Sprague, 2016, p. 67), however unintentionally. These open text responses queer(ied) research design and knowledge production.

Implications for ELMA

The implications for research, policy-making and practice in ELMA are located firstly in queer feminism's capacity for 'troubling' dominant discourses in ELMA as well as dominant discourses of sexuality, gender and feminism (Blackmore, 1999, p. 3; Butler, 1990) (see, for example, Gowlett, 2015). A queer feminist lens enables scholars to disturb the taken-for-granted in scholarship regardless of the sexual and gender identities of scholars and the educators, leaders and learners who participate in the research. In ELMA, it has not been overused. Although Butler's (1990, 2004)

theorisations of gender and feminism have been applied to ELMA scholarship, that application has not always been with a queer feminist lens.

Second, UK legislation facilitated openness for those who entered the profession after the repeal of Section 28. Financial support for preparation programmes such as Courageous Leaders followed a clear statement of intent to support diversity in school leadership (DfE, 2016). However, this research makes clear that the hangover from Section 28 remains painful and debilitating for people who entered the profession before 2003. Under-representation was highlighted here. That is symptomatic of organisational heteronormativity that goes unrecognised with homophobic incidents seen as isolated to individuals rather than as organisational or systemic injustice. Heteronormativity leads to greater invisibility and silencing because of the anxiety induced by, for example, repeated decision-making about whether to disclose sexual identity in a new professional setting (Lee, 2020a) or the pressure to 'pass' as 'straight' (Lugg, 2003). Presence in heteronormative cultures requires great courage for educators and leaders of minoritised sexualities and diverse genders regardless of whether they are open about their identities (Lee, 2020a). More work is needed to support staff and to educate non-queer leaders.

Finally, where the repeal of Section 28 forms a watershed for educators, leaders and learners of minoritised sexualities and diverse genders (Lee, 2019a), statements by the Coalition government and the Equality Act (HM Government, 2010a, 2010b) mark a watershed for all leaders regarding legal responsibilities. The public sector equality duty 'to eliminate discrimination, advance equality and foster good relations between lesbian, gay and transsexual pupils and those who do not share those protected characteristics' (EHRC, 2014, p. 25) also applies to employees. Educational leaders must concern themselves with the lived realities of individuals as staff, students and families within organisational, wider community and societal cultures. In the UK, they have a legal responsibility to ensure that people of diverse sexualities and genders are protected from discrimination; they must balance that with protecting people from other forms of discrimination. For example, following consultation, equalities teaching (i.e. LGBTQ-inclusive education) has been reframed for a faith community (Haynes, 2019; see also Carlile, 2020). School leaders need to be adept at thinking about intersectionality.

Summary

This chapter used a queer feminist perspective to explore the way that research participants of minoritised sexualities and diverse genders described experiences of becoming and being school leaders. It demonstrated the need for further research in which ELMA scholars think differently about leadership to inform how leaders work differently to create more inclusive organisational cultures in which to work and learn. Alongside accounts of homo/transphobia and heterosexism, critiques of language use and the anti-queer bias historically embedded in law and policy, there were examples of taking an anti-essentialist, non-binary, social constructionist perspective on the fluidity of identities to disrupt what is normal and contest and resist dominant power relations (Capper, 2018), albeit everyday resistance was not necessarily 'loud and proud' (Herman, 2005, p. 18). In particular, the chapter surfaced

the ease with which heteronormative discourses are reified in leadership practice and the difficulties that accompany its queerification. The chapter highlights the practical need for leaders to understand the way particular rights, needs, desires and interests intersect among populations in the communities where they lead education.

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6 Applying critical leadership

Introduction

A fourth-wave feminist conceptualisation of educational leadership that includes an exploration of feminist leadership praxis would focus on curriculum and pedagogy development as well as the social and academic outcomes of education. At multiple levels, there are opportunities to subvert the role of education in reproducing educational and social inequalities with respect to poverty, sexism, racism and other forms of social intolerance, such as regarding gender, sexual and religious diversity. Structural inequalities are the responsibility of the whole population; politicians and policy-makers are influenced by educationists, educators and the wider population through activism and other democratic processes. Locally, in communities and schools, there are opportunities for collaboration in adopting assets-informed approaches to education and leadership to counter discourses of professional and learner deficit perpetuated by neoliberalism. Assets comprise the multiplicity of cultural capitals, namely funds of knowledge, community cultural wealth and funds of identity found among learners, educators and leaders. Applied critical leadership (ACL) conceptualises a way of doing leadership that valorises such assets (Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012).

Changing patterns of movement across the world lead to increasingly diverse student populations in schools, colleges and universities. That is likely to increase as the world's resources are depleted and competed for in turbulent times, such as at times of conflict, climate and health crises. Meanwhile, racism persists as a social problem in the US (such as the murder of George Floyd by a white police officer in May 2020) and in the UK, where the Covid-19 pandemic has amplified existing structural inequalities through its disproportionate impact on people of Black and global majority (BGM) heritages and on women's paid and unpaid work.

This chapter focuses on how educational leaders recognised and provided for diversity among learner populations in educating and leading for greater social justice. It follows earlier work demonstrating the emancipatory intent of headteachers whose cognitive and affective responses to diversity extended from managerial identification and labelling, through personal knowledge and care for children, understanding needs, desires and interests, to 'empathy that is developed through personal experience of disempowerment', to providing for and celebrating difference (Fuller, 2012, p. 685). Intersecting lenses of gender, 'race', ethnicity, and social class revealed

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varying degrees of diversity recognition among student and staff populations (Fuller, 2013). There were links between headteachers' recognition of diversity and their personal experiences and awareness of gender, racialised, ethnic, religious and/or class inequalities in families, education and employment. Explicitly or implicitly, they recognised the structural inequalities of sexism, racism and poverty. In particular, there was evidence of headteachers (identifying with BGM and white heritages) drawing on the assets of community cultural wealth (i.e. cultural and linguistic capitals) in recognising children's funds of knowledge brought from home. Those findings resonated with research about African-American women's principalship (see, for example, Dillard, 1995; Witherspoon and Taylor, 2010).

Critical scholars have long taken interest in the relationship between learner-teacher-leader identities, their lived realities, the social process of learning with a situated 'pedagogy of the question', and construction of educative and enabling leadership (e.g. Smyth, 1989, p. 194). A feminist critical reconstruction of leadership focuses on inclusion and interdependence, caring and reciprocity, power-sharing, language and knowledge, and community rather than separation (Blackmore, 1989). Two research projects, which included women leaders identifying with BGM heritages who 'raced' themselves outside the mainstream, asked whether and how leader identities informed the leadership of diverse populations of school children (Moorosi et al., 2017; Torrance et al., 2017) (Chapters 3 and 4). Those data inform this chapter.

I use ACL (Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012, 2015a) to consider how funds of knowledge (Hogg, 2011; Llopart and Esteban-Guitart, 2018; Rodriguez, 2013) and identity (Esteban-Guitart, 2016) and community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) influenced the self-reported work of school leaders. These include funds of difficult knowledge (Becker, 2014; Rodriguez, 2013; Zipin, 2009) acquired through direct experiences or awareness of intersectional discrimination (Dillard, 1995; Witherspoon and Taylor, 2010). The questions asked here are the following: Do headteachers draw on funds of knowledge, community cultural wealth and funds of identity in the education of children and young people? If they do, how do they do it? If they do not, what might account for the absence?

I begin the chapter by providing contextual detail relating to 'race' and education in the UK. The following sections explain ACL, funds of knowledge, community cultural wealth and funds of identity. I review selected literature that uses ACL and draws on the valorisation of multiple knowledges and capitals. I discuss the variability of willingness and commitment among headteachers to lead with their lives (Dillard, 1995; Witherspoon and Taylor, 2010), variability of responses from others when they did, and the variability of evidence.

'Race' and education in the UK

UK political interest in multicultural education fluctuates. Discussion of racism is an absent presence (1990s) or present presence in education policy depending on the government (see Apple, 1999; Tomlinson, 2019). Tracing 'race' in UK education from empire to Brexit (UK departure from the European Union (EU)), Tomlinson (2019, p. 3) shows that 'schools and text-books [are] largely places of myth-making

and evasions of the truth' about British imperialism. That includes in the elite British 'public school' system where politicians and policy-makers, such as recent prime ministers Tony Blair, David Cameron and Boris Johnson, were educated. Largely, the UK voting public were not educated to think critically about the accrual of benefits to the UK from the brutal exploitation of people and resources. Nor were they educated about the EU; reasons for free movement or the internal colonisation of the home countries of Ireland (the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland), Scotland and Wales; reasons for the partition of Ireland; and devolution of powers to national assemblies. There was no commitment to education for a postcolonial society by politicians and policy-makers despite calls for it (see, for example, Arday, 2020).

Social and education policy took an assimilationist approach with funding earmarked to support children of BGM heritages from the 1960s. There was some development of multicultural policies and advisory roles augmented by supplementary schools organised by African Caribbean families from the 1970s (Modood and May, 2001). But the Swann Report, identifying a climate of racism that called for 'inclusive multiculturalism' (DES, 1985, p. 36), was ignored. In the 1980s, many teachers were committed to either multicultural or anti-racist education (Modood and May, 2001). Between 1997 and 2007, citizenship education developed, the range of faith schools broadened, the ethnic minority achievement grant (EMAG) replaced existing funding, and additional funding was provided for inner cities. However, rhetoric about valuing equality, diversity and inclusion in a multi-racial, multi-ethnic and multi-faith society was not matched by commitment to enabling it. Policy is marked by such political hypocrisies (Tomlinson, 2019).

Where culturally responsive teaching exists, it occurs in classrooms where individual teachers and school leaders engage critical pedagogical approaches that draw on children's existing knowledges despite education policy (see Thomson and Hall, 2008). For example, multiple Englishes (regional and global dialects and accents), texts reflecting a multicultural society, world literatures written in or translated into English, and themes that explore the relationship between power, knowledge and identity might be taught regardless of their appearance in examination syllabuses/specifications or the national curriculum (see, for example, Hodgson and Wilkins, 2014 for an overview of 50 years of *English in Education*). But such efforts to establish multicultural education have been 'piecemeal' (Osler, 2015, p. 4), undermined by successive Conservative governments in the 1980s to early 1990s and after 2010 (Tomlinson, 2019). The discourse was fractured; a false dichotomy existed between multicultural and anti-racist education (Modood and May, 2001; Tomlinson, 2009). For anti-racists, a deracialised multicultural education focused on cultural pluralisms failing to 'address the central issue of racism within society', whereas anti-racist education provided 'a political education that highlighted the processes and effects of racism within society, along with other forms of discrimination, and the implications of these for all students' (Modood and May, 2001, p. 308). Both are needed in education *about* the UK and its socio-historical-cultural and political development and *for* an anti-racist society.

In a Black–White dualist theorisation of race in education, Asians (e.g. of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritages) and Islamophobia were ignored (Chapters 4 and 9). Homogenising labels such as BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) or BAME

(Black Asian and minority Ethnic) are dangerous without intersectional recognition of pluralism within a politically resistant collective (Chapter 3). Nuanced understandings were and are needed of

> new hybridic mixes and hyphenated identities [that] can neither be understood in terms of classic assimilation nor classic pluralism. Such new forms are complicating the 'British–Other' distinction and will require in the future a more complex analysis of ethnicity and cultural diversity.
>
> (Modood and May, 2001, p. 314)

Non/misrecognition perpetuated Islamophobia in education and wider society (see, for example, Gove, 2006) as exemplified by the so-called 'Trojan Horse' affair in Birmingham schools in 2014 (Tomlinson, 2019) (see Chapter 9). English education is far from achieving the kind of cosmopolitanism described by Osler (2015) where the learner's narrative is central to their learning.

Recognising assets

In this section, I explain concepts associated with recognising assets: funds of knowledge, community cultural wealth and funds of identity. Each is connected with feminist and/or gender theories or practices. I go on to provide illustrations from headteachers' accounts. First, I explain ACL.

Applied critical leadership

ACL is built on the premise that inequities relating to the distribution of power and valorisation of specific sorts of cultural capital result in differential academic attainment at multiple stages of education (Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012, 2015a). It is underpinned by social, pedagogical and leadership theories explicitly drawing on critical theory, critical race theory (CRT) and critical multiculturalism; critical pedagogy and cultural responsiveness; and transformational and/or transformative and servant leadership (Santamaría, 2014; Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012, 2015a; Santamaría et al., 2015). Its theoretical framing intersects with cross-cultural, Indigenous and decolonising knowledges, research methodologies and ways of doing leadership (e.g. Māori, Latina/o and African American) (Garcia and Natividad, 2018; Rodríguez et al., 2016; Santamaría et al., 2016). It draws on gender, critical, postcolonial and standpoint feminist theories to connect research to theory through practice (Santamaría, 2014; Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012). For example, one teacher used a Jewish feminist lens in conjunction with her sense of marginalisation to work with a Muslim family.

The characteristics of ACL can be summarised as:

> • *Critical race perspectives*: choos[ing] to assume a CRT lens; conscious of "stereotype threat" or of fulfilling negative stereotypes associated with their group;
>
> • *Critical leadership practices*: us[ing] consensus building as the preferred strategy for decision-making; lead[ing] by example to meet an unresolved educational

> need or challenge; [being] classified as transformative, servant leaders who work ultimately to serve the greater good; and need[ing] to honor all members of their constituencies; and
>
> • *Critical leadership knowledge production*: mak[ing] empirical contributions and thus add[ing] authentic, research-based information to academic discourse regarding underserved groups.
>
> (based on Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012, pp. 141–143)

Critical race perspectives can be seen through the lenses of CRT in educational leadership, management and administration (ELMA), namely the permanence of racism, whiteness as property, counter-storytelling and majoritarian narratives, interest convergence, critique of liberalism, and intersectionality (Capper, 2015).

ACL has been used to analyse and theorise leadership across educational phases and the 'P-20 pipeline' (pre-kindergarten to college/nursery to higher education) (Rodríguez et al., 2016) in the US and New Zealand (e.g. Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012; Santamaría et al., 2015) where legacies of British colonialism (e.g. slavery, forced migration and settlement) led to the genocide, exploitation and subsequent marginalisation of Indigenous and African-American peoples. As yet, the concept has not been used widely to explore the relationship between leader and learner identities in the UK (see, for example, Curtis, 2017; Fuller, 2018a).

Funds of knowledge

In ACL, there is a clear focus on educative and pedagogical leadership (Smyth, 1989); critical pedagogy focused on learner-centredness, valuing student voice, recognising the politics of difference and the inequalities perpetuated by school structures, processes and relations, including the dominance of 'whiteness' (Blackmore, 2013). Children's 'virtual schoolbag[s]' (Thomson, 2002, p. 1), filled with funds of knowledge, 'historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and wellbeing' (Moll et al., 1992, p. 133), are useful to learners, teachers and leaders alike in making connections between home and school knowledges (Bertrand and Rodela, 2018; Santamaría and Santamaría, 2015b; Wrigley et al., 2012).

ACL goes further. As an assets-informed conceptualisation of educational leadership, ACL finds educators and leaders asking what in their identities enables culturally responsive leadership of diverse populations of learners and staff (Santamaría, Santamaría and Dam, 2014). Educators and leaders draw on lived experiences, their funds of tacit knowledge as teachers (Hedges, 2012), and specifically their ethnic, cultural and linguistic or 'multicultural *funds of knowledge*' (original emphasis) (Santamaría, 2014, p. 384) as 'culturally and linguistically diverse leaders' (p. 349) to enhance leadership practice with diverse learners. Teachers and leaders draw on a range of knowledges in culturally responsive education and leadership (Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012) whereby differences become strengths (Lorde, 1996).

The link between ACL and funds of knowledge is explicit. ACL extends the conceptualisation to include and valorise leaders' funds of knowledge (Santamaría,

2014; Santamaría, Santamaría and Dam, 2014). What I have described elsewhere as headteachers' lived experiences and awareness of unequal social relations might be seen as funds of difficult (Becker, 2014) or dark (Zipin, 2009) knowledge; not all funds of knowledge comprise positive experiences. Negative experiences might be used positively to benefit learners in their learning and teachers and leaders in their learning, teaching and leadership practice.

In its original conception, funds of knowledge were identified by public school teachers and academics serving families of US–Mexican heritage to counter deficit thinking in the education system. They visited homes to learn about family cultures in order to bridge divides between home and school knowledges (see Hogg, 2011; Llopart and Esteban-Guitart, 2018). Scholars include gender considerations (Becker, 2014; Subero et al., 2018; Thomson and Hall, 2008; Wrigley et al., 2012; Zipin, 2009) or draw on feminist theories (Rodriguez, 2013) and intersectionality in their thinking (Whitenack et al., 2019). However, there is considerable variability in the attention afforded to gender in this scholarship.

Community cultural wealth

Rodriguez (2013, p. 111) brings together funds of knowledge and community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005). Their convergence is in 'provid[ing] a counter-hegemonic response to pervasive forms of cultural deficit thinking'. Like ACL, community cultural wealth is underpinned by tenets of CRT. In a theorisation of Latino educational leadership, Rodríguez et al. (2016) join ACL and community cultural wealth in leadership scholarship. Yosso's (2005) concept of community cultural wealth explains Chicana/o college students' successful navigation and negotiation of 'spaces and people that created greater challenges to their academic progress' and their disproval of 'deficit thinking using resistant capital' (Rodríguez et al., 2016, p. 140). ACL scholars problematise forms of capital afforded to and withheld from students who do not identify as white (e.g. Fitzpatrick and Santamaría, 2015). Yosso (2005 p. 77) identifies six forms of capital: aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial and resistant capital; they are not 'mutually exclusive or static'. Aspirational capital, 'the ability to hold onto hope in the face of structured inequality and often without the means to make such dreams a reality' (op cit., p. 77), requires and nurtures resilience. Yosso (2005, p. 72) includes feminist critiques of racism and classism in an intersectional perspective as part of an expanded 'CRT family tree' underpinning her theorisation.

Funds of identity

To date, leadership scholarship has not drawn explicitly on the concept of funds of identity, 'those bodies of knowledge, skills and resources that students use to define themselves' (Esteban-Guitart, 2016, p. 54). Funds of identity 'draw on practices beyond household practices and family culture' (Esteban-Guitart, 2016, p. 49). Cultural identity is dynamic and inextricably linked with learning. Seen from multiple perspectives, it is autobiographical in making sense of self through the narration and re-narration of life stories, dialogic in relation to and in interaction with another, and collective in being rooted in macrocultural factors and in the sharing of common histories and

cultures (Esteban-Guitart, 2016). In the learning/research process, students select artefacts that represent their sense of identity; they produce texts that reveal it.

Social, institutional, geographical, cultural and practical funds of identity are distinguished by source of origin and content (Esteban-Guitart, 2016). For example, social funds of identity originate from people; they consist of partners, friends and families. There are links with households and communities as sources of funds of knowledge, also with familial and social capitals. Esteban-Guitart and Moll (2014) provide examples of girls and women creating identity artefacts showing themselves (wearing traditional dress, veil or figure-hugging top) in relation to family members as well as musical interests, religious and political beliefs.

In the next section, I demonstrate how headteachers drew on multiple assets in their leadership of learning.

Assets-informed critical leadership

Analysis of headteachers' cultural assets through the lenses of funds of knowledge, community cultural wealth and funds of identity reveals an abundance of assets that are useful in ACL.

Headteachers applied critical leadership. Critical race perspectives developed from the ubiquity of racism in headteachers' lives (almost all recounted experiences of colour/ethnic/religious racism) (Chapters 3 and 4). These were funds of difficult, dark knowledge (Becker, 2014; Zipin, 2009) informed by personal experience of negative stereotypes, namely so-called micro-aggressions and expressions such as surprise linked to their embodiment of headship (Chapter 3). They contributed to empirical research by reading, writing and speaking about education. Some were high-profile education activists who featured in the media. Between them they presented diverse political perspectives.

Multiple levels of educational leadership were perceived as white (and male), as were the process of school improvement, the institutions of government and the media, and power. Headteachers engaged in critical conversations with individuals in the school community, politicians and the public. White privileged viewpoints were confronted outside school; institutional racism in school (Fuller, 2018a). Headteachers built, maintained and re-built trust with mainstream partners when it broke down.

There was compliance with performativity-driven education policy and the school inspections regime but it was matched by a holistic approach to education. Headteachers re-wrote the story of Black children's educational achievement. Research participation was motivated by a desire to tell counter-stories of lived realities. One headteacher critiqued liberalism among politicians, academics, head/teachers and marginalised communities. Headteachers' understanding of intersectionality ensured that they worked across 'races' and ethnicities, genders and social class by serving inter-racial, inter-ethnic and inter-faith populations, including in predominantly white institutions (five headteachers).

Critical leadership practices steered them towards consensus building through shared leadership, empowerment of staff, consultation with parents and, in two schools, review of a community-developed school vision. One headteacher enabled children to assess the school's diversity practice. Headteachers were concerned to improve educational and social outcomes of all children, maintain high standards, and

exemplify leadership, specifically as women identifying with BGM heritages. They were committed to school communities and motivated to change things for the better. They recognised and honoured diversity, such as 'race', ethnicity, social class, gender, religion, linguistic resources, and intersectionality (i.e. Black girls and Muslim girls).

Although there were many, two examples demonstrate headteachers' deployment of positive funds of knowledge, cultural wealth and funds of identity developed in the home and beyond that were brought to the classroom for the development of children's multiple cultural capitals. 'Nicola's lesson' describes a childhood teaching experience (Chapter 3) that bears further discussion (Moorosi et al., 2017). 'Saeeda's leadership praxis' describes engagement with children's multiple funds of knowledge.

Nicola's lesson

Nicola, ten years old, was supported to teach a lesson by an advocacy relationship with a Jewish teacher: 'we made a connection […] in this […] very white working-class dominated environment' (Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012)

> I remember seeing something about Nelson Mandela on the TV and him being released. And then I'd learnt this word Apartheid and I thought that was a really amazing word and […] I'm an English teacher, so you can tell words were obviously important to me. [I] badgered [the teacher] to let me teach her year two class for just a section of the lesson [laughter]. […] I sort of presented, I remember, this sort of lesson plan. "I'm going to introduce the word. I'm going to tell them what it means. Then I'm going to get them to draw posters about it and then we could use that for…" […] I'm not sure that would happen [now], but she allowed me to do it, and I just absolutely loved it. […] I was probably about ten. Nine or ten. And that was it. I mean nobody was going to ever convince me that I was going to do anything else. No. I was going to be a teacher. That was it.
>
> (Nicola)

Nicola's newly acquired fund of knowledge 'leak[ed]' into a white working class–dominated classroom despite the demands of a national curriculum (Thomson and Hall, 2008, p. 98). Knowledge was acquired at home watching television. No doubt, Nelson Mandela's release was celebrated. The event coincided with Nicola's developing love of language and an emerging political interest in Blackness.

In turn, as a headteacher of Caribbean heritage, Nicola connected the familial and aspirational capitals of West Africans 'who would rather work three jobs than claim benefits', regretting the loss of family ties, 'where families become more disparate because of having to move for jobs and all sorts of things or just having to live across continents because that's just the reality of how things are. […] aspiration isn't necessarily as strong, as those sort of familial sort of connections have been' (Nicola).

Saeeda's leadership praxis

Saeeda's account of institutional racism demonstrated her recognition of children's linguistic capital (Fuller, 2018a). I asked 'how do you work with the children's funds

of knowledge here to bring them to wherever they've got to be [in relation to academic attainment targets]?' Saeeda described children's existing funds of knowledge brought from home and how the school's curriculum expanded multiple cultural capitals further

> First of all, we know again that the majority of children here having English as an additional language and we know that that's a positive. We know that the majority of our children have strong family links whether it's to families in the country of origin or whether it's here. Families try and live near to each other, the extended families, and we build upon that. So it's not a negative. It's a real positive and we will ask parents and grandparents […] to come into events in the school. We run classes for parents as well which allows parents to know about how we teach, but it also builds the confidence of our parents as well. We acknowledge their cultural heritage and their religion because it's very important to them. It's part of our curriculum. It's part of our assemblies. It's part of our events that we conduct for parents and we add to that. So we also educate children about other cultures and other religious festivals, celebrations and events and non-religious events as well. Just things that are there in our community so that they're aware of it. We also add to their experiences through our curriculum. So we look at our curriculum and we look at things like music […]. We have a specialist music teacher, whereas in some schools they know that being Muslim children, that music isn't a high priority for some of the children. […] It's part of our curriculum and we know research shows that children who are good in terms of their rhythm and so on actually do well in other curriculum areas. So we promote it. And we ask the children as well. We ask them what sorts of things they would like to do. So each half-term, even with the very young children, we look at the curriculum that we've followed the previous half-term and we ask them what they enjoyed, what more they'd like to learn. We bring in visitors and the visitors talk to children about the sorts of things they do and this will be new for some children. For some children, they'll already know about it, but for the children who didn't know about it, if it excites them, if it interests them, then we will follow that up. We'll have artists in, you know, African artists, drummers, people from different cultures, people who look different, people who do different things. We bring them in. If the children have had that experience before, it adds to it, and if they haven't then it's something new.
>
> (Saeeda)

Linguistic, cultural, religious and arts knowledges acquired in family households influenced language, religious and arts education. Children's self-expression and development were facilitated by drawing on existing diverse funds of knowledge to expand their knowledges.

Saeeda linked children's holistic development, through self-expression, with the dominant neoliberal discourse of performativity, namely measurement of school performance via league tables. She emphasised the importance of developing navigational capital specifically to face prejudice from secondary school onwards

> …we also look at developing the whole child and that isn't measured. That isn't something we can put in a league table, but we feel that's really important because we're trying to develop the children's confidence. We want the children to go out into high school and into the wider community and to have confidence in themselves because we know they will come across certain barriers. Some of those barriers will be because they're different for whatever reason and it could be because they're, you know, it could be because of their ethnicity. It could be because of their gender, it could be because of how they are perceived by other people. So we want them to go out, we want them to leave our school to be confident.
>
> (Saeeda)

It was her duty to learn about newly arrived children's cultural heritages, education and social systems

> We had an influx of [Eastern European] children […] and basically I did a lot of research. Obviously they have an education system where the children start later; and how they interact with social services and how frightening it can be if you mention social services when children are being late and all these sorts of things. It's like you can interact with the families most productively and you don't say things which they're going to find then put up barriers for them and their children. So you make it your duty to find out don't you, and I think as professionals, that's what you have to do.
>
> (Saeeda)

In each of the headteachers' accounts, there was evidence of funds of knowledge and cultural capitals being used to teach and to develop learning. Nine headteachers referred to their acquisition of linguistic capital comprising skills acquired from speaking multiple languages or in multiple ways, including the acquisition of multiple vocal and language registers (Fuller, 2018a). It was seen in Nicola's interest and knowledge about language that converted to becoming an English teacher.

All valued cultural knowledges that nurture 'community history, memory and cultural intuition' seen as familial capital (Yosso, 2005, p. 79). All recounted examples of social capital constituting networks of people that provided support, including emotional and other community resources, in their personal or professional lives (or both). All had successfully navigated the English education system as students, teachers and headteachers. Ann distinguished between navigating school, where false allegations of racism against staff were unacceptable, and navigating society where resistant capital would be valuable

> … in the real world it's slightly different and actually they could be coming up against racism and I don't want them to lose that [resistance] entirely, but within school they have to feel that it's a safe and supportive environment. They can't think that it's racism.
>
> (Ann)

If there was racism in school, 'then I wouldn't have been talking to them. I'd have been talking to the staff' (Ann).

Resistant capital comprising 'knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality' (Yosso, 2005, p. 80) was seen in many headteachers' accounts (Moorosi et al., 2017). Inderjeet resisted parental expectations 'to be this subservient Sikh woman', stereotypes of Asian women in international settings, and dominant males

> … you're always largely working with fathers, you know, boys in the community had very stereotypical views of women in positions of leadership. So there were those sort of challenges in working with the local Imams, working with the fathers and the boys […] *I* was able to challenge the community in many ways that my white colleagues weren't. So I could push some of those boundaries and talk about their culture, talk about how they were being perceived.
>
> (Inderjeet)

She protected the rights of a Muslim girl 'to openly show her faith by wearing her headscarf' in a predominantly white school; she talked to Asian girls about how they might resist cultural expectations by securing independence through education.

Headteachers' accounts showed that they mined the combined wealth of cultural capitals to invest it in growing children's cultural capitals from their existing funds of knowledge. Arguably Saeeda and other headteachers drew on social, institutional (educational and religious), geographical (urban, rural, international and diasporic), cultural (gender and language) and practical (interests and hobbies) funds of identity with origins beyond families and households (Esteban-Guitart, 2016). Recognising the origin and content of funds of identity can help educators and leaders to recognise students. Identity is 'partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by misrecognition of others' (Taylor, 1994, pp. 25–26); failure to recognise diversity in schools can impose 'a grievous wound'.

These complementary concepts were useful in thinking about how school leaders drew on funds of knowledge, community cultural wealth and funds of identity as they converge and diverge with those of the learners they serve as assets in critical leadership practice. In the section below, I discuss possible reasons for variability in headteachers' reported commitment to leading with their lives (Dillard, 1995; Witherspoon and Taylor, 2010). I focus on the variability of evidence and variability in the reported responses of others.

Variability – reports, resistance and representation

Where headteachers *chose* to make explicit links between the wealth of their knowledges and identities and those of the children they served, regardless of whether they converged or diverged, they provided numerous examples of critically conscious leadership practice. Those headteachers appeared to be committed to mining their personal and professional resources and investing them in the education of children and young people that included the growth of children's cultural capitals. They approached the topic with enthusiasm.

Unsurprisingly, there was variability. Only a nuanced understanding of that variability can avoid homogenising headteachers' stated practice. Some headteachers' accounts were of tacit knowledge (Hedges, 2012); some accounts were ambivalent; in others, there was outright rejection of children's funds of knowledge. I suggest that there are a number of reasons for that variability relating to the research process, dominant discourses about 'race' and social justice in English education, and resistance to carrying the 'burden' of representation (Witherspoon and Taylor, 2010, p. 153).

The research process

These data rely on headteachers' self-reports. They have not been followed up by ethnographic means of classroom observations, interviews with members of the school population or documentary research. The interview process required me to establish rapport quickly. I disclosed information about the motivation for the research, my career and life story to establish some reciprocity and 'in an effort to answer spoken and unspoken questions from interviewees' deciding whether and why they should talk to me (Moorosi et al., 2017, p. 80; see Fuller, 2020). One participant subsequently removed several pages from the transcript. All gave permission for me to use their words, but a question remains about headteachers' willingness to enter into a dialogue about 'race' with a white woman. During interviews, alongside pride and joy at children's achievements, distress, anger and frustration were expressed. In general, interviews were marked by frankness and openness, including criticism of whiteness in the academy. However, the ambivalence about mining one's personal identity to educate children might be attributable, in part, to headteachers' caution in discussing 'race' in education with a white woman. That relates to the lack of dialogue about 'race' in education (Tomlinson, 2019) but also to the timing of interviews in the midst of the national debate about Brexit and soon after an investigation into schools serving Muslim communities (Chapter 9).

Dominant discourses about education, race and social justice

Saeeda provided an enthusiastic and explicit account of learning about and deploying children's funds of knowledge in their education. However, hers was also an account of thwarted ambition in this regard (Fuller, 2018a). Saeeda faced the full force of institutional racism. White women senior leaders rejected her account on the basis of her personal interest, presumably as a British Pakistani Muslim woman. They were unprepared for a conversation about 'race' and education (Tomlinson, 2019). Having been thwarted in one school, Saeeda found space for an assets-informed, progressive and process-oriented approach to education in another despite the demands of a prescriptive and performative English national curriculum (Thomson and Hall, 2008) in the context of neoliberal education policy.

However, it was not only white leaders who rejected an assets-informed pedagogical approach. Annette provided a robust account of her rejection of children's funds of knowledge, identity and cultural wealth

> Well and we say to them, "Do not have a baby before the age of thirty", but that's to all of them, boys and girls. "You don't want to have a baby before you're thirty." Because when you say, "What age would you like to have a baby?", they say, "Twenty-one", and we say, "No. You're not going to be like your mothers, and if you were to ask your mothers whether they could do this again, they would tell you they would want to wait, because if you're going to become a doctor, you're not going to become a doctor till the age of twenty-six and then you need to go and have fun and go travelling and meet people and have different boyfriends and girlfriends and so on." So there is all of that. Learning how to change their speech. Teaching them how to walk with authority. Teaching them to be able to look up, "Good morning. Good afternoon. How are you?" We do lunches where the children sit round tables and we all talk together and we have a topic for conversation and they have to serve food to each other as if they're at the family dinner, and we do this deliberately so we can teach them, "You can cut your food and look at me and talk to me at the same time, because when you're in the City and you're [d]oing a bank deal or whatever it is, you need these soft skills to be able to succeed in life".
>
> (Annette)

Annette's challenge to the whiteness and maleness of political, academic and educational leadership can be read as a critical race perspective. But she adopted an assimilationist approach to leadership in education. She privileged knowledges associated with the dominant culture and identity and sought to empower children by educating them how to speak, eat, conduct sexual relations, plan families and move through white society by leaving their funds of knowledge, identity and cultural wealths behind. British history was an essential school subject, but Annette advocated a 'traditional' history curriculum rather than a critical postcolonial one (Arday, 2020)

> I'm saying teach them [Black children] British history and they'll do well. And they're [range of people in education and politics] saying, "No. You need to make it relevant to them. You need to teach them rap music because then they'll understand." And I'm saying, "No", and then they think, "How can you be wanting to teach them British history? That's really racist." So there's no point in talking to these people. […].
>
> KAY: But tell me why the British history is important?
>
> ANNETTE: Because they're British. […] Because if you don't know your British history, when you read the *Guardian* newspaper, you don't understand what it's saying (Annette).

A transnational heritage, educated parentage, elite university education, international travel and networking with politicians had convinced her that the language of power was the same everywhere. Annette's navigational capital was developed by acquiring the traditionally valued cultural capital, 'choosing *to* change' by complying with dominant discourses rather than choosing '*change* as a modus operandi, adapting, flexing, morphing, and moving fluidly within a given context or circumstance'

(original emphases) (Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012, p. 10) in efforts to 'change what counts as important knowledge' (Thomson and Hall, 2008, p. 89). Discourses of social justice were conflated with discourses of performativity; Annette's leadership approach was ideologically neoconservative (Fuller, 2018b).

If Saeeda represents one end of a spectrum and Annette another, in between there were headteachers whose accounts were difficult to interpret. Coleen and Nicola rejected the use of social capital to influence decision-making in favour of Asian or Black girls and women. It would be unfair for Coleen to breach admissions rules at the behest of parents. Nicola had a refined sense of social justice. She would not perpetuate the homosociability engaged by others

> I mean I think when you have those experiences, things like justice and equality become very important to you and they become very important to you both in terms of what you say and what other people say as well as the policies and practices. Because I think too much sometimes can be left to perhaps knowing the right person or knowing the right… […] and I think actually there should always be a fair and open access to everybody. Everybody should be able to, should they wish, be able to apply for particular jobs or for students to apply for particular roles or whatever it is. And I think even within my sort of staffing team, you know, as I've taken over now, I'm looking at anomalies and saying, "Well why is that person doing this? and that person…?" So I think certainly it does make you reflect much more on as a leader how the values that you say you have, how they actually work out on the ground and how they can then help other people to not feel that there is a sort of a barrier, but that actually you're taking those things away, and that's really important.
>
> (Nicola)

Coleen and Nicola addressed inequity in their organisations by rejecting practices that caused it. What appears to be ambivalence towards assets-informed pedagogical and leadership practices is actually insistence on fair practices. It is important not to make assumptions from these data about how committed headteachers were about leading with their lives (Dillard, 1995; Witherspoon and Taylor, 2010) or to make judgements about whether they should or should not do so. Resistance may be attributable to compliance with dominant and limiting discourses of equality (i.e. equal opportunities) and performativity that privileges academic over social outcomes in the English education system.

The burden of representation

Whilst the intention might be to revalorise cultural capitals, there is danger in unintentionally reifying colonialism by imposing a 'burden' of representation (Witherspoon and Taylor, 2010), by ghettoising and pigeon-holing educators and leaders of colour (Fuller, 2018a; Wilson et al., 2006), and by imposing a minority tax in expecting women of BGM heritages to do diversity work (Ahmed, 2009). Going the extra mile is problematic when it becomes an expectation. Many headteachers willingly took on the mantle, but they are not solely responsible for the education of

learners of diverse cultural heritages. In its original conception, funds-of-knowledge work was carried out so that teachers (of unknown heritages) could learn about Mexican and Yaqui home cultures to meet children where they were and take them forward in their learning. Educators and leaders who 'race' themselves as mainstream need to apply critical leadership (Fuller, 2012; Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012).

Implications for ELMA

There are several implications for researchers, policy-makers and practitioners.

First, this exploration contributes to a small body of scholarship that uses ACL to explain the way that educators and leaders draw on various cultural assets to work with learners and their assets. However, further critique and clarity are needed regarding ACL's theoretical underpinnings. There is a clear distinction between transformational and transformative leadership. Transformative leadership is concerned with transforming life chances to establish equitability rather than about organisational change per se (Shields, 2010). So too, feminists have long critiqued critical pedagogy (e.g. Darder et al., 2017; Luke and Gore, 1992). Including feminist pedagogy and the concept of parity of participation in the theorisation of ACL might further understanding of gendered relations in the leadership of learning in an inclusive and interdependent community that reinforces caring and reciprocal relationships and power-sharing and valorises multilingualism and multiple knowledges (Blackmore, 1989, 2016). There is certainly a need for further research, particularly in the UK, where 'race' and education policies and practices have long been inadequate preparation of an anti-racist postcolonial society.

Second, policy-makers need to recognise the value of multiple cultural assets in each of the learning, teaching and leading processes. Educators and leaders might be educated to lead in ways they believe are authentic, by bringing their whole selves into the education system for the greater good in creating an anti-racist society.

Finally, all practitioners must valorise children's funds of knowledge and cultural capitals in the learning process. They need to develop culturally responsive curricula that build on those knowledges to meet children's needs, desires and interests and to address their concerns. They should be supported to articulate how funds of identity inform their teaching and leadership to develop an open and healthy school climate conducive to learning.

Summary

This chapter explored the degree to which headteachers drew on their cultural assets in the application of critical leadership. Three complementary concepts were used to explain the abundance of knowledges, cultural wealth and funds of identity accessed to lead in education. Headteachers recognised children's funds of knowledge and valorised them to varying degrees. The variability in headteachers' willingness to mine their resources and invest them in children's development can be explained by their willingness (or not) to discuss the topic with a white scholar and by the responses of their colleagues, their engagement with discourses of social justice in education or

the degree to which they find embodiment of diversity and representation a joy or a burden.

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Part III

Gender-related issues in ELMA

7 Digital feminism

Introduction

A feature of fourth-wave feminism is its use of digital and social media to campaign for gender equality and gender justice (Chamberlain, 2017). In light of exponential growth in the use of social media by feminist activists (Baer, 2016) and educators (e.g. #Edutwitter) (Carpenter and Krutka, 2014), this chapter explores the use made of it by women in education to raise consciousness about unequal gender relations in educational leadership, management and administration (ELMA). It draws on the concepts of digital and hashtag feminism (Baer, 2016; Mann, 2014; Tuzcu, 2016). In particular, I focus on how a network of serving and aspiring women leaders in education used social media to their advantage, overcoming a male backlash to do so (Locke et al., 2018). I report findings from a research project that explored the development of the #WomenEd network in its first two years (Fuller and Berry, 2019) to demonstrate how social media facilitated valuable cross-phase, cross-sector, regional, national and international connections between women educators, leaders, students, consultants and volunteers in education. There remains a problem of exclusion for those who do not use social media, something the network seeks to address by finding ways to reach beyond it (Porritt and Featherstone, 2019). I explore whether or not women organising themselves around issues of gender equality and women's ways of leading self-identify their cause and themselves as feminist (Cochrane, 2013). In Chapter 2, I questioned whether research that focused on women and gender could be categorised as feminist research. Critical feminist theorisations of ELMA suggest that a deliberate, explicit and political project designed to reduce gender and other inequalities is necessary for research, and the activity on which it focuses, to be identified as feminist. So how far do #WomenEd network leaders and members identify as feminist and activist?

I take a fresh view of recent research investigating the first two years of the network (see, for example, Fuller and Berry, 2017a, 2019). Blogs written by #WomenEd members, available in the public domain, provide accounts of their engagement with #WomenEd from 2015 to the present (e.g. #WomenEd, n.d.). Over 600 blog posts were tagged with #WomenEd when the blogsite @Staffrm (n.d.) closed down in 2017 and blogging recommenced as a #WomenEd WordPress blogsite.

In print-based media, network members focus on leadership values, doing leadership differently and challenging the system as well as issues that affect women's career advancement such as transferring leadership skills across phases and specialisms,

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establishing flexible working practices, refining job applications, enhancing self-confidence and advocating for one another (Featherstone and Porritt, 2021; Porritt and Featherstone, 2019). Macro-level inequalities as cultural, economic and representative injustices such as the racism encountered by women identifying with Black and global majority heritages (Chapters 3 and 4), the gender pay gap and the limitations of gendering and stereotyping girls' and boys' experiences are discussed. Accounts from those working in state-funded and independent schools and in international settings and men's perspectives are included.

I begin by providing some contextual detail about #WomenEd and go on to outline a digital feminist perspective.

A network for women leaders

#WomenEd was established on social media as a network for serving and aspiring women leaders in education. The hashtag #WomenEd and Twitter handle @WomenEd were first used in 2015 to organise tweets (textual messages) and blog (web log) posts that focused on women's leadership in education (Tuzcu, 2016; Wilson, 2019). Within months, a face-to-face Unconference, where speakers were also delegates, was held in London. Over 200 women from across the UK attended the inaugural event that has been repeated annually in different regions, including online during the Covid-19 pandemic. Delegates typically worked in early years, primary, secondary, further, higher and adult education in state, independent (fee-paying) and international schools, colleges and universities. Some were school governors and volunteers in education; others were educational consultants and advisers. Regional networks in the UK were joined by networks in North America, Europe and Australia. At the time of writing in 2021, there are 40,300 followers on Twitter and 20 national networks, including, Malaysia and Singapore, and a regional network in the Middle East and North Africa.

Networking has long been valued as a way to break down barriers to women's leadership by providing opportunities for role modelling, mentoring and sponsorship (Coleman, 2011; McCarthy, 2004; Shakeshaft, 1987). Career coaching has increasingly been used as a form of career development and networks might be one way to source it (Coleman, 2011; Simkins et al., 2006). Belonging to women-only networks has instrumental and expressive benefits (Ibarra, 1993 cited in Coleman, 2010). However, networks for women leaders in education had been in decline in England prior to the growth of social media (Coleman, 2010). In an under-researched field, Porritt and Featherstone (2019) and Featherstone and Porritt (2021), along with the blogposts, provide valuable accounts of engagement with the #WomenEd network. Individual contributors provide personal perspectives on diverse topics ranging from the values that underpin the network and doing leadership differently to tackling an unfair system. Although recommendations had been made to use technology to mitigate feelings of isolation by providing 'e-mentoring programmes', the scale and pace of that development were not imagined (Fuller, 2009, p. 30).

Digital feminism

The apparent contradiction between digital feminists' use of a medium such as Twitter that is 'born in and yoked to the capitalist, neoliberal global system' (Zimmerman,

2017, p. 59) features large in recent literature. Baer (2016, p. 19) sees possibilities of 'redoing feminism for a neoliberal age' by focusing on contemporary issues and the precarity of feminism in the neoliberal context. Online protests re-launch collective feminist politics beyond self-styled individualism. Repeated patterns create collective voices that 'break with the individualistic logic of neoliberalism' (Scharff et al., 2016, p. 7). Similarly, Singh (2017, p. 2) sees digital feminism as 'a modality of resistance that operates with and through' neoliberal forms of governance.

Digital feminism is particularly beneficial in communities marginalised by other media. Hashtag activism draws on oral traditions that value wordplay and verbal engagement; these align with Black American culture (Mann, 2014). There is space to discuss the intersectional complexities of gender, 'race', class, and sexuality inequalities to disrupt dominant white, middle class, heterosexual discourses of individual self-actualisation (Scharff et al., 2016). Simultaneously, risks remain in the misappropriation of words and ideas leading to harassment, insults, or demands for explanation (Mann, 2014) and the co-option of intersectionality theory itself in ways that do not recognise 'race' (Smith-Prei and Stehle, 2017).

The hypervisibility associated with an online presence can lead to abuse regardless of whether a woman engages in a discussion about gender and feminism (Eckert, 2017; Schuster, 2013). Emma Watson's #HeForShe campaign resulted in threats to release nude photographs (Locke, Lawthom and Lyons, 2018). Campaigners have received rape and death threats that had life-changing effects (Cochrane, 2013). Megarry (2017) documents male surveillance practices online to reveal ways in which individual men monopolise discussions and male-designed algorithms determine what we see. Women behave in male-friendly ways 'even when they are attempting to challenge male power' (Megarry, 2017, p. 10). Arguably, men have shaped women's online activism.

A generational divide also leads to young women's online activism remaining invisible to older feminists or becoming the object of their criticism (Jackson, 2018; Schuster, 2013). Despite that, feminist digital activism is about self-expression, the development of a feminist discourse and a collective political voice (Jackson, 2018; Scharff et al., 2016). It responds to neoliberal societies (Singh, 2017) and resists dominant structures (Locke et al., 2018). It is anti-racist and debates intersectional complexities (Mann, 2014; Zimmerman, 2017) and links women's stories with broader narratives of inequality (Baer, 2016). The female body continues as a site for feminist activism in relation to 'sexual violence, reproductive justice, sex work, sex trafficking, genital cutting, cosmetic surgery, disability, and disordered eating' (Baer, 2016, p. 19). It is also concerned with public pedagogy that links the classroom to civic engagement (Elfman, 2017), raises consciousness and educates the next generation (Locke et al., 2018). Importantly, it crosses international and other borders (Scharff et al., 2016). There is no benefit in separating online and offline activism; they work in tandem 'web-to-street-back-to-web' (Zimmerman, 2017, p. 56).

Digital media also provides an opportunity for education activism (Oyler, 2017). Increasingly, educators use Twitter for professional development (Bloom, 2019; Carpenter and Krutka, 2014). #EduTwitter is a popular hashtag, although arguably postings are increasingly polarised as either traditional or progressive approaches to education (Bispham, 2018). Although Sachs's (2003) conceptualisation of activist

professionalism in an activist teaching profession was not developed in relation to digital media, educators, like digital feminists, are using digital media to resist neo-liberal market forces through advocacy (Oyler, 2017) and what might be seen as occupational activism (Cortese, 2015).

Teaching and acting as a role model for others were defined as activism by the LGBT community (Cortese, 2015). Activists might be seen as emphatics (those who emphatically and positively identify as activists in a variety of ways), demarcators (those who make distinctions between 'good'/acceptable and 'bad'/unacceptable activism) or reconcilers (those who redefine activism as less than the ideal type of the emphatics). Occupational activists are a sub-group of reconcilers along with newcomers and former leaders whose activism has waned over time (Cortese, 2015). Others disidentify with activism as 'identity…not!' (Freitas et al., 1997, p. 323).

The presentation of self, as activist and/or feminist or as educator and/or leader, in this digital space is framed here using Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical analogy of front- and backstage spaces, where the social interactions are either polished performances with 'varnish and veneer' (p. 218) or the 'dirty work' (p. 53) of preparation: casting, costume choice, learning and rehearsing dialogue, and taking direction. It is not new to think of leadership as performance (Peck et al., 2009). Analyses of interactions on Twitter and Facebook have drawn on Goffman's (1959) work (see, for example, Cook and Hasmath, 2014; Murthy, 2012), as has the theorisation of 'cyberself-ing' (see Robinson, 2007, p. 93).

The next section discusses the growth of the network and women's self-identification with feminism and activism.

#WomenEd front-of-stage: Growing a network

The blog site @Staffrm was designed as a social media space for a

> professional network for educators passionate about their work. A vibrant and friendly community where you can connect with the teachers who inspire you around the things that you're interested in.
>
> (@Staffrm, n.d.)

Here, alongside Twitter, #WomenEd evolved as a grassroots movement and network beginning with #WomenEd co-founder Helena Marsh's original blog 'What glass ceiling?'. Of 632 blogs tagged #WomenEd and posted to @Staffrm, 36 explicitly mention feminism or prompted comments about feminism. Two of those attracted large numbers of comments: Blog 4, by Jill Berry (co-researcher in this project), received 93 comments (including Jill's responses throughout) from 33 people, including two men; Blog 5, by #WomenEd co-founder Vivienne Porritt, received 84 comments from 42 people, including one man. The text of Blog 4 and its comments constitutes almost ten thousand words; Blog 5 and its comments almost four thousand. These blogs document the developing dialogue between women (and some men) about women's experiences of working and leading in education.

Lost leaders planning for action

Blog 4 asked why women were not leaders and why they were lost as leaders. Was it a question of choice: women's exercise of agency? Or had their experiences in an unequal society taught women to undervalue their abilities: women's experience of structural injustices? Comments touched on multilevel factors relating to individuals, organisations, the education system and wider society. Women wrote about their feelings and family commitments and about doing leadership, leadership qualities, and self-expression. They wrote about judgements made about their appearance, male-dominated senior leadership teams and changes to the education system, such as the demise of the Advanced Skills Teacher role that valued classroom teaching in the English education system. They wrote about identity constructions, how others saw them (including negative attitudes towards feminists in the workplace), their behaviours and work, and intersecting discriminations, including gender with 'race', ethnicity and age. In line with the blog's focus on exercising agency, they wrote about taking action in tackling discrimination when they saw it, their career desires (not always aspiring to formal or senior leadership roles), and career advancement through routes that meandered, stopped and re-started. Throughout, there weaves the suggestion and enthusiasm for a women's face-to-face event.

Blog 5 draws together ideas for the first event, including practical suggestions for timing, venue and possible speakers. It signposted #genderedcheese (a hashtag highlighting sexism in consumerism (Daulby, 2019)) for those interested in sexism and feminism. Themes to be explored resonated with the dialogue of Blog 4. Comments made clear that women of diverse heritages engaged (Choudry, 2019) and that men would be welcome and there had been further discussion via Twitter. The face-to-face activity was planned on social media.

Front-of-stage feminists and activists?

Twenty-six blogs referred explicitly to feminism (two written by a man); a further ten prompted comments that did so (one written by a man); of these, two blog posts referred to *and* prompted comments about feminism. This represents under 6% of #WomenEd blogs posted to @Staffrm. Blog posts and comments were spaces where, in public, women displayed attitudes towards feminism (ten blogs, five comments on blogs, including a man); self-identified/disidentified with feminism (eight blogs, two comments on blogs); identified others as feminist, such as family members and work colleagues (women and men) (four blogs, two comments on blogs); signposted readers to material about feminism, namely books, news items and research (four blogs, including one by the author, and four comments on blogs); used a range of referents, including historical eras, famous women and fictional characters in film and literature, such as a 1970s feminist revolution (three blogs); a definition of feminism as the 'feminism of friendship' attributed to Shami Chakrabarti and Doreen Lawrence (one blog) and as humanism (two blogs, one comment on blogs (man)); and referred to teaching and learning about feminism (two blogs, one comment on blogs).

Just two women referred to activism in blog posts. One blog, by Charmaine Roche former #WomenEd regional leader, referred to the civil rights activism of the

writer's forebears who 'fought to establish rights upon which I, my children and my grandchild stand with dignity and agency' (Blog 330). Another signposted activist Caroline Criado-Perez's (2015) account of speaking, leading, advocating and choosing like a woman.

A male backlash

There is tension in exchanges between blog writers and commenters (women and men) in two blogs. Blog 423, written by a white woman, focuses on the intersection of 'race', gender and senior leadership team membership. A man, who identified with a Black and global majority heritage, contended that it was an example of (white) privilege adding feminism equated with equality. Blog 133 was written by a white man who expected his blog to be misunderstood and misinterpreted. Disparagingly referring to blogs about a recent event, he nevertheless asked how he might support #WomenEd. Various answers ensued; one white woman's advice was not to interpret women's ways of doing things necessarily as feminist action. His question was likened to a male ruse to resist stacking the dishwasher (in relation to the men in her family). A protracted exchange between blog writer and another white woman explained the aims of #WomenEd. Eventually, he accused one woman of being aggressive, which she denied. Other men asked why #WomenEd had to justify their existence when other grassroots education networks did not, described the positive experience of presenting at #WomenEd, and said how approachable and welcoming #WomenEd were. Ultimately, the positive comments by men outweighed the negative to end the thread of comments.

This illustrates the nature of a male backlash in social media spaces. It demonstrates men's defence of women in speaking *for* them. In interviews, both #WomenEd leaders and male supporters (Chapter 8) described the male backlash early in the network's development. That and the measures taken deserve closer attention.

#WomenEd backstage: Responding to the backlash

Using social media was not without danger. Non-users were excluded, dialogue took place in a 'Twitter bubble' (co-founder C) or 'echo chamber' (regional leader D), communication from a keyboard meant that things were said but not defended face-to-face, language was used that could be understood or interpreted differently by different communities (Mann, 2014), and endorsement of messages could be uncritical and complex issues reduced to soundbites or mantras. Some of that was revealed in blogs outlined above. Collectively, #WomenEd leaders were aware that these dangers worked against them.

There were also backlashes that resonated with Blog 133 and related comments:

> In that first summer we got a lot of criticism and a lot of negativity. A lot of men didn't understand why we even wanted to exist and even some women couldn't identify with it.
>
> (co-founder B)

Semi-abusive tweets and comments were posted by

> too many people on those spaces who actually are looking for an argument a lot of the time, and also because actually we are all authentic. Who you see on Twitter, who you read a blog from, is who you actually meet in person and a lot of the people that are criticising us aren't authentic. They hide behind their laptop. They actually won't talk to you when you see them in person. I think it's that kind of bravado or people presenting themselves as something, and when they show up, actually they're something quite different.
>
> (co-founder B)

An image of two women fighting had been posted. It resonated with the female 'cat-fight' trope used as a negative image of feminism (Loke et al., 2017):

> I keep going back to that image that bloody [name of man] tweeted out the day of the first Unconference and the picture of the women having like the busty fights and it's like, "Enjoy #WomenEd ladies?", and I just think I am absolutely never going to allow that to happen. Even if it means that, you know, I have to compromise and everybody else has to compromise. "We're not going to turn into some sort of bitch-fest because you're expecting it to happen", and I think there are a lot of people expecting it to happen.
>
> (co-founder D)

Nevertheless, the male backlash temporarily silenced one woman:

> I hadn't blogged for ages because I'd had sort of criticisms from some of the male voices again [laughs] on Twitter. And you do listen to these voices whether you want to or not.
>
> (co-founder E)

Positive responses to the male backlash were the articulation of a common purpose, the resistance to destructive online dialogue, and collaboration and coaching responses in an alternative social media space; Microsoft set up a Yammer extranet for #WomenEd. As a defence m`echanism against blogs and comments described, #WomenEd leaders developed a sense of why they existed

> …we're not an institution. It wasn't like we were trying to appoint people or we were trying to gather people in a building to all be on the same page. It was really, really organic. A lot of us couldn't articulate what it was in the beginning that drew us all to it, and then as things began to grow and we began to unpick things, there were common themes, common strands, common motifs that were coming up, and we just literally started brainstorming. I suppose the biggest thing was we were under quite a lot of attack as well […]. We had to very quickly really drill down to, "Who are we? What do we stand for? What is our why?", because we needed to be able to articulate it. Almost in a defence

> mechanism actually we needed a strong common purpose that we could all articulate. It became that galvanising force that I think if you asked half of our 9,000 [at the time of the interview] followers on Twitter, they'd be able to tell you the core eight Cs [#WomenEd values - clarity, communication, connection, confidence, collaboration, community, challenge and change] [or] they'd probably be able to tell you four or five of them.
>
> (co-founder B)

Public arguments were resisted

> I don't go on Twitter to have arguments […] I just politely said. "I've got a life. I've got a full-on job. I don't come on here to have arguments. If you don't like what I'm saying please block me. Please don't engage with me".
>
> (co-founder B)

> [I want] far more effectively to spend my time channelling into that [activity with another educational organisation] than having arguments with [name of man] or whoever else on Twitter about women slapping each other.
>
> (co-founder E)

Collectively, women retreated from Twitter into the closed social media space of Yammer to support one another

> I think in the beginning there was a lot of people trying to shut down the voices, but actually that has empowered us further. And it was really interesting watching people being quite exposed on Twitter, under attack, retracting into Yammer, having conversations, coaching, composing their responses, supporting one another, helping to articulate it better or stronger, then going back out in a composed way. It wasn't like a strategy we chose to do. We were kind of like guardian angels for others on the social media platforms. We didn't want more women to be pushed off Twitter and actually I think the haters, if we use that expression, they now can see we're a bit of a force to be reckoned with.
>
> (co-founder B)

The negativity dissipated and the network was recognised by the teaching unions, the Department for Education and the Chartered College of Teaching

> I think they've realised that actually we've been a bit of a slow-burner but we've got the determination. We've got the quiet determination that, "Actually we won't be drawn into arguments with you but we are going to stand our ground". I think the strength of the collective voice and knowing that there is a community that has your back has been really powerful and I think one of the biggest telling points for me was seeing some of the big male tweeters and bloggers advocating for us as well, because I think that sent a different kind of message out there as well. That it's not a group of women whinging about women.

> Actually it's about a group of educators and leaders talking about how to affect (sic) change for the better of all of us.
>
> (co-founder B)

This network challenged the male monopoly of #EduTwitter to demonstrate that coexistence was possible. It was about choice but not competition. It also engaged with women detractors arguing that this network was unnecessary in a post-feminist era or those policing the definition of feminism

> it took me quite a while after reading her blog because I was like, "Oh God! Like am I the one who's making this whole organisation a farce?" Even though I was getting other people saying, "Oh my God. I find you inspiring".
>
> (co-founder E)

#WomenEd offstage: identifying as activists and feminists (or not)

Offstage, in interviews, #WomenEd leaders did not all necessarily construct the activity described above or themselves as feminist or activist. Nineteen #WomenEd leaders (co-founders and regional leaders) were asked about their identification with activism and feminism. Six discussed feminism in the public domain. They wrote blogs (Blogs 2, 5, 10, 33, 61, 190, 318, 425, 449 and 563), prompted further comments about feminism (Blogs 2, 4, 33 and 160) or made comments about feminism in response to blogs by others (Blogs 34, 505 and 509).

In 18 further interviews with #WomenEd members about discrimination, five spoke without prompting about feminism. All 18 described types of occupational activism in response to experiences and witnessed accounts of discrimination, although not all had enacted it.

Identifying as activist

Using Cortese's (2015) categories of activism, #WomenEd leaders variously identified with activism as emphatics (wholly positive about identifying as an activist) (six women), demarcators (who rejected specific emotions and behaviours such as anger, attending protests, violence and terrorism) (seven women) or reconcilers (newly thinking of themselves as an activist or identifying as a 'quiet' activist with a small 'a') (co-founder C) (two women). Four disidentified as 'identity… Not!' (Freitas et al., 1997, p. 323). However, one of the last recognised that others might identify her as an activist: 'I'm not an intentional one' (co-founder B). Those who did not identify as activists nevertheless took action:

> Activist? No, but I think if you asked anybody else, they'd say, "Oh my God. If she thinks something's wrong, she will do something about it." Morally wrong.
>
> (co-founder F)

Emphatics embraced activism in their writing, scholarship and advocacy online. It was broader than single-issue pressure groups and required embodiment, not just armchair activism:

> you have to wear it. I think you have to embody it. […] Armchair [activism] in the sense that you don't need to leave the house I guess, although I think you'd benefit more if you did, but armchair in the sense of advice without action. I don't know that that's the same because I think what #WomenEd has taught me is that it is about putting yourself on the line. It is about the perceived risk. That's where the learning is. That's where the prize is.
>
> (regional leader F)

Activism took place at events, in the workplace and in classrooms. Paid work was activist in committing to improving educational opportunities for children as well as career opportunities for women and marginalised groups. Workplace activism was necessary as 'there is no change [in education] that will come about without a bit of activism' (regional leader C). Activism was speaking up about education and the profession; for example: 'you are doing and saying and writing things to help bring about social change or professional change' (education consultant A). #WomenEd was 'grassroots activism' in the profession (co-founder G) and enabled activism:

> If it's fighting a fight, which I sort of think it is, it's not leading the fight. It's enabling people to fight for themselves if they want to.
>
> (regional leader E)

Individual acts of resistance in relation to discrimination can be seen as activism, particularly among marginalised communities (Davis, 2018). Resistance meant challenging individuals directly, reporting incidents, seeking and acting on union advice, changing their or others' practice and/or moving on (Fuller, 2022).

Speaking up and speaking back

Women spoke up about sex and 'race' discrimination encountered in the following: recruitment, selection and promotion processes; employment practices, namely inadequate risk assessment for working during pregnancy and requirements to work outside the job description or contracted hours (or both); everyday communication with colleagues, including name calling, 'banter' and invasive questioning about private lives; and student attitudes to women in particular roles (e.g. science, technology, engineering and mathematics education). Some responses were spontaneous

> I kind of gave him a bit of a mouthful […]. He'd said that he was very impressed and that he would offer me the job and I said I wouldn't work at the school at all, absolutely not. But it's those sorts of nuances, those kinds of references [to my ethnicity] that makes you think that there are opportunities that perhaps you aren't given because of your background or possibly because you are a certain way. In that situation it was because of my ethnicity, you know, he wasn't talking about the schools that I'd come from. He was specifically talking about, given the catchment of the children there [predominantly white population] (senior leader A).
>
> (adapted from Fuller and Berry, 2019, p. 64)

Alternatively, they took time to 'challenge the small things in a compassionate way' (middle leader B), 'pick my battles' (system leader A), 'fight my battle' (senior leader D) and respond with humour and/or 'push quite hard to get the relationship back on to a professional level' (headteacher B) (Fuller and Berry, 2019, pp. 64–69). Six considered taking advice from their union.

Changing practice

Women changed the way they spoke, namely their accent or behaviour in meetings

> I have adjusted my behaviour […] it's just the whole fact that women in a meeting, you know, they aren't heard. They have to speak up and I am quite aggressive. […] But I'm not afraid to speak up and I do and I realise I have to. But on the other hand, I have also adapted a very deferential style with some of my male colleagues where instead of saying, "Here's my idea", it's like, "Well what do you think about doing this? I've been thinking about this. What's your opinion?", and I've had to do that a lot and I think I was quite successful in doing what I needed to do and what I wanted to do because I used that approach, which basically turned around to make them think it's their idea […] And I still resent having to do that (senior leader in Administrative, Professional, Managerial and support B.)
>
> (adapted from Fuller and Berry, 2019, p. 49)

They were also changing the culture of their institutions and organisations by encouraging others to speak up, proposing and implementing structural change and proactively challenging an ingrained sexist culture. Networking ensured that 'a different voice [was brought] to the table' (headteacher B) that was

> Questioning processes. Questioning traditions in that way without it being aggressive. Doing it through what is quality leadership? What do we need to be modelling for our students coming through and our colleagues? From that perspective (headteacher B).
>
> (adapted from Fuller and Berry, 2019, p. 50)

Inclusion on interview panels was tokenistic but also part of a deliberate shift to improve diversity in the workplace. In line with legislation, they

> actively look[ed] for diversity within our applicants. So we're looking for people who can bring something in addition to the qualifications and the background that we obviously expect from the teaching point of view.
>
> (headteacher B)

Moving on

A third described discriminatory practices in current workplaces; two-thirds had moved to work in or create more equitable organisations or were self-employed. Five

resigned in response to discrimination: 'the only thing to do would be to move on and move out' (education consultant B) (Yusuf, 2021). As a result, she received 'more positive feedback in that two years than […] in the previous six' (education consultant B).

Activists did not necessarily identify as feminist and vice versa, although the majority identified with each in similar ways.

Identifying as feminist

Seventeen #WomenEd leaders identified as feminists; two with aspects of feminism although they rejected the label. They were variously wholly committed to feminism, subverted stereotypes in their embodiment of feminism by, for example, adopting a 'feminine' appearance such as wearing make-up and high heels, or were newly conscious, tentative, reluctant or resistant of the label (Fuller and Berry, 2017b). Framed using Cortese's (2015) types of activist, women's self-identification with feminism demonstrated that they were emphatics (wholly positive about identifying as a feminist, accepting the term even if used disparagingly against them, resonating with a comment on Blog 4) (nine women), reconcilers (tentatively or reluctantly reconciling a new identity as a feminist or definitions to ensure a broad appeal to younger women or men or both) (five women) or demarcators (clear what sort of behaviours they associated with their definition of feminism, including non-traditional ones) (three women), and two were disidentifiers who aligned themselves with advocacy for social justice.

Feminism was about equality, equity and intersectionality. Nine used a liberal feminist discourse of equality with men regarding equal opportunities and the gender pay gap. They were concerned with economic, cultural and representative injustices. The discourse of equity centred on unfair practices relating to parental leave, part-time work, flexible working and access to leadership roles. One woman framed intersectional discrimination as the racial aggression of a (white male) course co-delegate's startled response as if to say, 'Oh look. You're brown. You've got breasts' (regional leader F) (Mann, 2014; Zimmerman, 2017). Alternative interpretations of feminism from 'different camps and different associations' (co-founder A) meant that there were generational differences with women distancing themselves from second-wave feminism. Influences were feminist literary theory, critical perspectives on gendered language, the 1990s Spice Girls 'girl power' (Chapter 5), the film *Suffragette*, and politicisation in challenging times framed as the rise of the far right.

Some were disconcerted by the concept and label of feminism. Negative connotations included stereotypes associated with anti-sociability, vehemence or aggression; victimhood, weakness, or vulnerability; and pigeon-holing women with strong voices as 'bra-burning lunatic[s]' (regional leader K). It was a burden, a 'cross to bear' (regional leader C), toxic, off-putting, and fraught with potential backlash. It assumed negative attitudes towards men implying women asserted themselves above them. The 'fem' root of the word was exclusive even if it conceptualised gender equality and gender justice. Despite this, women emphatically self-identified as feminist.

Some thought that younger women had not experienced sexism or were simply unaware of sex discrimination because they had excelled academically. One claimed that she had not experienced sex discrimination but anticipated that she might in the future. Nevertheless, there were contemporary issues for girls, increasingly

objectified by the perpetual gaze and peer pressure of social media, celebrity culture, and the proliferation of pornography (Chapter 5). This was about the female body (Baer, 2016). One woman saw societal regression as the reason for 'a heavier dose of feminism [being] much needed' (co-founder A), as was a commitment to girls' education and leadership development.

Below I discuss women's improvised ensemble work moving from back- to front- to backstage, their exits offstage and entrances on a new stage, and their use of silence and absence.

An improvised movement

Backstage to front-of-stage

Depending on profile and privacy settings, social media enabled public dialogue by and about women and gender in educational leadership; it raised consciousness among a new generation (Elfman, 2017). #WomenEd members brought conversations that usually take place backstage to front-of-stage, to a very public arena once they were broadcast and re-embedded in multiple Twitter users' links (Murthy, 2012). These were alternately prosaic, practical and philosophical. Discussions referred to domestic worlds, families, emotions, capacity and aspiration to achieve leadership, work dress codes, criticisms of workplace and the education system, and discussions about society's perpetuation of gender inequalities. The 'dirty work' of leadership preparation as coaching, mentoring and continuing professional development was discussed openly (Goffman, 1959, p. 53). Event planning, publicity and evaluation took place online. Sharing a set of values to underpin educational leadership deliberately resisted a values-free approach to educational leadership that came with the marketisation, managerialism and performativity that prevail in education (Fuller, 2019; Oyler, 2017). They used digital media, including the corporate support of Microsoft, to take on gender inequalities as they played out in educational settings in neoliberal times (Baer, 2016; Scharff et al., 2016; Singh, 2017; Zimmerman, 2017).

However, women rarely discussed feminism in the public domain. Some #WomenEd leaders wrote about feminism in the same way they identified with it offstage in interviews; others did not. The blogs reveal the same range of self-identifications, including disidentification with feminism. Cultural heritage influenced this in a number of ways. First, for some, in the UK, Canada and the US, feminist discourse was common among their parents, partners and/or work colleagues; their commitment to feminism was long-standing, having stretched back to youth and young women's activism at university. Awareness of feminism through history, in film and literature, as well as the study and teaching of feminist theory were writ large. They embodied it and it was accepted (or not) in their workplaces.

Second, there are national differences. Disproportionately, Canadian #WomenEd members discussed or prompted discussion of feminism in blog posts. One woman described the in-country cultural differences between the enactment of feminism in French- and English-speaking Canada. Those in Francophone institutions were more likely to identify as feminist and were more aware of the impact of minoritised identities

> Anglophones come from a British background and Francophones not, of course, but more and more I think as Francophones, we're way more English than France let's say, and I don't mean necessarily the language we speak. We speak French but we take on a lot of the cultural nuances of Anglophones. […] If you look at Québec and Francophone [province], I mean here we're more understated and women are less [flamboyant] and we're very… more conservative, whereas in Québec women are like very… Like feminism is way bigger in Québec than in [province], but I think some of that does end up bleeding into our culture cue. You know what I mean? So I think as Francophones, we might be less feminist than Québec but we're more feminist than Anglophone [province].
>
> (senior leader D)

Third, the two women who disidentified with feminism in interviews identified with Black and global majority heritages. With its abiding focus on gender, feminism may still inadequately conceptualise the intersecting oppressions faced by women of colour; alternatively, feminism may still be associated with whiteness. One did not need another burden; the other preferred to advocate for a broader sense of social justice.

Finally, it should be remembered that feminism and peaceful activism remain dangerous in some parts of the world. There are very good reasons why some women do not speak about feminism in public; it would be facile to suggest that not using the language of feminism was not doing work for gender justice (Jackson, 2018; Schuster, 2013) (Chapter 4).

Going backstage, offstage and taking to a different stage: silence and absence

The openness described above deliberately presented a sense of self as authentic rather than a polished performance that masked a vulnerable reality (Goffman, 1959). It left women open to criticism by men who either disliked their taking social media space or the way women talked. They were criticised for speaking a language that needed de-coding (a blog image showed the Enigma machine) and for re-appropriating talk about appearance and clothing, specifically shoes such as red high heels and Dr Martens boots (Locke et al., 2018). The response was to move backstage to restore, realign and rehearse in a closed social media space (Goffman, 1959) or offstage by absenting themselves altogether to do something on a different stage.

Though not deliberately planned, their absence enhanced their re-entrance. They were better prepared and stronger and more able to articulate their purpose. Silence was used to regain control. It is important to understand these women's departures from an argument as deliberate; they used their silence and absence as forms of resistance (Fuller, 2019). Effectively, it left men arguing the women's case. This interpretation does not assume that men control women's online participation or that their male-friendliness indicates weak commitment to challenging male power (Megarry, 2017). Women's deliberate disengagement with destructive and negative dialogue empowered them to shut down the discussion and re-open it on their own terms.

A clear focus on the experience of intersecting inequalities and an expressed desire for inclusivity resulted in #BAMEed, a similar network for Black, Asian and

minority ethnic educators and leaders (see #BAMEed, n.d.) (Scharff et al., 2016; Zimmerman, 2017). There was evidence here of risk and error in the expression of 'race'-related observations and arguments (Mann, 2014) that may also have led to this development. There was an opportunity to take to a different stage, just as women took to different stages by resigning and moving on from workplaces where they experienced discrimination. There were times to fight battles, times to retreat and times to move beyond. Women exercised agency by judging when to do which.

Implications for ELMA

There are implications for ELMA with respect to research, policy-making and practice.

First, there is a rich seam for scholarship. Feminist activism in ELMA is under-researched, as is the relationship between ELMA and social media. This research demonstrates women's clear identification with a feminist and political agenda in education and employment; there is feminist leadership praxis. #WomenEd was conceived on social media. The network's growth and reach were expedited by it. Effectively, social media provided a catalyst for the affective temporality, namely the combination of anger and hope felt by women at a particular moment that chimed with wider discourses of everyday sexism, misogyny and racism (Chamberlain, 2017). Regardless of whether participants identified as feminist and activist, they were concerned with matters of social justice. There is evidence of political engagement among women as educators and leaders. Grassroots movements have the power to develop a counter-discourse to the dominant leadership discourse in education.

Second, there are implications for policy-makers in the benefits of social media–enabled boundary crossing. English education policy has resulted in fragmentation, marketisation and competition through the re-imagination of schools as quasi-businesses (Fuller, 2019). Some participants had been discouraged from discussing education beyond their own organisations. By contrast, #WomenEd facilitated connections between people regardless of the institutions, organisations, phases, sectors, regions and countries in which they worked (Scharff et al., 2016). It reduced hierarchies in enabling, for example, newly qualified teachers to connect with chief executive officers or academics (or both) to produce horizontal relationships. Connections were direct and quick, reducing feelings of isolation that many found in their institutions, wider organisations and regions. Both expressive and instrumental functions of the network were served. As a means of consciousness-raising, it enabled women to share accounts of discrimination and everyday sexism they encountered but it also provided solutions and opportunities to celebrate joy in the teaching profession and its leadership. Overall, the message and values were positive. Members engaged in thought-provoking dialogue with opportunities to share, challenge and support one another and to amplify each other's voices. It was inclusive; whoever wanted to join in could. Women and other marginalised groups found ways to speak up and speak out about what they know is important about the education of children, young people and adults in learning. Policy-makers need to take seriously what they say to build consensus about educational improvement.

Third, social media activity worked alongside face-to-face events. Online and offline activity became intertwined with the organisation, publicity and evaluation

of events taking place through social media. #WomenEd members have built personal and professional learning communities to take control of their own development. The combination of online and face-to-face communication has deepened relationships to create an increasingly safe community. It is clear that individuals, institutions and the education system could make greater use of social media as a means of connecting with those who in the past been have out of reach because of geographical distance or individual circumstances or otherwise miss the means of joining the educational debate.

Summary

This chapter foregrounded women's relationships with social media, an important issue within fourth-wave feminism. A digital feminist perspective, alongside Goffman's (1959) theorisation of the presentation of self, enabled analysis of the way members of the #WomenEd network resisted the male dominance of both social media and ELMA in the choices they made about when and how to engage. It also enabled analysis of whether and when they identified as feminists and activists in education. There is much evidence of the strategic use of social media, strategic engagement with men and individual choice about how to frame debates and activism about gender justice. There is also evidence of engagement with a range of feminist discourses: of equality, equity and intersectionality that demonstrate how broad a grassroots movement that focuses on gender justice in ELMA needs to be in the twenty-first century.

In the chapter that follows, I explore the inclusivity of #WomenEd further by focusing on the engagement of men with the network.

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8 Men and pro-feminism

Introduction

A series of high-profile cases of misogynist behaviours and sex crimes against women led to the #MeToo campaign against sexual harassment and abuse, such as Donald Trump's comments about women (Jacobs, Siddiqui and Bixby, 2016) and Bill Cosby's and Harvey Weinstein's arrests and subsequent convictions in 2018 and 2020 respectively (Bill Cosby's conviction was overturned on a technicality in 2021). Subsequently, anti-feminist hostility and trolling resonated with responses to the #WomenEd and #HeForShe social media campaigns described in the previous chapter (Mendes et al., 2018). There are also reports of high-profile men's feminism such as Justin Trudeau 'I'll keep saying I'm a feminist' (BBC, 2016), Wade A. Davis II (2016) on why more Black men should be feminists and Andy Murray's unapologetic feminism (Steinberg, 2019). In the UK, David Cameron (former prime minister) refused to wear a T-shirt that declared 'This is what a feminist looks like' whilst Ed Miliband (former leader of the opposition), Nick Clegg (former deputy prime minister) and actor Benedict Cumberbatch did (Halliday and Cresci, 2014). Boris Johnson's credentials as a self-proclaimed feminist have been challenged (Devlin, 2019), although he is supported by feminist and anti-female genital mutilation campaigner Nimko Ali (Sturges, 2019).

Meanwhile, corporate capitalism uses socially responsible or 'woke' culture to market men's products. Gillette's anti-toxic masculinity advertisement prompted praise, criticism and abuse (Topping, Lyons and Weaver, 2019). Their shaving products (women's razors are more expensive than men's) are produced by a company that needs to improve women's representation on the executive and directorial board (Kingston, 2019). Watson (2020, p. 241) argues that 'performative wokeness' is prolific in education marketing and responses to the murder of George Floyd and Black Lives Matter in the US; that is, the language of social justice is invoked without embedding it in school life.

Undoubtedly, men have long engaged positively with women's rights. De Beauvoir (2009/1949) cites philosophers Montaigne (sixteenth century), Diderot (eighteenth century) and John Stuart Mill (nineteenth century), the last of whom called for women's suffrage in the UK. But they are exceptions (see Kimmel, 1987 for an account of men's responses to first-wave feminism in the US). Some men have identified as pro-/profeminist since the women's liberation movement during the second wave of

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feminism; others engage in anti-sexist activism and advocate and agitate for gender justice but do not necessarily adopt the label (Goldrick-Jones, 2001). With respect to educational leadership, management and administration (ELMA), there remains very little research about men's engagement with feminisms (see, for example, Lingard and Douglas, 1999) or research that draws explicitly on feminist or gender theoretical perspectives about educational leaders as men (e.g. Courtney, 2014; Fuller, 2013, 2018; Mac An Ghaill, 1994). This is despite Hall's (1999) acknowledgement that men were equally capable as women of enacting feminist leadership focused on social justice.

Following on from an account of a backlash against #WomenEd (Chapter 7), this chapter aims to explore men's positive engagement with the movement for serving and aspiring women leaders in education and women's responses to men's presence. The following questions will be addressed: If they do, how do men who follow #WomenEd construct their pro-feminist identities? How do women respond to their engagement? How useful is a binary approach to considering gender inequalities? I begin by reviewing a selection of literature about men's identifications with feminism followed by a review of ELMA literature. I describe the men who responded to the #WomenEd survey and present findings about their identification (or not) with feminism and about women's responses to their engagement with #WomenEd. Finally, there is evidence of women's deliberate friendliness towards men and consciousness-raising about feminism on- and offline accompanied by action at individual and institutional levels. There is also male wariness of identifying as 'pro-feminist'. Spivak's (1993, Loc. 54) conceptualisation of 'a strategic use of essentialism', subsequent emphasis on agency and reinforcement of the 'strategic' frame a discussion of the usefulness of binaries and essentialist gender constructions in theorising about and undertaking activism for gender justice. Finally, men's engagement is framed as a strategic inclusionary alliance.

What's in a label?

There is much discussion of 'The Man Question' in feminism, including whether 'men' identify as feminist, profeminist, pro-feminist (with a hyphen), anti-sexist or progressive (Digby, 1998; Hebert, 2007; Holmgren and Hearn, 2009; Pease, 2002). From a 'woman's' perspective, Harding (1998, p. 192) questions whether it is appropriate to name someone as 'feminist' when *they* do not and recognises 'real concerns both women and many men have about co-optation, paternalism, appropriation, infiltration and the like that provoke such skepticism toward putative feminist men'. In the main, 'profeminist' and 'pro-feminist' refer to men and 'feminist' to women (James, 1998; Weaver-Hightower and Skelton, 2013). Brod (1998, p. 208) distinguishes between profeminism and pro-feminism (with a hyphen): profeminism is a commitment to eliminating patriarchy as well as 'the developing feminist politics of, by and for men', and pro-feminism equates with anti-sexism for men who recognise 'feminism to be essentially of, by, and for women' (p. 207) (also Goldrick-Jones, 2001). Following Weaver-Hightower and Skelton (2013) and Lingard and Douglas (1999), I use pro-feminism (with a hyphen) in the discussion of men's engagement with and support for feminisms in ELMA (Fuller, 2013, 2018) rather than profeminism as a theorisation of men and masculinity.

Among women scholars, Harding (1998) imagines the (im)possibilities of men's engagement in particular feminist theorisations, namely liberal, Marxist, radical, poststructural, queer, multicultural and global feminisms (also Lingard and Douglas, 1999). James (1998) expresses suspicion about the interest convergence of coalitions in identity politics, namely the resulting disappearance of Black women. Gardiner (1998) discusses the possibilities of shared parenting and consequences for society.

Goldrick-Jones (2001) charts the history of men's profeminist activism in the UK and US that 'steer[s] a course between defeatist pessimism and fatuous optimism' (Segal, 2007, p. xxxvi). She sees transformative possibility, not paralysis, as profeminist groups encountered crises similar to those of feminist movements, such as political schisms, the so-called 'sex wars' of the 1980s, and charges of exclusionary practice with respect to 'race', class, diverse and minoritised sexualities and genders (Chapters 3 and 5). She concludes that profeminist ideas should be integrated into daily life

> Any that nurture dialogue and critical self-reflection about gender issues; encourage men and boys to talk and think about how feminism can benefit them; recognize and respect differences among men's experiences and perspectives; encourage men to listen to and learn from women, other men, and children; maintain men's levels of energy and excitement about profeminist work; acknowledge men's role in perpetrating sexism but move beyond guilt toward action; and support the practical, everyday work women do, moving us all a few steps closer toward equality.
>
> (Goldrick-Jones, 2001, p. 336)

Kahane (1998) is sceptical of men's inclination and ability to undertake the critical self-reflection and 'political struggle it takes to gain a feminist (or, in some formulations, women's) standpoint' (Harding, 1998, p. 185). Harding (1998, p. 185) points out

> [a] standpoint is not a perspective; it does not just flow spontaneously from the conditions of women's existence. It has to be wrestled out against the hegemonic dominant ideologies that structure the practices of daily life as well as dominant forms of belief, and that thus hide the very possibility of the kind of understanding that thinking from women's lives can generate.

The separatist tendencies of second-wave feminisms were thought 'eminently sensible and desirable' and whilst not all men oppress all women and there may be optimism for dialogue between women and men as gender traitors, the desire and need by some for women-only spaces remain (Bartky, 1998, p. xi).

Leaders in gender and education

Gender scholars, who identify as men or were assigned male at birth, have theorised from women's lives and personally navigated women-only spaces carefully (e.g. Mills, 2013), extending the second-wave feminist slogan 'the personal is political' to articulate simultaneity in 'the personal *is* work *is* political *is* theoretical' (Hearn, 2008, p. 241) (added emphases) (also Mac An Ghaill, 2013, on the simultaneity of social categories). These four perspectives

(personal, work, political and theoretical) provide a conceptual frame for thinking about men's engagement with feminism and identification as feminist/pro-feminist leaders in gender and education identified as such by Weaver-Hightower and Skelton (2013).

The personal

Gender scholars think from women's lives to write their various 'selves' into intellectual self-portraits. Connell (2013) recounts her great-grandmother's migration story. Lingard (2013) remarks on his aunt's thwarted career, his mother's concern for equal pay, his growing up in a female-dominated household and daily reminder 'of the importance of feminisms and pro-feminisms to frame our everyday, to work politically in the quotidian, as do the many, many teachers and principals who manage the emotional labour necessary to work in schools located in disadvantaged communities' as well as 'the ongoing need to constitute a broader politics aimed at structural change on the various scales of a contemporary politics' (p. 143). Mills (2013) describes careful navigation of women's spaces informed by his mother's feminist, lesbian and peace activism. Sadker (2013) describes his sudden awakening to sexism when his wife, Myra, one of the first scholars to write about sexism (see Frazier and Sadker, 1973), threw a bucket of water over him.

There is an intimate and enduring commitment to gender justice in the way that lived realities of multiple masculinities, interacting with fluid and diverse sexualities, gender presentations, social class, race, ethnicity, and family relations and histories, intersect with scholarship and teaching about gender, pro-feminist activism, and feminist and gender theorisations (e.g. Connell, 2013; Hearn, 2008; Lingard, 2013; Martino, 2013; Mills, 2013; Sadker, 2013).

The work

Professional identities in teaching and scholarship were informed by biographies, feminist scholarship and theorisation. Scholarship focused on women and men as teachers (Connell, 2013), girls' and boys' education and identities (Lingard, 2013; Mac An Ghaill, 2013; Martino, 2013; Mills, 2013), the hidden sexism in classrooms (Sadker, 2013) and the gendered nature of the education system and state politics (Lingard, 2013; Lingard and Douglas, 1999). It was informed by collaborations with feminist and gender scholars as work colleagues and co-researchers (Connell, 2013; Lingard, 2013; Mac An Ghaill, 2013; Martino, 2013; Mills, 2013; Sadker, 2013), all highly influential women (Keamy, 2008). Scholarship and critical pedagogy were inherently political in focusing on improving social justice in education and in employment in education (Connell, 2013; Lingard, 2013; Mac An Ghaill, 2013; Martino, 2013; Mills, 2013; Sadker, 2013). In turn, teaching informed further understanding of gender relations (Lingard, 2013; Mac An Ghaill, 2013; Martino, 2013).

The political

The ebbs and flows of progressive and feminist politics, followed by the backlash of masculinist state politics (particularly in Australia), provide the backdrop for accounts of anti-sexist and other forms of political activism (Connell, 2013; Lingard,

2013; Mac An Ghaill, 2013; Martino, 2013; Mills, 2013; Sadker, 2013). Calling for a renewed politics of collaboration, Lingard (2013, p. 142) seeks

> a new social imaginary to drive a new, more collective progressive politics in the context of globalization. Such a politics would work with and across Nancy Fraser's concepts of redistribution (state intervention to ensure more equality and that no one lives in poverty), recognition of difference (an acceptance and enabling of difference in its multiple and intersecting forms), and new modes of representation (more democracy). The latter would demand the re-inclusion of the voices of the many in the framing of such politics, including women's voices. And, of course, today such politics need to be pursued at multiple levels or scales in recognition of the new scalar politics that frame possibilities in the contexts of globalization.

Ideological issues remain respecting men's place in/with feminism as allies in political coalitions committed to gender justice (Gilbertson, 2020; Hebert, 2007; Pease, 2002; Pleasants, 2011), recognising and relinquishing male privilege (Ben Salah and Wernli, 2016; Hebert, 2007; Hildrew, 2019; Gilbertson, 2020; Kahane, 1998; Keamy, 2008; Peretz, 2018; Pleasants, 2011), and 'passing' as profeminist (Holmgren and Hearn, 2009). Men's presence in feminism remains problematic (Hearn, 2008; Hebert, 2007; Mills, 2013), as does the over-valorisation of their pro-/profeminism (Brod, 1990; Hebert, 2007; Peretz, 2018).

The theoretical

The men and masculinities in education scholarship referred to above draw on multiple feminist theories, including social movement theories such as feminist, anti-racist and gay/lesbian liberation (Mac An Ghaill, 2013) and specifically the poststructuralist queer theorisation of Judith Butler (Mac An Ghaill, 2013; Martino, 2013) and Eve Sedgwick (Mac An Ghaill, 2013), Black feminist bell hooks's (1994) account of theory as a means of understanding personal experience (Martino, 2013), postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak's (1990) work on 'strategic essentialism' (Lingard, 2013), Nancy Fraser's theorisation of social justice (Lingard, 2013) and Jill Blackmore's (1999) theorisation of gendered political and educational structures (Lingard, 2013). New theorisations of gender have developed: the conceptualisation of multiple masculinities (Connell, 2005), the mapping of gender regimes in public sector workplaces (Connell, 2006), Southern theory (Connell, 2007) applied to gender (e.g. Epstein and Morrell, 2012), feminist theorisations of masculinity (Ben Salah and Wernli, 2016; Ben Salah et al., 2017; Hebert, 2007), and the conceptualisation of new masculinities in education (e.g. Mac An Ghaill, 1994; Lingard and Douglas, 1999).

Regardless of whether intersectionality theory is explicitly identified, there are nuanced understandings of the multidimensionality of gender identities (Brod, 1990; Connell, 2013; Gilbertson, 2020; Goldrick-Jones, 2001; Hearn, 2008; Hebert, 2007; Holmgren and Hearn, 2009; Lingard, 2013; Lingard and Douglas, 1999). In general, pro-feminist scholarship adopts an anti-essentialist stance that

resists gender stereotypes (Ben Salah et al., 2017; Blackmore, 2013; Connell, 2013; Hearn, 2010; Hebert, 2007; Holmgren, 2011; Lingard, 2013; Pillow, 2002). Ontologically, essentialism is associated with anti-feminism (Ben Salah and Wernli 2016; Ben Salah et al., 2017; Connell, 1993 Peretz et al., 2020; Seymour, 2012) and the view that feminism is only for women (Hopkins, 1998).

Nevertheless, 'generalizations' that 'never capture complex intersections, nor the nuanced differences among sub-groups and individuals' but that name patriarchal power, for example, are 'politically indispensable' (Kahane, 1998, pp. 215–216). This view resonates with 'strategic essentialism' (Spivak, 1990, 1993), which is useful in mobilising different sorts of pro-feminist activism (e.g. ecofeminism; see Stoddart and Tindall, 2010) but that remains problematic as an argument in debates emphasising concerns about the education of boys in an anti-feminist backlash (Lingard, 2003; Lingard and Douglas, 1999).

Pro-feminism and ELMA

Gender theory has largely been absent from the analyses of men's leadership discourses and identities in ELMA. Nevertheless, feminist theories have 'provided a public language and consequent political verification with which to enable the self-reflexivity required for such epistemological and ontological transformation' (Whitehead, 2001, p. 72), although the 'adoption of (pro)feminism is complex, fraught and potentially threatening to [men's] ontological security given the decentering of men and masculinity inherent in feminist discourse' (Whitehead, 2001, p. 79). A small body of research into men, masculinities and educational leadership draws on feminist and gender theories (e.g. Arar and Oplatka, 2013, 2014; Chard, 2013; Coleman, 2002; Courtney, 2014; Gill and Arnold, 2015; Hernandez et al., 2015; Lingard and Douglas, 1999; MacKinnon, 2020; Redondo-Sama, 2016; Whitehead, 2001). In the main, existing research falls short of identifying men as pro-feminist or of using pro-feminism to theorise about leadership (e.g. Fuller, 2013).

Mac An Ghaill (1994, p. 20) argued a 'specific occupational version of masculinity was developed in the conventional "feminine" sector of secondary schools, that was informed by an engagement with feminist ideas'. I have drawn on Blackmore's (1989) feminist critique and reconstruction and an anti-essentialist discourse to recognise women and men's capacity to adopt masculinist or pro-feminist leadership discourses (Fuller, 2013). Two decades on, Lingard and Douglas's (1999) account remains the most significant scholarship about pro-feminism in ELMA. In particular, this scholarship is distinctive in retaining a focus on women's employment in the way that research on men and masculinities does not.

In the section that follows, I discuss men's participation in the #WomenEd network.

Men and #WomenEd

Seventeen men responded to the #WomenEd survey (4.8% of the total) (Fuller and Berry, 2019) as site-based headteachers, senior leaders, middle leaders, and support staff as well as system leaders, school governors, trustees, directors and consultants. They worked in primary, secondary, higher and alternative

provision/special education. They were parents (13 of 17), including of children in pre-school to higher education (10 of 17). Almost all worked in or with state-funded organisations. Ages ranged from the twenties to sixties. All were able-bodied. Almost all were co-habiting, married or in a civil partnership. One identified with a minoritised racial identity. Three identified as gay; 14 as heterosexual/straight. One identified their biological sex as female; the rest as male. All identified as men. Five identified with a religion: Christianity (four) and Hinduism (one).

Six had experienced discrimination relating to age, sex, sexual orientation, 'race' and/or religion or belief. Discriminatory behaviours included homophobic comments (Chapter 5), age-related stereotyping and racist comments, such as 'you "lot" are taking over' (middle leader F, secondary, thirties (adapted from Fuller, 2022, p. 106)). Twelve were aware of discrimination relating to age, pregnancy and maternity, and sex, such as marginalising pregnant colleagues, lack of flexible working, men's derogatory comments and negative attitudes towards older staff.

Seven participants were interviewed about #WomenEd. Cortese's (2015) 'types' of activist were applied to men's self-identification with feminism, revealing three emphatics, three reconcilers and one disidentifier or 'identity not' (Freitas et al., 1997). The three emphatics were unhesitating. The three reconcilers were aligned to feminism but cautious; one 'probably could' identify as 'feminist' (senior leader F); one identified as 'pro-feminist', wanting 'to be an ally and a champion of women and equality but would want to do that without offending or interfering in that space' (headteacher C); another was a 'feminist' but problematised whether a man could be (headteacher D). The disidentifier disliked labels but identified as a 'humanist'. There was 'conditional or uncertain positioning' (Keamy, 2008, p. 273; Pruchniewska, 2017). Each drew on personal, work, political and/or theoretical discourses to describe their alignment with #WomenEd.

Personal

Commitment to gender equality was rooted in personal experiences as partners and sons of influential women and as fathers of girls. One man delayed his career to undertake childcare, as his wife was a headteacher. As a working mother, she was criticised: 'Shocking conduct, comments about the capability of doing the job because of being a working mum' (senior leader F). Another focused on his daughter's experience: 'why would I not want her to have the same opportunity that everyone else has and to be encouraged to be as ambitious and as bold and as happy as she can be?' (system leader B). One man welcomed a possible career break but noted that financial pragmatism came from the systemic problem of a gender pay gap

> … I earnt so much more than her […]. Then we thought the patriarchal structures force you into this […] even if you are, I'd say, enlightened.
>
> (middle leader F)

His partner had 'open[ed] my eyes' about misogyny and feminism.

Work

Influential #WomenEd leaders and/or academics (e.g. Keziah Featherstone, Vivienne Porritt, Hannah Wilson and Prof Carol Campbell (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education)) encouraged men's engagement. Men saw the movement brokering connections, amplifying voices, empowering women and providing information on multiple levels for individuals and institutions within the education system and society.

#WomenEd reminded men of their privilege (Hildrew, 2019). System leader C recounted

> When I went to the [second] #WomenEd conference I felt really awkward. I felt really uncomfortable. I worried about what I was gonna say: Can I use the word 'lady'? Is that okay? […] somebody pointed out that that's how the female heads, who go to headteachers' conferences, feel every time they go, when they are surrounded by white, middle-aged and middle-class men. It really brought it home to me from a personal point of view that I was uncomfortable and worried about saying the wrong thing to the wrong person.
>
> (system leader C)

It empowered him to know that women would tell men if they disliked something

> I think that is really important for white liberals like myself with a little 'l' to feel that even though I try really hard to not get it wrong, I'm going to, at times. And I think that's empowering for me as a man from that organisation.
>
> (system leader C)

He had never before felt marginalised

> I live in a white homogenised world. I'm in the majority everywhere I go. Literally everywhere I go I'm in the majority. [Account of childhood experience as 'the only white boy in my class at school']. However, as I got older I very much forget the fact that I am in the majority and therefore I have that privilege of being in the majority. Probably, for the first time in a professional setting, that #WomenEd conference was the first time that I wasn't.
>
> (system leader C)

His family included people of diverse heritages; multiculturalism was part of his life. Being the only white child in his class was not isolating.

Heightened awareness of gender inequalities led men to take action (Hildrew, 2019), such as brokering connections for women staff, establishing women's professional development events and networks, engendering adaptable and flexible ways of working, strengthening workplace relations, and having robust conversations about gender and leadership

> … the 10% braver [mantra] has inspired me to have stronger conversations with women that I work with especially around leadership of younger and older women.
>
> (system leader B)

#WomenEd challenged system leader C to audit pay

> More than anything else it's made me go "oh" [sounds deflated]. When the gender pay gap thing came out, and I know now that we are all supposed to publish it [from 2017 (e.g. DfE, 2020)], but I did it eighteen months [previously]. I thought "I'm sure that isn't us!" But I had never checked. I didn't know. It just made me go "hold on! Am I perpetuating that? Have I got a gender difference in pay?" As it happens, my female staff average pay is higher than my male staff average pay because most of my senior and middle leaders are female. But have I got a disproportionate number of female MDAs – midday assistants? Yes; cleaners? – Yes; who are the lowest paid people in the school. And it made me go "is that something I've done? Or is that society?" That's what jobs these women are going for because it fits in with term times etc. and they have got home priorities. It's just made me question things. […] It is that groundswell of making us challenge our assumptions but also connecting people to show that there are other ways of doing stuff.
>
> (system leader C)

Political

They aligned with feminist politics of equality, namely women's representation and ability (three men), politics of difference in recognising intersections with race, ethnicity and social class (two men), or gay liberation politics (two men). Three demonstrated for gay rights or against female genital cosmetic surgery.

A discourse of equity as economic, cultural and representative justice underpinned opinions about women's career advancement (around pregnancy and maternity), flexible working practices, the experience of women and men of minoritised heritages and sexualities (six men). But desire for societal change was couched in a neoliberal discourse of individual responsibility, ambition and entrepreneurship, not collective communitarian politics

> We have a disproportionate amount of young […] female students who want to be hairdressers and beauticians – and that's fine – however I want them to think about owning the beauty shop and not just working in it. […] it's about raising [aspirations] to think they don't have to be subservient or they don't have to be working for somebody else; they can control their own destiny.
>
> (system leader C)

Radical positioning was rare. One participant declared

> Bring down the patriarchy! [Replace it with] parity in education. You'd think in education you shouldn't get inequity; you'd think it would be the one place you would see the most liberal or the most freedom but it's really not there yet.
>
> (middle leader F)

He expressed coalition politics: as a 'BME [Black and minority ethnic] leader I'm also au fait with inequity and I can understand the levels of oppression'. He berated a specifically 'Eurocentric Caucasian curriculum' that 'propagate[d]' a sense of superiority for white children and inferiority for children of ethnic minority heritages (middle leader F).

Theoretical

Two men problematised their identification as 'feminist'. One drew on Judith Butler

> I do define myself as a feminist. Some people challenge that and there are a lot of notions around appropriation: can men truly be feminists? […] I would define that pretty broadly. I don't align myself with any particular feminist movement […]. I used the work of Judith Butler because it really speaks to me the way that she conceptualises gender…
>
> (headteacher D)

Butler's (1990, 2004) poststructural theorisation enabled both men and women to be feminists. His cognisance of appropriation led to caution

> … when I spoke in front of those women [about gender and educational leadership] I made it very clear that I have not had your experience; I am not a woman and I don't know what it is like to be a woman in leadership and all I can do is talk about my own experience.

Theorisation about feminism in interviews is a way of 'passing' or credentialing as (pro)feminist (Holmgren, 2011; Holmgren and Hearn, 2009).

The other described the complexity of intersecting oppressive structures through Schüssler Fiorenza's (1992, p. 114) 'kyriarchy' of an 'interlocking, multiplicative, and overarching system' of oppression (see Osborne, 2015, on kyriarchy and intersectionality)

> I think if I'm honest, I think with the kyriarchal structures, it's really easy to get caught up in the patriarchy and say it's really black and white but in reality it is not because it's all intersectional. So the lines of oppression aren't as easy to define …
>
> (middle leader F)

He believed that #WomenEd understood that.

In the following section, I discuss the usefulness of a binary approach to considering gender inequalities. I outline men's pro-feminist, or pro-#WomenEd, professional activism in a strategic inclusionary alliance.

A strategic inclusionary alliance

Discussing 'men' and 'women' in binary opposition suggests an essentialist, reductive and unproblematic approach to gender on the basis of biological or socially determined categories. However, there was evidence of gender diversity in #WomenEd (see Chapter 5) and a nuanced understanding of intersectional complexities

in a complicated relationship between how bodies are read and gender is performed (Spivak, 1993). Following Spivak (1993), Blackmore (1999, pp. 46–47) argues that strategic essentialism and strategic pluralism are needed so that women

> continue to be viewed at particular times and in particular contexts as a class or the universal category of woman in order that local and global patterns of gender inequality are continually foregrounded. It is not an either/or situation. Strategic essentialism does not necessarily lead to conservative politics, nor does recognition of the continuity and ambiguity of each identity render a shared feminist politics across class, race and culture helpless. The agent can be in an ensemble of subject race, class, gender positions in which, in one instance, they are dominant, and in others dominated.

Strategic essentialism mobilises identity-based political work whilst resisting the traps of 'a substantive or real essentialism' (Spivak, 1993, p. 2). Strategic pluralism ensures that feminists 'work on a range of fronts simultaneously; using a multiplicity of feminist theories and strategies' (Blackmore, 1999, p. 47).

Strategy is self-conscious, deliberate, agentic and 'an artifice or trick designed to outwit or surprise the enemy' (Oxford English Dictionary (OED) (n.d.), cited in Spivak, 1993, p. 2). I suggest that #WomenEd's encouragement of men's engagement is a *strategic inclusionary alliance*.

Being strategic

Contemporary definitions of strategy refer to 'long-term or overall aims and interests and the means of achieving them' (OED, no date). There remains artistry in '[t]he art or practice of planning the future direction or outcome of something' (OED, no date). Eacott (2011, p. 44) argues that '[s]trategy is always a work in progress' and that strategic leaders' understanding of context must be recognised as socially constructed and unfixed.

#WomenEd leaders encouraged men's engagement within a particular cultural, social, political and temporal context. Leaving the public arena of Twitter to regroup in the closed space of Yammer was claimed *not* to be a deliberate strategy: 'It wasn't like a strategy we chose to do' (co-founder B) (Chapter 7). It was a spontaneous response designed to protect women's presence on Twitter and their dialogue about women's leadership which were long-term interests. But #WomenEd could have adopted a separatist approach by including only those who presented as women. Instead, their strategy was to give men access to private space. Publicly, men's engagement was encouraged by using the hashtag #HeForShe, extending invitations to events such as the formation of an all-male panel (Hildrew, 2019), accepting men's offers to lead workshops at national and regional events and responding to individuals.

> I'd personally like to see a greater male voice. […] I often get messages from men who have relatively high profiles and yet they'll message it as a direct message rather than tweet it or rather than put it on their blog. […] I'd like to see […] a greater male #WomenEd voice.
>
> (co-founder E)

Some men were open about their commitment (Featherstone et al., 2021; Hildrew, 2019). One system leader described his social responsibility:

> … we are community servants and it's hard to ignore the very clear disparity statistically with women in leadership and opportunities for development and when those facts are so clear I think it's my personal responsibility as well as my professional responsibility to do something about inequality. […] I have a profile […] so if I have got a chance to influence positively, to have any input positively I feel I should take it. […] It's made me feel that I have a responsibility too, to challenge other men, men I see on Twitter, other men who are disparaging of it, in the past it probably wouldn't have been something I've felt empowered to do because I would have felt isolated but now actually #WomenEd supports me in challenging that.
>
> (system leader C)

A number of strategic purposes were achieved by encouraging this system leader to engage, such as professional and personal self-reflection, organisational audit, and amplification of #WomenEd voices. This purposeful approach to engaging men extended beyond male-friendliness in response to men's surveillance practices (Megarry, 2018).

Being inclusionary

Spivak (1990, p. 122) refuses marginalising discourses that locate subjectivities as 'Other', rejecting the impossibility of speaking about oppressions outside our own experience

> the sort of breast-beating which stops the possibility of social change is to say, "I'm only a white male, I cannot speak as a feminist," or, "I'm only a white male and cannot speak for the blacks." You know that whole thing about "Oh, there was no voice of the other because there were no black anthropologists here".

This is an inclusionary discourse, namely 'Not excluding any person on the grounds of race, gender, religion, age, disability, etc.; encouraging or accommodating participation from all sections of society' (OED, no date) that recognises that knowledge production does not rely on being the subject of knowledge.

Whilst #WomenEd is a movement *for* serving and aspiring women leaders in education and *by* women as members, steering group, regional network, global network leaders of a grassroots movement, its strategies are to recognise intersectionality and to work *with* men. Women rejected separatist and exclusionary feminisms to ensure a broad appeal, including among men (Chapter 7), that can be seen as strategic pluralism in its inclusivity and feminist interests (Blackmore, 1999). Influential women invited, encouraged, welcomed and supported men, who themselves were highly influential in the spaces of social media and had regional professional, national media and international academic profiles. A holistic approach means that #WomenEd is concerned with women's and girls' leadership recognition, representation

and the redistribution of resources as professional development (e.g. online support, offline Unconferences, regional events, coaching and mentoring), doing leadership with a focus on equity as well as excellence in education (Blackmore, 2016; Fuller and Berry, 2019). Men and boys benefit by having access to women's influence and insights, in their education about equity, diversity and inclusion and in receiving support in their career progression (e.g. as minoritised leaders in education). Some problematised their male privilege and were willing to (and did) take on primary childcare (Gardiner, 1998), educate about gender inequality and reflect on organisational and societal structures that lead women into less well-paid work. They acknowledged feelings of marginalisation and minoritisation in women-dominated spaces whilst feeling welcomed there (Hildrew, 2019).

Among the women, there was a marked difference between an essentialist discourse about 'men' and discussion of specific men (e.g. in opposition or support of #WomenEd). Generalisations by women and men alike were made about men's dominance of educational leadership (e.g. over-representation in formal posts, masculinist discourses of leadership as heroic, and privileging of men in re-structured school landscapes as executive headteachers and CEOs), men's experiences in achieving leadership positions (e.g. career progression, confidence to apply accompanied by expectation to succeed, and reduced family care responsibilities), dominance of social media space (e.g. on #EduTwitter), and men's issues (e.g. representation in primary teaching). This strategic essentialism raised consciousness of multilevel patriarchal structures that permeated the education system and wider society precisely to mobilise for collective action. The alliance transcended gender identity (Hebert, 2007).

An alliance

Spivak (1993, p. 283) argues that 'solidarities are fabricated, manufactured directly in response to crisis and such alliances are very fragile'. Goldrick-Jones (2001, p. 324) defines crisis as 'a vitally important stage in the progress of anything, a state of affairs in which a decisive change for better or worse is imminent'.

#WomenEd responded at a time of crisis. There was and is global recognition of a problem in gender relations with potential for regression owing to common patterns of misogyny, sex crimes and other forms of violence against women. For example, although (or perhaps because) it is led by a woman, a conversation about institutional misogyny in the Metropolitan police force is urgently needed. This was exposed in 2021 by the murder of Sarah Everard (a Metropolitan police officer has been charged, Metropolitan police officer responses to vigil-keepers were heavy-handed, and a Metropolitan police officer shared an inappropriate 'joke' about the crime) (see Wolfe-Robinson and Dodd, 2021). There were (and are) not only ongoing constraining gender stereotypes and inequalities in modern-day UK society but also discriminatory organisational structures and individual practices in education and other workplaces. This played out in social media as men's trolling behaviours. Where some men demanded inclusion in online spaces without 'promot[ing] parity of participation and […] enhanc[ing] systemic advantage' (Blackmore, 2016, p. 9), those committed to gender justice did not do so on- or offline. Solidarities between women formed in recognition of common patterns of experience in professional and

personal spheres regardless of 'race' and ethnicity, age, sexuality and gender presentation, career stage and leadership position. For example, an emphasis on pregnancy and maternity, the age-old constraining impact of women's place in human reproduction, meant that older women who already experienced the impact of parenthood on career advancement forged an alliance with younger women experiencing gender injustice for the first time.

So too, men recognised those patterns among women as family members and work colleagues. Trolling online led men to intervene directly to counter 'ridiculous' (system leader C) or 'negative and aggressive' (senior leader F) comments about #WomenEd. One used the language of alliance in his identification as a profeminist; others drew on experiences of personal marginalisation to express a sense of coalition politics (James, 1998). Men's positive engagement was neither accidental nor solely responsive to the male backlash on Twitter. There were benefits to men in their professional work but they also took a stand against gender injustice because it was right to do so (Pease, 2002). They became agents of gender justice work (Gilbertson, 2020).

The discomfort felt by privileged and powerful men faced with a room full of women, empowered by the collective politics of securing gender justice, led some to recognise and check male privilege for the first time (Featherstone et al., 2021; Hildrew, 2019). Some used their privilege to speak up for gender justice; some relinquished it by refusing to sit on all-male panels at a conference (Wilson, 2017), taking on responsibility for childcare to support women's careers (Mitchell, 2021), or by actively supporting gender justice for children and adults in school (Hildrew, 2019). However, discomfort was felt only in *this* women-dominated space. Women dominate the teaching profession, so it can be assumed that men address women-dominated meetings all the time without feeling marginalised. The difference here was in the collective empowerment of women compared with their collective *dis*empowerment in educational settings.

Implications for ELMA

There are implications for scholarship, policy-making and practice.

First, further debate is needed among scholars of women, gender and feminism in ELMA about the place of men in our research as scholars and participants. For example, men might be encouraged to consider the place of gender in their leadership scholarship. Critical scholars already do that. Second, policy-makers need to re-visit legislation about equality and specifically intersectionality in education and employment. UK equality legislation does not recognise intersectional discrimination. Finally, a next step for men in ELMA is to consider Hildrew's (2019) suggestions for improving the quotidian activity of leadership. They must consider their behaviours when chairing meetings, control and challenge their own and others' biased responses, support and learn through coaching and reverse mentoring (i.e. a junior woman mentors a senior man about the lived reality of working in an organisation), and celebrate women's achievements. They need to challenge multiple gender injustices inherent in institutional and societal structures. This is not just women's work.

Summary

This chapter foregrounded men's relationships with a professional network for serving and aspiring women leaders in education. Men's engagement in gender justice activism is an important issue within fourth-wave feminism. A pro-feminist perspective enabled analysis of the way that members of the #WomenEd network worked with men in ELMA. It also enabled analysis of whether and when men identified as feminists and activists. There is evidence of women's strategic engagement with men in a strategic inclusionary alliance. There is evidence of men's engagement with feminist discourses of equality, equity and intersectionality that demonstrates the depth of understanding about feminism and gender justice. There is also a sense of men's increased or newfound sense of social responsibility with respect to women colleagues and girls that demonstrates the transformative power of collective action.

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9 Femonationalism

The 'Trojan Horse' affair

Introduction

A twenty-first-century feminist theorisation of educational leadership is not without a dark side. In the context of neoconservative politics, feminist and gender issues have been appropriated in political and education policy discourses to advance the securitisation of education, promote fundamental British values (FBVs), expedite education reforms and discipline schools and the multi-ethnic communities they serve. Farris (2017, p. 1) conceptualises femonationalism as 'the invocation of gender equality (and occasionally LGBT rights) within an otherwise xenophobic rhetoric'. By positioning gender equality and Islam as binary opposites, dominant public discourses in politics, media and education reify the racialisation of sexism and sexualisation of racism or gendering of Islamophobia (Farris, 2017). Islamophobia is not exclusive to UK schools post 9/11 (see, for example, Hamdan, 2007, on hijab ban in French schools; Mir and Sarroub, 2019, on discussion of US schools; and Ho, 2007, on women and Islamophobia in Australia). Femonationalism is underpinned by theories of interest convergence, ideological formation and the neoliberal political economy.

This chapter focuses on accounts of Birmingham's so-called 'Trojan Horse' affair, in which allegations were made of a plot to Islamicise non-faith schools in Birmingham. Feminist and gender issues became a focus for media attention and were used to initiate an investigation, as a line of inquiry in school inspections and as a disciplinary mechanism. Successive governments have used the *Prevent Strategy* (Haverig, 2013), *Teachers' Standards* (DfE, 2011) and promotion of FBVs (DfE, 2014a; Gilroy, 2016) in education policy reform as proxies for civic integration policies designed to assimilate Muslims in British society. An outcome of 'Trojan Horse' was to expedite education policies and introduce new guidance on sex and relationships education (now relationships and sex education), including teaching about female genital mutilation (illegal since 1985) and forced marriage (criminalised after 'Trojan Horse').

Educators, school leaders and professionals working with schools (including beyond Birmingham) referred to what happened in response to various research projects. First-hand accounts of working in schools where Muslims were in the majority come from people working in- and outside the 21 'Trojan Horse' schools before, during and after 2014. They are explored alongside 102 Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills) school inspection reports and 'Trojan

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Horse' investigation reports (Clarke, 2014; Kershaw, 2014) in the context of prevailing neoliberal political discourses about education and its relationship with civic integration, community cohesion and counter-terrorism policies.

I begin by summarising what happened in Birmingham schools in the spring and summer of 2014.

The so-called 'Trojan Horse' affair

The 'Trojan Horse' affair became shorthand for events directly affecting 21 Birmingham schools. A hoax letter purported to advocate the Islamisation of non-faith schools as 'Operation Trojan Horse'. It was sent to Birmingham City Council, on to the West Midlands police, Home Office and Department for Education (DfE), to a selection of Birmingham headteachers and on to the National Association of Head Teachers. Simultaneously, concerns raised about religious education and observance were forwarded to the DfE and Ofsted. The subsequent short-notice school inspections resulted in downgrading several schools, academisation of some (removal from local authority control) and changes in school leadership and governance for others. This happened even though

> [n]o evidence of extremism or radicalisation, apart from a single isolated incident [unfounded and subsequently dropped], was found by any of the inquiries and there was no evidence of a sustained plot nor of a similar situation pertaining elsewhere in the country.
>
> (HoC, 2014b, p. 3)

Disciplinary cases against five school leaders and all other teachers collapsed in May 2017. They were deprived of the opportunity to prove there was no wrongdoing. Repercussions for children and their families, teaching and support staff, school leaders and governors went far beyond Birmingham.

Global geopolitical events played out locally. Birmingham schoolchildren were acutely aware of the 'War on Terror' regardless of their ethnic and religious heritages. The Royal Centre for Defence Medicine, located in Birmingham hospitals from 2001, received military casualties by helicopter from Anglo-American military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq (Vintner, 2010). Schoolchildren watched them from the playground. Malala Yousafzai, shot by the Taliban for her campaign work for girls' education, received treatment at one of those hospitals and attended a Birmingham school following discharge (Husain, 2013). A youth worker described the frustration and anger caused by counter-terrorist pre-dawn raids (Morris, 2007)

> young people have been taken away from their homes due to all of this terrorism business. Then [suspects] were released because it was wrongful arrest […] [children] were afraid of what had happened.
>
> (woman youth worker, former secondary school teacher, Black and global majority (BGM) heritage recognised)

Scholarly work on the 'Trojan Horse' affair includes accounts of events in the context of social policy and education reform (Arthur, 2015; Holmwood and O'Toole, 2018),

including an account by Tahir Alam (former chair of governors at Park View Education Trust central to the investigation and named personally in the original hoax letter) (Abbas, 2017), an analysis of inspection reports (Mogra, 2016), studies of the impact (Awan, 2018; Farrell, 2016; Iqbal, 2019; Myers and Bhopal, 2018) and analyses of media coverage (Ali and Whitham, 2018; Cannizzaro and Gholami, 2016; Poole, 2018). Scholars have used it as a referent in discussion of policy change, the securitisation of education, school governance, faith schools, curriculum content (FBVs, religious education, and sex and relationships education) and teacher and pupil identities.

I examine selected papers, policy material, inspection and investigation reports alongside first-hand accounts of 'Trojan Horse' through the lens of femonationalism.

Femonationalism

A dark side of feminist politics concerns the misappropriation of gender issues to advance right-wing political discourses designed to counter social justice discourse focused on 'race' or religion. Femonationalism is a far-right European political discourse using gender issues to pursue its cause in The Netherlands, France and Italy (Farris, 2017). Espousal of feminist issues enables a coalition between otherwise incompatible feminist and political groups to promote nationalism. It is underpinned by interest convergence, ideological formation and the neoliberal political economy with the effect of racialising sexism and sexualising racism (Farris, 2017; Hamdan, 2007; Ho, 2007; Mir and Sarroub, 2019).

The defence of Muslim women in right-wing politics has been found in Australia (Ho, 2007) and in the exploitation of women's rights as a justification for the 'War on Terror' (Bhattacharyya, 2008). Political extremists, including far-right groups in the UK, used women's and children's issues in an anti-Islam agenda (see, for example, Ali and Whitham, 2018; Razzall and Khan, 2018). This epitomises interest convergence whereby the dominant racial group supports the minority racial group's (feminist) interests if the former has something to gain (Bell, 1980).

Farris (2017) conceptualises femonationalism as ideological formation for three reasons. First, it enables examination of the philosophy underpinning it; for example, why fundamental British/Western values are superior, worth defending and not universal (see, for example, Gove, 2006). Second, it operates through 'discursive regularities' that

> "formulate" their own objects of knowledge and their own subjects; they have their own repertoire of concepts, are driven by their own logics, operate their own enunciative modality, constitute their own way of acknowledging what is true and excluding what is false within their own regime of truth. They establish through their own regularities a "space of formation" in which certain statements can be enunciated.
>
> (Hall, 1988, cited in Farris, 2017, pp. 11–12)

Hence, the ideological fantasy of a 'Muslim problem' in the UK and construction of a 'conceptual Muslim' (Ali and Whitham, 2018, p. 400). Finally, economic interests lie behind the mobilisation of gender equality rhetoric in xenophobic political discourse.

Farris (2017, p. 13) argues that neoliberalism is not simply the context for femonationalism; 'it is itself constitutive of convergence'. A common conception is that Muslim women are 'backward individuals who are mostly confined to the home' (Farris, 2017, p. 14), non-contributors to the economy and/or non-participants in political debate. That account existed in New Labour's discourse of community cohesion (Cantle, 2001; Denham, 2001; Singh, 2007). The neoliberal political economy relies on women's, including Muslim and non-Western migrant women's, entry into the workplace (Farris, 2017). But feminist support for women entering the workplace did not alleviate their dominance of low-paid work, such as care, cashiering, catering, cleaning and clerical work (the '5 Cs') (Duffy, 2007; Perrons, 2009). Tension remains between framing women's roles in production or reproduction, including working mothers and carers (Fennell and Arnot, 2008). Indeed, women absent from the mode-of-production narrative and economic value system are faded out by history and contemporary neoliberal societies (Spivak, 2010).

The English education system's long-standing focus on preparing children and young people for the workplace prioritises examination performance in pursuit of economic well-being. From 2010, education policy expedited the marketisation and fragmentation of the education system. Academisation furthered school-level autonomy enabling Muslim children's interests to be served so 'Trojan Horse' schools became 'victims of their own success' (Abbas, 2017, p. 436) or, with the apparent loosening of accountability mechanisms, facilitated mismanagement of schools (Arthur, 2015; Awan, 2018; Thomson, 2020).

Interest convergence

Examples of interest convergence can be seen in media reports of 'Trojan Horse', inspection and investigation reports.

Media accounts

In its first 'Trojan Horse' report, *The Sunday Times* recounted a staff complaint that girls at Park View were excluded from extracurricular tennis coaching (Kerbaj and Griffiths, 2014a). Immediately, gender issues were linked with the alleged Islamisation of mainstream schools in the public imagination. A week later, they reported contents of the hoax letter, advising Salafist parents to complain to schools about children's participation in sex and relationships education, mixed swimming and sport (Kerbaj and Griffiths, 2014b). Increasingly frequent news stories reported gender issues (Ali and Whitham, 2018; Cannizzaro and Gholami, 2016; Poole, 2018).

Phrases such as 'White women are prostitutes' revealed an emphasis on Islamist ideology as opposed to school governance (Cannizzaro and Gholami, 2016). Global Islam was represented as misogynistic (Poole, 2018). Muslim stereotypes were perpetuated in relation to gender inequality. 'Trojan Horse' media coverage fed into a wider representation of Muslims as an Islamophobic ideological fantasy when connected in the public imagination with accounts about sexual abuse (Ali and Whitham, 2018).

Daily repetition created a media scandal (Ali and Whitham, 2018) that impacted on children's educational achievements: 'a lot of the children in the schools affected

have had a very difficult time […] There has been relentless negative media coverage of them, their communities, their religion, their schools, in the press, day in and day out' (Brigid Jones cited in HoC, 2014a, p. 27) (also Awan, 2018; Myers and Bhopal, 2018). Gender separation became a line of inquiry for Ofsted inspections and investigations (Clarke, 2014; Kershaw, 2014).

Lines of inquiry and a disciplinary mechanism

'Trojan Horse' inspections focused on non-statutory engagement with counter-terrorist policy, namely the *Prevent Strategy* (HM Government, 2011), the character of religious education and gender relations. The 102 inspection reports – comprising 21 pre-'Trojan Horse' reports on 16 out of 21 schools, 21 reports on 21 'Trojan Horse' schools, and 60 post-'Trojan Horse' reports on 20 out of 21 'Trojan Horse' schools – show that 14 schools had engaged with the *Prevent Strategy* and 14 were admonished for doing too little (see Holmwood and O'Toole, 2018, on Park View's work with *Prevent*; Mogra, 2016, on 'Trojan Horse' Ofsted inspection reports). In inspection reports, there were few comments about gender inequalities.

Inspection reports describe school demographics (mixed schools); use sex as a comparator of attainment and progress (girls outperforming boys); refer to pastoral care, namely staff awareness of the 'risks' of female genital mutilation and forced marriage, and sex and relationships education content; and describe gender separation (in sex and relationships, physical, religious education, and swimming in four schools). Girls and boys were mixing socially and in lessons with one negative reference to gender separation in one school. In a few school reports, comments were made about gendered activities or materials, extracurricular participation, gender education (girls' and women's rights), roles as head boy/girl, behaviour monitoring by sex, and monitoring relationships with the opposite sex. There is little support for Her Majesty's Chief Inspector's (HMCI's) (2014) account of gender issues.

Are girls second-class citizens?

A male Muslim support worker, identifying with a BGM heritage ('Trojan Horse' school 5), reported offensive questions asked about 'forc[ing]' children to pray, whether girls were treated as second-class citizens and comments resonating with Islamophobic comments reported to the Education Select Committee (HoC, 2014b).

Proud of his grandmother's contribution to education, he recounted her service as headteacher in a conflict-ridden area of the world. Her legacy was 23 grandchildren working in education. He identified women 'giants' in Islam: Aisha, third wife of the Prophet Muhammad; Rabi'a of Basra; and Fatima al-Fihri, founder of the first university. Girls were prefects and chaired the school council. An inspector remarked

> "the girls here are cheeky". He said that to me, "The girls here are cheeky." I said, "Yes, they are." Because, you know, we empower them to be.
>
> (male Muslim support worker, BGM heritage, 'Trojan Horse' school 5)

This was not reported. They were assumed to be silent, submissive and second-class citizens in line with gender stereotyping of Muslim women (Chapter 4). Simultaneously, girls experienced abuse and discrimination attributable to 'Trojan Horse'. Three girls were attacked: 'boys have set a dog on, […] three girls, just [saying], "Oh, they're the ones from that terrorist school"' (male Muslim support worker, BGM heritage, 'Trojan Horse' school 5). Having secured offers from three grammar (selective) school sixth forms, one girl attributed rejection from the fourth to the

> … whole Trojan Horse debacle. So, she came back and she felt the reason she didn't get the offer was because of the Trojan Horse … [at 'Trojan Horse' school 5].
>
> (male Muslim support worker, BGM heritage, 'Trojan Horse' school 5)

Sex and relationships education and pastoral care

Six schools commended for engagement with *Prevent* were also commended for sex and relationships education, namely work on female genital mutilation, forced marriage and sexual health. Thirteen schools were advised to adjust policies and/or improve aspects of sex and relationships education, namely implement further staff training on female genital mutilation and forced marriage and further action regarding *Prevent*. Seven 'Trojan Horse' reports mentioned female genital mutilation and forced marriage.

Statutory guidance published *during* 'Trojan Horse' required schools to raise awareness of female genital mutilation and forced marriage (DfE, 2014b). Previous sex and relationships education policy advocated working with families and communities of different religious and cultural traditions to decide curricula and consider single-sex teaching (DfEE, 2000). During the 'Trojan Horse' affair, schools were measured against sex and relationships education standards not yet in place. Forced marriage was not criminalised until after 'Trojan Horse' in June 2014.

Gender issues juxtaposed with Islamist extremism constructed girls at risk of female genital mutilation, forced marriage and ignorance of sex and relationships education – not the gender discrimination or separation presented in the media. In one school

> The policy identifies specific aspects of child protection that may have particular relevance in *this* academy and community. It signals where further information can be found on subjects such as forced marriage and female genital mutilation.
>
> (Ofsted, 2014a, Ninestiles School, my emphasis)

The children of 'this community' (i.e. East Birmingham) were represented as being 'at risk' of radicalisation, illegal practice of female genital mutilation and forced marriage (see Macfarlane and Dorkenoo, 2015, on female genital mutilation in England and Wales; Home Office, 2018, for statistics on forced marriage; Anitha and Gill, 2009, on forced marriage in the UK). This disciplinary mechanism of identifying non-compliance with standards was used against schools regardless of the actual level of risk to girls in those areas. It introduced and enforced education reform by stealth.

The much-critiqued Clarke (2014) and Kershaw (2014) reports 'contributed to the sense of crisis and confusion, and the number of reports, coming out at different

times and often leaked in advance, was far from helpful' (HoC, 2014a, p. 14). Their 'needless duplication' (HoC, 2014a, p. 14) amplified the significance of single incidents and therefore should be read with caution. Reports recount allegations of gender inequalities such as treatment of girls, separation, access to extracurricular sport, and enforcement of dress codes. Comments about curriculum content included the nature of sex and relationships education and whether it included teaching about female genital mutilation, forced marriage, marital rape, sexual orientation and the dangers of pornography. These were not evidenced in inspection reports.

Staff accounts of sex discrimination

Ofsted reports focus on staff relations by exception. Reports recounted fears to speak up (Ofsted, 2014b, Oldknow Academy), concerns about changed employment practices (Ofsted, 2014b, Oldknow Academy), divisions with leadership (Ofsted, 2015, Small Heath School), and a positive report of the governing body's gender balance (Ofsted, 2014c, Waverley School). Women dominated in headship leading 12 'Trojan Horse' schools (five white women, seven women recognised of BGM heritage, including Muslim women, one of unknown heritage; one school led by two women co-heads). Nine schools were led by seven men recognised of BGM heritage, including Muslim men, and two white men. This two-thirds representation of headteachers of BGM heritages is rare in England and suggests that some multi-ethnic school communities were served by school leaders from multi-ethnic heritages (Fuller, 2017).

The Clarke (2014) and Kershaw (2014) reports recount or repeat complaints of discrimination against women, such as employment practices and access to training, poor treatment, exclusion, conflict with school governors, accusations (nepotism, promiscuity or fraud) and dress. Muslim women were seen as victims of atrocities but also the focus of sexist and misogynist attitudes among Muslim men. Mothers were seen as uneducated and lacking agency. It is impossible to establish the veracity of allegations. Nevertheless, there probably were discriminations, including intersectional discriminations, precisely because they exist in employment in English schools generally (Fuller, 2018, 2022). But the emphasis on gender issues in inspections and investigations is rare.

In the next section, I explore why complainants, inspectors, investigators and politicians constructed events at 'Trojan Horse' schools as they did.

Ideological formation

The 'Trojan Horse' affair did not happen in a vacuum. National newspapers emphasised Islamist ideology to present a story about extremism (Cannizzaro and Gholami, 2016) that promoted 'muscular liberalism' (Poole, 2018, p. 376) because that discourse existed. British politicians, such as David Cameron (Prime Minister 2010–2016), Theresa May (Home Secretary 2010–2016, Minister for Women and Equalities 2010–2012) and Michael Gove (Education Secretary 2010–2014), advocated muscular liberalism in defending gender equality and women's rights as part of a counter ideology to Islamism (Dobbernack, 2018; Farrell, 2016; Gove, 2006; HM Government, 2011). Femonationalism is not restricted to the extreme far right. It occurs in mainstream UK political discourse.

The Coalition government (2010–2015) marked a shift to the political right. Mainstream British values were defined in the *Prevent Strategy* as 'democracy, rule of law, equality of opportunity, freedom of speech and the rights of all men and women to live free from persecution of any kind' (HM Government, 2011, p. 34). Extremism became 'vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values' (HM Government, 2011, p. 107). Their restatement in the *Teachers' Standards* (DfE, 2011) makes the relationship between education and counter-terrorism explicit. The intention to securitise education is clear. Teachers must be prepared to teach FBVs regardless of how that contradicts their own experiences and understandings of inequalities (Farrell, 2016).

Michael Gove (2006) had described community cohesion approaches to counter-terrorism as the West's policy of appeasement. Like Tony Blair (Prime Minister 1997–2007), he saw countering terrorism as a 'battle of ideas' (HM Government, 2006, p. 2). In 'The Trojan Horse' (chapter in *Celsius 7/7*), Gove (2006) describes the apparent ideological infiltration in the UK by Islamists. He constructs a 'Muslim problem' and a 'conceptual Muslim' (Ali and Whitham, 2018, p. 400), who is 'a sexist, devious character stealthily taking over Britain' (p. 413) (Miah, 2017). The writer of the 'Trojan Horse' hoax letter acted from a similar ideological perspective to produce the 'malicious forgery' that sparked the 'Trojan Horse' affair (Richardson, 2015, p. 37).

Inspectors visited schools in the context of this political discourse. The Education Select Committee acknowledged that 'inspectors [might have] lost objectivity and came to some overly negative conclusions because of the surrounding political and media storm' (HoC, 2014a, p. 17). The inspection process was 'harrowing' (Christine Quinn, headteacher cited in Pidd, 2014), 'racist', and an attempt to 'have another dig at Muslims before a general election' (Mohammed Ashraf, school governor cited in Pidd, 2014). The National Union of Teachers received complaints about inappropriate questioning of children about seating arrangements and of staff about whether they were homophobic (Pidd, 2014).

The opportunity to say the unspeakable

One Muslim woman school leader recounted her first-hand experience. She realised that the inspection was about her identity. Questions were asked about staff appointments and comments made about the ethnic mix of new staff. Inspectors facilitated criticism about religious observance

> … it opened a Pandora's Box or a whole can of worms because now we could talk about [arrangements for religious festivals – Christian and Muslim] […]
>
> A lot of staff left that meeting extremely unhappy because they saw their colleagues in a different light. People were saying things now that […] I can't say they were racist. They could be translated into being racist, but they were reporting things in a way that made it seem that there was another agenda, and so for some people, and I'm not just talking about Muslim staff, just some people, even our site staff and other people who were here who were new to the school,

> were kind of like, "Okay. Well I knew that that happened but I didn't see it in that way." […] It gave people the opportunity to say the unspeakable.
>
> (Muslim woman school leader, 'Trojan Horse' school 2)

The inspection disrupted relationships. Decisions and actions designed to improve education were re-interpreted with an Islamophobic lens. The inspection increased fear and suspicion. A hijab-wearing woman's identity was hypervisible. Pointing to her headscarf, the school leader said: 'Everybody knows that that is going to be at the back of people's minds' (Muslim woman school leader, 'Trojan Horse' school 2). People could attack her identity as a representative of the community under investigation when they could not attack her professionalism: 'It was the first time that I'd felt vulnerable' (Muslim woman school leader, 'Trojan Horse' school 2).

Each of us interprets the world with an ideological filter. Ali and Whitham (2018) draw on Berger's (1972) ways of seeing to remind us that this occurs every day. This school leader witnessed her colleagues' Islamophobic re-construction of events, prompted by inspectors' questions and contemporary public discourse. Inspectors facilitated their saying 'the unspeakable'. This is what the Education Select Committee meant when they suggested that inspectors were affected by current political and media discourse (HoC, 2014b). An Islamophobic discourse was legitimated by politicians and the media and in education.

Education and the neoliberal political economy

In pre-'Trojan Horse' interviews during New Labour's community cohesion policy era before 2010, research participants described their work in/with Birmingham schools in areas where Muslims were in the majority (Parsons et al., 2010).

Working with Muslim women and girls in Birmingham schools

Building relationships

Almost all school leaders, healthcare professionals, and voluntary and charity sector workers recounted close engagement with communities to provide for diverse interests, needs and desires, including childcare, parenting support and youth work (Parsons et al., 2010). They built intercultural, interfaith trust between organisations, families and individuals to provide public services. A mental healthcare professional (woman recognised of BGM heritage) demystified mental healthcare for mothers, newly arrived from war-torn countries with no local existing support networks.

Five school leaders (white women) worked with Muslim women, girls and boys in non-'Trojan Horse' children's centres and primary and secondary schools in Muslim-dominated areas. One welcomed the possibility of establishing a madrassah as children attended mosque after school; she noted the lack of services for Muslims over the Christmas period (Parsons et al., 2010). Another built trust enabling Muslim girls to attend residential and arts-based activities outside school hours; one

described shopping trips for women learning English as an additional language. Finally, a Somali member of support staff (formerly a teacher without English Qualified Teacher Status (see Miller, 2018)) was employed to bridge the cultural gap between school and community values (associated with potential vigilantism) for those newly arrived from Mogadishu

> the parents felt we were the enemy […] She's a link between home and school, particularly violent children, she'll spend time in class with, helping them to adjust to how they should behave in the class, communicating with them in their home language so that she can explain to them what is acceptable practice without them having to deal with language difficulties as well as behavioural expectations […] It's better, and at least we've somebody who will sit with us with parents and try. Sometimes I'm sure it's very difficult for her because she's… […] conflicted. […] Somali families now come and ask for her. Newly arrived families from all over the city will come here and say, "We want to come to this school because of [support worker]".
>
> (white woman school leader, non-'Trojan Horse' secondary school B)

An inter-faith charity worker, a male Muslim of south Asian heritage, described the importance of women-only swimming sessions. His wife spoke English as an additional language. He encouraged her to learn English: 'Educating women is like educating the community'. As a homemaker, she would be able to support their children's learning too

> Particularly in the [south Asian] communities men work, most of the men work, and many women are homemakers. It's not the order of things but this is how it worked out and in our way there's nobody in the house [speaking English] to help the children in terms of reading books or help them with their maths and things like that. One of my goals is to get more and more women to be educated to learn the basics of English and maths not just for everyday life that's one thing, the other thing is actually helping their children to become better.
>
> (male Muslim charity worker identifying with BGM heritage)

His commitment to women's and girls' education was clear.

Identity construction

There was one dissenting voice. A white male school leader working in 'Trojan Horse' school 3 (prior to the 'Trojan Horse' affair) revealed a deficit discourse to describe the Muslim community as insular, parental support and access to computers as limited, and communication as difficult, including children's limited access to the language of standardised tests. He considered that parental objections to music and dance education and residential trips were problematic. Family visits to London, namely 'to sit in another house with another family part of the same culture', were seen as limiting. Women's familial relationships and dress choices were criticised. He refused to accommodate Islamic practices. Overall, his tone was disparaging

> A lot of my female parents, mums, are only allowed to leave the front door and come to school, it's that 1950s Pakistan. Grandma is matriarch, so daughter-in-law does as told. […]
>
> The other thing that is quite difficult is that I've got parents for example have come down from [city] or wherever, […] who now wear the hijab with a [inaudible] and they do because in this community I've never seen as many parents who wear the hijab as I have here. The politicisation in the area is such that you're not seen as a good Muslim. So in order to fit in when people move from other communities they succumb.
>
> (white male school leader, 'Trojan Horse' school 3)

Children were not on 'equal footing' with children from other cultural backgrounds. Their difficulties were constructed as cultural and were not caused by structural inequalities such as poverty, poor education, housing and health services, racism and Islamophobia. Women were cast as lacking agency.

Whose views are valued?

At 'Trojan Horse' school 1, during the 'Trojan Horse' affair, a white woman school leader spoke in positive terms of the accommodation of religious practices such as providing halal meat in the school canteen, supporting fasting during Ramadan, and a school closure day for Eid (DuPont, 2018). Other religious festivals were also recognised. Lunchtime supervisors (usually women and often referred to as dinner ladies) (see, for example, Pike, 2010) were often parents but with minimal influence

> Often they've had children at the school or they have… sometimes have children or relatives at the school. But they are quite a marginalised kind of group of staff really, I think. They're quite invisible.
>
> (white woman middle leader, 'Trojan Horse' school 1)

It remains to consider the 'Trojan Horse' affair as an example of racialising sexism and sexualising racism and what the implications are for educational leadership, management and administration (ELMA).

Racialising sexism and sexualising racism/gendering Islamophobia

There are multiple examples of racialised sexism and sexualised racism here. Sexism is racialised when the dominant racial group assumes that sex discrimination, harassment, violence and misogyny are perpetrated by men of BGM heritages because of their race, ethnicity and/or religion (Ho, 2007). Hamel (2011) argues that denunciation of sexist and misogynist behaviours demonstrates integration with (white) Eurocentric society. Racism is sexualised, or Islamophobia gendered, when a discourse about Islam focuses on women's bodies (e.g. about what does or does not cover them). Claims that Islamic dress oppresses women demonstrate a desire to *un*cover them as a form of colonial exoticism (Ho, 2007) to reify a colonial narrative

(Hamdan, 2007). Islamic dress has transmuted to become a marker of resistance and threat to a 'British' way of life (e.g. Gove, 2006), if not an actual terrorist threat (Cannizzaro and Gholami, 2016) (see Orenstein and Weismann, 2016, for discussion of a British secular Muslim perspective). These twin concepts intertwine intersecting racial and sex discriminations that cannot be framed any other way (Larcher, 2018; Mukkamala and Suyemoto, 2018).

Men, women and girls

Muslim men were demonised by the 'Trojan Horse' affair (Abbas, 2017; Ali and Whitham, 2018; Poole, 2018). Antagonism towards British Muslim men in the public imagination erased one Muslim man's presence

> … Britain doesn't want to see my face anymore. You know, they don't really care. If I stand behind [white colleague], showing solidarity, what does that mean? As a British person, what does that mean? They don't care. They don't want to see me. And the problem is that's a minority, a tiny minority, and that's the British media. The overwhelming silent majority of Britain is flipping fantastic. But this silent majority, unfortunately, means [the minority is] very outspoken. At worst, Islamophobic, racist. At the least, ignorant minority. It means they don't want to see me. So, how British can I feel? How British am I allowed to feel?.
>
> (male Muslim support worker, BGM heritage, 'Trojan Horse' school 5)

Focusing on 'the conceptual Muslim' distracted the public from the reality of Islamophobia (Ali and Whitham, 2018, p. 400).

More recently, there has developed an account of Muslim male governors seeking educational equity for children (Abbas, 2017; BBC, 2016; Iqbal, 2019). But it is clear that the sharpness of Islamophobic discourse and rejection by the country was felt at the time and probably persists (see Seddon, 2010). Muslim men were framed as a homogenous group from whom Muslim women (also homogenised) must be rescued (Bhattacharyya, 2008; Farris, 2017; Spivak, 2010). Far from subordinating women, the two male Muslim interviewees here demonstrated commitment to the education and empowerment of women and girls (Fuller, 2013). Muslim men do not have a monopoly on sexism and misogyny; to think they do is an ideological fantasy (Ali and Whitham, 2018). So too it is an ideological fantasy that Muslim women and girls need rescuing and that schools in areas where Muslims are in the majority need rescuing.

Above, we have glimpsed Muslim women in professional roles, as teachers and school leaders, as lunchtime supervisors and support workers (despite previous experience as teachers) and as mothers prioritising childcare and the home. We have seen educationally successful Muslim girls taking on responsibility, aspiring to further/higher education as well as experiencing harassment and discrimination.

Staff complaints that women school leaders, educators and support staff were mistreated by school governors, school leaders or inspectors should not be trivialised or dismissed. Some women (and men) school leaders, from a range of faiths and heritages, found relations with school governors difficult as educational expectations and

religious or non-religious values were questioned (Fuller, 2018) and accommodations for Islamic faith and other cultural practices, namely Arabic lessons, facilitating prayer and single-sex swimming, were sought (Fuller, 2013; DuPont, 2018; MCB, 2007).

We cannot know precisely who reported what during the inspections and investigations: Muslim or non-Muslim women or women of white or BGM heritages. The Muslim Women's Network UK (MWNUK) (n.d.) and Shaista Gohir (BBC, 2020) make clear that Muslims were concerned about a particularly conservative Islamic ethos existing in non-faith mainstream education. According to the MWNUK (n.d.), there was pressure to wear the hijab in school through a discourse, adopted by a minority of Muslim male teachers and repeated by male students, that good Muslim girls wear hijabs. Some women and girls were challenged from within their faith and cultural communities (Fuller, 2018; Ho, 2007). 'Trojan Horse' was a story that needed to be told but without conflation with a discourse of radicalisation.

Accounts resonate with women's experiences of discrimination in education (Fuller, 2022). For Muslim women and women identifying with BGM heritages in particular, they take on additional force as intersectional discriminations regardless of who challenged their identity practice: governors and/or inspectors, Muslims or non-Muslims, white or of BGM heritages, and journalists and/or politicians (Fuller, 2018; see Chapter 4). School leaders spoke to the media about their concerns. (See, for example, embedded video showing five headteachers, possibly including Muslim and non-Muslim, white men and women of BGM heritages (Griffiths and Kerbaj, 2015; Weale, 2015).) The apparent readiness to adopt an unsubstantiated metanarrative presented by the hoax letter writer, the media and politicians has not been fully explained (BBC, 2016; HoC, 2014b). A BBC (2020) radio investigation concludes that an objective stance on the 'Trojan Horse' affair is impossible; a multiperspectival approach is vital in revealing the nature of subjectivity. One perspective was that right-wing politicians fuelled the media frenzy (BBC, 2020). It is fair to say that Gove (2006) articulated the ideology that drove the 'Trojan Horse' affair. There is an indication of an agent provocateur at work.

Now, several years later, after several changes of headteacher in some 'Trojan Horse' schools and stability in others, there has been a rise in the number of white women (from five to seven) and men (from two to six) in post at the apparent expense of men of recognised BGM heritages (from seven schools to two). The number of women of recognised BGM heritage in post remains the same (seven schools) (including a co-headship). These white women and men appear to have 'rescued' the schools from men recognised of BGM heritages, including Muslims; at a 'Trojan Horse' school, a social media post celebrating the appointment of a Muslim woman as headteacher was reported publicly and negatively (Clarke, 2014; Gilligan, 2014). That destabilised her leadership and relationships with staff before entering the building (the school was subsequently downgraded).

Dress codes became a focus for 'Trojan Horse' school inspections (Ali and Whitham, 2018). Wearing the hijab or headscarf in school has been criticised by HMCI Amanda Spielman (Weale, 2018). The school leader cited here, an immigrant from a former British colony during childhood and an educated and professional woman, chose to wear a hijab as a mark of Islamic faith (Hamdan, 2007). It is not to be read as a 'badge of allegiance towards Islamist politics' or the 'rejection

of Western values, liberalism and feminism particularly, [that mark] the wearer as one who has become an "internal exile"' (Gove, 2006, p. xii). Women and girls find themselves 'at the centre of an ideological battlefield where the advocates of gender, national and religious recognition/ reproduction seek to assert moral and political authority' (DuPont, 2018, p. 4). 'Trojan Horse' demonstrated the willingness of politicians, educationists (including inspectors) and journalists to inscribe Muslim women's dress with Islamophobic meanings.

The rescue narrative developed through Ofsted inspections related to the risk of female genital mutilation or forced marriage (or both). The degree of risk to girls in East Birmingham in relation to other forms of violence against women and girls in the UK needs further investigation (Home Office, 2018; Macfarlane and Dorkenoo, 2015).

There are implications for research, policy-making and practice.

Implications for ELMA

The real 'Trojan Horse' affair in this episode was the stealth-like use of the Ofsted inspection process to discipline schools and the Muslim communities they served, to promote nationalism through FBVs and counter-terrorism (Gilroy, 2016), and to enforce the relationships and sex education curriculum before it had been introduced (DfE, 2019). It is a clear case of using gender issues to create moral panic and use these policies as proxies for civic integration policy. There is a need for further research that examines school leaders' negotiation of changing political and education policy landscapes. The school leaders in 'Trojan Horse' schools were caught implementing New Labour's community cohesion policy (Cantle, 2001; Denham, 2001; Singh, 2007) when it had been dropped (from school inspections) in favour of a securitisation of education policy by the Coalition government (Haverig, 2013).

The Education Select Committee (HoC, 2014b) criticised inspection judgements. Members of the committee understood the influence of wider contemporary public discourse. Policy-makers must ensure independence in the school inspection system and allow a reasonable time for school leaders to implement new education policies.

There are implications for school leaders. The political astuteness required in turbulent times should not be underestimated. That applies when schools are under extraordinary public scrutiny or in other times of crisis. For example, at the time of writing, there is considerable education policy confusion during the Covid-19 global pandemic. It is essential that educational professionals learn to critically analyse policy directions, understand their institutions in the local and global context and recognise why particular issues 'come to be centre stage while others are sidelined' (Thomson et al., 2014, p. xii). In short, universities have a role in supporting the development of critical thinking skills.

Summary

This chapter used Farris's (2017) conceptualisation of femonationalism to explain the way gender issues were used as a focus for media attention and to initiate an investigation into 21 Birmingham schools. Gender issues became a line of inquiry in school

inspections and, when there was no evidence of radicalisation, were used by Ofsted as a disciplinary mechanism to regulate schools and communities where Muslims were in the majority. Femonationalism enabled discussion of 'Trojan Horse' through the lenses of interest convergence, ideological formation and the neoliberal political economy to show examples of racialised sexism and sexualised racism. Women and girls found themselves in the crossfire in an ideological battle. There has been no recompense for the harm caused to school staff and students or the communities in which they lived and worked. It is hoped that this account and other scholarly (e.g. Holmwood and O'Toole, 2018), media (e.g. BBC, 2016, 2020) and artistic (e.g. Monks and Woodhead, 2019) works will begin to serve as a form of narrative justice.

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Part IV

Next steps for feminist scholars in ELMA

10 Whose feminist theory?

Introduction

The fourth-wave feminist perspectives used to explore contemporary educational leadership throughout this book are underpinned by the concept of intersectionality first articulated during the third wave of feminism. It remains a foundation in the fourth wave. In this chapter, I discuss inter-related and overlapping features stemming from intersectionality thinking in this work, including the simultaneity of intersectionality, the inclusivity of intersectionality, and the intersections of affective temporality (anger and hope) as an impetus for feminist leadership praxis. These features have implications for the feminist theorisation of women, gender and feminism in educational leadership, management and administration (ELMA) during the twenty-first century. This is so particularly in relation to the questions: Whose feminism prevails? What sort of feminism prevails? What is understood by feminism, gender and other forms of social justice? How do those understandings inform leadership practice? There are implications for the development of research methods in feminist methodology designed to explore, for example, feminist leadership praxis and its outcomes for students, staff, communities and society.

Affective temporality relates to the feeling of anger arising from experiences of marginalisation, discrimination, oppression and violence as symptoms of multiple, intersecting structural injustices (i.e. representative, cultural and economic) in a given temporal and geopolitical context. It is accompanied by optimism or the hope of educators, leaders, scholars and activists who seek change (Chamberlain, 2017; Freire, 2014; hooks, 1994, 2003; Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012) through affirmative or transformative actions (or both) (Blackmore, 2016). Feminist leadership praxis occurs at the intersection of theoretically and politically informed leadership practice when leaders articulate what motivates them to lead with social justice in mind. Inclusivity relates to working towards, in Nancy Fraser's words, parity of participation in education, leadership, professional activism, scholarship and policy-making from the early years to higher and adult education (PK–21) (Blackmore, 2016). Intersectionality is framed as simultaneity in identity, institutional and social practices (Holvino, 2010), in powerlessness and empowerment, and emotionality and outlook in leadership. Intersectionality articulates pluralist theorisations. It imagines more explicit inclusion of research participants in the use and development of feminist perspectives.

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This chapter explores each of these ideas. It ends by summarising the implications for scholarship, policy-makers and practice.

A fourth-wave feminist perspective on contemporary educational leadership

It is usual for the scholar's feminist perspective to prevail in the theorisation of ELMA. After all, 'understandings of feminisms accrue from the individual theorists' positionality: epistemologically, ontologically, and methodologically' (Wallin, 2015, p. 82). Wallin (2015) points out the importance of recognising the scholar's privilege and the reader's responsibility to read critically.

Intersectional feminism dominates this account of ELMA to provide an overarching theoretical perspective. In Chapter 1, I accounted for my positionality with autobiographical notes about my relationship with different waves of feminism and revealed the juxtaposition of histories of socioeconomic precarity, stability and white privilege (also Fuller, 2020). An intersectional focus is informed by a political commitment to inclusivity in scholarship that seeks to amplify women's polyvocality in the diversity of 'races', ethnicities, cultural and religious heritages (Chapters 3, 4 and 7) and the diverse sexes, genders and sexualities, particularly of minoritised and marginalised educational leaders (Chapter 5), educators and the learners they serve (Chapters 6 and 9).

This book represents a feminist project as a social justice project; that is its axiological foundation. Ontologically, epistemologically and methodologically intersectional feminism informed my worldview of whose knowledge is valued, who produces knowledge, and how and for what purpose. Knowledge was produced for the purpose of taking action. It was designed to be emancipatory in its recognition of difference (i.e. to promote cultural justice). It exposed multilevel barriers to parity of participation, namely legislation (Chapter 5), public discourse (political and media) and state intervention (Chapter 9), and systemic racism (Chapter 3). It exposed representative and economic injustices, namely women's under-representation in leadership (secondary and tertiary education), men's disproportionate achievement of leadership (primary education), dominance in low-paid work in education, and the gender pay gap (Chapter 8).

There is disparity of participation in educational leadership in England. At the institutional level, leaders were committed to working towards social justice (Chapter 6) but there are limits to what might be achieved without system-level solutions (Blackmore, 2016). Grassroots movements and feminist scholarship influenced policy-making in the short term, but good intentions have not translated into sustainable actions, although there were grants for activities designed to improve diversity in school leadership (DfE, 2016).

Next, I provide an overview of existing intersectionality-informed scholarship. I frame intersectionality as simultaneity and show how intersectional feminism in a fourth-wave theorisation takes us further by looking at the implications for ELMA in terms of scholarship, practice and policy-making.

Intersectionality in ELMA

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, intersectionality scholarship in ELMA focuses on multilevel identity, institutional and social practices (Holvino, 2010). Studies focus

on institutional practice phase by phase in early years education (e.g. Curtis, 2017), primary education (e.g. Jones and Ludhra, 2019) and secondary schools (e.g. Fuller, 2013), across school phases (e.g. Moorosi et al., 2018), in further education (e.g. Lumby, 2006), higher education (e.g. Morley, 2013) and the wider social context in which educators and leaders work and research takes place (e.g. Shields, 2004).

Intersectionality-sensitive instruments have been developed (e.g. Fuller, 2020; Lumby and Morrison, 2010) and counter-narratives examined through intersectionality-informed analytical frameworks (e.g. Lumby, 2015a; Moorosi, 2014) using the concept as an interpretive paradigm (e.g. Foster, 2005; Rusch and Horsford, 2009). Theorisations of 'race' and gender in ELMA cite Crenshaw's (1991) scholarship (e.g. Horsford, 2010; Parker and Villalpando, 2004) and variously draw on intersectionality theory to understand 'race', gender, spirituality and leadership (e.g. Witherspoon and Taylor, 2010), to consider the social construction of identity and leadership (e.g. Christman and McClellan, 2008) or to avoid oversimplification (e.g. Lumby and Heystek, 2012).

Reference to 'intercentricity' (e.g. Smith, Yosso and Solórzano, 2007) or the interaction of multiple dimensions of identity (Blackmore, 2010) reveals semantic differences possibly stemming from different theoretical perspectives such as critical race, postcolonial, critical pedagogy, feminist and social justice theories but with which ELMA scholarship rarely engages (Blackmore, 2010, 2016).

Intersectionality scholarship is largely located in English-speaking, settled countries focusing on the experiences of Indigenous women principals, such as Canada and New Zealand (e.g. Fitzgerald, 2006) or post-Apartheid South Africa (Moorosi, 2010, 2014; Lumby, 2015a). Comparative intercultural perspectives and intercontinental accounts use the concept (e.g. Lumby, 2009, 2015b (the UK and South Africa)); Lyman et al., 2012). However, even when work is framed as intersectional (e.g. Bogotch, 2017; Tillman, 2017), in a collection dedicated to racially and ethnically diverse women leading education, just half the contributions draw explicitly on the concept: for example, Jean-Marie et al., 2017 (the US); Santamaría et al., 2017 (New Zealand); and Lopez and Solomon-Henry, 2017 (Canada). Scholars based in the UK use intersectionality in ELMA (tentatively sometimes), including in a broadening range of country contexts, namely in South and South East Asia (for example, see Miller, 2017) where each country shared the experience of British colonialism. Given the magnitude of the ELMA canon, intersectionality has not exactly become a 'scholarly buzzword' (Nash, 2008, p. 3). There is room for further intersectional feminist scholarship in ELMA.

Looking through a lens of simultaneity

Holvino's (2010, 2012) conceptualisation of identity, institutional and social practices as simultaneously oppressive and empowering depending on circumstances and relationships enables a theorisation of complex and shifting identities within multilevel contexts, including the transnational. Multiple feminist frameworks – namely socialist, poststructuralist and transnational/postcolonial/'Third World' – enable recognition of the simultaneity of race, gender and class as they operate together (Holvino, 2010).

Headteachers' accounts demonstrated the simultaneity of multidimensional identity practice; the simultaneity of identity practice as it intersected with institutional, social, political and postcolonial practices; and the simultaneity of pain (associated with multiple oppressions as cultural, representative and economic injustices) and power (associated with the apparent privilege located in achieving educational and professional excellence and formal leadership positions).

The simultaneity of multidimensional identity practice

An intersectional feminist perspective recognises the simultaneity of multidimensional identity practice in lived identities (Mirza, 2015) rather than an additive model that calculates a number or hierarchy of oppressions. It rejects the fixity of intersecting dimensions of identity in favour of recognising fluidity in dynamic identity construction (Ali et al., 2010).

Headteachers, #WomenEd and other school leaders inscribed the '"messiness" of simultaneously lived identities' (Mirza, 2015, p. 4) in terms of 'race', gender, social class, ethnicity, religion and sexuality. Professional identities subverted stereotypes by countering the white, heterosexual male hegemony of educational leadership and refuting the stereotypes of minoritised women (Ladson-Billings, 2009). Whilst there was no sense of a hierarchy of oppressions, it was clear at different ages and career stages, or in particular institutional, socio-historical-cultural and geopolitical contexts, that one dimension might be more influential than another in terms of career progression (Wilson et al., 2006). For example, motherhood and other care responsibilities determined degrees of resistance to discriminatory practices (Fuller, 2018, 2022). Headteachers' politicisation occurred at different times to varying degrees (Moorosi et al., 2017) in relation to the collisions at particular intersections, for example, of culture, gender and professional identity or maternity, gender and professional identity. Painful dissonances occurred in such simultaneously held coexisting identifications (Morley, 2013).

The simultaneity of identity, institutional, social and postcolonial practices

Identity practice cannot be separated from multilevel institutional, systemic, socio-historical-cultural and geopolitical practices such as postcolonialism, public discourses about Islam, societal attitudes to sexual and gender diversity, sexism, misogyny and sexual violence. Educational leaders simultaneously are formed by and reproduce institutional and social practices (Moorosi et al., 2018). Institutional racism and heterosexism existed in settings where educational values were not shared and expectations of educational achievements were low (Fuller, 2018, 2022). Gendered racism occurred in the selection process. Sexist attitudes and practices were experienced by women with care responsibilities, in specific faith communities or because of their sexuality (Fuller, 2018, 2022). The refusal of flexible working arrangements or the necessity of taking time out for reasons of care led headteachers to exercise agency and maximise their time away from school or to conceal their sexuality. Such experiences led them to exercise leadership with social justice in mind (Moorosi et al., 2018) (Chapter 6).

The hegemony of white heterosexual male leadership in the education system was challenged when headteachers identifying with Black and global majority (BGM) heritages compared experiences of achieving and practising leadership with those of white men, identified white male leadership of the education system, or when leaders described the heterosexual masculinist culture in their organisations. Their embodiment of school leadership challenged it in predominantly white institutions and multi-racial, multi-ethnic single and multi-faith institutions. Responses to those challenges construct those who speak or stand out as members of a 'group' such as women, people of BGM heritages, Muslims, and people of minoritised and diverse genders and sexualities as 'troublesome individual[s] whose problem is theirs and theirs alone' (Ali, 2009, p. 83; Fuller, 2018). That is, white heterosexual masculinity is universalised whereas other majority-minorities are treated as having particular interests. Participants noted the changing nature of racism, heterosexism, homo/transphobia over time, such as more covert but no less painful forms of racism, multiple everyday racial aggressions, the racialisation of religion, and the repeal of Section 28 legislation (Chapter 5).

Leaders who identified with BGM heritages were aware of changing constructions of 'raced' identities across geographical spaces in the UK, namely increased visibility in some regions. Transnational identities (in African Caribbean, Middle Eastern, and North and South American countries) meant that a sense of belonging was enhanced, linguistic capital valued, stereotypes refuted, the postcolonial perspective was understood and an international perspective on education and leadership was available.

Only one headteacher recounted personal knowledge of the brutalities of colonialism and decolonisation, contemporary or within living memory. But participants identifying with BGM heritages and their extended families were aware of the persisting legacy of the British Empire (e.g. Andrews, 2021; Sanghera, 2021) regardless of whether they were taught it in the English school system (Tomlinson, 2019). Contemporary geopolitics demonstrate that the repercussions of British colonialism and decolonisation continue in the twenty-first century, such as in the Yemen and Hong Kong and the 'war on terror' (Chapter 9). In the UK, the mistreatment of the Windrush generation (i.e. those who moved to the UK without documentation before 1973) resulted in misrecognition as illegal immigrants, wrongful detention, denial of legal rights, and threatened and actual deportation in 2018. People lost jobs and homes, were denied benefits and medical care, and were refused re-entry into the UK (e.g. Rawlinson, 2018). These sociohistorical and geopolitical accounts underpin postcolonial understandings of women's sense of unbelonging during childhood, through education (Maylor, 1995) and into professional careers.

The simultaneity of pain and power

A multilevel conceptualisation of the simultaneity of pain associated with the oppressions and injustices described above, and power associated with the apparent acquisition of privilege through educational and professional achievement, demonstrates the ambivalence of leaders' experiences of achieving and practising leadership. In developing an understanding of changing social locations, agency is recognised *and*

attention is given to the role of the state and the multiple oppressions of colonialism, racism and misogyny. There are difficulties in 'forging women's alliances for change' (Holvino, 2010, p. 260). An inclusive Black British feminist perspective provided a 'third space' in which to think about educational and professional experiences (Bhabha, 1994; Mirza, 1997; Spivak, 2010) to see a strategic approach to professional activism in schools and communities, and beyond the institutions they lead to a national and international stage (e.g. BAMEed, 2019). A queer theory perspective provided a way to explain fluctuations in the experiences of leaders of minoritised genders and sexualities. Digital feminist and men's pro-feminist perspectives helped to explain how women (and men) were raising consciousness about the pain of multiple injustices and using their power to empower others. Thinking with femonationalism exposed how gender justice is exploited in far- and centre-right political and media discourses. Intersecting feminist theorisations enabled an explanation of the simultaneity of pain and power. Indeed, the extent of privilege and power in leadership to lead in socially just ways was made clear.

The inclusivity of intersectionality

An intersectional feminist approach to scholarship is necessarily inclusive. It recognises diverse 'races', ethnicities, cultural and religious heritages and diverse sexes, genders and sexualities, particularly of minoritised and marginalised educational leaders, educators and the learners they serve. It includes the minoritised religious perspectives of women of faith whether they self-identify as feminist or as activists for gender justice (Badran, 2008; Barlas, 2008; Khan, 2019; Safi, 2003).

Politically, intersectional feminism is not separatist. Rather, it forges alliances with marginalised groups, such as gay men and men who identify with BGM heritages. It is trans-inclusionary. It makes allies of pro-feminist men. In professional activist work, men who embodied white, male, heterosexual privilege engaged in a strategic inclusionary alliance with a professional activist movement that champions women's leadership in education (Chapters 7 and 8). The men who were invited to participate supported #WomenEd; they did not demand inclusion. They were required to 'promote parity of participation and not enhance systemic advantage' (Blackmore, 2016, p. 9). They recognised and acknowledged their privilege. Feelings of marginalisation were encountered for the first time in a space dominated by empowered women. Such feelings alongside a political commitment to gender and social justice provided impetus to audit organisations for economic injustice (gender pay gap), work towards representative justice (by entering dialogue), and cultural justice (by recognising diversity).

Affective temporality as a motivating factor

It is not unusual for research participants to express intense emotions (including anger) about education policy and its impact on leadership work (e.g. Fuller, 2019a; Mestry and Schmidt, 2012). In the research projects that informed this book, women headteachers expressed anger towards structural and individual acts of discrimination, including racism. It is worth exploring this further.

Anger was controlled, rather than displayed, as an act of political resistance in wider society (Zorn and Boler, 2007). Sharon's mother never let racism get in the way of her aspiration to achieve. Sharon repeated the message for her children:

> I suppose the thought never crossed my mind, I don't think, that I couldn't do anything. Racism didn't really, while it will have touched Mum because she came here in the fifties and she will tell the stories of the difficulties that she had when she first came here, it was never in a negative sense. It was never as if she felt that it was something she needed to get back at people for or, "I'm going to show people". It was kind of almost that's how it was and you just get on with it. You find your way through it.
>
> (Sharon)

The everyday reality of racism was not dismissed, nor did it stop children from achieving:

> I'm not saying, "Oh it doesn't matter", or, "It's not really happening". It's happening and it's real and it's wrong and I'm angry about it, but it's not going to make me outwardly angry and make me kind of make a big deal about it and neither is it going to stop me from doing what I want to do. It's just there.
>
> (Sharon)

Sharon reflected on how racism and responses to it changed over time:

> At the time in the seventies I suppose it was fine to call people names, you know, nobody ever addressed it in school. I was called names all the time and I kind of grew up with that being how it was. If you told somebody, nobody really did anything about it. […]. Obviously it changed as I was going into my teens… you reported it and somebody did something about it. Then obviously as I became an adult when my children were born, it […] absolutely wasn't acceptable and so with my children, they're mixed-race, when they encountered any kind of name-calling or racism, it was absolutely dealt with. My view was "yes you deal with it, you report it, you tell your teacher or you do whatever", but actually you just have to get on with it because that's the colour of your skin. It doesn't mean anything. It doesn't stop you from doing anything. It's a positive thing. There are benefits to it. […] It was just what it is. […] I'm aware […] that for some white people there is not that understanding that for Black people, most days the colour of our skin is brought to our attention by something. That's what I live with and it's not a negative thing. It doesn't impact me negatively, but I am absolutely aware that I am a Black woman in this society. That, in the same way at school I was in the minority, in this profession I'm in the minority; and so an example of that will be the secondment that I'm doing at the moment. For three days a week I am seconded to work in schools across [city] and one of the things that I put in my application was that [city's] young people, you know, forty per cent of [city's] young people are non-white, and yet the people that drive the education in the city are all white. All white, middle-aged, mostly they're men. That can't be

> right. And I thought, "Okay. It's either going to get me the job or it's not going to get you the job". [Laughs] […] There's a bit of me that is having to accept that when young Black girls see me, you know, the majority of the children in this school are of an ethnic minority, if that makes sense, that for them, they can see me as a Black woman and say, "Actually I can do that. I can be a teacher. I can be a Headteacher." I'm aware of that. Do I like it? I don't think I do. I just want to be me, but I'm aware that because I'm now in his position, that people will look at me as a representative or as a role-model…
>
> (Sharon)

Sharon's professional activism in leadership was affirmative. It was designed to make incremental changes – such as critiquing the promotions process, developing and holding to a shared vision for the school, and engaging in dialogue with children about racist bullying (between children identifying with different BGM heritages) – by working with colleagues and children who identified with BGM heritages. She sought to change the system beyond the school by engaging with it from within (Blackmore, 2016; Fuller, 2019a).

Anger was suppressed as a form of social control because expression of emotion was inappropriate in leadership, particularly for women or other minorities (Blackmore, 2013)

> You can't be angry with people because you're being a leader and you have to kind of reason with them, but I was quite surprised by [one woman's negative response to a proposed middle leadership job share with a new mother], but I've seen it again and again'.
>
> (senior leader in Administrative, Professional, Managerial and support A)

As noted in Chapter 4, it impacted negatively on interview performance: 'I just remember [the comment about my parents was] because I'm Asian and I just switched off after that, after what they were saying, because I was so angry at the time' (Nazia). Talking about 'race' was interpreted as being angry

> If I speak about 'race', [the response is] "Oh she's angry". [Laughing] And when I speak about women in leadership, it's like, it's not that [response] "She's angry", it's "Oh that's interesting. What's that?" But there's an expectation that I would talk about that.
>
> (#WomenEd regional leader F)

Anger and activism were connected. Presentation and analysis of teaching workforce data that revealed representative, economic and cultural injustices via social media prompted action: 'I think that was the first time I'd ever really seen the data [in England about women's underrepresentation in school leadership] like that and it angered me greatly' (#WomenEd co-founder G). The injustice of under-representation and economic injustice of the gender pay gap were specific motivators. Moving from a description of practical international social activism, transporting supplies at the end of civil conflict, to talking about the professional activism of #WomenEd, a co-founder said

> I've always kind of felt as if something makes me angry and I want to do something about it. I actually have to do something about [it] rather than just stand at the side-lines and comment.
>
> (#WomenEd co-founder D)

Anger was an impetus for action that resonates with 'anger for social justice' that must override 'sympathy' (Dantley and Green, 2015, p. 822). Anger in feminist politics has two perspectives: the collective anger that women feel and face (e.g. Holmes, 2004; hooks, 2015). Anger is a 'motivating factor' that leads to politically charged acts of collective resistance (Blackmore, 2013, p. 147, 2020).

I recognised anger in Annette's demeanour when she described low educational expectations among white liberals. Perhaps she observed sympathy rather than anger. Perhaps that led to a politically neoconservative valorisation of traditional curriculum knowledges and ways of being she saw necessary for the navigation of the education system and society (Chapter 6). Unintentional non-verbal responses from the interviewer or regret for expressing anger and frustration so clearly might have caused substantial revisions of the transcript.

One interview turned towards explicit discussion of Chamberlain's (2017) conceptualisation of anger and hope in fourth-wave feminism. It followed discussion of bravery and the problematisation of a long-standing commonly held view that women lack confidence. The participant's impetus for action was prompted by the value of justice; she would stand up for anyone treated unfairly. Referring directly to Chamberlain (2017) and Ahmed's (2017) blogpost 'Wound Up', I recounted an experience of talking about anger in the workplace

> [Chamberlain (2017)] argues that it's a combination of anger and hope that leads us to act. And so I've been re-owning my anger and I've been re-stating my anger in open public fora where I've felt safe to do so; which is probably being in an equality, diversity and inclusion forum at work. And I've been openly saying to colleagues who turn up to that, "It makes me angry and I feel angry". And I'm fascinated because people think that's so negative and actually it galvanises [me] to action. And if it's with hope as well, then there's a degree of optimism because we wouldn't do anything if we didn't think we might possibly change something. But it's not anything to do with confidence.
>
> (Kay)

My interlocutor was attracted to channelling anger for social justice

> Yeah. I mean that's lovely because it is almost like anger which has a direction. It has a purpose. It's a means to an end rather than an end in itself and a kind of an explosion really, a destructive explosion. It could be actually a very constructive creative power (middle leader B).
>
> (Chapter 5)

Interview responses were peppered with expressions of hope and optimism that resonated with pedagogies of hope (Freire, 2014; hooks, 1994, 2003). Headteachers identifying

with BGM heritages, #WomenEd leaders and the men who engaged with #WomenEd were hopeful of creating a more equitable education system for learners and employees. They were committed to education and leadership for social justice. Equity sat alongside educational excellence (Fuller and Berry, 2019). Even though some #WomenEd participants worked in exclusive organisations (i.e. independent fee-paying, selective, single-sex, faith-based schools and universities), educational leaders were largely

> committed to the comprehensive ideal of inclusive education. Attention to curricular breadth and balance, alongside children's safety and happiness, aimed to develop children as contributors to society, in and outside the workplace, as decent, caring, confident, moral and happy people.
>
> (Fuller, 2019a, p. 39)

A #WomenEd co-founder identifying as a social activist demonstrated a positive mindset: 'If I feel that it's for the greater good, I do tend to think that it's better to channel your energy into making things better' (#WomenEd co-founder E). Leaders were sustained by the 'soul food' of leadership

> Kids, staff, it's – there's a joy, true joy and that again sounds very apple-pie-ish but there is and I'll get four days of rubbish but I'll get one good moment and it's like you soar – you just soar, yeah. I do… (laughs).
>
> (Aileen adapted from Fuller, 2015)

Intersecting emotionality includes 'individualised expressions of anxiety, fear, anger, frustration that are often politically charged, informing and informed by practices of collective resistance (e.g. #MeToo)' (Blackmore, 2020, p. 28; Fuller, 2019a) *and* hope. The combination is increasingly expressed openly by women leaders in education using social media (Chapter 7). There is potential for feminist leadership praxis.

Feminist leadership praxis

Feminist leadership praxis comprises leadership predicated on a commitment to gender justice through feminist politics and theories. Women's values-driven feminist leadership and management have focused on social justice (i.e. leading with emancipatory intent) (e.g. Adler et al., 1993; Fuller, 2012, 2013; Grogan and Shakeshaft, 2011; Hall, 1996). The influences of feminist politics on teaching and leadership practice have been demonstrated (e.g. Fuller, 2013; Santamaría, 2014; Shields, 2010; Wilkinson et al., 2010).

Leaders who consciously base their leadership practice on feminist theories and politics to develop socially just and transformative leadership designed to benefit the community would seek to establish 'parity of participation' in the organisations they lead (Blackmore, 2016, p. 9). Collaborative curriculum development might not *just* be a way to make schooling relevant or even to build on existing funds of knowledge, identity and community cultural wealth in the processes of learning and teaching (Santamaría and Santamaría, 2012) (Chapter 6). It might also be a way to establish socially just leadership for socially just education in a socially just society (Blackmore, 2016; Grundy, 1987, 1993).

Blackmore (2016, p. 8) explains and explores Nancy Fraser's feminist conceptualisation of parity of participation in ELMA. Apparent tensions between economic and cultural injustices (i.e. maldistribution and misrecognition) are better conceived as inter-related: 'Any economic response has cultural consequences and a cultural response can have economic consequences; they can infringe or undermine each other' (Blackmore, 2016, p. 8). Fraser resolved the tension with representation as a key concept alongside recognition and redistribution within the norm of parity of participation: 'women are not only present on committees but are listened to and have a capacity to inform and make decisions' (Blackmore, 2016, p. 9). Women's under-representation in leadership is a political or representative injustice. It has been the focus of much scholarship to date (Chapter 2).

Blackmore (2016) links the conditions for parity of participation specifically with women leaders' lived realities. For example, the objective condition that would ensure the independence and voice necessary for participation must take account of the context and circumstances that deny opportunities to interact as peers (i.e. the '7/24 conditions of work [that] make family life difficult', p. 10) (e.g. Fuller, 2022). The intersubjective condition demands equal respect and equal opportunity for achieving social esteem regarding the burden of ascribed difference or failure to recognise distinctiveness: 'the dilemma for women in leadership who are damned if they are seen to be too feminine and damned if they are not feminine enough; or where whiteness is never named, but other "colour is"' (Blackmore, 2016, p. 10) (also e.g. Fuller, 2014, 2018).

Blackmore's (2016) discussion of social justice as parity of participation in ELMA resonates with features of fourth-wave intersectional feminism. Representative, cultural and economic injustices are intertwined. They are intersectional. They operate simultaneously. Developing measures to address social injustices requires understanding of the simultaneity of intersectionality and inclusivity in the solution-finding process.

There is much evidence in this book of explicit commitment to and knowledge about feminism among leaders (Chapters 7 and 8). There is much evidence of knowledge about intersectional inequalities in women's lives (Chapters 3, 4 and 5) (Fuller, 2022). Where individuals de-identified as feminist, they nevertheless demonstrated commitment to gender and other forms of social justice. Educational leaders were motivated to enact educational leadership for social justice in their educational settings (e.g. Grogan and Shakeshaft, 2011); to think, read, write and speak beyond their organisations; and to mobilise collectively to resist structures and systems that perpetuate unequal power relations. The framing of this work as feminist activism for gender or social justice matters in feminist leadership praxis because it is founded on political commitment and articulation of theoretical understanding, for example, of intersectional feminist, critical race or postcolonial perspectives and the importance of cultural wealth in education (Chapters 3, 4 and 6). How leaders articulate their understanding and commitment and how they inform their everyday practice need further exploration. They have implications for scholarship in ELMA.

Implications for ELMA

This politically charged and theoretically informed understanding of, and commitment to feminism as social justice (i.e. equality for girls and women, including with one another and not just with boys and men) frame the feminist leadership praxis

proposed as a seventh stage of research (Chapter 2). Exploration of feminist leadership praxis would take the field of women, gender and feminism in ELMA from a focus on leader identities to a focus on socially just practice. As well as providing a focus for future research, this book identifies further implications relating to existing research, the development of feminist methodology and future feminist theorisations.

To date, there is no integrated review of the literature. Maps of existing literature from multiple perspectives – namely geographical, theoretical, empirical (e.g. Grogan and Shakeshaft, 2011; Shakeshaft, 1987), political and chronological – are needed (Chapter 2). Further feminist perspectives not explored here – namely the relationship between postfeminism, neoliberal feminism, moderate feminism and ELMA (e.g. Jones, 2020; Tzanakou and Pearce, 2019), ecofeminism and ELMA (e.g. Furman and Grunewald, 2004) – need mapping. Existing and upcoming challenges of the twenty-first century – such as women's climate crisis activism and education about the causes and search for solutions; ongoing social divisions brought about by conflict between and within nation states; and the positive and negative effects of technology-enabled social media and data generation (Fuller, 2019b) – need exploration as they relate to ELMA.

The multidimensional, polyvocal properties of intersectionality assist the ethical representation of lived realities that includes research participants' articulation and interpretation of difference. Increased agency in self-representation through the co-theorisation of diversity in ELMA would enable participants to articulate feminist, gender and social justice perspectives on their leadership. Exploration of participants' understandings of feminism and commitment to gender justice would expose similarities and differences between scholars' and research participants' perspectives to enable more inclusive co-construction of knowledge, such as feminist discourses of equality, equity, intersectionality and pro-feminist discourses of gender justice.

Evidence here comes largely from self-reports. Exploration of feminist leadership praxis requires longitudinal ethnographic methods to tease out lived realities and impacts in the everyday lives of staff, students and communities. Research might best be framed as participatory action research whereby individuals become researchers of their own practice (Grundy, 1993). Feminist scholars of ELMA might facilitate research design and discussion, interpretation and theorisation of findings and provide mentorship in research practice and an external critical perspective. There is also responsibility in educational leadership programmes for supporting practitioners' navigation of dissonance between feminist politics and values and dominant neoliberal educational leadership discourses, particularly in contexts like England, where framing educational leadership in terms of social justice might be risking 'professional suicide' (Slater et al., 2014, p. 114).

Intersectional theorisations, namely where theories are brought together to enhance the feminist theorisation of women, gender and feminism in ELMA (Chapter 2), are necessary in ethical representations of narratives. Here, multi-perspectival feminist lenses reflected the intersectional identities of participants, such as Black British feminism (Chapter 3), Islam and gender (Chapter 4), queer theory (Chapter 5), digital feminism (Chapter 7), pro-feminism (Chapter 8) and femonationalism (Chapter 9). The aim was to recognise and draw on appropriate feminist perspectives in an exploration of lived realities. Intersectionality enables and requires pluralist theorisation (Blackmore, 2016).

Importantly, Nash (2008) argues for a theorisation of the ways that privilege and oppression intersect, against a simple homogenisation of Black women's oppression and white men's privilege. Intersectionality explains multiple interconnecting privileges experienced by white women (Carbado, 2013) who as scholars, educators and leaders develop reflexive self-awareness and critical consciousness (e.g. Fuller, 2020). But the stubborn persistence in re-centring whiteness can further enhance instead of abolish white privilege (Ignatiev, 1997; Ahmed, 2004) even when the aim is to expose 'the way that a white woman "can simultaneously be just a woman and stand in for all women"' (Carbado, 2013, p. 823). The search for ways to decentre whiteness in ELMA continues.

Collins (2000) argues that intersectional paradigms explain and unpick the structural relations of power and knowledge contained in a persistently fixed social organisation of oppression, a matrix of domination containing the simultaneously intersecting structures of race, class, gender and sexuality, although how those oppressions are experienced differently depends on context. The stubbornness of existing structural arrangements necessitates an ongoing feminist project for social justice.

Implications for practice relate to a strategic pluralist approach that ensures that feminists 'work on a range of fronts simultaneously; using a multiplicity of feminist theories and strategies' (Blackmore, 1999, p. 47). Multilevel challenges include an individualist liberal feminist goal of career advancement and a collectivist liberal feminist goal of achieving equal representation with men in educational leadership. Both entail reciprocal activities that support women (i.e. coaching and mentoring). That goes alongside a third-/fourth-wave intersectional feminist goal of recognising women's different lived experiences of multiple inequalities relating to identity, institutional and social practices, namely identifying with BGM heritages, Islam, minoritised genders and sexualities, pregnancy and maternity, disability in unequal organisations, education system and society. They include more radical work in 'daring to be different' in leadership, 'tackling an unfair system' (Featherstone and Porritt, 2021, p. vi) and establishing equitable work and learning places, namely where school visions are developed from the whole community and learners hold leaders to account for equitable practices (Chapter 6).

Policy-makers are faced with the further exposure of centuries-old structural inequalities during the Covid-19 pandemic and its aftermath. Expressions of anger are intense. Women and girls and pro-feminist men and boys are angered by police officers' ill treatment of people of colour, protestors and vigil-keepers, such as George Floyd, who was murdered by police in the US, and women handcuffed by wo/men police officers at Sarah Everard's vigil in the UK. The multiple representative, cultural and economic injustices exposed in education and wider society must be addressed in the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic. There is a place for pro/feminist educational leaders in that dialogue.

Summary

This chapter drew conclusions about the use of feminist perspectives in the explanation of ELMA in the twenty-first century. In particular, intersectional feminism provided a way to theorise about the multiple injustices faced by those who identify as

girls and women, particularly those of minoritised heritages, genders and sexualities. The conceptualisation of intersectionality as simultaneity enables problematisation of (white) power and privilege alongside multiple oppressions, inequalities and injustices. The chapter advocates for inclusive research that takes account of research participants' intersectional identities, enables explicit discussion of feminist perspectives with participants and enables practitioners to research their own practice in feminist leadership praxis. Strategic pluralism enables feminists to engage in multiple ways for multiple reasons. There is a repertoire of feminist perspectives at our disposal that will enable us to think, debate, teach, write and engage in feminist leadership praxis.

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