

THE UNDERREPRESENTATION OF BLACK AND MINORITY ETHNIC
PEOPLE IN THE LEADERSHIP OF CHILDREN'S LEARNING: CHANCE,
COINCIDENCE OR DESIGN?

By

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A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Education and Social Justice

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University of Birmingham

June 2019

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ABSTRACT

My research thesis reports on the under-representation of Black and minority ethnic (BAME) people in the leadership of children's learning. The research utilises Critical Race Theory and a mixed method approach. The mixed methods involved 22 semi-structured interviews; a survey of 152 Local Authorities (LA) with responsibility for education in their area; documentary web-based research of 50 sampled LA's Workforce Monitoring (WFM) Reports; and the use of current newspaper reports to highlight and broaden the links to inequality more generally. The purpose of the research is to answer the question of whether the under-representation of BAME people in the leadership of children's learning, initially identified as far back as 1985, remains because of chance, coincidence or by design? The research identifies over 40 separate codes emerging from interviews with BAME leaders in children's learning. These codes include low expectations, awareness of their position, the need to be better, monitoring, the complexity of racism and the difficulties of talking about racism. These codes analysed with data from the LA survey and WFM reports have been grouped into nine themes presented in four empirical chapters. Each theme, for example Surveillance, Professional Development, Leadership and Policy draw on the data derived from the different methods of data gathering and analysis. My research data evidences that discrimination on an individual, institutional and structural level is still experienced in the leadership of children's learning. The extent of this discrimination can only be explained in that it is designed. Policies that further deregulate and fragment the provision of education through schools and

allied support structures only exacerbate this situation and therefore maintain White male supremacy in the leadership of children's learning.

DEDICATION

To Jayne, Alex, Abi and Alice. You have each made all this possible

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been a long journey to be sitting here and thinking about all those people who I want to thank. Primarily my family, Jayne and the children Alex, Abi and Alice (who are now all grown up and wonderful). The start of my journey was due to the teaching of Basil Davies, Peter Firth, Diane Garston and Bob Slaughter at Nonington . They were the first to treat me as an academic. Bob Ferguson, Manuel Alvarado and Phillip Drummond of the Media Studies Department at the Institute of Education supported me to achieve an MA. Alan O'Shea and Bill Schwarz at what was East London Polytechnic's Department of Cultural Studies who encouraged me in my first efforts at post-graduate research. I also want to thank colleagues in the Education Department of the British Film Institute: Cary Bazalgette, David Lusted, Peter Cook and Tana Wollen. I also had a few very informative and helpful conversations with Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams noted academics and for me sensitive sharers of their knowledge. With John Akomfrah, Lina Gopaul, Avril Johnson, Reece Auguste and Trevor Mathison of Black Audio and Film Collective as well as with Isaac Julian, Martina Attille, Maureen Blackwood, Nadine Marsh-Edwards and Robert Cruz of Sankofa Film and Video Collective all of whom engaged with me in debate and provided support as we sought a voice during a BFI Summer School and in work around our representation in media. I have also worked with Advisors and Headteachers who have contributed to my thinking around leadership and school improvement. To Christine Barry, Robert Bush, Paul Griffiths, Jan Hardy, Jackie Harrop, Pam Holland, Laurence Kershock, John King, Ann Lewin, Robin Richardson,

Ron Wallace, and Silvaine Wiles. I also have been supported professionally through ALAOME (Association of LEA Advisory Officers for Multicultural Education) and in particular Ros Garside, Jennifer James, James Morrison, Prue Reynolds, Yvonne Wilkin, and ARTEN (Anti-Racist Teacher Education Network) and in particular Robert Clay, Samidha Garg, Jane Lane, Ian Mentor. Thanks to Dr Claire E Crawford who joined my supervision team at Birmingham and added to my support. To Professor David Gillborn, I do not have enough words of thanks and gratitude. I first met David in the early 1990s, shortly before the research he undertook with Caroline Gipps for Ofsted resulting in the publication "Recent Research into the Achievements of Ethnic Minority Pupils" (Gillborn & Gipps 1996). This publication led to the DfEE/DfES Advisory Group on Raising the Achievement of Ethnic Minority Pupils. I am for ever grateful that in 2009 he agreed to be my Supervisor. I have benefitted immensely from the guidance, challenge and support that he has provided. Finally my thanks go to all my interviewees. I am grateful to them for giving me their time and their thoughts.

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- 7 327 Home Office pays out £21m after mistakenly detaining 850 people <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jun/28/wrongful-detention-cost-21m-as-immigration-staff-chased-bonuses>
- 7 333 ITN reveals BAME staff typically get four-fifths pay of white colleagues <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2018/jul/18/itn-reveals-bame-staff-typically-four-fifths-pay-white-colleagues>
- 7 334 Why do black male graduates earn £7,000 less than their white peers <https://www.theguardian.com/world/shortcuts/2018/jul/18/why-do-black-male-graduates-earn-7000-less-per-year-than-their-white-peers>
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ABBREVIATIONS

ADCS	Assistant Director of Children’s Services
ADCS	Association of Director of Children’s Services
ALAOME	Association of LEA Advisory Officers for Multicultural Education
AST	Advanced Skills Teacher
ATL	Association of Teachers and Lecturers
BAME	Black and minority ethnic
BERA	British Educational Research Association
BOC	Breach of Contract
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CRT	Critical Race Theory
DCS	Director of Children’s Services
DfE	Department for Education
DfES	Department for Education and Science
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families
EHRC	Equality and Human Rights Commission
EU	European Union
EQP	Equal Pay for Equal Value Work
ET	Employment Tribunal
FoI	Freedom of Information
IiD	Investing in Diversity
ITE	Initial Teacher Education
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
LA	Local Authority
LEA	Local Education Authority
LPSH	Leadership Pathway for Serving Headteachers
NAHT	National Association of Headteachers
NASUWT	National Association of School Masters Union of Women Teachers
NCSL	Formerly National College of School Leaders
NCTL	National College of Teaching and Leadership
NPQH	National Professional Qualification for Headteachers

NPQML	National Professional Qualification for Middle Leaders
NPQSL	National Professional Qualification for Senior Leaders
NQT	Newly Qualified Teachers
NUT	National Union of Teachers
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SIP	School Improvement Partner
TDA	Teacher Development Agency
TTA	Teacher Training Agency
UCAS	University College Admission Service
PSED	Public Service Equality Duty

CHAPTER 1 THE UNDER-REPRESENTATION OF BLACK AND MINORITY ETHNIC PEOPLE IN THE LEADERSHIP OF CHILDREN'S LEARNING: CHANCE, COINCIDENCE OR DESIGN?

INTRODUCTION

This research question arose during my professional career and was firmly fixed at the time that I chose, in 2009, to undertake the research as a part-time post graduate, while at the same time building up my own consultancy business. It was through this business that I funded all aspects of the research. Within the research question formulation, I had a sense of the research methods that I would use but the detail of those methods/technologies were broad and shallow. I wanted to hear what Black and Ethnic Minority Leaders had to say. I wanted to know how appointing authorities approached recruitment, I wanted to confirm the data on under-representation and I wanted to understand the policy developments that exist and the extent to which procedures are used, and are not used, to enact these policy developments. As Ball points out "Policies are contested, interpreted and enacted in a variety of arenas of practice and the rhetoric's, texts, and meanings of policy makers do not always translate directly and obviously into institutional practices. They are inflected, mediated, resisted and misunderstood, or in some cases simply

prove unworkable” (Ball, 2009: 7). I would also add that policies are: minimized, marginalized or relegated.

This introductory chapter starts by framing the thesis question. In the next section I draw on some autobiographical moments to explain the purpose of my thesis through research and experiential knowledge. The final section references the broader context of the UK within which I worked and undertook my research.

FRAMING THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The focus of this research is to ask whether the underrepresentation of Black and minority ethnic people (BAME) in the leadership of children’s learning is a matter of chance, coincidence or design?

While raising standards of achievement and attainment during compulsory schooling requires a significant work force and leadership at many levels, it is my contention that the two principal leadership positions within the children’s services workforce are those of Director of Children’s Services (DCS) and Headteachers of schools.

Interlinked in this research is the argument that positions of leadership both shape and give expression to the key determining outcomes of the system, the attainment standards achieved through the compulsory schooling of children and young people.

My research evidences that differential achievement and attainment by ethnicity cannot be addressed within the system in isolation from the under-representation of BAME people to those positions of leadership; positions of power and positions of status, in the context of a continued and continuing structural and institutional leadership which is White, male, Christian and middle class.

Whether the under-representation is chance (a reply that dismisses, that it's just one of those things), or coincidence (a reply that implies a meaningless concurrence of events that signifies no deeper connection), or design (an answer that would mean the inevitable consequence of the application, or non-application, of practices, processes and procedures), there is a need to address under-representation from an informed perspective. Since the publication of The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (Macpherson, 1999b) and the words of the then Prime Minister, spoken in the Houses of Parliament, at that time:

“ this is a very important moment in the life of our country. It is a moment to reflect, to learn and to change. It will certainly lead to new laws but, more than that, it must lead to new attitudes, to a new era in race relations...” (quoted in Gillborn, 2008: 124).

New attitudes have not emerged and there is no new era in race relations. Little change has taken place in the under-representation of BAME people in the two principal leadership positions in children's learning. This reflects a wider issue that has seen increasing wealth inequality in Britain (Dorling, 2018; Shrubsole, 2019).

It also reflects how White supremacy in Britain has reasserted itself, through the European Union (EU) referendum, that saw a majority of those who voted, electing for the UK to leave the EU. A key in the argument to leave being to reduce migration to the UK (Deacon et al., 2016; Moore and Ramsay, 2017; Renton and Justin, 2017). “Our contention is that the EU referendum showed up the last throes of empire-thinking working its way out of the British psyche” (Dorling and Tomlinson, 2019: Loc 841). As argued by Dorling and Tomlinson the diminution of the British Empire in the immediate post second world war period set in motion struggles to rebuild the infrastructure of the nation. There was also a reduction in wealth resulting from the declining empire. All of this while Britain’s participation in the European Union, as a member state, has consistently been questioned. The UK has sought to be a world leader, to replicate its empire status in a post-colonial world (Gildea, 2018; Stockwell, 2018).

PURPOSE: RESEARCH AND EXPERIENTIAL KNOWLEDGE

The purpose, in raising and answering this question, is that such a question should not need to be asked. There is a general acceptance in this democracy that people in positions of power, authority and responsibility are in these positions because of their knowledge, skills and understandings, not because of their wealth or heredity. There is also an acceptance that children in their schools have positive and purposeful experiences. In a sense this thesis is my contribution to what Apple calls

“the creation of a counter-hegemonic common-sense or on the building of a counter hegemonic alliance” (Apple, 2006). However, a more immediate and determining end is a PhD thesis. The starting point for this research, unlike a hundred-meter sprint (marathon!), is less easily defined.

The issues for this research can be illustrated through two examples. However, these two examples need to be set within a context of my voice and professional experience in schooling improvement.

I am perceived by my professional colleagues as not being White. Conditioned by their experiences, understanding and allegiances, I am described in many ways. Since I started my professional career, I have been, in the vast majority of occasions, the only BAME professional in the room. I have never experienced a context in which, in the organisation I was working, a BAME person had a more senior position to myself. When working in partnership with other educational organisations, or with other local authorities, again the experiences would be repeated. When I was appointed as a senior adviser in an authority, the extent of white leadership within local authorities and amongst Headteachers became starker, more explicit.

This culminated in an experience at the 2005 ConfEd Conference¹ (and was reminiscent of an experience in a school in 1985²) when I was sitting talking to the

only other Black person at the conference (a conference of senior LA education officers with an expectation of more than 500 delegates) a Deputy Director from a neighbouring authority to my own made the 'laughing' comment to us as they passed 'careful people will think you are plotting to take over' ³.

Alongside these historical professional experiences, two further autobiographical stories frame the issue of under-representation in positions of leadership. The first relates to an email exchange while working for a local authority in an interim role with responsibility for professional development in the authority. Issues of confidentiality mean that I could be breaking ethical rules to simply insert the email exchange as anonymised text (BERA, 2018). Instead I draw on story-telling, one of CRTs central tools (Delgado, 2000; Bergerson, 2003; Gillborn, 2008; Rollock, 2011) to give primacy to the experiences of a BAME voice in order to highlight the constancy of racism in everyday life [Chapter 3 page 85].

Wednesday morning. When I got in there was an email from the Director asking for an update on the new NQT programme. He had still not sent me comments on the Draft Leadership conference and programme for the next academic year. I was also aware that colleagues working on Early Years had still not submitted their professional development offer for the next academic year. The Assistant Director for School Improvement had intimated that by September 20% of our Headteachers would be new to Headship and most probably new to the authority. We needed a

leadership offer to support them and to keep existing headteachers engaged with the Authority. At some time during the morning there was an email from Jill McBain⁴. This related to a joint enterprise between this Authority and another five Authorities, with three of these we shared a border. Parental choice knows no borders and pupils move across borders to access schools. There was a pot of government funding to support aspiring BAME leaders and leaders of faith schools. With support from Jill McBain, an external consultant based in Crescent City, the six authorities had been successful in bidding for funding.

Jill was requesting that we sign off on the final version of the bid proposal and send in our list of candidates for the programme. Turn around was tight. I had been here for two months and this was the first I had heard about this programme. After talking to some staff, I was able to track the file and the agreements that had been made by the previous postholder. As it was over two months since the list of candidates had been drawn up I had to email each one of them to check that they were still interested and their Headteachers that they were still willing to support, resource and fund that aspiring member of staff.

Towards the end of the afternoon, Mrs Stony an officer from Monument County emailed. She listed a number of corrections and then challenged the wording of a section of the bid proposal about mentors and meeting the needs of mentees who specified anything about the qualities, experiences and knowledges that they wanted in their mentor. She said that she had previously experienced a BAME Head being offended by being provided with a BAME Mentor. It was her view that a Mentee

should have the best mentor irrespective of “race, gender or colour”. She had consulted with her BAME headteachers and for her authority this would be a sticking point as they could not sign up to a programme that “would clearly offend”.

I was enraged and exasperated. My fist clenched. I reopened the bid proposal file. The relevant section did not say that aspiring BAME mentees would have BAME mentors. Neither did it say that aspiring leaders of faith schools would have a corresponding faith leader as their mentor. What the section was offering was an opportunity for mentees to identify any qualities, experiences and knowledge that they wanted in their mentor. Mrs Snaky from Flagstone County and Mr Morton from Sweetwater County had emailed in their support to Mrs Stony’s email.

Besides exercising her right to challenge the construction of mentoring in the proposal, I was wondering where did Mrs Stony have the right to invoke the views of ‘her BAME headteachers’. I also wondered how she had gained the permission to speak for ‘BAME headteachers’ and her feeling no need to evidence or to justify that she has permission to speak on behalf of some or all of them?

I needed to reply. I needed to challenge but importantly I needed to support the proposal as it was currently drafted. I worded my reply carefully. As the cleaners were hovering around me, as lights in various parts of the open plan office were being turned off I wrote: “I am coming a little late to the conversation.”

[I had not sat around the table with these officers and undertaken the initial work that they had been involved in.]

“I agree with the point that aspiring leaders must be supported regardless of their

ethnicity, gender or sexuality (and disability, social circumstance – class etc. etc). However if I have understood the issue, where there are forms of 1:1 support (mentoring, work shadowing, coaching etc) we should be ensuring that aspiring leaders have an opportunity to define aspects of their coach/mentor/who they shadow which they feel are important in terms of their own contexts and experiences.”

[I thought I was explaining myself well. There was hardly anyone else in the huge open plan space that constituted this floor of County Hall. The fluorescent light above my desk created a little island in the darkness.]

“On the issue of ethnicity explicitly, the little research undertaken (Tony Bush (2005) NSCL, McKenley (2002) NCSL both offer useful summaries) suggests that marginalization, discrimination, institutional racism appear as factors.”

[I thought using NCSL research a particularly good move.]

“While this bid proposal recognises the under-representation of BAME people in leadership positions it does not identify why this is the case. I assume that we share to varying degrees that discrimination of some form or another is part of the reason. Consequently the experience of discrimination may figure to some extent in the experiences of aspiring leaders. They may feel then that a BAME leader may have some shared experiences/history and would see this as a valuable component in a mentoring/coaching/shadowing or other 1:1 support context. The wording of the proposal as I read it offers this possibility to the aspiring leader.”

[Maybe we are reading this in different ways, the proposal is open ended, there are

choices. I was pleased. I was also aware that the cleaners had finished and I was alone in that large space on that floor.]

Thursday morning. When I arrived in the office Mrs Stony's email was waiting for me. She had still been at her desk and she had wasted no time. Her indignation pulsed through her email. She was afraid that she did not accept my argument and having consulted with some of "her BAME heads" they would not accept it either. She had discussed the issues at some length with them and what they were very clear about is that one of the main issues for aspiring BAME leaders is about self-confidence. It is about having someone to help them believe that they can. That with the right training and support, they could be an outstanding Head. The important thing is that they get the best person to help them, not that the person is BAME.

I waited a little, did other things until just before lunch time when I replied, that I was disappointed that she did not accept my argument. That in 1:1 support contexts an aspiring BAME leader may wish that form of support to be provided by someone who may share some of their contexts and experiences. I then asked the question of whether that would therefore preclude an aspiring female leader 1:1 support, if they wished, from a female leader or a person with a disability from making a similar request? I also asked her whether her discussions with BAME Headteachers had covered why BAME Headteachers had identified "self-confidence" as one of the main issues faced by aspiring BAME leaders? I also raised a question

about the idea of the best person and about how and who determines who is the best person?

These emails were always copied to the other named officers in the partnership. No one else offered a view or contributed to the discussion other than the single initial email of support from Mrs Snaky from Flagstone County and Mr Moreton from Sweetwater County.

20 Days later a Wednesday. I had waited nearly three weeks when I decided to email Mrs Stony, having not had a reply from her. As with all the emails it was addressed to her but copied to all. I appreciated that we were all extremely busy, however I felt we were having an important conversation about a very real issue: addressing under-representation of BAME headteachers in our workforce. I asked if there would be a response to my last email? I never did get a reply. Two months later I had moved on from this interim piece of work.

There are several issues in this story that are important to consider. Mrs Stony's assertions about self-confidence is certainly supported by dominant research undertaken in the English context. Sufficiency of confidence and self-belief have been identified as barriers (Bush and Moloj, 2008; McNamara et al., 2009; Carrington et al., 2011).

Although Mrs Stony was quick to respond, replying on the same day, she did not reply to my second email of the following day. It is also worth noting that neither did Mrs Snaky and Mr Moreton who had supported the position taken by Mrs Stony.

This effectively closed out the debate. Frankenburg makes an interesting observation in her heavily cited book:

“More specifically, the research project had as its inception my own passage through that decade, and my own despair over the confused mess that white feminists response to charges of racism had collectively become by 1983-84. At worst – and it appeared from where I was standing that “worst” was much of the time – it seemed as though we white feminists had a limited repertoire of responses when we were charged with racism: confusion over accusations of racism; guilt over racism; anger over repeated criticism; dismissal; stasis.” (Frankenburg, 1993: 2)

Simply put the story evidences that a programme to support aspiring BAME leaders is based on a number of premises. First, that BAME people are underrepresented as leaders. Second, a developmental programme can address this underrepresentation. Third, that ‘with limited funds’ we (officers leading the programme on behalf of their authorities) are best able to judge who are the aspiring BAME leaders or that we have mechanisms to do this. Fourth that processes to identify (as well as to support, resource and fund) aspiring BAME leaders are neutral and objective and finally that those delivering on the programme are equally neutral and objective.

The hegemonic discourse then is that ‘we are all the same under the skin’ – we are implying that culturally, materially, socially, economically, politically we all have similar chances – and that current failures are the fault of BAME people – hence the programme and the ‘we’ can ‘fix them’.

Another response would be to see this as an example of the way in which “silence and fear appear to govern talk about race within many academic and educational administration communities” (Rusch and Horsford, 2009: 304) or that as observed by some “there are groups that do not want BAME groups to move forward” (Bush and Moloji, 2008: 106).

A further response would be to see this as racism which is all encompassing and omnipresent, such that it cannot be easily recognized both by those who are its beneficiaries and for those who experience the deficiencies arising from it . The extract exposes the act of White supremacy⁵ and the power of Mrs Stony to shape and control the narrative.

The second story relates to an approach by an agency, early in 2010, recruiting for an Assistant Director: School Improvement in the Directorate of Children’s Services for a local authority. Given my impending research and the detailed Equal Opportunities Monitoring Information (EOMI) form that applicants were asked to complete (see Appendix 1), I decided to ‘test’ out the process. Explicitly written as a commitment in the EOMI form is the statement ‘Monitor, by ethnic group, disability, sexual orientation, religion and gender all existing staff and applicants for jobs, promotion, and training and publish these results every year’ (see Appendix 1).

Following the appointment process, I contacted the agency that had run the recruitment process for the local authority concerned. This was by email directly to the lead recruiter's supplied email address. I requested the data on the number of people who had applied for the post. I also requested **whether** the agency had analysed:

- The number of applications broken down by gender, age, ethnicity, disability, job share? Yes or No
- The number of long listed applications broken down by gender, age, ethnicity, disability, job share? Yes or No
- The number of shortlisted listed applications broken down by gender, age, ethnicity, disability, job share? Yes or No
- The local authority had requested this analysis as part of the contract for services? Yes or No

I received an email reply two days later informing me that the information I requested was confidential to the company and the client and thanked me for my enquiry. Aside from requesting the actual number that had applied, the remaining information requested was **whether** they had analysed the applications at any of the stages of selection and **whether** the client had requested such a service. A response that required very little data, just a Yes or No answer.

I then followed the same process by emailing the Head of Human Resources identified at the end of the EOMI form (see Appendix 1). I made no reference to the EOMI form, but asked in relation to the recently recruited post of Assistant Director: School Improvement, the data on the number of people who had applied for the post. I also requested **whether** the authority had analysed:

- The number of applications broken down by gender, age, ethnicity, disability, job share? Yes or No
- The number of long listed applications broken down by gender, age, ethnicity, disability, job share? Yes or No
- The number of shortlisted listed applications broken down by gender, age, ethnicity, disability, job share? Yes or No
- The local authority had requested this analysis as part of the contract for services from the recruitment agency? Yes or No

I received no reply to my email. Five weeks later I followed this with an email under a Freedom of Information⁶ (FoI) request. I received a reply after 18 working days. On the basis of reputation and the difficulties in recruitment to senior posts within children's services they declined to provide me with the number of applications.

They did provide me with an information sheet on my right to appeal and how to go about this. To the remaining questions the answers were as follows:

- On whether the authority had analysed the number of applications broken down by gender, age, ethnicity, disability, job share? Not yet
- On whether the authority had analysed the number of long listed applications broken down by gender, age, ethnicity, disability, job share? Not yet
- On whether the authority had analysed the number of shortlisted listed applications broken down by gender, age, ethnicity, disability, job share? Not yet
- On whether the local authority had requested this analysis as part of the contract for services from the recruitment agency? No it had not

This was a single request, related to a single post, in one local authority. It would be irresponsible to draw conclusions about chance, coincidence or design; however, if I were to ask the same question to every school and every children's services directorate for the post of Headteacher and Director (or Assistant Director) of Children's Service filled in the last two years would the response be any different? Given that most schools and the clear majority of local authorities use some form of equal opportunity monitoring form, and have been for several years⁷, one could reasonably expect such an analysis to be routinely undertaken. If not why bother to

request applicants to complete the form? If all those schools and children's services had filled senior leadership posts in the last two years and had not undertaken such an analysis would we still be asking whether it is chance, coincidence or design that begins to explain the under-representation of BAME people in leadership positions?

As these two autobiographical stories illustrate, moves to institutional discourse of equality of opportunity, multi-culturalism/multi-ethnicism and more importantly 'narrowing the gap' remain very limited in scope. When White male policy-makers and practitioners (especially those in senior leadership positions) view the attainment gap, they tend to view it as an issue for BAME people not as an issue that involves or implicates *them*. In a letter to the next President of the United States of America written in 2008, Ladson-Billings articulated the point very clearly:

"However, I want to suggest that you, as a new president with presumably a new vision, begin rethinking or reconceptualizing this notion of the achievement gap. Instead of an achievement gap, I believe we have an *education debt*. The debt language totally changes the relationship between students and their schooling. For instance, when we think of what we are combating as an achievement gap, we implicitly place the onus for closing that gap on the students, their families, and their individual teachers and schools. But the notion of education debt requires us to think about how all of us, as members of a democratic society, are implicated in creating these achievement disparities." (Ladson-Billings, 2008)

Ladson-Billings reconceptualization of an *education debt* rather than current thinking of an *achievement gap* challenges much of the knowledge that informs educational

policy and practice. Her reconceptualization fundamentally challenges those policy statements that broadly seek to address inequality.

There is a broader context with which my research was undertaken.

THE BROADER CONTEXT

In 2016 a new Prime Minister outlined her approach to Government policy:

“We will do everything we can to give you more control over your lives. When we take the big calls, we’ll think not of the powerful, but you. When we pass new laws, we’ll listen not to the mighty but to you. When it comes to taxes, we’ll prioritise not the wealthy, but you. When it comes to opportunity, we won’t entrench the advantages of the fortunate few. We will do everything we can to help anybody, whatever your background, to go as far as your talents will take you” (May, 2016).

What is clearly being stated is that her government “will do everything we can”.

Therefore there is an expectation to see that “everything we can” is being done. An aspect for such efforts would be in the realm of the education service.

While the majority of data gathering in my research took place prior to the EU referendum, in June 2016, the period post the vote can be “recognized and understood as part of the last vestiges of empire working their way out of the British psyche” (Dorling and Tomlinson, 2019: Loc 173). At the same time across the world

in many democratic capitalist economies, there has been a rise in nationalistic and conservative voices using anti-immigration and anti-Muslim rhetoric to locate internal problems of inequality as the fault of Black and Third World minorities, be they established, newly arrived or aspiring migrants.

“In both the case of white colonial control over non-whites as well as in the case of human control over nature, what is certain is the fragility of white/human control over the colonial/natural world. That the fragility of this domination gives birth to such fantasies of decline and reversal is more an indication of an incurable psychology of domination. That is, what we are dealing with are people whose viability is predicated on being dominant” (Hage, 2019).

As Hage suggests histories of domination have fueled an understanding of the fragility of such domination. In the very acts of maintaining and perpetuating domination there is a need to keep dominating because they see no other opposite to domination other than to be dominated. While there are debates still going on to explain why over 17 million people voted for the UK to leave the European Union, immigration and the presence of BAME people in the UK was a significant issue.

Illustration 1 UKIP Poster to leave the EU



This can be illustrated by the United Kingdom Independent Party (UKIP) poster (Illustration 1 above) unvalued outside Westminster on 16th June 2016⁸. The significance of the poster is that it was major part of the debates leading up to the EU referendum. In the final ten weeks prior to the 23rd June EU referendum a study identified that media focus on immigration tripled, it was the most prominent referendum issue, and the media focus was predominantly negative. Migrants were identified as the cause of economic and social pressures (Deacon et al., 2016; Moore and Ramsay, 2017; Renton and Justin, 2017).

Dorling and Tomlinson articulate the relationship between empire and education as a requirement to understanding contemporary Britain.

“In *Rule Britannia*, we try to provide an honest appraisal of the importance to the Brexit decision of Britain’s origins; the British Union of separate countries; Britain’s overseas endeavors; the manufacturing of tradition; the establishment and often brutal running of empire. All this unfolded into an assessment of our changing relationship with Commonwealth countries and the story of how badly we treated people from the Commonwealth in the past, even through to the 1970s and 1980s, and, remarkably, still today” (Dorling and Tomlinson, 2019: Loc 213)

One measure of the changing relationship with Commonwealth countries is that in the 50 years since the ending of the Second World War, there have been at least 22 Acts of Parliament (Appendix 11) concerned specifically with Nationality, Immigration and Race Relations (Tomlinson, 2008; Tomlinson, 2019). This considerable obsession with controlling boundaries of nationality, citizenship and borders looks outwards at controlling entry. It also looks inwards in that it seeks to retain control and inequality of status, income and participation. This is most recently illustrated in the Windrush scandal. Initially identified by Caribbean diplomats, some British MPs and investigative journalism, Black African-Caribbean people were wrongly deported, wrongly detained, dismissed from their employment, made homeless and denied access to social benefits and medical care (WWW.Parliament.UK, 2018; Gentleman, 2018c; Gentleman, 2018b; Gentleman, 2019).

As well as Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) people being viewed and treated negatively, we are also often appropriated as an opportunity and evidence of British tolerance, as exemplified by the infographic for Birmingham City Council.

Illustration 2 Infographic for Birmingham City Council

Birmingham City Council Plan: 2018-2022 Challenges and opportunities



Making a positive difference everyday to people's lives



Trevor Noah humorously refers to the complexity “of being” and of “not being” in his response to the French Ambassador who criticised him for congratulating Africa on France’s World Cup victory¹⁰. In the French team that won the 2018 FIFA World Cup, half of the team had African heritage. Similarly the infographic in Illustration 2 above, talks about “most ethnically and culturally diverse” city as being a challenge and an opportunity. Not as being a threat or a detriment. The use of the term BAME, throughout my thesis is a general label of complexity. This broad community

is intersected by a complex arrangement of other factors of identity which includes issues of gender, sexuality, class, disability, age, language as well as other factors of origin and location. The question of being British or not being British is not just an attribute that an individual can ascribe to themselves. It is also an attribute which is ascribed to you. However Whiteness and the privileges associated with it are less easily questioned.

An approach that white privilege is an invisible package of unearned assets that white people can count on cashing in each day, but about which White people remain oblivious has much currency. "White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks" (McIntosh, 1986). Such a view of 'privileged assets' is difficult to maintain in a context in which, social policy is argued as leading towards greater equality, but has to date failed to bring about any reduction in inequality. This is at a time when the data and evidence, that can be drawn upon to inform social policy, is more extensive and more easily available. To replace this image of white privilege with an image of white appropriation brings into play the role of white agency:

"The experience of people of colour is akin to walking down the street having your money taken from your pocket. Historically, if 'money' represents material, and even cultural, possessions of people of colour then the agent of such taking is the white race, real and imagined.

The discourse on privilege comes with the unfortunate consequence of masking history, obfuscating agents of domination, and removing the actions that make it clear who is doing what to whom. Instead of emphasizing the process of appropriation, the discourse of privilege centres the discussion on the advantages that whites receive. It mistakes the symptoms for causes. Racial advantages can be explained through a more primary history of exclusions and ideological practices.” (Leonardo, 2004: 138)

In the British context, history and cultural traditions have been built by distorting the reality that “imperial contacts largely took the form of military conquest, the taking over of land and labour, slavery and the denial of human rights” (Tomlinson, 2019: Loc 569). Consequentially, ‘privileged assets’ are maintained in a context in which political, social and economic policy has been successful in its ideological efforts to sustain class and racial hierarchies.

Beside this broader context, within education the development of accountability processes in children’s learning, and the regime of performance outcomes to inform policy and practice (evidence informed practice), further reinforces the need for my research. Current policy, procedures and practices fail to adequately question what happens in the system to give an outcome of under-representation of BAME people in leadership positions in children’s learning. In questioning this my thesis is arranged in the following format.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS:

1. Introduction: a rationale for the study and the context within which the research was undertaken.
2. Literature review: a concise and critical review of, and engagement with, relevant literature providing a synthesis of major work which has been done in the field, and drawing out conceptual aspects.
3. Methodology: a discussion of the empirical and theoretical approaches that I have chosen to use. This chapters also covers the ethical issues, methods of data collection, analysis and reflections on the process and experience of undertaking the research and any implications for further work.
4. Surveillance, isolation, microaggressions and ways of seeing: presentation and discussion of the first set of themes to arise from my analysis of the interview data, the local authority survey, and the web-based research on a sample of authorities.
5. Perseverance, Promotion and Professional Development: the second set of themes identified in my analysis of all the data. The chapter includes a discussion of both personal qualities and motivations as well as the institutional and structural practices and procedures of promotion and professional development that work against aspiring BAME leaders and those who have attained leadership positions.
6. Leadership: the third set of themes is a discussion of how the theories and practices associated with leadership deny and are antagonistic towards issues of identity and diversity.
7. Policy: the fourth and final set of themes looks at how policy marginalises issues of identity and diversity through the perennial pace of change, the selectiveness of the knowledge utilised in policy development and control of resources.
8. Chance, Coincidence or Design? Conclusion within the context of the literature review; my research findings and the broader context within which writing up of the research took place. My conclusion is that the under-representation of BAME people in the leadership of children's learning is by design.

CONCLUSION

This first chapter has presented a rationale for my research. This is linked to personal and professional experiences, and the wider context in which my research has taken place. The remaining chapters seek to work through the existing body of research on BAME leadership. The methodology used in my research, and the discussion and analysis of the key themes that I have found through my research.

NOTES

1 ConFed was the professional association of local authority education officers, which represented directors of education and officers below that 1st tier. The Association of Local Authority Advisory Officers for Multicultural Education (ALAOME) was a professional association of officers working in a range of capacities to address race equality and minority ethnic pupil achievement. In 2005 ALAOME became a constituent body of ConFed, giving ALAOME a voice at the table and the possibility of mainstreaming race equality and ethnic minority pupil achievement issues.

2 The morning after the first night of the Broadwater Farm uprising I was asked on entering the staff room 'and what were you up to last night'.

Ref: <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/from-the-archive-blog/2011/aug/08/anger-tottenham-broadwater-riots-1985>

Ref: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/aug/07/tottenham-riot-broadwater-farm>

3 The start of the Conference, which took place in Leeds was disrupted by the late and in some case non arrival of delegates and speakers due to the 7/7/2005 terrorist attacks in London.

4 all names are fictitious.

5 White supremacy is used in my thesis to articulate an ideology and material property that is taken to be, at one end of its continuum of meaning, purity and perfection through to normality. Its expression ranges from overt physical violence by an individual or group through to daily acts of unwitting prejudice, ignorance,

thoughtlessness and stereotyping of BAME people by individuals and institutions.

Whiteness's supremacy is its pervasiveness from the violent extremes to its everyday performativity. It is a comprehensive but mostly unrecognized ideology where the interests, perceptions and feelings of white people reign supreme. Also see Chapter 3 pages 86-87.

6 Everyone has the right to request information held by public sector organizations under the Freedom of Information Act 2000, which came into force in January 2005.

7 I remember that when I was applying for my first teaching job in 1978 mainly in London Boroughs, Birmingham and Bristol the 'equal opportunities monitoring forms' at that time had different ethnicity categories.

8 <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/16/nigel-farage-defends-ukip-breaking-point-poster-queue-of-migrants>

9 https://www.birmingham.gov.uk/downloads/file/10257/birmingham-city_council_plan_2018-2022. Accessed on 17/1/2019

10 Trevor Noah responds to a letter from the French Ambassador criticizing him for congratulating Africa on France's World Cup victory. – Between the Scenes – The Daily Show <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=COD9hcTpGWQ>. Published on YouTubeGB 18th July 2018

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines UK focused research in the field of educational leadership and specifically research into Black and minority ethnic leadership. The chapter identifies the scarcity of research into the under-representation of Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) people working in education. It reflects the absence of concern with their work and lives. It exposes and names the indifference to the cache of data that illuminates the injustice of the under-representation of BAME people working in education. Racism both covert and overt, racism both individual and institutional is alive and active across the policy, practice and procedures of educational leadership.

In this chapter I begin by outlining the literature searches I have undertaken to identify the field of BAME leadership in English schooling. I then consider what the searches identify as the broad sets of concerns or focus within that body of research.

The next sections are about the rise of school leadership within a political, economic, social and cultural project of a move from state welfare to a market economy of provisions. This movement within the sphere of schooling is characterised by ideas of 'effectiveness' and 'improvement'. The movement is not a linear progression and neither are the dominant theoretical approaches to leadership within it. Rather,

many theoretical approaches are located within 'classic binaries' of educational leadership. These have significantly shaped the dominant theoretical approaches to leadership.

It is within these main approaches to leadership that we see the absence of issues of diversity and identity. Absences that are further marginalized by the dominant writings on leadership that has emerged through the movement towards a market economy of education provision. Borrowing from Slee, Wiener and Tomlinson "School effectiveness research bleaches *diversity and identity* from its analytic frame₁" (Slee et al., 1998: 5)

From these broader writings on leadership a critical body of thinking and research existing on the margins is beginning to move towards the centre. This is predominantly represented by feminist and gender orientated research that has specifically looked at the identification, representation and framing of women in educational leadership.

The final section focuses on research that has raised questions in relation to the under-representation of BAME people in educational leadership. Research prioritising race, as with research prioritising gender and research which implicitly joins through the complexity of identity and diversity operates outside of the 'classic binaries' of

dominant theoretical models and research practices. The literature review provides a direction for the methodology of my thesis.

GETTING TO GRIPS WITH THE LITERATURE

For over 20 years I had worked in local authority adviser services with a school improvement and multicultural education brief. I had also chaired the Association of LEA Advisory Officers for Multicultural Education (ALAOME). I had, with my colleague Jan Hardy, critiqued the 1988 Education Reform Act (Hardy and Vieler-Porter, 1990). This professional background had provided me with a significant knowledge base. My literature searches sought to extend my existing knowledge about leadership, about race/ethnicity in education and build on the literature base that I currently had. I used four bibliographic databases accessible from the University library. I was later able to access and update my literature searching from home using my University online access. My initial literature search of the British Education Index (BEI) used 'leaders', 'headteachers', 'principals', 'directors' or 'administrators' as the criteria for the search field. This produced 9,040 references. The second search string of 'race', 'racial', 'minority', 'immigrant', 'ethnic minority', 'Black', 'Asian', 'African' or 'Caribbean' produced 4,014 references. Combining the two reduced this to 175 possible relevant references. From the original search fields, 1.9% of abstracts had possible relevance to my research question. I checked each reference abstract to identify the focus of that work and how closely it related to my research question.

I used the same search strings for the Education Resources Information Centre (ERIC), a predominantly American database, producing 230,852 and 77,215 references respectively, which combined produced 411 possible relevant references. For the Australian Education Index the search produced 25,372 and 4,316 references, which combined produced 472 possible references. A similar research of the Index of Theses produced 6 possible relevant references from an initial 3,600 and 845 searched references.

Since the original literature search I have mainly used the online University of Birmingham library, the physical libraries at Cambridge University and the Institute of Education at University College London as well as bibliographic portals for example the Web of Science. This has enabled me to update my reading, especially of papers published in journals, and to follow through in text references that have possible links to my research question. The advantage of the Web of Science portal is the ability to use citation listings to contribute to the evaluation of books and journal articles. From reading the abstracts of relevant references, it is possible to group references into broad sets of concerns or focus.

GETTING TO GRIPS WITH THE LITERATURE: CONCERNS AND FOCUS

Through the literature searches I initially identified 1064 texts that expanded over the years to 1143 texts concerned with or focused on:

- the issues for teaching and learning of Black and minority ethnic learners,
- the issues of managing diversity for school leaders
- the leadership challenge for school leaders improving schools for the benefit of Black and minority ethnic pupils.
- the leadership challenge for school leaders in raising academic standards of Black and minority ethnic pupils.
- The experience and progression of Black and minority ethnic academics in HE
- The experience and progression of Black and minority ethnic teachers in schools

The literature search also identified that some studies focused on identifying the numbers of Black and minority ethnic teachers. Brar in 1991 reported that only 2.3 per cent of teachers in British schools were from a minority ethnic group (Brar, 1991). By 2002 Ross identified that "12.9% of the school population in England is of children who may be described as coming from an ethnic minority background, but it is not known how many of their teachers come from such a background: it is probably less than 5%" (Ross, 2002: 3). This figure was based on a survey conducted by the Institute for Policy Studies in Education of 22 Local Education Authorities (LEAs).

Formal reporting on ethnic monitoring data on the teacher workforce has only recently, since 2012, begun to be shared systematically by the DfE. Although, as far

back as 1973 the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration was stating that the majority of representatives, from a wide range of bodies, including local education authorities, who presented to the committee were saying there should be more BAME teachers. Thirteen years later the Swann Report was reiterating the interim report recommendations that [T]he DES “should record and publish statistics on the ethnic origin of all teachers in employment” (DES, 1985: 775). The high profile campaign of the family of Stephen Lawrence and further government legislation has led to a situation in which this data is now more readily available (Shepherd, 2012).

In the main this is an outcome of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000) and the requirements of the Home Office. The numbers and characteristics of BAME teachers have yet to be analysed in detail (e.g. disaggregated by sex, age etc) by the DfE but there is evidence of an upward trend in numbers of BAME people in teaching. In 2008 it was reported that 2.6 per cent of the teacher workforce were Asian (sic), 1.7 per cent were black, 0.8 per cent were of mixed/dual race and 94.3 per cent were from white ethnic groups. However this does not compare with the rapidly increasing BAME pupil population, which in 2017 was around 30% of the pupil population nationally (DfE, 2018a). The 2011 census data reports that 86% of the population gave their ethnic origin as White British. This figure is a decrease on the 1991 census where the White British proportion of the population was 94%. There is significant variation between local authorities in terms of the size of the

White British and the Black and minority ethnic populations. Whether one looks at the issue of the 'client' or pupil population or at the overall population, the teacher workforce is disproportionately of White British origin.

In terms of my initial literature search the first string of the search criteria using the keywords of 'leaders', 'headteachers', 'principals', 'directors' or 'administrators' produced a significantly larger return of references than the second string of the search criteria. A feature in some of the abstracts initially identified related to the idea of leadership challenges and the increasing focus on leadership in the school improvement literature but without any reference to identity and diversity.

THE RISE OF SCHOOL LEADERSHIP AND SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

The rise in public education in the post war period, with the 1944 Education Act, also gave rise to a sociology of education informed by an academic body which applied scientific method with structural functionalist theory to an analysis of social inequalities in educational opportunity (Karabel and Halsey, 1977). Race, gender and disability as interests were not applied, rather sociological analysis focused on socialisation and values as evidenced in Brim's review of the literature (Brim, 1958). This post war period of rapid economic growth and educational expansion was underpinned in the dominant literature and social policy by a background of social harmony based on principles of prosperity, security and opportunity which the nation state could and should deliver (Halsey et al., 1997). However it needs to be noted

that at this time, much education and social mobility research was primarily focussed on class and predominantly measured in terms of boys activity (Glass, 1954; Goldthorpe, 1980; Halsey et al., 1980). Girls significantly and BAME almost exclusively were absent from dominant theoretical and methodological educational inquiry

Industrial efficiency, social welfare, employment, consumption and state education provision would undermine nepotism and promote meritocracy. Ensuring organizations operated efficiently necessitated increased bureaucracies, which Weber characterized as a form of organization that required 'precision, speed, clarity, regularity, reliability through fixed divisions of tasks, hierarchical supervision and detailed rules and regulations' (Morgan, 1986: 23).

However, as the rhetoric of prosperity, security and opportunity dominated Western industrialized democracies, challenges were emerging at home from increasing migration, from new internal communities of 'colour', within former colonial states, and the development of global companies who transcended national boundaries and 'cultures' (Tomlinson, 2008). The state and bureaucracies mitigated against promotion of leaders and leadership outside the political sphere. Schools were part of local authorities and staffing (the major part of school's budget) tended to be controlled at the level of the local authority (LEA) or in larger authorities at Divisional Education Office level.

In 1970, an early DES circular (7/70) by the newly elected Conservative Party Government, cancelled previous government policy that expected all secondary schools to become comprehensive. On being returned to power in 1979 the Conservative Government passed two Education Acts in quick succession. The first, the Education Act 1979, repealed the Education Act of 1976 and thus removed governmental pressure for comprehensive reorganization. The second, the Education Act 1980, set out to achieve a new balance between the rights of parents to choose their children's schools and the necessity for LEAs to manage these same schools efficiently at a time of falling rolls and severe economic constraint. By 1988 and the Education Reform Act, the principles of the market and of competition were established (Hardy and Vieler-Porter, 1990). The Act gave schools delegated budgets and financial incentives direct from government to opt out of LEA control and become 'grant maintained', open enrolment and parental rights to 'choose' schools, the imposition of a National Curriculum and Key Stage assessments and the publication of exam results and end of key stage assessments in the form of performance tables (Ball, 2017; Bottery and Wright, 2000).

The 'self-managed' school in a market context was regarded as being legally autonomous. Through a governing body, they would be free to set and pursue their own goals, agendas and processes. Free to design their own organization and select their own personnel. "Neo-liberal policies imposed privatisation, marketisation and

new managerialism throughout the public education sector in New Zealand, the UK, and then Australia, more so than in Canada and the USA. Post-welfare states sought to steer education by devolving responsibility and risk down to self-managing, self-governing or charter schools, while restructuring educational work through outsourcing, deregulation and downsizing” (Blackmore, 2006: 190). However, these changes were also being implemented in the context of increasing centralization of the curriculum (National Curriculum, programs of study, Literacy and numeracy ‘hours’), Assessment of pupils (end of key stage testing and the publication of exam results), Assessment of professionals (NPQH, NQT Induction, OfSTED accreditation, AST accreditation, SIPs, etc), Assessments of institutions (Specialist Schools and Academy Trust, Ofsted inspections). The self-managing, self-governing schools which were a key feature of the neo-liberal agenda of markets, consumerism, competition, had to be operated within a neo-conservative agenda of ever-tighter frameworks of national determining. This includes the central overview², what is learned³ and the range of accountability systems and processes of which Ofsted is the most prominent and visible. (Whitty, 2016).

Key to this market orientated ‘self-managed’ school was the idea of strong leadership (Gewirtz et al., 1995; Ball, 2002). “Strong managerial and entrepreneurial principal leadership was central to the success of restructuring linking education tightly to national economies, to the neglect of educational leadership and equity” (Blackmore, 2006: 190).

The early developments in educational leadership and management were informed by 'scientific management movement' (Taylor, 1947) and Weber's work on bureaucracy (Weber, 1997) and applied to the context of state schooling. The various models of management and leadership assume that organisations are hierarchical. Within these hierarchical organisations managers and leaders adopt rational means to achieve the agreed goals of the organization. Organisations are accountable to sponsoring bodies both for the activities undertaken and the outcomes achieved. Managers and leaders (in the case of schools – Headteachers, deputy headteachers, heads of departments and co-ordinators etc) authority is based on their position in the organization and to whom they are accountable. With increasing focus on the 'self-managed' school the department for education developed a programme of management training for Headteachers through the National Development Centre for School Management Training at Bristol University. In 1989 the department for education appointed a School Management Task Force whose report in 1990 shaped the development of management in schools (DES, 1990) with a strong focus on competence development, coaching and mentoring.

Critiques of these developments tended to focus on the gap between social science research and training practices in management development (Mole, 1996) or the power and control issues inherent in the provision of these developments which in the case of education are largely funded by the State (Willmott, 1994). The

importance of approaches, based on competency, to management were further established through the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) which in 1997 established the National Professional Qualification for Headship (NPQH). This became a mandatory requirement for headship from May 2004. The TTA also established a range of competency frameworks for several posts in schools including for SEN and subject co-ordinators. These increasingly became the standards against which performance management (appraisal) of teachers were undertaken. In September 2012 new regulations for performance management (appraisal) came into effect (DfE, 2012). Under the 'umbrella' of trying to reduce bureaucracy the new regulations speed up the timescale for capability procedures and require schools to pass on to prospective employer's information about whether a teacher is or has been subject to capability procedures. A consequence of the raising standards agenda and accountability is a focus on failing schools and poor teachers (Slee et al., 1998; DfE, 2011a). These measures further locate control over schools away from local government control towards a centralized control exercised by the department for education, through a range of accountability procedures and processes. However, teachers in academies, Free Schools and other Independent Schools, institutions that per se embrace the neo-liberal philosophy, are not covered by these regulations. The standards agenda, as articulated in school effectiveness research and school improvement practice, especially as it manifests itself in accountability procedures and processes suggests a unitary knowledge base – an incontestable knowledge base.

The TTA's developments in leadership were taken over in 2000 with the establishment of the National College for School Leadership (NCSL) which extended leadership development through the National Professional Qualification for Headship (NPQH), Leadership Development for Serving Headteachers (LPSH), Leading from the Middle and New Visions: Induction for new headteachers (NCSL, 2001). These programmes became the accreditation training for teachers from initial entry into the profession, through middle management into headship, with further professional development for experienced headteachers.

The major policy initiatives underpinning educational leadership and management were the raising attainment agenda; reducing differential attainment; accountability, value for money, choice and diversity of provision. However, these developments in accountability and the focus on leadership and management were essentially a focus on practice. Strategic direction and development of the school and the associated skills sets of leaders and staff were the prime focus (Davies and Ellison, 1999). The identity, background, politics, language, culture, gender, race, - the full breadth of a leaders' ethnicity – are absent from the debates on leadership. In the main policy and legislation development was atheoretical in that it was not informed or based on perspicuous concepts and values (Bush, 2009). Others in the field have made the same point.

“The theory-practice gap stands as the Gordian Knot of educational administration. Rather than be cut, it has become a permanent fixture of the landscape because it is embedded in the way we construct theories for use.... The theory-practice gap will be removed when we construct different and better theories that predict the effects of practice.” (English, 2002: 3).

Locating leadership and management discourses within a range of theoretical perspectives has been undertaken in management by Cuthbert (Cuthbert, 1984), Bolman and Deal (Bolman and Deal, 1997) and Morgan (Morgan, 1997), and in leadership by Leithwood, Harris and Hopkins (Leithwood et al., 1999), Goleman (Goleman, 2000) and by Bush (Bush, 2009). Both Management and Leadership have innumerable definitions. Within the field of education generally and in relation to schools specifically the distinction between leadership and management concerns the formation and delivery of vision and values. Here formulating, sharing and achieving consensus of the vision and values is predominantly associated with Leadership. While the detail of process, targets, consistency and, the capacity to maintain activity tends to be associated with Management. Amongst researchers there are a variety of categories and labels used to communicate the models of management or leadership. For management (Table 1) and for leadership (Table 2) these are summarized below:

Table 1 Categories and labels used to communicate the models of Management

forms of Management			
Author(s)	Bolman and Deal	Cuthbert	Morgan
Label	'Frames' (4)	'Models' (5)	'Metaphors' (8)
categories	Structural	Analytic-rational	Machines
	Human resource	Pragmatic-rational	Organisms
	Political	Political	Brains
	Symbolic	Ambiguity	Cultures
		Phenomenological	Political systems
			Psychic prisons
			Transformations
			Instruments of domination

Table 2 Categories and labels used to communicate the models of Leadership

forms of Leadership			
Author(s)	Goleman	Leithwood, Jantzi and Steinbach	Bush and Glover
Label	Styles (6)	Typologies (6)	Typologies (8)
Categories	Coaching	Managerial	Managerial
	Affiliative	Participative	Participative
	Democratic	Transformational	Transformational
	Commanding	Interpersonal	Interpersonal
	Pacesetting	Transactional	Post-modern
	Visionary	Contingency	Contingency
			Moral
		Instructional	

The development of management and leadership theories reflects a trend from formal models characterized by, rigid structures, rational decision-making, leadership by position (the higher up the leader the greater their capacity to make decisions) and the setting of formal goals which seek to make organizational changes that achieve greater effectiveness, towards more interpretive theories that recognize multifaceted images of human behaviour, which are as varied as the situations and contexts within which the research activities have taken place. However, while the academic (and in this context that would include the NCSL) and research community site leadership, government policy in England encourages a technical-rational

approach through prioritising performance and accountability (Bush and Glover, 2002; Whitty, 2002; Ball, 2006).

Critiques of structuralist and managerialist theory and research tends to focus on the limitations of goal-orientation (MacBeath, 1999), on decision making as a rational process (Watson and Crossley, 2001), on the lack of attention to agency (Greenfield, 1973; Ball, 1987) and the limitations of authority expertise and positional authority (Bolman and Deal, 1997; Hopkins, 2001). In addition, and importantly, I would add the issues of identity and subjectivity – issues around, within and across, class, disability, gender, race, sexuality, politics, culture, social experiences and history that are significantly absent in these theoretical and research approaches to leadership and management.

A similar critique can also be applied to perspectives which addresses issues of values, beliefs, visions, participation and perspective of leadership and management. Identity and subjectivity are generally seen as issues for leadership to address – leadership for equality and equity in the outcomes for young people (pupils/students) predominantly but also their parents and in some cases their community. Identity and subjectivity as issues of leadership is significantly absent from much of the theory on leadership and management. A consequence of this is how the accountability procedures and processes mentioned earlier – for example teacher appraisal – *are regarded as neutral and the issue of the gender, ethnicity etc. of the*

appraiser is regarded as of no consequence for the appraise. In Chapter 1, this is the point that LW01 makes that “The important thing is that they get the best person to help them” (page 10). However, the consequence of unequal and differential outcomes is rarely questioned.

Leadership and management discourses are in the main informed by constructionist and subjectivist epistemologies. However these theoretical perspectives are emergent perspectives to the dominance (Williams, 1973) of objectivism in social research and in education research and particularly in leadership research. Young and Lopez for example argue that “the historical development of research in educational leadership...has taken place within a traditional rationalist or functionalist frame” (Young and Lopez, 2005: 338). The emergent theoretical perspectives of leadership and management have been built around a challenge of dominant theoretical paradigms but they are all partial and incomplete understandings of educational institutions and the extent to which leadership improves outcomes for pupils. The focus on leadership within the theoretical perspectives summarised by Bush and others (Ellstrom, 1983; Chapman, 1993; Morgan, 1997; Heck and Hallinger, 1999; Bush, 2009) tend to lack identity and diversity perspectives.

“In effect, the framework through which scholarship on educational leadership operates has resulted in time-worn assumptions, norms, and traditions about the appropriate way to conduct research, as well as the appropriate

phenomena or concepts on which our research should focus" (Young and Lopez, 2005: 339) p 339.

In looking at the phenomena or concepts in leadership English useful summarises these as 'classic binaries', which "represent junctures or paradoxes in a series of statements that are believed to be true but that seem contradictory and exclusive of one another" (English, 2005: x).

THE 'CLASSIC BINARIES' IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

English list these series of statements which represent junctures or paradoxes as follows.

There is a *theory/practice binary*, which asserts that theory has little to offer established practices. Policy interventions then only require modifications or innovations to achieve improved results. Consequently, formulaic procedures, processes and practices are refined and imposed. The underlying orthodoxy remains un-challenged. In my research this is illustrated around issues of promotion and professional development (Chapter 5), the impositions of a leadership curriculum (Chapter 6) and the policy and practice divide examples in Chapter 7 around the struggles over initial teacher education (ITE) and the shift to the imposition of initial teacher training (ITT) and the totality mechanisms of the National Strategies.

The ***art/science binary***, where increasingly scientific (proportions, percentages, trends, incidents) methods are used to understand education activity and outcomes so as to inform practice. At the margins, some features of qualitative inquiry border the array of audit tools to weigh up the voice of pupils or of parents. The issue here becomes that of empirical inquiry and the tendency to value what we can measure, rather than to seek 'measures' for what we value.

The ***public/private binary***, where the promise of better results it is argued will be attained by the adoption of business, industrial and management approaches to education. A possible internal tension within the public/private binary – where choice and freedoms are central is the issue of increasing controls by the department for education. This is largely imposed on schools at the lower end of the performance tables. The increasing focus on productivity in education has marginalized discourses around the purposes of education in society and the role of education for increasing social justice.

The ***management/leadership binary***, where at a basic level the binary pits the vision and mission of leadership with the effective implementation of systems and procedures of management. At a more advanced level it emanates the creation and perpetuation of an ideology that enables unity to

be preserved in an organization. School and LA leaders therefore tend to describe the objective circumstances in which the organization acts and states the moral values which the organization regards as ultimate” (Dunham, 1964: 15) rather than undertake a critical analysis of the organizational ethos and the surrounding contexts.

My contention is that most of the research on leadership in children’s learning is restricted by viewing the knowledge base as obtainable, objective and shared. That the processes, practices and procedures of leadership in children’s learning are value free and consequently there is a general failure to critique the rational decision-making models as neutral and natural. Consequently, issues around, race, social circumstance, gender, sexuality and religion – to name some protected characteristics of identity and diversity, are omissions in leadership discourses – both at the level of theory and at the level of policy and practice.

In addition to this silence on these subjective perspectives of leaders themselves there is little on the theory of the subject or of identity as this effects or shapes leadership. Further much of the education literature on leadership and management takes for granted how leadership positions are attained. While some research recognizes leadership as mainly male and middle class, it is rare for leadership to be problematized because it is predominantly and unrepresentatively male, middle class and White.

Therefore to answer the question of whether the under-representation of Black and minority ethnic people in the leadership of children's learning is a matter of chance, coincidence or design I need to go outside current dominant theoretical positions in order to find a lens through which this 'blind spot' (Heck and Hallinger, 1999) can be questioned.

There are exceptions here, for example, research on gender and leadership (Acker, 1994; Coleman, 2007; Evetts, 1994; Coleman, 1996). This work has considered both the experiences and attitudes of male and female Headteachers as well as institutional systems, process and procedures. However, in none of these examples has race and racism been regarded as central and permanent social conditions which are endemic in our current context.

THE DOMINANT THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO LEADERSHIP IN EDUCATION

In a review of the range of theoretical and methodological paradigms used to explore school leadership by Heck and Hallinger they identified what they referred to as blank and blind spots (Heck and Hallinger, 1999). Blank spots referred to areas that required "sustained, narrowly focused inquiry", to go beyond the taken for 'grantedness' of our understanding of school leadership and inter-related organisational phenomena (Heck and Hallinger, 1999: 143). For me of greater significance is the idea of blind spots. Blind spots are explained as unknown

knowledge or knowledge that is displaced. What is important in this context is the active notion of displacement. That in researchers use of theoretical and methodological paradigms they make active choices of inclusion and exclusion. This is usefully reiterated in another different context. At the beginning of *The Power Elite*, C. Wright Mills writes

“[T]he power elite is composed of men [sic] whose positions enable them to transcend the ordinary environments of ordinary men and women; they are in positions to make decisions having major consequences. Whether they do or do not make such decisions is less important than the fact that they occupy such pivotal positions: their failure to act, their failure to make decisions, is itself an act that is often of greater significance than the decisions they do make (Wright Mills, 1976: 3).

A central thesis of my research is that the under-representation of BAME leaders in children’s learning is symptomatic of a wider tendency to maintain a particular hegemony around school leadership. This hegemony of theory on school leadership can be seen in the extent to which dominant writings on school leadership in education considers issues of race and racism as well as other associated terms.

THE DOMINANT WRITING ON LEADERSHIP IN EDUCATION

Even a casual glance across the education terrain shows the significance with which ‘leadership’ dominates much of the academic writing and most Headteachers have

more than a passing understanding of some leading thinkers, Hedley Beare, Tim Brighouse, Brian Caldwell, Brent Davies, Dean Fink, Michael Fullen, Andrew Hargreaves, Alma Harris, David Hopkins, Kathryn Riley, Louise Stoll, John West-Burnham, to name a few. The roots of leadership in education lie in several disciplines including political science, economics, sociology and management.

Much of the writing in this area has been cited in NCSL/NCTL professional development and school improvement literature. Texts have appeared in the bibliographies of University post graduate courses targeted at Headteachers and aspiring Headteachers and as part of a local authority leadership development. In 2012 I was involved in a core team drafting a leadership development programme for a local authority. A reading list was constructed drawn from an email query sent to Headteachers, school improvement officers and Directors of Children's Services identified by members of the core team. The email asked recipients to identify 5 significant books on school improvement to inform a local authority leadership development. Approximately 150 emails were sent out and there were 34 response. The reading list has been updated on two occasions by the core team in the authority.

I drew on this list as part of the literature review. I tracked from the index how often key terms like Race/Racism, ethnicity, equality of opportunity, diversity and difference as well as cultural diversity appeared in the index page of the texts that

formed the initial and subsequent books cited in the leadership development programme.

The full list appears in Appendix 2. It contains 69 references. 42 of these references (60.1%) do not list in the Index **any** of the key terms of Race/Racism, ethnicity, equality of opportunity, diversity and difference or cultural diversity. Of the remaining 27 references 17 cite 1 of the 5 terms, 4 cite 2 of the 5 terms, 5 cite 3 of the 5 terms and 1 cite 4 of the 5 terms. None of the 27 references has all 5 terms in the Index section. Table 3 below shows the frequency that each term appears in the Index section of the 27 references.

Table 3 Frequency in which Key Terms appear in the Index of Texts in the Leadership Development Programme reading list.

Key Terms	Cultural Diversity	Diversity and Difference	Equality of Opportunity	Ethnicity	Race or Racism
No of References	25	13	38	21	4

Cultural diversity appears 13 time across two books by the same author. While Equality of Opportunity appears 12 times across 4 books each citing Equality of Opportunity 3 times. Where cultural diversity, diversity and difference, equality of

opportunity or ethnicity appears this relates exclusively to pupils and occasionally to communities. *In none of the examples cited above do any of these terms refer to teachers or to leaders identity or diversity except in the two following quotations.*

The quotation below comes from Bailey and Bates 'Educational Leadership Simplified: A guide for existing and Aspiring Leaders' in a chapter on Equality & Diversity

"Don't make assumptions about people based on superficial ideas of their perceived membership of any ethnic or disablement group or to address issues resulting from this by holding short awareness training sessions for staff" 2018 p42

The main thrust of the chapter is on delivering equality and sustaining diversity for the school pupils. 'People' in the quote besides being the community of the school could also be the people who work in the school.

A further quotation is significant in the context of Equality of Opportunity in Payzant's *Urban School Leadership*

"My experience here convinces me that focussing the conversation on trying to change the core beliefs of individuals through continuous debate often reaches a point of deadlock, and it is unlikely that some peoples beliefs or behaviours will change" 2011 p 42

What is particularly disturbing in this quote is the notion that beliefs and behaviours are interchangeable and that neither can be changed. Perhaps more telling is that race, but not racism, only appears in the index of two of the references in the list.

In Collarbone and West-Burnham's *Understanding System Leadership*, there are 3 page references for race. In the first chapter on the changing context of educational leadership in a section titled "Improving equity" the following sentence appears at the start of the section

"Since 1997 the government has moved on gender, race and disability issues." (Collarbone and West-Burnham, 2008: 8)

The section lists and explains the extent and breadth of government policy in education from the 1988 Education Reform Act through to the 2003 Green Paper Every Child Matters. The section also identifies improved standards of attainment at the end of key stage but also some differentials of attainment especially around issues of poverty (disadvantaged backgrounds).

The next occurrence of race in the book is on page 73. This reference to race appears in chapter 7 "Educational leadership and the community" in a section titled "The variables influencing life chances"

“In broad terms, it is possible to identify four variables that will determine the success or failure (however defined) of a child or young person. These may be defined as: a) physical factors; b) social factors, c) personal factors; and d) school factors.

The first category reflects our genetic inheritance - factors such as gender, race and disability. These cannot, of themselves, be changed - although attitudes towards them can. Educational leaders have done much to mitigate the potentially negative effects of these variables, although there is no doubt that, in many societies being a woman or disabled, or belonging to a minority ethnic group, can seriously compromise life chances. The issue, therefore, is to create an understanding that difference is not the issue; it is how the difference is responded to and managed that is crucial” (Collarbone and West-Burnham, 2008: 73).

The main concern here is that race is identified as a genetic issue. Race is not seen as a socially defined category. In fact the assertion that “these cannot, of themselves, be changed” reflects the uncritical position of the authors to issues of identity and diversity.

The final occurrence of race in the book is on page 80. This reference to race appears later in the same chapter. The section is looking at the scope of leadership engagement with the community. The authors identify 4 stages: Limited community engagement, Extended community engagement, High community engagement and Social entrepreneurship. The authors go on to detail each of these ‘stages’ of education leadership and the community. The final stage, Social entrepreneurship, is described as “this category moves the debate into relatively uncharted territory”.

They then quote from Dantley and Tillman's *Social Justice and Moral Transformative Leadership*

"Schools ... are sites where intellectual activity taking place in them is inextricably linked to broader social and cultural concerns. For example, curriculum content, special education, and other class placement based on race, class, gender and disability may reflect society's discriminatory perceptions and practices. The moral nature of transformative leadership, unlike traditional notions of school administration, not only locates the work of schools in a broader social context, but argues that students should become accountable as well as responsible for their own education (Dantley and Tillman, 2006 page 21)" (Collarbone and West-Burnham, 2008: 80)

The idea that 'genetic inheritance' and social constructs of difference just require a different mode of response and/or management, shifts out of debate and theoretical thinking the very notion of difference, diversity and identity as factors of leadership. In the day to day of research into leadership in schools and in school improvement identity and diversity is not a feature. Consequently, there is a denial of the active racism (and sexism etc.) that informs and infests the day to day discrimination and cannot be accounted for in terms of "may reflect society's discriminatory perceptions and practices."

It can be seen, therefore, that dominant theoretical and practical writing on education leadership denies racism and reduces identity and diversity to factors to be

managed. Race, ethnicity, equality of opportunity, diversity and difference or cultural diversity are merely objects to be addressed within a wide spectrum of issues. According to these dominant writings these concepts have no material subjective reality in leadership. The effect goes beyond reducing, it goes beyond ignoring, it goes beyond denying and instead it becomes bleaching.

IDENTITY AND DIVERSITY IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP THEORY AND RESEARCH

While the dominant writings in educational leadership marginalises the subjectivity of identity and diversity there is a growing body of theory and research which brings the subjectivity of identity and diversity to the centre of theory and research

In a review of articles concerning diversity and leadership that appeared in the journal *Educational Management, Administration and Leadership*, Coleman noted

“Looking over earlier editions showed a fascinating progression, with very little coverage of any diversity issues in the early years and a flowering of gender related material starting in the 1980s. Other ‘strands’ of diversity such as ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation feature rarely although increasing attention has been paid to broader issues of diversity post-2000 with a special issue on leadership and diversity in 2006” (Coleman, 2012: 592).

Up to 2012 Coleman notes that awareness around gender, ethnicity, disability, age and sexual orientation has grown. However, in terms of diversity, where gender has

been the predominant focus, much educational leadership research has a limited engagement with current theoretical and methodological thinking and has largely neglecting post-structural and critical theory analysis (Coleman, 2012).

Consequently:

“In terms of accessing leadership, the overall trend appears to be towards more equity but change is slow and some problems appear fairly intractable. For example, although there have been tremendous strides for women in obtaining leadership positions in education, there remains an underlying assumption that leaders should be male across continents, and across age-groups” (Coleman, 2012: 606)

With regard to the English context and from the literature the context in the English-speaking world we must add not only an “underlying assumption that leaders should be male” but also White, heterosexual, broadly Christian and with no visible disability as a focus on ‘gender’ alone is not sufficient to cover ‘identity and diversity’.

The review that Coleman undertook enumerates, within a particular journal, writing on identity and diversity in educational leadership. However, Coleman’s review also points to a feature of this research which tends to focus on an aspect of identity and diversity. For example, gender was an early focus of identity and diversity in school leadership research. A useful view of the breadth and focus of research and writing can be understood using Shakeschat’s six stages.

Shakeshaft (Shakeshaft, 1987), suggests there are six stages which led to a paradigmatic shift in the research on women and gender in educational leadership. These include the (i) absence of women documented (Fuller, 2017); (ii) search for women who have been or are administrators (Coleman, 2001; Coleman, 2005); (iii) women as disadvantaged or subordinate (McKillop and Moorosi, 2017); (iv) women studied on their own terms (Fuller, 2013; Johnson, 2017); (v) women as challenge to theory (Yuval-Davis, 2006; Fuller, 2014; Showunmi et al., 2016); and (vi) transformation of theory (Blackmore, 2013; Gunter, 2013). The references here post-date Shakeshaft but exemplify writing within these paradigmatic shifts that she originally identifies.

This brief referencing of Shakeshaft's stages suggests that, while it may be regarded as a small body of work it illustrates that there is a growing engagement with current theoretical and methodological thinking including post-structural and critical theory analysis in relation to gender.

Similarly, while drawing on diverse theoretical and methodological practices there is also a growing body of research in which race and ethnicity is the subject of educational leadership. The processes of undertaking this research has revealed that the specificity of race and ethnicity in educational leadership is developing.

THE SPECIFICITY OF RACE AND ETHNICITY IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP THEORY AND RESEARCH

In the period leading up to registering for my PhD I was aware of six research studies looking at race and ethnicity in educational leadership in the English context. My research has identified another six research studies which establishes a body of 12 research studies focussed on race and ethnicity in educational leadership in England. In this section I shall draw out the similarities and difference in each of these studies.

Osler's earlier seminal research study sought to "make visible the experiences of black and minority teachers in Britain" (Osler, 1997: 1). The research explored the socio-cultural experiences of 48 black teachers (28 women and 20 men) of African, African Caribbean and Asian descent in the UK school system.

Her research identified the following 6 themes in the education and careers of Black teachers:

- a) Relationships: There was a strong commitment to BAME and other disadvantaged pupils, based on experience and an understanding of equity and justice.
- b) Isolation: Black teachers were and felt isolated. At times, they felt black pupils perceived them as 'acting white'. BAME teachers' isolation was heightened when dealing with issues of racism that affected them or their black pupils.

- c) Promotion: Black teachers reported that career progression was more difficult for them than for their white colleagues.
- d) Networking: At a time prior to social media, BAME networking was viewed positively in terms of the opportunities and experiences it afforded but it had negative consequences in how it was perceived by white colleagues.
- e) Mentoring: was a positive activity whether formal or informal and not necessarily by someone of the same ethnic background.
- f) Bilingualism: Some minority ethnic teachers felt their language skills were not valued or used. However, some also felt that unreasonable expectations were made of their language skills, which were unpaid and unrecognised.

Research studies since Osler's research while sharing many of the themes identified by Osler had larger data fields and identified additional issues.

The first study funded by NCSL (McKenley and Gordon, 2002), while leading to the development of new initiatives by NCSL in partnership with the National Union of Teachers, had the smallest sample (20=n), solely used qualitative methods and was framed from an 'appreciative inquiry perspective'. This research approach was based on a form of action research (Gergen, 1982). The researchers argue that this approach focused on what works and can, therefore, be built on and shared. This emphasis on what works "allows the identification of BAME career strategies, even as stories are shared enabling insights into the experiences engaged with in the past and currently in the role as school leaders" (McKenley and Gordon, 2002: 50). The findings focused on the imagery and vision that BAME leaders bring. Having been pioneers to leadership positions, the qualities of vocation, empathy and aspiration

that BAME leaders bring. The researchers also identified the limited impact that local authorities had in identifying BAME talent and aspiring leaders. This last point about the limitations of local authorities identifying emergent BAME talent is interesting. This is the only study that identified a potential role for local authorities.

However, critiques of the appreciative inquiry approach focus on questions of power and knowledge at given moments in time and place. This is about the extent to which individuals in the organisation are able to have their ideas of what works well accepted as legitimate. Consequently in the formation of positive visions, process and practices that may maintain discriminatory practices become accepted much "as a plant may grow lopsided as it reaches for the light" (Grant and Humphries, 2006: 402)

A study undertaken by Bush et al (Bush et al., 2006) had a slightly larger sample for the questionnaire survey (64=n), and interviewed 73% of those identified through the questionnaire survey. Their findings reflect the findings of Osler's earlier study. Their research had an emphasis on the fact that BAME teachers' professional development and career progression was subject to White leadership sanction. Further, two findings from the study by Bush et al add to our knowledge from Osler's finding. First, on the issue of promotion, Bush et al found that BAME people assume leadership positions at an older age than their white peers. Second their finding places discrimination central to the experiences of leaders and emergent leaders.

“The research shows that BME teachers and leaders do experience barriers and either direct or hidden discrimination” (Bush et al., 2006: 303).

A research study by the National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT) & the former National College for School Leaders (NCSL) undertaken by McNamara et al (McNamara et al., 2009) investigated:

- the leadership aspirations and careers of BAME teachers;
- the basis of the leadership aspirations of BAME teachers;
- how BAME teachers’ aspirations relate to their actual career paths;
- the enablers and barriers to career progression for BAME teachers;
- how these various factors change between different groups of BAME teachers and
- the strategies to overcome the barriers to BAME teachers’ career progression.

Sampling was achieved through the databases of the sponsoring bodies. The databases were the National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT) data of members who had identified their ethnicity in all categories other than White categories. The National College for School Leadership (NCSL) database of BAME National Professional Qualification for Headteachers (NPQH) completers for the period 2003–07. The investigation used a questionnaire survey, which was issued by the sponsoring bodies. There was a response rate of 10% for NASUWT and 16% for NCSL representing 556 respondents in total. This represents a low

percentage return from each sponsoring body. However, the overall number of respondents completing the questionnaire at 556 is relatively large.

In the overall conclusion to the report McNamara et al identified four main themes. First, that the incidence of discrimination within the school system is “an endemic culture of institutional racism” (McNamara et al., 2009: 79). Second, that most of the barriers identified reflected the concerns of the teaching profession, for example, workload, however they *impacted differently with respect to ethnicity*. Third, that BAME aspiring leaders do not have equal access to leadership positions. Fourth, career progression and progress was uneven. Diversity and identity, both within and across minority ethnic groups, suggests that within defined ethnic groups there were no specific factors to account for their uneven career progression. However “70 per cent of all groups of BME teachers perceived it ‘harder for BME teachers to secure leadership posts than their white counterparts’ and the same proportions thought white teachers were stereotypically perceived to be better leaders” (McNamara et al., 2009: 81).

While there are some similarities to themes identified in previous research studies, the larger sample enabled a finer degree of analysis. For example in relation to career progression and progress. However, whereas Bush et al write about their “research shows that BME teachers and leaders do experience barriers and either direct or hidden discrimination” (Bush et al., 2006: 303) in the research by

McNamara et al it is “an endemic culture of institutional racism” (McNamara et al., 2009: 79).

The research study undertaken by Coleman and Campbell-Stevens (Coleman and Campbell-Stephens, 2010) was based on interviews with participants in the Investing in Diversity (IiD)⁴ leadership development programme. Coleman and Campbell-Stevens draw on the findings of both Bush et al. and McNamara et al., in identifying the perceptions and career aspirations of a group of BAME senior leaders who aspired to Headship. Their interview data reveals the multiple identities of these aspiring leaders and identifies the structural barriers including racism that they have experienced. These experiences mirror the themes identified in the earlier research studies described above. The qualitative data also points out the extent to which they have exercised individual agency in their own career progression. Most of the interviewees were based in London, from where the IiD professional development programme was run (Coleman and Campbell-Stephens, 2010).

The research thesis by Curtis, involving 1 to 1 interviews and focus groups focused on 8 Black women leaders in Early Years Settings explores life histories to analysis their journeys into leadership (Curtis, 2014). The research study examines the intersections of gender and ethnicity through the voice of Black women leaders of Early Years Settings. As in the research studies discussed above, issues of isolation, professional development, discrimination and mentoring are dominant themes.

“The impact of whiteness and the spaces and privileges it represents has affected the health of these women, and they report a need to choose their battles wisely. Being bicultural is one source of strength and provides them with the tools to deal effectively in the world in which they feel accepted, where they are recognised as part of the community, and where they share their socio-cultural wealth, knowledge, values, cultural insights and engagement. However, these women are faced with a system in which they are socially invisible and marginalised, while challenging oppression and issues of race” (Curtis, 2014: 220).

However, unlike the earlier studies the imagery of Whiteness as a key narrative of institutional practice is explored in greater depth (Curtis, 2014). While Curtis’s research has a very small sample base, her work pulls together issues of race, ethnicity and gender. She also highlights the dearth of numerical data on race and ethnicity within the context of teaching more broadly and specifically within the different phases of education and within regions and localities geographically.

In a similar way, Daley undertook a research thesis into Black Managers in FE (Daley, 2001). The qualitative data that Daley draws on was based on interviews with 6 female and 7 male African and African Caribbean senior FE leaders (but not principles). The interviews explored professional experiences in the FE sector and the routes to promotion. The research reflected much that had been identified by Osler (Osler, 1999), and the research undertaken in this area during the 2000s as outlined in the research studies cited above. For Daley, a significant theme that

received less attention in the other studies relates to the more limited opportunities that aspiring Black Managers had to develop career progressing relationships within their institutions and across the FE sector at a local, regional or national level. In the main this relates to the lack of professional development opportunities for aspiring BAME managers in the FE sector and limited networking opportunities. Again, these issues were reinforced in a later study undertaken in 2006 by MacKay and Etienne (Mackay and Etienne, 2006).

A further research study that sought to expose how identity and diversity is suppressed and neutralised is in the research of Showunmi et al (Showunmi et al., 2016). This research explores how gender and race/ethnic dimensions may impact leadership. Unlike the previous research cited above this research study draws on leaders from a broad range of sectors, including CEOs, partners of professional firms, business owners, senior civil servants, local politicians and senior public sector workers. Their sample comprised of a diverse group of 130 women participated, 70 of South Asian ethnicity (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi), 40 of black (African/African-Caribbean) ethnicity, and 20 of white English ethnicity. Participants were aged between 25 and 60, with five to 25 years' work experience. The research used a qualitative methodology comprising of focus groups and interviews with the participants.

It is being used here to offer some more comparative literature data. However the findings reflect similar findings to research specifically in the literature on educational leadership.

One example from the research refers to the preconceived and restrictive uni-dimensional impressions held in institutions.

“When you are in leadership roles they still want to stereotype you . . . you must be like this because you are Muslim, or you must be like this if you are an African/Caribbean woman . . . People try to box you in and if you are a white leader I would imagine, I don’t know I’m not one, or if you are a male leader you don’t have to be defined by this very strict box, you can be whoever you want to be. (Asian female)” (Showunmi et al., 2016: 927)

The qualitative data was built on 1 to 1 interviews and focus group discussions. It found that most White women interviewed did not acknowledge an accumulation of disadvantage through the intersection of gender with race.

“Notably, none of the white women equated personal experiences of gender discrimination to minority ethnic women’s potential experiences of racial discrimination. Neither did they adopt the ‘double jeopardy’ model by assuming that minority ethnic women’s experiences would be an additive of their minority ethnicity and gender” (Showunmi et al., 2016: 297).

Showunmi et al's research, in which the application of intersectional identities, communicates the interviewed women's variation in conceptions and enactment of leadership. Minority ethnic women had a greater awareness of links between personal, social and leader identities. They also articulated breadth and depth of barriers to enacting their leader identities.

The most recent relevant research study by Johnson looked generationally at the life histories of 28 BAME educators who led schools across a 47-year period from 1968 to 2015 (Johnson, 2017). For the research the BAME headteachers were grouped by generations as pioneer, novice and experienced. They were interviewed about their critical life experiences which influenced their path to leadership. The research approach and design compliments Warmington et al paper that explores the personal reflections of educators and contributors, in England, to the shifting status of race equality policy in education policy between 1993 and 2013 (Warmington et al., 2017).

One of Johnson's female interviewees voiced findings comparable to one of the themes that emerged in my interviews that formed part of my data gathering.

"The pace of change has been so fast that people who came into the profession with particular ideas of teaching, they've had to go from one paradigm to the next . . . [and] people have not been physically able to keep up. For me, that's unfair. That is wrong. The Ofsted

framework has changed so many times. What was once an outstanding lesson is no longer an outstanding lesson” (Johnson, 2017: 849)

The pace of change identified here impacts on the extent to which issues remain central or are moved to the margins, are hot or cold, narrow or broad, deep or shallow.

While Johnson’s findings suggest different roles between the generations of headteachers, the pioneer ‘community leader’ role of the earlier generation to a “more individualistic and managerial focus, ... committed to increasing student achievement for those students who have been marginalized” (Johnson, 2017: 858). Johnson also identifies the continuing racism that BAME leaders face.

“Unlike White school leaders who often exhibit a color-blind perspective with regards to race, these BAME leaders narrate multiple ways they have been positioned differently in the UK educational system. This is apparent not only in terms of the vivid examples of institutional and individual racism evidenced by the pioneer generation, but also the subtle barriers to advancement evidenced in the responses of more recently appointed BAME head teachers” (Johnson, 2017: 858).

Each of these studies has contributed to building up the research data and evidence on some of the issues concerning BAME aspiring and appointed leaders in schools. The use of qualitative data suggest that an important perspective is achieved

through the voice of BAME people as educational leaders and as aspiring educational leaders. If one considered these research studies sequentially over time it does suggest that little progress has been made in removing the barriers to BAME peoples' career progression over the last forty years. There is little evidence from the interviews of any comprehensive or systematic development strategies used to support BAME teachers in their career development. The studies also comment negatively on the quality of ethnicity data within schools, across the educational workforce and in local government. There is an understanding across the qualitative data that the teaching profession is not inclusive in terms of the protected characteristics as defined in the Equalities Act 2010. The research studies also identify that prevalent leadership models, within which BAME aspiring leaders are required to work, deny issues of diversity and identity.

This small but important body of research requires further development. A social structure and process, education, that aims to achieve for all pupils will not provide equality of opportunity, while the structure and processes themselves are not inclusive, perpetuate discrimination, enable racism to maintain a business as normal model of educational theory and practice.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has established that the subjective issues of identity and diversity in educational leadership theory and research is at best marginal. The dominant

research paradigms in educational leadership are predicated on a mono-ethnic and patriarchal notion of leadership. The effect is to bleach out identity and diversity from leadership. It assumes 'Whiteness' that is taken for granted and unproblematised. There is inadequate understanding of identity and diversity and lived experiences both within and across different minority ethnicities. That different identities and diversity are not understood in the context of prevailing models of school leadership speaks to the inadequacy of much current educational leadership theory and research. The next chapter provides a model and method to address the inadequacy of much current educational leadership theory and research.

NOTES

- 1 The original quote is "School effectiveness research bleaches context from its analytic frame" (Slee et al., 1998: 5)
- 2 Pupil level achievement data both in terms of attainment and participation (attendance, behaviour, exclusions etc), Workforce data
- 3 the national curriculum and the central determining of what is taught (National Strategies Appendix 10), End of Key Stage Assessments – especially examination curricula at GCSE, BTEC, GNVQ, A levels
- 4 The IiD programme is discussed in greater detail in my Chapter 5 on leadership

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins with the research question and some of the questions that arise from that initial question. This is followed by a detailed analysis of the theoretical paradigm that underpins the research. Critical Race Theory (CRT) is an emergent theoretical perspective which problematise and critiques the male; middle class; middle age and Whiteness of leadership. However it is itself a theoretical position that is challenged and two important challenges are considered. These challenges come from within American legal studies and from a particular exposition of 'English' Marxism. The issues arising from these theoretical conditions led me to adopt a multi-method approach. This approach links to how the research question originally arose through my own professional and personal experiences.

The next sections of the chapter consider why and how methodological triangulation is used to gather and analyse data. Each method (interviews, questionnaire survey, published documentation and my scrapbooks) is explained and considered in terms of that method's validity, reliability, analysis and my reflections, after the act.

This is followed by a section that brings together how ethical standards have been met and conform to the British Educational Research Association (BERA) guidelines (BERA, 2018)

The final section, work-life and health, considers key factors of reasonableness with regard to the resources and time available for the research. In concluding the chapter I demonstrate that by combining the data from (i) the individual experiences of BAME leaders, (ii) from activity which is indicative of wider education systems and processes and (iii) the almost daily litany of similar examples from life at this moment in time and place, there is methodology to address the question of under-representation: chance, coincidence or design.

THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The publication in 1985 of 'Education for All' (DES, 1985) articulated what was already a concern, "It is clear that ethnic minority groupsare disproportionately under-represented in the teaching profession - indeed the DES itself has long accepted this as a legitimate cause for concern" (DES, 1985: 600). Since the first publication of 'Education for All', education policy and practice has been through "an unprecedented depth, breadth, pace of change and level of government activity" (Ball, 2009: 2). Yet that unprecedented depth, breadth, pace of change and level of government activity has had no impact on the under-representation of BAME people

in the teaching profession and more specifically in the leadership of children's learning (Shepherd, 2012).

This research seeks to find possible answers and explanations as to why the injustice of the under-representation of BAME people in the leadership of children's learning still remains today.

"The reality across children's services in England and Wales is that despite an increasing Black and Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME) population both using and working in children's services and the public sector as a whole, it is still possible to count on one hand the number of directors of children's services who are Black." (Spillet, 2014: 1)

The question being framed and which provides the focus for this thesis is "The under-representation of Black and Minority Ethnic People in the leadership of children's learning: Chance, Coincidence or Design?". I recognise that there are sub-questions that arise from this question and I will unpack them here:

CHANCE, COINCIDENCE OR DESIGN?

If the under-representation is purely chance then we are saying that there is no inequality in educational leadership – it's just one of those things that cannot be explained.

If on the other hand under-representation is a coincidence, a meaningless concurrence of events that signifies no deeper connection, we may set aside the issue of under-representation because of the insufficiency or unavailability of the knowledge drawn upon. Or that the resources for development or implementation were not enough for the task. Or the need to get the job done irrespective of the impact on subjected minorities was fundamental, important or urgent.

However, if the under-representation is by design, then it is the inevitable consequence of the adoption or not of policy or the application or not of processes and procedures, which return under-representation as an outcome in educational leadership. The adoption of policy and the application of process and procedures does not necessarily imply that not adopting policy or not applying processes and procedures is consciously intended.

The question of Chance, Coincidence or Design moves us to go beyond formal or informal explanations. Instead, it suggests new lines of inquiry or for further research to change the present injustice. The question seeks to achieve a definitive answer. If the under-representation of BAME people in the leadership of children's learning is not what we want, then we are in a better position to campaign and argue to change it.

OTHER SUB-QUESTIONS ARISING FROM THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The research question also suggests further sub-questions such as:

- Are BAME People under-represented in educational leadership?
- Is there evidence that BAME leadership is a priority?
- How do BAME leaders experience their professional lives in educational leadership?
- What are the factors that might explain how a few BAME people have succeeded to become educational leaders?
- Does BAME people's leadership experience suggest the need for further changes?
- Does BAME people's leadership experience suggest the problems that should be addressed?

The research question appears to mainly articulate an empirical inquiry. Under-representation is a premise in data - that numerically can be either confirmed or denied. However, we need some degree of certainty in the measures that we use and a degree of confidence in the sources from which these measures are drawn. There is alongside that premise an understanding of the purpose of an education in a developed democracy and of an education system or service that promotes that purpose. This, as numerous research in the sociology of education, is contested territory (Slee et al., 1998; Whitty, 2002; Apple, 2006; Alexander, 2010; Whitty,

2016; Ball, 2017). Further at some point that numerical data becomes individual people who will have their own understanding of the purpose of an education and perhaps more importantly experiences of the education system or service. This will need to be understood alongside the data on under-representation.

The nature of this research inquiry therefore will need to combine a mosaic of data to paint the necessary picture:

- The voice of BAME leaders who daily must live and more importantly work in contexts in which they are under-represented;
- The phenomenon of representation in current data – the headline data;
- That 'headline' data as a trend over time;
- Other data that verifies the voice of BAME leaders
- The extent of policy development and policy implementation that seek to change or modify the 'headline' data; and
- Any variations in policy procedure.

(Cohen et al., 2007; Denscombe, 2013)

It is in the persistence of under-representation and the related impact of under-representation in positions of leadership, at a time of 'policy overload' and 'hyperactivism' (Ball, 2009: 2) and in the "last vestiges of empire working their way out of the British psyche" (Dorling and Tomlinson, 2019: Loc 173) that this research takes place.

The research question and the sub-questions that arise from the original question can also be better understood by referencing back to a) how, in Chapter 1, my research question originally arose and b) using a theoretical frame that I believe will enable us to go beyond mere explanations to a possible position in which it can be changed.

CRITICAL RACE THEORY AS MY THEORETICAL FRAME

Amongst the emergent theoretical perspectives which problematise the male; middle class; middle age and whiteness of leadership, is Critical Race Theory (CRT). “It is because of the meaning and value imputed to whiteness that CRT becomes an important intellectual and social tool for deconstruction, reconstruction, and construction: deconstruction of oppressive structures and discourses, reconstruction of human agency, and construction of equitable and socially just relations of power” (Ladson-Billings, 2009: 19). CRT, I believe, offers a new theoretical framework and lens to consider the question whether under-representation is by chance, coincidence or design?

CRT is a form of legal scholarship that emerged from critical legal studies in America. It has evolved into educational theory and research in the United States (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Lopez and Parker, 2003) and Britain (Brah and Phoenix, 2009; Gillborn, 2009; Gillborn, 2010; Gillborn et al.,

2017; Gillborn et al., 2018). As a theory emerging out of critical legal studies in the US it is heavily situated in the American context.

However there is a growing body of work drawing on the main conceptual elements of CRT in the English context (Graham, 2001; Blair, 2004; Mirza, 2007; Housee, 2008; Warmington, 2009; Housee, 2010; Preston, 2010a; Preston, 2010b; Hylton, 2012; Preston and Chadderton, 2012; Rollock, 2012; Warmington, 2012). In outlining CRT I am at once situating it in the English context and then addressing some of the criticisms levelled at CRT (Litowitz, 2009; Cole, 2012).

While there is no single, shared body of concepts, tools or methodologies (Crenshaw et al., 1995: xiii) CRT is unified by two common interests. These are

“.. to understand how a regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color have been created and maintained in America, and, in particular, to examine the relationship between that social structure and professed ideals such as “the rule of law” and “equal protection”. The second is a desire not merely to understand the vexed bond between law and racial power but to *change* it.” (Crenshaw et al., 1995: xiii)

The specificity here of the term white supremacy is the architecture of political, economic, social, cultural, historic, intellectual and material systems that ensures white domination and the subordination of minoritized others. White supremacy ensures power is maintain through both conscious and unconscious agency. These

two common interests are pursued through a variety of terms including “elements’, “perspectives” and “tenets”. Gillborn et al usefully pulls together the language used by the various originating authors within CRT.

“One of the earliest descriptions, focusing on six “defining elements,” was co- authored by four of the foundational figures in legal CRT, Charles Lawrence III, Mari Matsuda, Richard Delgado and Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw” (Lawrence III et al., 1993);

1. Critical race theory recognizes that racism is endemic to American life.
2. Critical race theory expresses scepticism toward dominant legal claims of neutrality, objectivity, colour-blindness and meritocracy.
3. Critical race theory challenges ahistoricism and insists on a contextual/historical analysis of the law.
4. Critical race theory insists on recognition of the experiential knowledge of people of color.
5. Critical race theory is interdisciplinary and eclectic.
6. Critical race theory works toward the end of eliminating racial oppression as part of the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression.” (Gillborn et al., 2018: 4)

In addition to these broad defining elements Gillborn et al also identify “a series of concepts and methods [that] have gradually emerged as core ideas that frequently

(though not always) characterize CRT in education and provide powerful tools of analysis" (Gillborn et al., 2018: 5). These conceptual tools for analysis include

The use of counter-storytelling:

Making visible the overt or the covert operation of white supremacy necessarily requires going beyond listening to the voices of power, of white supremacy and listening instead to the voice of those who experience the deficiencies arising from relative powerlessness and racism.

The idea of microaggression:

Regularly received verbal and non-verbal utterances which either intentionally or unintentionally: exclude, dismiss, don't see, don't hear, cut in, cut out, minimise, ignore, isolate or threaten BAME people.

The interest convergence principle:

Those moments when a reconfiguration of racial inequality is allowed because it coincides with the interests of white supremacy. However, that remedy will be abrogated at the point that policy makers fear the "remedial policy threatens the superior societal status of middle- and upper-class whites" (Bell, 2009: 76).

The idea of contradiction-closing cases:

An inequity becomes so visible and/or so large that the present situation threatens to become unsustainable and to threaten the deployment of white power. However, in making changes the real material and symbolic status of BAME people goes unchanged.

Intersectionality:

Conceptually intersectionality requires us to understand the complexity of individual's simultaneous membership in any number of groups. In understanding these complex memberships, we can see that an individual's experience of oppression as a complex experience rarely reducible to a single 'ism' (class, age, race, sex etc).

Clearly CRT occupies a place within subjectivists views of social reality (Cohen et al., 2007: 7). These elements and conceptual tools provide a lens through which the data that is gathered will be presented and analysed. However, before considering the various strands of data that will be gathered for analysis it is important to allocate space to criticisms levelled at CRT from within the community of the sociology of education in the UK.

SOME OF THE CRITICISMS LEVELLED AT CRT

Central to most criticism of CRT is a general conflation of white supremacy with white people. Importantly in CRT terms, white supremacy is the collation of power through political, economic, social, cultural, historic, intellectual, legal and material

systems that ensures white domination and the subordination of minoritized others. White supremacy ensures power is maintained through both conscious and unconscious agency within the material forces of production and the existing relations of production expressed in the political, economic, social, cultural, historic, intellectual, legal and material relations between individuals:

“The material and ideological dimensions of racism secure socio-economic advantages and cultural status along raced and classed lines. These advantages accrue principally to white elites but are also doled out strategically (and unevenly) to those fractions of society that buffer white elites (the white working classes)” (Warmington, 2019: 6).

As with the issues of age, disability, gender and sexuality etc., the issues of white supremacy add complexities to deterministic analysis of power conditioned by class. White supremacy also brings into question current definitions of racism in its institutional form as more than collective failure but as endemic and structured.

In addition Warmington (2019) summarises criticisms of CRT as:

- an import from the USA that has little relevance in England;
- a race-conscious analysis is inherently opposed to Marxism;
- having few strengths but needs to learn from Marxist concepts of class relations;

- not a theory at all but 'a perspective, a set of beliefs about racism'
(Warmington, 2019)

The idea that theory is bounded by geography is extremely limiting. However in Britain at a time struggling to account to its imperial past and rising questions of Britain's uniqueness in a world where 'advanced democracies' are increasingly looking inward and away from sharing solutions to problems (see Chapter 1), this may contribute to seeing how such a position can be taken up. A greater concern is the notion of CRT being opposed to Marxism. The questions of the relative autonomy of the superstructure from the economic base structure has been significantly theorised by later Marxists including Fanon, Gramsci, Althusser, Bourdieu (Leonardo, 2010b). These writings attest to the breadth of Marxist thinking.

Specifically there are numerous features of identity; ethnicity, race, gender, disability, sexuality, class, language, region (disposable income? Social circumstance?) for example wherein domination and oppression can exist. The research task is to identify if, when, how and why they operate. This is to recognise that identity and diversity are not fixed, static, stable, coherent and consistence. As such white supremacy as an ideological system is a powerful appropriation of domination and oppression in that it is for some people owned. It has a material existence.

During the last twenty years CRT in educational research and scholarship has been bounded by an understanding that:

- “CRT in education argues that racial inequity in education is the logical outcome of a system of achievement premised on competition.
- CRT in education examines the role of education policy and educational practices in the construction of racial inequity and the perpetuation of normative whiteness.
- CRT in education rejects the dominant narrative about the inherent inferiority of people of color and the normative superiority of white people.
- CRT in education rejects ahistoricism and examines the historical linkages between contemporary educational inequity and historical patterns of racial oppression.
- CRT in education engages in intersectional analyses that recognize the ways that race is mediated by and interacts with other identity markers (i.e., gender, class, sexuality, linguistic background, and citizenship status).
- CRT in education agitates and advocates for meaningful outcomes that redress racial inequity. CRT does not merely document disparities”

(Dixson and Anderson, 2018: 122).

I shall now explain how the insights of CRT have been used to define my approach to gathering data.

DATA USING A MIXED METHOD APPROACH

In the first chapter I referred to a small 'piece of research' that I undertook in the early part of 2009 (Chapter 1 page 14-18). The 'research' asked about the extent to which an LA had undertaken analysis of the applications and appointment to a senior (second tier) post in their local authority, in line with the its equal opportunities monitoring policy; In response to the nil return that I eventually received (under a Freedom of Information request) I made the following observation "It would be irresponsible to draw conclusions about chance, coincidence or design. However, if I were to ask the same question to every school and every children's services directorate for the post of headteacher and director (assistant director?) of children's service filled in the last two years would the response be any different?" (Chapter 1 page 18).

This shaped part of my research method – the survey of local authorities. There was in addition the need to establish the data on the numbers of BAME people working in children's learning and in leadership positions. This was reinforced through the literature review, which raised questions of the quality of ethnic monitoring data. Both the issue of BAME numbers and the survey of local authorities would produce numerical data.

A question then occurs around how this data is used and what does this use in local authorities contribute to the question of the thesis. Regarding the Equal

Opportunities Monitoring Form (see Appendix 1) that accompanied the application forms in the small 'piece of research' that I undertook, at the end of the Monitoring form there are explanations of how the data gathered will be used. In particular, how human resource monitoring will enable the council to:

- Undertake Workforce Profiling and analyse implications of such profiling;
- Monitor, by ethnic group, disability, sexual orientation, religion and gender all existing staff and applicants for jobs, promotion, and training and publish these results every year;
- Monitor grievances, harassment, oppressive behaviour, disciplinary action, performance appraisals, training and dismissals;

(see Appendix 1 A reproduction of the Equal Opportunities Monitoring Information form)

Analysing workforce monitoring reports would provide a means to assess how ethnic monitoring in local authorities was being used to address any differentials that monitoring identified.

In researching and analysing local authorities use of ethnic monitoring and of workforce monitoring reports from a sample of local authorities data can be gathered that could be interpreted in searching for relationships; for comparisons; for frequencies; for patterns. While there is value in drawing on quantitative data for

analysis, there is an equally valid purpose to drawing on qualitative data. Questions around the actual experiences of BAME leaders, what BAME leaders articulate as enabling and disabling factors. My thesis draws on four research methods. These are Interviews with Headteachers and Directors/Assistant Directors of Children's Services. A survey of the 152 English Councils with a responsibility for education. An internet analysis of a sample of English Councils reports on workforce monitoring and relevant news agency items (My scrapbooks) that add broader concerns and examples to points in my argument. In the detail for each method, I shall explain and justify (in terms of the validity, reliability, analysis and my reflection) each of the research method and the value of adopting a mixed method approach (Denscombe, 2013). Before providing the detail I shall first address how the research activity addresses the ethical guidance provided by the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2018).

ENSURING ETHICAL STANDARDS

BERA's Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2018) identifies five underpinning principles and five sets of guidelines covering participant, sponsors, the community of educational researchers, responsibilities for publication and dissemination and responsibilities for researchers wellbeing and development. In my research there are two main researched communities. First the interviewees all of whom are leaders of children's learning as Headteachers and Directors/Assistant Directors of Children's Services. The majority of my interviewees are of BAME

heritage. Their informed consent, understanding the importance of their privacy and of keeping their data confidential remains an ongoing and important aspect to my research process. A commitment to being accurate with the data gathered, and keeping the data secure is underlined by keeping all individual names, places, Councils anonymised throughout the thesis. The detail for each method that follows provides more detail on specific aspects of maintaining ethical standards.

SOURCES AND FORMS OF DATA: INTERVIEWS

Given the theoretical understanding of the research a random sample of leaders of children's learning would not have been appropriate. In order to gain the voice of BAME leaders the sample for interviewees need to be purposive to the research (Cohen et al., 2007: 110). Interviewing BAME leaders in children's learning would provide a wealth of data from those who 'buck the trend'. Their experiences provide a seldom heard perspective on education and children's learning, a perspective on the machinery of educational procedures and practices. Their experiences would provide another perspective on the barriers aspiring BAME leaders face. An experience which in the literature review I identified as one that is rarely heard and seldom researched.

While professional bodies such as the National Union of Teachers¹ (NUT), the Association of Teachers and Lecturers² (ATL), National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT), National Association of Head Teachers

(NAHT), Association of Directors of Children's Services (ADCS) have databases of members which can be analysed by gender and ethnicity, I decided to retain complete independence for my research. This can be explained by considering the role of research for ADCS. This Association is highly structured with a very comprehensive website presence at <http://adcs.org.uk>. The web page for the Association's research focus provides guidance for research approval:

"Children's services departments are frequently asked to take part in research exercises and surveys, and the Research Group wants to ensure that the projects carried out are worthwhile and that the topics best reflect the main concerns of departments."
(<http://adcs.org.uk/general/research>)

The proposition that the Research Group wants to ensure that the projects carried out are worthwhile and that the topics best reflect the main concerns of departments presents me with a problem. A review of the research projects that the research group have approved covering the period 2012 to 2018 shows that the issue of the under-representation of BAME in the Association is not a research concern. Issues around the education of BAME pupils is also a negligible research project. At the same time BAME people are under-represented in the Association, which it acknowledges in a published think piece (Spillet, 2014).

I choose instead to utilise, from my professional career in education of over 30 years, to draw on my informal network of BAME colleagues. Conferences, in-service

training, inter authority working, the Association of LEA Advisers and Officers for Multicultural Education (ALAOME), the National Association for Language Diversity in the Curriculum (NALDIC) The Anti-Racist Teacher Education Network (ARTEN) and networking more recently, through LinkedIn provided me with a long list of potential interviewees.

I excluded from this long list close friends and colleagues. Their experiences may mirror some of mine and I needed to research outside my own immediate context. A few of which provide a context for this research as explained in Chapter 1. However, some close friends and colleagues as well as some interviewees provided me with contact details for interviewees who I did not know. This 'snowballing' sampling enabled me to draw up a list of interviewees, with a broad balance in terms of ethnicity and gender (Cohen et al., 2007: 116). This list comprised 47 names and contact details. Not all on the list were willing to be interviewed. I did not question any refusals to take part in the interview process. Health and other personal factors precluded some interviewees from taking part. Table 4 provides a summary of interviewees.

Table 4: A summary of the interviewees

Reference		DCS	ADCS	HT	AHT	Current	Former	Male	Female	White	BME
CDCS 1	Jul-10	Y				Y		Y		Y	
CADCS 2	Oct-10		Y			Y		Y		Y	
CADCS 3	Sep-11		Y			Y		Y		Y	
CADCS 4	Mar-14		Y			Y			Y		Y
FDCS 5	Mar-14	Y					Y	Y			Y
FHT 6	Jun-15			Y			Y	Y			Y
CDCS 7	Jul-15	Y				Y		Y			Y
CDCS 8	Jul-15	Y				Y			Y	Y	
CADCS 9	Oct-16		Y			Y		Y			Y
FHT 10	Nov-16			Y			Y	Y			Y
FDCS 11	Nov-16	Y					Y	Y			Y
CHT 12	Jan-17			Y		Y		Y			Y
CHT 13	Mar-17			Y		Y			Y		Y
CHT 14	Mar-17			Y		Y			Y		Y
CHT 15	Mar-17			Y		Y		Y			Y
CHT 16	Mar-17			Y		Y			Y		Y
CHT 17	Apr-17			Y		Y			Y		Y
CHT 18	May-17			Y		Y			Y		Y
FHT 19	Jun-17			Y			Y		Y		Y
CAHT 20	Jun-17				Y	Y			Y		Y
CHT 21	Jun-17			Y		Y			Y		Y
FHT 22	Jun-17			Y			Y		Y		Y

CDCS	Current Director of Children's Services
CADCS	Current Assistant Director of Children's Services
FDCS	Former Director of Children's Services
FHT	Former Headteacher
CHT	Current Headteacher
CAHT	Current Assistant Headteacher

In the end 18 BAME leaders agreed to be interviewed as well as 4 majority ethnic Directors/Assistant Directors of Children's Services. The latter 4 interviews developed out of discussions, which at first were focussed on my consultancy work. They were interested in my research and engaged in discussion. Their experiences had the effect of both confirming the experiences of BAME leaders and contextualising these experiences differently. They did not offer new perspectives or themes. I wrote-up these discussions as field notes and sought the person agreement to use these notes within my research. As with the BAME interviewees issues of anonymity were part of the ethics procedure that I undertook.

All interviews took place in either the office of the interviewee, in a small meeting room in a community centre or at a library close to interviewees home. One interview (they had retired) was conducted in the home of the interviewee. Interviews began with an explanation of my research. As most interviews had been set up through an email exchange, this was reiterating information that had already been shared in writing. After explaining my research, I then emphasised that their participation was voluntary, that the interview could be stopped at any point. That

anything said up to that point would be deleted. That they would be anonymised in the research as would the names of people or places (schools, towns etc). That the interview would be recorded and transcribed and the recording and transcript would form part of the data I was gathering for my research. I also assured interviewees that my data would not be shared or used for any other purpose and that interview recordings would be destroyed. This repetition of information, previously covered in email exchanges to establish the interview, and their consent were the first part of each recording (BERA, 2018).

Interviews were semi structured. The questions were prepared in advance (Appendix 3). This ensured that the subject matter would be covered. The interview schedule ensured a high degree of consistency between each interview. It also helped me to keep focussed and avoid the interview going into unplanned areas of interest. However, because it was semi structured it did allow interviewees the opportunity to develop ideas and speak widely within the focus of questions (Cohen et al., 2007: 357). All the questions were used with all the interviewees. My interview schedule also contained follow up questions (for example "could you explain what you mean by....", "what was the effect of this on") as prompts to ensure I clarified and expand on certain points. This emphasis on the interviewee elaborating points of interest and significance to them works to ensure accuracy in my analysis.

However, the format did not stay the same in each interview as several factors required different responses. In most of the interviews, except one, there was a time pressure. Interviewees had granted me an interview period and they had other things to do immediately after. In a few instances interviews were conducted in two slots with up to a 90 mins pause in between. Interviews conducted at the workplace of the interviewee also had the disadvantage of enabling telephone interruptions, knocks on the door, a pupil wanting to show their poem to the Headteacher, an admin person needing to interrupt the interview. Some interviewees required more probing, some interviewees spoke voluminously. While no one interview was the same, there is care and consistency in the use of the data giving this research method credibility.

A further issue needed to be considered at the outset, this was that the interview method involved both a category of sensitive research, and an example of researching up, as researching powerful people (Cohen et al., 2007).

“What makes the research sensitive is that it is often dealing with key issues of policy generation and decision-making, or issues about which there is high-profile debate and contestation, as issues of a politically sensitive nature” (Cohen et al., 2007: 127)

Cohen, Manion and Morrison write extensively on sensitive educational research, listing 11 sources which give rise to issues of sensitivity for the researcher. Race is specifically mentioned on two occasions under the headings of Contents and Threats.

“Contents, e.g. taboo or emotionally charged areas of study (Farberow 1963), e.g. criminality, deviance, sex, race, bereavement, violence, politics, policing, human rights, drugs, poverty, illness, religion and the sacred, lifestyle, family, finance, physical appearance, power and vested interests (Lee 1993; Arditti 2002; Chambers 2003) (Cohen et al., 2007: 119)

“Threat to the researchers and to the family members and associates of those studied (Lee 1993); Lee (Lee 1993:34) suggests that ‘chilling’ may take place, i.e. where researchers are ‘deterred from producing or disseminating research’ because they anticipate hostile reactions from colleagues, e.g. on race. ‘Guilty knowledge’ may bring personal and professional risk from colleagues; it is threatening both to researchers and participants (De Laine 2000:67, 84)” (Cohen et al., 2007: 119-120)

In both examples race is perceived in negative terms. Whiteness is not seen as a sensitive subject. By its exclusion, it is perceived as non-issue. Something that is not sensitive and therefore something that is normal, natural, and consequently as something that is not necessary to research. Issues of identity and diversity are in the discourses of methodology constructed as sensitive issues which gives increased autonomy and power to Whiteness.

Besides issues of sensitivity, the issue of researching up needs to be taken into consideration. Researching up is both a relationship and a constraint. It suggests an

unequal relationship between the researcher and the participants. The participant is identified as a powerful person.

“The powerful are those who exert control to secure what they want or can achieve, those with great responsibility and whose decisions have significant effects on large numbers of people.” (Cohen et al., 2007: 127)

While many Headteachers and senior local authority officers would question the extent to which they are powerful – they are all aware of who monitors their work, to whom they are answerable. They are people “whose decisions have significant effects on large numbers of people.” They are also insulated and guarded. Access is not necessarily easy and straight forward.

“in terms of access to people (with officers guarding entrances and administrators deciding whether interviews will take place), places (‘elite settings’), timing (and scarcity of time with busy respondents), ‘conventions that screen off the routine of policy-making from the public and academic gaze’, conditional access and conduct of the research (‘boundary maintenance’) monitoring and availability” (citing Fitz and Halpin 1994 Cohen et al., 2007: 128)

To overcome the issue of access I made use of direct email addresses and letters marked Private and Confidential. Written communication was followed by telephone calls after two weeks of no response. I had responses from all except 3 on my original long list. In the email/telephone discussions I had it became clear to me

that as a PhD part-time student, respondents tried to be as helpful as possible. They also were reassured because of my commitment to confidentiality. The next two sections covers issues in relation to the validity and reliability of interviews as a source of data followed by two sections on my analysis and reflections.

VALIDITY

Does the interview process provide accurate and precise data? (Denscombe, 2013: 298). All the interviews were recorded using a high quality hand held recorder. Each recording was stored in a specific folder on a secure platform. Each interview was transcribed and a separate folder held all the transcripts. On the first occasion that I listen to each audio recording, after it was transcribed, I made a copy of the transcript. These word files were anonymised, replacing names, places to ensure that interviewees could not be identified. At the same time the transcript was checked for accuracy in relation to the audio recording. Notes made during the interview about expression, tone of voice, gestures, pauses, interruptions etc. were added to this copy of the transcript. This added richness, depth and nuance to the record of each interview. Subsequent listening to each audio recording was supported by reading the annotated copy of the transcript. This process of producing an annotated copy of the transcript, of reading the transcript while listening to the interview ensured consistency in treating each interview as data.

RELIABILITY

Will the interview process be consistent over time? (Denscombe, 2013: 193) Each interview was conducted in a similar way. The same set of questions but greater variation in the use of follow up questions. There was a need with some interviewees who required more probing, while some other interviewees spoke extensively and sometimes required their thoughts to be refocussed on the question. Interruptions would often require repeating the question. The interview schedule has been saved as Appendix 3. The context of each interview was different. No two interviewees' office were the same. However, the process of securing interviews, the treatment of each recording provides reliable data for analysis. I will pick up on the issue of the interviewer effect in the section on my reflections

ANALYSIS

The same type and form of analysis was undertaken across all the data gathering methods. The primary form of my data are words and texts (written words, pictures, graphs and tables of numbers). The words uttered during the interviews were reproduced as text – carefully annotated word documents. Analysis comes from the denotation and connotation of texts, both in the text's surface content and hidden messages. Across interviews it is in the position and frequency of words, phrases, sentences and paragraphs that meaning can be codified. Initially I identified

approximately 40 specific codes. Each code had a code sheet which contained, an explanation of the code, a table listing the interviewees, a list of useful literature references, and notes. These notes were either direct quotes from interviewee transcripts or notes to myself – linking to other codes, linking to data in the other methods used. These codes, narrow and specific themes, were then grouped into broad themes. This form of analysis of the talk and texts draws on the constant comparative method (Cohen et al., 2007; Denscombe, 2013).

REFLECTION

I can look back and be self-critical about each of the interviews. Did I leave things on the table? Did I fully explore the issue under discussion? There were a few occasions where, in hindsight, I wish I had reflected an answer back to the interviewee in order that I could assure myself of my analysis of their utterances. There were a few occasions when I challenged a view so that I could be sure of the point my interviewee was making. However, this was different to those few occasions when I may have accepted the point I believed they were making.

The sample of interviewees I accept as being small. A larger sample would have enabled me to interrogate issues of gender, ethnicity, age and other protected characteristics. However, time and resource constraints limited what was feasible for this research.

While identifying the broader themes from my many specific codes I was a little surprised that in talking about the extent of change imposed on education in the last forty years no one mentioned 'How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Sub Normal in the British School System' (Coard, 1971), Swann Report (DES, 1985) The 1968, 1976 Race Relations Act, 2000 Race Relation (Amendment) Act or the 2010 Equalities Act, The urban (Race Riots) uprisings/unrest of the 1980s, The Burnage Report (MacDonald, 1989) or the MacPherson Report (MacPherson, 1999a), the Climbié Inquiry (Laming, 2003) and the associated Every Child Matters of 2004 all of which I assumed were important signposts in any summary of educational change in England over the last forty years.

There are several possible explanations as to why no 'race/ethnicity' specific policy changes were mentioned by any of the interviewees, I would suggest the following are worth consideration. Firstly, there is the interviewer effect. All the interviewees had some knowledge of my professional background or had undertaken basic on line searching. Certainly, we shared professional histories, we knew colleagues in common, we had a shared professional status and there is a possibility that 'minority ethnic affiliations' may have led to assumed shared assumptions. Ethnic Minority underachievement, racism, and the publications and reports above could be accepted as there in the space between us. A form of 'Professional Minority Ethnic or Minority Ethnic Professional 'common-sense'.

"...I think that probably [was] when we last spoke. As School Improvement Advisor[s]..." (CADCS 4)

"...You remember that Daily Mail front page and we knew that some of those teachers in that conference will have read that and will look at us, you and me, and will reject anything we would say....." (FHT 6)

Perhaps a wider professional 'common-sense' also prevailed around a rational understanding of the right to an education, that pupils' identities were more complex than just issues around class, ethnicity and/or gender. Perhaps it was more about a shared understanding of education as a service, education as a vocation and education for all.

A second explanation could be the pervasiveness of change, the fact that as the interviewees were taking place the change context was continuing. One policy, procedure or process was being embedded while another was being developed and another was being implemented and training around others was being prepared or delivered. The consequence of this is that the professional context is a set of competing priorities driven increasingly by government agenda where the professional feels 'done to' rather than initiating and driving forward change.

A third explanation is that in the recognition of the general goal of raising standards these policy activities were understood as approaches to 'levelling up' and addressing inequality more broadly than just a focus on race equality.

Certainly, the shared professional histories, colleagues in common, shared professional status and the possibility of 'minority ethnic affiliations' made the interview a relaxed experience and interviewees were unhindered in talking. Three of my interviewees within a day of the interview had emailed me with some further points that on reflection they wished they had mentioned at the time of the interview.

The next section is focussed on the local authority survey. A different method of gathering data with a very different resource demand.

SOURCES AND FORMS OF DATA: LOCAL AUTHORITY SURVEY

The small 'piece of research' that I undertook in the early days and described in Chapter 1 proposed the question that if I were to ask the same question around senior appointments to every school and every children's services directorate filled in the last two years would the response be any different to the response I received to my one inquiry? This provided me with a method for surveying local authorities

152 Surveys were sent out to all Local Authorities (LAs), in England, as a Freedom of Information (FoI) request. The purpose of the survey was to gain numerical data on the extent of policy and policy procedures that seek to change or modify the under-representation of BAME people in local authority workforce and the leadership of children's learning specifically (the survey form is reproduced in Appendix 4). The

intention was to turn this numerical data into a comprehensive picture that covered the whole of England.

I had pilot tested the survey by sending it to 6 former colleagues working in different Local Authorities, each of whom had said they would gladly help. Each colleague was an Assistant Director in their respective local authority – they reported to the Director of Children’s Services. The 6 surveys that I had sent out were never returned. Emails to chase up with my former colleagues did not elicit a return. On reflection, I should have anticipated this form of response. My former colleague would have forwarded the originating email from me to the relevant officer with responsibility for FoIs and would then have forgotten all about it. They are very busy, invariably under pressure and no matter what bonds of friendship, familiarity or fraternity exists, this would not have been high on their agenda. Equally for the FoI officer, this was an internal matter, this would have been a favour and amongst the plethora of FoI requests, my request would have continually been moved to the bottom of the pile – to be returned to when things were not so busy. But they always are busy.

The testing of the survey turned into a realisation that I was unlikely to gain enough data unless I used FoIs. In most Authorities FoIs are handled by a relatively junior officer. The request usually arrives into the authority through a portal on the authority’s web site. In some cases, any individual or an individual in an

organisation (for example Reporters) will email a named officer directly. Irrespective of the way in which the FoI arrives into the authority it will be dealt with by an officer with specific responsibility for FoIs. They will log the request and then seek to ensure that the FoI goes to the relevant officer or officers and that the FoI is returned answered with in the statutory period of 20 working days.

To ensure that the survey was logged, I needed the weight of authority. I also needed to ensure that email FoI request would be followed up and that all relevant information would be kept up to date. I employed an administrative service, which I had used before for my consultancy business. They also would transcribe the interviews I would undertake later. The responsibility of the admin service was to send out around 10 emails a day spread over the period Sept to November 2014. I produced a standard draft email request and the email accounts of all 152 Directors of Children's Services.

The subject line of the standard email contained the words Freedom of Information Request: Staffing in the LA & Children's Services. The email was addressed to the DCS by name. There are relatively easy ways to access the formal email address of senior officers in an authority, I made use of the list on the Association of Directors of Children's Services (ADCS) website³. By sending FoI to the DCS inbox a request to respond would be more likely from the DCS as this was no longer a favour but a formal request with legal standing.

140 surveys were returned. This represents a 92.1% response rate. This response rate is exceptionally high. For example, in research undertaken by the Liberal Democratic Party they had a 54% response rate to their FoI. Their FoI to all 152 English Councils requested data on the numbers of days that teachers took as leave for stress and mental health reasons (Asthana and Boycott-Owen, 2018)

A response rate of 92.1% I believe was achieved by sending the FoI request directly to the inbox of the DCS in each of the 152 English councils. The original survey was sent as an Excel file with fields formatted to ensure consistency of response. The survey is a set of 10 questions. Each question set is asking whether a particular feature is monitored, for example "Does the authority monitor all existing staff by:". There are then five boxes covering specific protected characteristics and two further boxes for other characteristics, to be identified by the officer responding to the FoI. This is followed by two further sub questions: 'Are the outcomes from this question reported to Council annually?'. All of these questions require a 'YES', "NO' or 'Don't Know' answer.

The final question is asking for a specific date to be identified: 'On what date was the monitoring of this question last reported to Council?'. Table 5 is an extract from the Excel spreadsheet in which 140 responses from the 152 English Councils were recorded. (see Appendix 6).

Table 5: Local Authority Survey summarised returns for protected characteristics of all existing staff

Does the council monitor all existing staff by	Question 3						
	Does the council monitor all existing staff by	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?	Are the outcomes from monitoring in 3 above
Number of Answers from 140 FoI Surveys responses		136	136	136	133	132	125
Number of responses = Yes		134	134	133	112	107	91
Number of responses = Yes as a % of 140		95.7%	95.7%	95.0%	80.0%	76.4%	65.0%
Number of responses = No		2	2	3	21	25	34
Number of responses = No as a % of 140		1.4%	1.4%	2.1%	15.0%	17.9%	24.3%
Number of responses = Don't Know		0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of responses = Don't Know as a % of 140		0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

The first line of data represents the number of answers (Yes, No, Don't Know) received for the Question. The next line represents the number of Yes answers. The next line represents the number of Yes answers as a percentage of all returns (140). The next four lines repeat this data for No responses and for Don't Know responses.

The spreadsheet also contained other elementary information covering each of the 152 English Councils an extract is reproduced here in Table 6:

Table 6: An extract of elementary information for each local authority

Unique Reference No	Region	TYPE	LEA	email - S	email - R	P BME	S BME	Sp BME	%
20140417EQ9186	L	LBC		25/11/2014	17/12/2014	66.1%	67.7%	71.0%	61% - 80%

20140417EQ9236	SW	C		03/12/2014	05/01/2015	11.3%	9.5%	7.8%	<20%
20140417EQ9163	E	BC		15/09/2014	08/10/2014	42.7%	34.9%	38.4%	21% - 40%
20140417EQ9352	WM	CiC		03/12/2014	22/01/2015	65.6%	63.5%	55.8%	61% - 80%
20140417EQ9195	NW	BC		29/11/2014	19/12/2014	50.6%	47.0%	53.9%	41% - 60%
20140417EQ9211	SE	BC		02/12/2014	16/03/2015	20.5%	15.2%	15.4%	<20%
20140417EQ9381	Y&H	MBC		03/12/2014	07/01/2015	54.1%	52.7%	54.5%	41% - 60%
20140417EQ9218	SE	CiC		02/12/2014		24.1%	21.1%	17.2%	21% - 40%
20140417EQ9239	SW	CiC		03/12/2014		35.6%	30.3%	28.7%	21% - 40%
20140417EQ9189	L	LBC		25/11/2014	05/01/2015	32.8%	29.5%	32.6%	21% - 40%
20140417EQ9222	SE	CoC		02/12/2014	18/12/2014	28.6%	28.2%	30.6%	21% - 40%

The elementary information held in the full spreadsheet contains the following information:

- a unique reference number so that data returns could be anonymised,
- the region of England (as defined by the DfE),
- the type of local authority (County Council, Metropolitan Borough Council etc.),
- the Local Education Authority name (deleted from the extract reproduced in Table 6 above),
- When the emailed letter and survey were sent to the DCS and returned
- The proportion of BAME pupils in Primary, Secondary and Special schools in the authority
- A colour coding for the overall proportion of BAME pupils 0-20%, 21-40%, 41-60%, 61-80%, 80%+

This data was reproduced in subsequent spreadsheets by:

- DfE Region;
- Type of authority;
- Proportion of BAME pupils.

This enabled me to analyse the data to see if authorities with large proportions of BAME pupils, or authorities in urban areas had different responses. Appendix 6 provides a fuller extract from the Excel spreadsheet. In Appendix 7 Tables A to H provide the accumulated data from each of the question sets from Question 3 "Does the council monitor all existing staff by..." through to Question 10 "Does the council monitor all applications for Headteacher appointments in maintained schools by...".

VALIDITY

Does the questionnaire survey provide accurate and precise data? (Denscombe, 2013: 298). As a FoI request there is a legal obligation on authorities to answer accurately. The data returns provide a consistent pattern of responses between authorities. Finally the dates provided enabled me to make some checks and to use authority workforce monitoring reports as a further check on the accuracy of responses to the FoI. The questionnaire was reproduced as an Excel worksheet. This allowed me to create Drop-Down lists limiting the cell entry options to enable entry of data to be consistent and accurate (options to select being either: 'Yes';

'No'; or 'I Don't Know'). It also enabled me to control and have consistency of data entry by applying validation rules (for example the formatting of cells requiring a date entry). The data returns from each authority were entered horizontally in the spreadsheet. This enable each question and sub questions to be totalled as shown in Table 5 above. In this example on monitoring all existing staff out of 140 overall survey responses 136 Councils returned data on monitor staffing by disability, ethnicity and gender. 134 Councils responded that they do monitor by disability and ethnicity and 133 by gender. The returns for religion and sexuality across all Questions were lower than for disability, ethnicity and gender.

Using a formatted excel spreadsheet ensured that data entry was consistent.

RELIABILITY

Will the questionnaire survey be consistent over time? (Denscombe, 2013: 193).

The questionnaire survey is repeatable. The process of emailing directly to the DCS it appears provides a means to achieve a high response rate. Using Excel spreadsheets is a familiar process within local government to capture data and therefore completing the questionnaire survey would not create difficulties for the officer completing the FoI. At the time I could not readily see a method to determine the ease, effectivity and capacity within the local authority to access this data. However the analysis of workforce monitoring would provide an indication of how monitoring maybe used to inform certain audiences.

ANALYSIS

The elementary data (Appendix 6) provides details to enable the primary form of the data to be analysed. The primary form of my data in the questionnaire survey responses were the words 'Yes', 'No' or 'Don't Know'. The frequency of these answers have been counted and reproduced as a percentage. Given that answers were controlled to one of either three responses, determining the most popular answer (the mode) has little value. 'Yes' was always going to be the most frequently cited answer. Of significance is the gap between 'Yes' and 'No'. Similarly making comparisons between the mid-point (the median) of a range with only three numbers again would have no interpretive value. Beside the significance of the gap between 'Yes' and 'No', the other significance is the extent to which a 100% of answers are 'Yes'. This is also why seeking the arithmetic average offers no interpretive value (Cohen et al., 2007: 348) (Denscombe, 2013: 248).

REFLECTION

While the majority of the data gathered has been useful in presenting a picture of local authority practice, a number of fields ended up being of little or no value. Each question had a subset of two questions: "Are the outcomes from monitoring in No1 (or No2/3/4 etc.) above reported to Council annually?" and "On what date were the outcomes from monitoring in No1 (or No2/3/4 etc.) above last reported to Council?". The first sub question required a Yes or No answer and the accuracy of these answers reflect the accuracy of answers in the questionnaire. It is the subsequent question which asked for a date that it later transpires there are inaccuracies or inconsistencies in how the question was answered. The purpose of these two questions was to provide information that could be used to check against Council's websites for minutes of committee meetings and any published reports to councils. This would also help with the workforce monitoring sample that I undertook later.

The ordering of questions in the survey, on reflection, presupposed the extent to which I believed answers would be responded to positively – a Yes answer, or a date. Presupposing how LAs would respond I do not believe would have influenced officers with responsibility for completing the survey and the surveys were sent out to Directors randomly with the date of sending and being received being recorded. Although sent as a FoI around 40% of LAs required a second email request.

Besides the local authority elementary information, it might have been useful to add data showing the political leadership of the local authority over a period within the general range covered by my interviewees, around 30 years. However, when I analysed the data returns, the different elementary information groupings – types of local authority, DfE region, proportion of BAME pupils produced no discernible pattern. Similarly, amongst the 12 authorities (7.9%) that did not respond to my FoI request, there was no significantly shared pattern to any of the elementary information I had identified. Irrespective of how local authorities were grouped the percentage answering 'Yes', 'No' or 'Don't Know' were similar. This means that factors such as the form of local authority, the proportion of BAME pupils did not change data returns. Within the survey there were ways to cross check data for patterns as well as to check for accuracy and inconsistencies.

These outcomes were also seen in the analysis of local authorities reports on workforce monitoring.

SOURCES AND FORMS OF DATA: WORK FORCE MONITORING REPORTS

Documents on local government websites provide tangible materials in which statements, facts or ideas have been recorded. These written items such as, local government policy declarations, monitoring reports, evaluation statements, budget reports, information leaflets, summary briefings, press announcements and minutes of meetings can be accessed through the internet and provide information on the

activity undertaken on behalf of people and constituents of the authority. Evaluation and monitoring reports highlight the extent to which the authority is meeting its statutory obligations as defined by Acts of Parliament or Policy originated more locally.

The population from which I took a sample is 152 English Councils. 140 Councils returned the local authority questionnaire survey. I decided that a sample of 50 English Councils would provide a manageable sample. A non-probability selection was made to achieve a representative group of English Councils based on the local authority elementary information I had for the questionnaire survey. The 50 authorities were chosen based on the groupings identified in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Workforce Monitoring Sampling Survey Summary

Work Force Monitoring Summary								
Type of LA	Possible Responses	No of responses	Sampled	Proportion of BME Pupils within the LAs sampled				
				20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	80>%
Borough Council	22	18	7	2	3	1	1	
Council	20	19	8	6	2			
City Council	23	20	7	2	3	1	1	
County Council	35	34	11	9	2	0	0	
London Borough Council	33	31	10	0	4	4	2	
Metropolitan Borough Council	19	18	7	2	2	2	1	

[CVP Note: No London Borough Council has 20% or less BAME pupils, while no County Council has 40% or more BAME pupils.]

Seven LAs were chosen from each group of Borough, City and Metropolitan councils. 8 Unitary authority Councils were chosen as well as 11 County Councils and 10 London Borough Councils. Within each sample set a further selection was made based on the proportion of BAME pupils within the local authority using DfE data. As in the Local Authority Survey where the elementary information provided a means to discern patterns and to identify inaccuracies and inconsistencies, ensuring a balance across the sampled local authority by ethnicity and form of Council was important.

A desktop analysis was undertaken of workforce monitoring reports found on the authorities' website. All the authorities monitored by disability, ethnicity and gender. Monitoring against other protected characteristics was less consistent. There was no consistency between authorities on how they undertook workforce monitoring or how and when they reported on their workforce. In order to capture the distinction between different authority's reports I listed the following:

- That data was presented as a number and/or as an average.
- In addition some reports made use of clustered columns or line graphs especially to show changes over time.
- Others presented the data in the form of pie charts which gave the reader a better sense of the whole data and its constituent parts.

The type of data reported by authorities was coded into three groups providing minimal, medial and maximal levels of data. This is summarised in Table 8 below:

Table 8 The coding of data identified in local authority workforce monitoring reports.

Workforce Monitoring (WFM) Analysis				
Type of LA	Possible Responses	No of responses	Sampled	Coding
WFM Reports includes Number and percentage				Minimal
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & commentary				
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & graphs				Medial
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, graphs & commentary				
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & pie charts				Maximal
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, pie charts & commentary				
Evidence of reducing under-representation against previous year				
Evidence of reducing under-representation over 3+ years				
Any targets set for reducing under-representation in future years				

Drawing in particular on any data over time and in commentary information was also collected which identified reducing under-representation or the setting of targets to reduce under-representation in the future. Appendix 5 provides information on:

- the type of data that Council WFM reports include
- the percentage of authorities reporting on the type of data
- the percentage of authorities reporting on the type of data by protected characteristics

VALIDITY

Does the internet research of council’s workforce monitoring process provide accurate and precise data? (Denscombe, 2013: 298). The use of official documents in education research is extensive. As more government documents are widely

available through the internet, the information contained can be readily analysed for authenticity, representativeness, meaning and accuracy. "Understanding their context is crucial to understanding the document" (Cohen et al., 2007: 204).

Although the document analysed here provide fairly non-controversial material it is in the questions asked, the analysis, the patterns that meanings are derived. The validity of the workforce reports comes from the analysis (McCulloch, 2004).

While the non-probability sample is pragmatic rather than statistical, the size of the sample 50 against a population of 152 represents a good relationship for analysis.

Coding the different workforce monitoring reports identified on each Councils website is creative in that it makes distinctions between workforce monitoring reports based on the way data is presented.

The following illustrations from workforce monitoring reports provide examples of the distinction that I am making in coding WFM reports. The first illustration (Illustration 2) provides percentage data in table format. In some workforce monitoring reports tables provide both number and percentage. I coded this format of WFM as minimal (Table 8 page 121 above).

Reading data in this format requires a degree of computational ability. The percentage of senior women still leaves unanswered the number of posts that are

categorised as senior. Further questions also arise as to the number of women and men employed in the Council etc. The illustration here is representative of a format of data presentation. Other tables in the report could provide additional data enabling subsequent questions to be answered.

Illustration 3: Data presented in a basic table format.

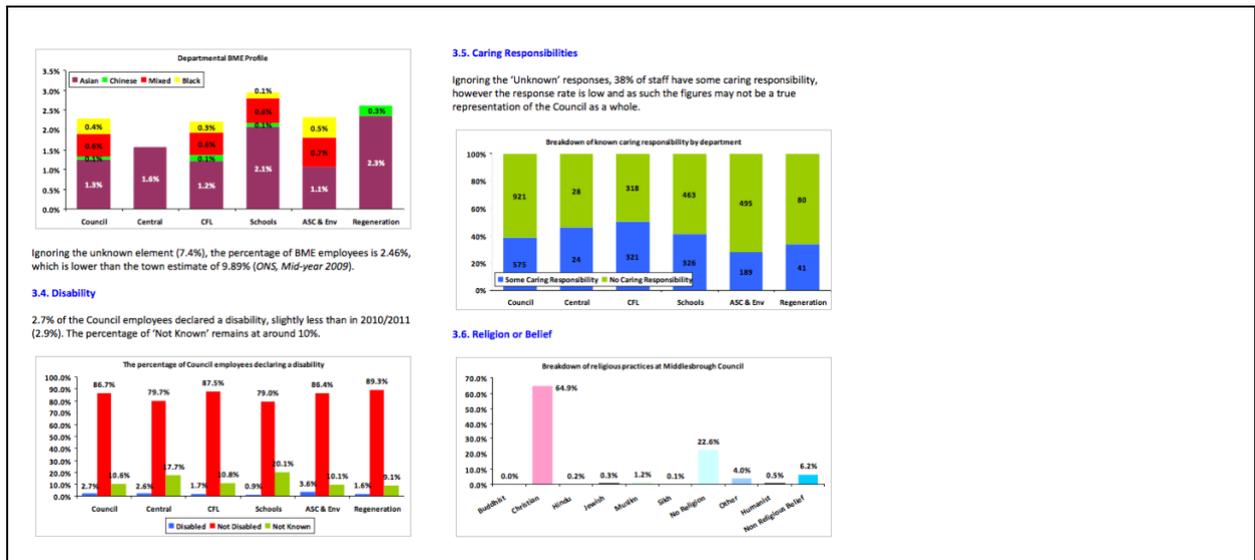
6. Retained Best Value Performance Data

For monitoring purposes the Council has retained some Best Value Performance Indicators relating to its workforce. Currently the ability of the Council to affect many of these indicators is limited due to restrictions in place on recruitment.

BVPI Description	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	Target 2012/13
Senior Women	52.92%	52.23%	50.40%	46.98%	50.00%
Senior BME employees	1.60%	0.78%	0.59%	0.00%	0.65%
Senior Disabled employees	3.30%	4.46%	2.41%	2.07%	2.25%
Working days lost to sickness absence	9.30	9.61	8.46	8.10	7.00
Percentage of employees with a disability	2.70%	2.92%	2.64%	2.55%	2.65%
Ethnic Minority representation in the workforce	2.75%	2.91%	3.08%	2.80%	2.90%

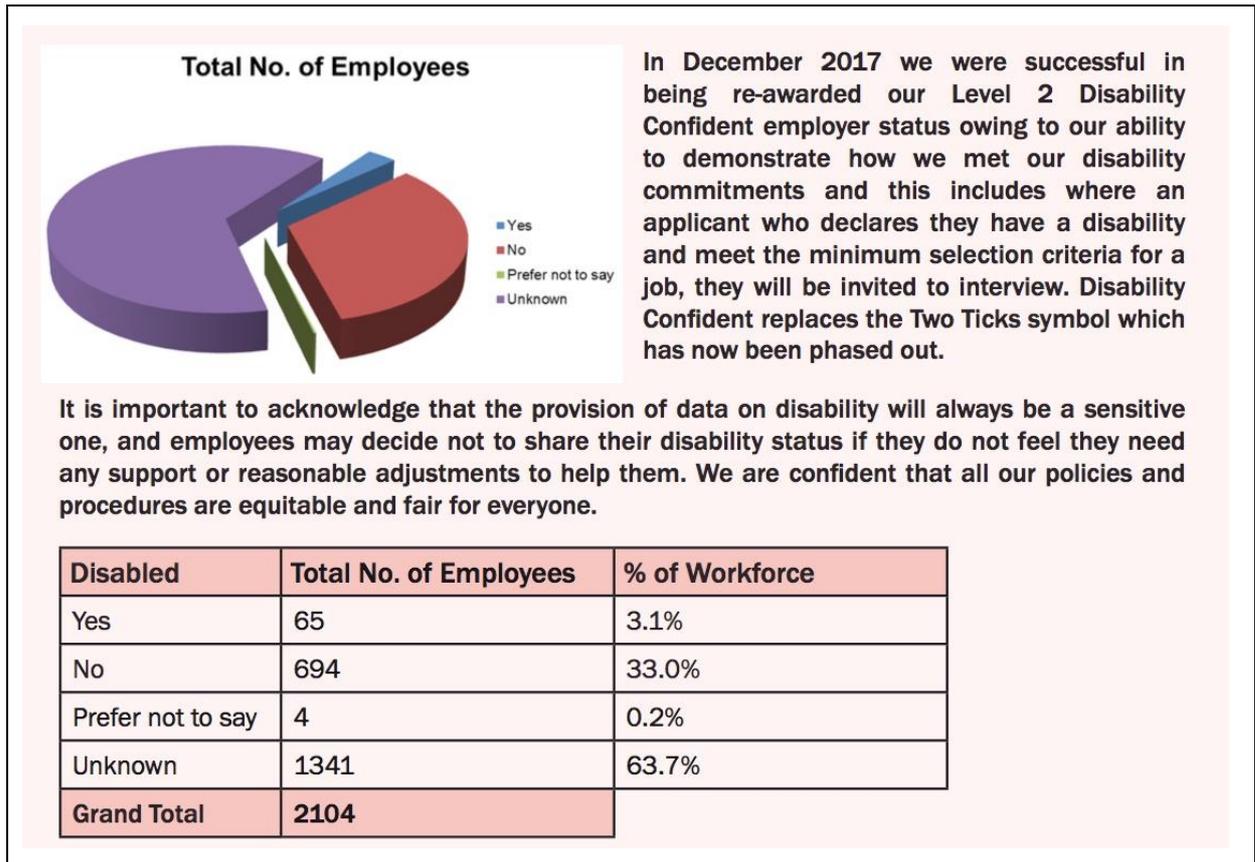
The next illustration (Illustration 4 below) shows data presented in vertical and stacked bar charts. The data is more visual and accessible. The presentation of data in this way can help to illustrate the data as a whole as well as the data's constituent parts. I coded this format of WFM as medial. (Table 8 page 120 above).

Illustration 4: Data presented as vertical and stacked bar charts.



The next illustration (Illustration 5) shows data presented in pie charts format. The data is more visual and accessible. The presentation of data in this way can help to illustrate the data as a whole as well as the data's constituent parts. In some WFM reports additional information is provide which provides greater information either by combining tables and charts or by adding contextual text. I coded this format of WFM as maximal (Table 8 page 120 above).

Illustration 5: Data presented as a pie chart.



The validity of the data is as good and as reliable as each Council data collection and the uses to which Councils make of the data that they collect.

RELIABILITY

Will the internet research of council's workforce monitoring process be consistent over time? (Denscombe, 2013: 193). This question is dependent on the extent to which councils collect, store and report on equality monitoring. In discussion of the data in Chapter 4 to 7, there is a view expressed about the relevance of data

collection and the extent to which this detracts from service provision. Certainly there is a question about how one can compare the format of workforce monitoring reports. In my research I have devised a method that works to enable an analysis of the different reporting formats adopted by Councils and the extent to which the information presented suggests whether the reporting indicates how the council intends to use the information gained from monitoring and whether this leads to setting targets to reduce differential of representation at various levels of decision making.

Questioning what a council knows about the protected characteristics of its workforce provides a reliable method when triangulated with other data.

ANALYSIS

To aid the analysis each workforce monitoring report was grouped and coded. As shown in Table 8 above (pages 14), all the 50 sampled councils reported on the size of the current workforce and variations overtime. At a time when council budgets are being reduced, through the imposition of austerity measures, it is clear and understandable that councils are able to demonstrate the pressures that they are operating within. However, only 24 of the 50 Councils (48%) provided data on their current workforce by Grade (salary band) and in each case this data was provide by gender and ethnicity (Appendix 5 row 8 & 9). My interpretation is that the higher the extent of monitoring and reporting reflects what has been identified within the

council as important. The lower percentage reporting suggests that the area of monitoring is generally seen across councils as less important.

REFLECTION

While the different formats from workforce monitoring reports have varying degrees of detail, some reports hide behind their greater production values - their appearance. Very few council workforce monitoring reports, 20%, contextualised the data with some explanatory commentary. These reports also tended to report on future targets that the council wished to achieve.

The entire workforce monitoring reports sampled looked at the data related to their council. This was occasionally contextualised within data for the whole population of the Council, however none of the reports sampled contextualised their data against statistical neighbours, national data and vary rarely against any targets that may have been set by the council, usually in the context of National Indicator Sets⁴ (previously Best Value Performance Indicators - BVPI). Consequently, reports reify and therefore sustain inequality by having nothing to say about the councils' policy and practice development, implementation or progress.

SOURCES AND FORMS OF DATA: MY SCRAPBOOKS

'From my scrap book' is an information device that I use throughout the thesis.

During the period of completing analysis of my research data and writing up my

thesis, I started collecting scraps of texts which struck me as being illustrative of my research. In the main these have come from my morning ritual of reading the Guardian and BBC News on line. They are used to exemplify a specific point being made from another area or aspect of social action. The scrapbook example below is being used here to exemplify that national government commitments to gather data for monitoring purposes often do not take place. In the example below a database which the Government had announced as key to protecting those who rented their homes from 'rogue landlords' held no data and was not publicly accessible. The argument being made is that policy announcements which suggest a commitment to reducing forms of inequality are often merely empty promises, moments when the concerns of the disadvantaged are incorporated into a general discourse that proposes that there is a shared interest.

From my scrapbook

Government's rogue landlord list empty after six months

Simon Goodley

Tue 23 Oct 2018 17.00 BST [https://www.theguardian.com/](https://www.theguardian.com/business/2018/oct/23/governments-rogue-landlord-list-empty-after-six-months)

business/2018/oct/23/governments-rogue-landlord-list-empty-after-six-months

Database billed as key to protecting renters is empty, and is closed to the public

The government's new rogue landlord database was billed as a key tool for local councils to target the country's worst landlords, but, more than six months after the system started, not a single name has been added – and even when some are added, the public will not be able to find out.

A freedom of information request filed by the Guardian and ITV News revealed that by the end of August the database was empty. When details of rogue landlords are eventually entered they will only be accessible to central and local government, unless the rules are changed.

VALIDITY

Do the scrapbooks provide accurate and precise data? (Denscombe, 2013: 298).

The validity of the scrapbooks is that they provide a link from the specific issue of BME leadership in children's learning to similar social actions that have a negative effect on disadvantage groups. While media coverage of events are subject to possible bias, for example evidence presented by the Glasgow Media Group⁵ or the Media Reform Coalition UK⁶, publication can be challenged and cross referencing

between publications provide the context for analysis to have a high degree of accuracy.

RELIABILITY

Will the scrapbook device be consistent over time? (Denscombe, 2013: 193). An important feature of the scrapbooks is that they maintain a link to the contemporary of here and now. This adds to the data from the interviews, from the local authority surveys and the continuous analysis of workforce monitoring reports. The specific of racism and discrimination in the leadership of children's learning is a feature of a wider pattern of disadvantaging that includes discrimination by gender, by disability, sexual orientation, religion, economic capacity as well as race and ethnicity.

ANALYSIS

The online articles were treated as texts produced by experts (journalists) from specialist sources. These specialists have a significant degree of access to policy makers and shapers. Often they have prior access to documentation related to administration, policy, management, finance and commerce and identify their purpose in terms of accountability through articulating a systematic picture of things that have taken place and making these findings public. Hyperlinks in articles provide further evidence which can be checked and verified. Analysis comes from the denotation and connotation of articles surface content.

REFLECTION

The scrapbook information device provides a link to broader issues that can be derived from my research data. It suggests that within the specifics of my research question, data and analysis there are more general and broader issues taking place at similar moments in time and place. This is to suggest that the processes that this thesis is documenting in relation to BAME leadership, are part of wider racialised processes of exclusion, oppression and White Supremacy.

REASONABLENESS: WORK-LIFE AND HEALTH BALANCE

My research question arose during my professional career (see Chapter 1 Introduction) and was firmly fixed at the time that I chose, to undertake the research as a part-time post graduate, while at the same time building up my own consultancy business. It was through this business that I funded all aspects of the research. Within the research question formulation, I had a sense of the research methods that I would use but the detail of those methods/technologies were broad and shallow. I wanted to hear what Black and Ethnic Minority Leaders had to say. I wanted to know how appointing authorities approached recruitment, I wanted to confirm the data on under-representation and I wanted to understand the policy developments that existed and the extent to which procedures were used (or not used) to enact those policy developments. As Ball points out "Policies are contested, interpreted and enacted in a variety of arenas of practice and the rhetoric's, texts,

and meanings of policy makers do not always translate directly and obviously into institutional practices. They are inflected, mediated, resisted and misunderstood, or in some cases simply prove unworkable" (Ball, 2009: 7) and I would add ignored.

Living, maintaining a growing consultancy business and undertaking part-time, post-graduate research are not easily combined. As already mentioned the consultancy business covered a range of costs; the University's post-graduate fees; specialist equipment use, for instance, interview recording equipment; administrative assistance; the purchase and subscription for software including EndNote bibliography referencing software and Office for Mac. Most of these costs are incurred before any substantive work is undertaken. Travel cost for interviews and accessing the Library at the University of Birmingham are additional time and resource allocations. However, since completing an M.A in 1984 technology has developed significantly. Online access to journals, word processing, email, and the internet have enabled me to access a wealth of data as well as harness new technologies for undertaking research. Inter library protocols gave me access to library services closer to home at both Cambridge University, University College London and the library at the Institute of Education.

Two of my long list interviewees had to withdraw due to serious ill health. The research period was also interrupted as I suffered a congestive heart failure in

September 2014. The following timeline lists the various periods of research activity.

For some research activities there is a clear beginning and end date.

Table 9 Research Chronology

Date	Research activity
Sept 2010 – July 2012	MPhil/PhD Research Training Programme (undertaken at University College of London Institute of Education)
Oct 2011	First literature search
Oct 2012	Second literature search
Sept 2013	Designing Local Authority Questionnaire Survey
Dec 2013 – Mar 2014	Designing interview schedule
Jan 2014 -July 2014	Testing Local Authority Questionnaire Survey
Mar 2014 – Jun 2017	Conducting interviews
Sep 2014 – May 2015	Conducting Local Authority Questionnaire Survey
May 2015	Third and ongoing literature search
July 2015 onwards	Regular bi monthly (approx.) literature search
Sep 2015 – Dec 2015	Analysis of Local Authority Questionnaire Survey
Sep 2015	Designing Local Authority Workforce Monitoring internet research
Nov 2015	Conducting Local Authority Workforce Monitoring internet research
June 2015 – Feb 2018	Interview Analysis
May/June 2016, 2017 & Nov 2018	Analysis of Local Authority Workforce Monitoring internet research
Nov 2017	Final format for writing research chapters determined
2018 - 2019	Writing up, reviewing and editing

CONCLUSION

“They would say that wouldn’t they” (FHT 22) was an answer to a question of bias that two of my research interviews had specifically to contend with. Their words, their experiences as opposed to the words and experiences of others, others in these contexts with greater power. My research was prompted by my own experiences.

“Each time I have attempted to do theoretical work it has been on the basis of elements from my own experience—always in relation to processes that I saw taking place around me. It is in fact because I thought I recognised something cracked, dully jarring or disfunctioning in things I saw in the institutions in which I dealt with my relations with others, that I undertook a particular piece of work, several fragments of autobiography” (Foucault, cited in Rajchman, 1985 p. 36 cited in Ball, 2006: 692).

As justified by Foucault such promptings not only have legitimacy they also provide context and structure. Critical Race Theory provides a theoretical model in that the voice and experiences of BAME people are given a legitimate and central space to contest dominant views. CRT is clear in that the interests of BAME people will only be achieved when it is in the interests of powerful white people. To understand this, White supremacy must be seen as it is predominantly displayed, as normal. CRT research will then expose how White supremacy has been gained by coercion and neglect (Ladson-Billings, 2009; Gillborn, 2010).

The initial approach to writing up my thesis envisaged separate research chapters corresponding to each method of data gathering. This would also provide a linear account of the data. However by late 2017 it was clear that a more complex structure was necessary to fully enable analysis of the data to be presented. Instead of discrete chapters determined by method, I chose to combine data according to the use of the most important codes such as surveillance, professional development, leadership and policy. Combining the data together offers a means of triangulating multiple sources and constructing a more compelling and revealing answer to the question of whether under-representation is a matter of chance, coincidence or design.

This structure to my thesis also allows for an account and analysis of broader social, political and economic activity developing during the research period. The 2016 American Presidential election, the 2016 European Union referendum on the UK leaving the European Union - Brexit, and the rise of Populism in many advanced capitalist states also having an impact on my data analysis and writing up the research.

NOTES

- 1 Merged with ATL to form National Education Union in September 2017
- 2 Merged with NUT to form National Education Union in September 2017
- 3 <https://adcs.org.uk/contacts/directors-of-childrens-services>
- 4 The National Indicator Set was announced as part of the 2007 Comprehensive Spending Review, and is the only means of measuring local progress that are monitored by central Government under Local Area Agreements. The National Indicators are grouped under four themes - Safer Stronger Communities; Children & Young People; Adult health & wellbeing; and Tackling exclusion & promoting equality. In October 2010 the Local Government Secretary announced the abolition of LAA
- 5 <http://www.glasgowmediagroup.org/>
- 6 <https://www.mediareform.org.uk/>

CHAPTER 4 SURVEILLANCE, ISOLATION, MICROAGGRESSION AND WAYS OF SEEING

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I shall use a short case study of an employment tribunal to illustrate some of the themes in the chapter. Employment tribunals provide a mechanism for claimants of discrimination in the workforce. However, they rarely provide an experience from which BAME people can go on to fully develop their careers. The next section draws on interview data to look in greater detail at how surveillance works to demonstrate deficiency no matter how good you are. An important aspect for BAME professionals is their isolation and this gives monitoring and surveillance increased substance. These forms of microaggression control space, time, energy, and mobility of BAME people. They also limit the potential for new ways to view knowledge, data, situations, contexts or voices. Interviewees invariably bring new dimensions and perspectives. These ways of seeing are often a contestation of White peoples view of the educational world.

This is illustrated further by considering how the data from the local authority survey highlights what authorities focus on in terms of their monitoring of the workforce.

The findings, that authorities have a greater focus on disciplinary and competency proceedings is supported by the more detailed analysis of Workforce Monitoring reports from a sample of authorities. The inconsistency, in the format, style and content of local authority workforce monitoring reports, evidences local authorities' disinterestedness with addressing inequality in representation. It is therefore of little surprise that not a single local authority evidenced a decrease in the higher proportion over time of BAME employees being the subject of disciplinary and/or competency proceedings.

CASE STUDY: AN EMPLOYMENT TRIBUNAL

On the 5th July 2006 a Judgement of an Employment Tribunal¹ confirmed that "the First and Second Respondents did "*directly* discriminate against the Claimant on grounds of race contrary to the provisions of Section 1 (1) (a) and 4 (2) (c) of the Race Relations Act 1976" and that "The First and Second Respondents through Mr Rook, Mrs Knight and Mr Bishop did victimise the Claimant contrary to the provisions of the Race Relations Act 1976" (from the Judgement of the Employment Tribunal)². This was the *unanimous* judgement of the Tribunal (emphasis mine).

The Claimant Mrs King, a "Black African Caribbean woman" (from the Judgement of the Employment Tribunal) alleged that her treatment by the Respondents (through the three named senior officers) was less favourable than "a White Caucasian female comparator" (from the Judgement of the Employment Tribunal). It is interesting to

note here that in the language of the Judgement Tribunal it is seemingly perfectly acceptable to use the term 'Caucasian' in referring to a possible white European female 'comparator' but not to refer to Mrs King as 'Negroid' since both the terms 'Caucasian' and 'Negroid' are part of discredited pseudoscience of racial classification (Aspinall, 2007). However, even in the early years of the twentieth century where Caucasian has no standing in ethnicity classifications in England or in the protected characteristics of the Equality Act 2010 (or its predecessor the 1976 Race Relations Act), there is seemingly a reluctance to use the term 'White'. It is perhaps also important to note that the Tribunal panel and counsel for both the Respondents and the Claimant were all White people.

The facts established through the tribunal process identified that the authority, through the service provider, excessively focussed and monitored the improvement work, undertaken by Mrs King, to improve Chessboard Primary. They ignored the satisfactory judgements gained by the leadership of the school through Ofsted's monitoring visits. They sought to prevent Mrs King from returning to work after a brief period of illness. They pursued capability proceedings against Mrs King. They undermined Mrs King when she did return to work and they sought to dismiss Mrs King without following proper procedures. At various times the service provider also described Mrs King as aggressive and defiant.

The following conclusions inferred from this case study and its aftermath are that:

- Mrs King's isolation as the only Black person in the Tribunal. Her experiences reflect the oppressive structures of Whiteness that pervade most contemporary social structures including those that seek to deliver equity and social justice;
- Incidents when the Respondents claimed Mrs King was 'aggressive' and 'defiant', were investigated by the tribunal panel. That the respondents suggested Mrs King was aggressive and defiant speaks to the extent to which the Respondents were willing to go to draw on racial stereotypes to justify their behaviours and perspectives;
- The degree of monitoring undertaken by the education provider was excessive and hostile; they were not neutral or objective in their approach to school improvement in the school;
- The respondents ignored Mrs King's claim of racism - as White people their racial standing made them better at judging such claims;
- The outcome of the Tribunal; that the Respondents directly discriminated against the Claimant on the grounds of race, and victimised the Claimant contrary to the provisions of the Race Relations Act 1976. These outcomes had a negligible impact on the named Respondents – one of whom had at least two further promotions and was named as a Respondent in a further race discrimination Employment Tribunal³.
- However, the outcome of the Tribunal that the Respondents directly discriminated against the Claimant on the grounds of race and victimised the

Claimant contrary to the provisions of the Race Relations Act 1976 had a significant negative impact on the Claimant Mrs King.

EMPLOYMENT TRIBUNALS: THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG

Since the middle of the late 1980s, public bodies have developed equality policies and procedures with the stated aim of eliminating all forms of discrimination.

Alongside equality policies and procedures there has been a significant body of training covering: awareness, the law, behaviour and principles of good practice.

Some training has been generally around the issues of equality and discrimination, while other training opportunities have been specific to the protected characteristics most recently defined in the Equalities Act 2010 (Arnot et al., 1999; Cattle et al., 2006; Archibong and Darr, 2010). Training in its various forms has been in most public bodies and institutions mandatory and across all levels of hierarchy. The message of such training is that racism and all other forms of discrimination are not only morally intolerable but also a serious disciplinary offence. Many public bodies and institutions have used the strapline of being an 'equal opportunity institution' as part of their value statement to their employees and their clients/customers.

Alongside these values, many public bodies and institutions have developed business tools and processes to test or monitor effectiveness in realising their values. The most common of these are various models of equality impact assessments (Pyper, 2017). While there is an acknowledgement of inequality, racist and other

discriminatory attitudes and behaviour are antithetical to professional status and the delivery of public services (Pyper, 2017).

Consequently, any suggestion that an institution or someone of professional standing has behaved inequitably based on race or any other protected characteristic will be read as a serious challenge to their moral integrity, and at worst a horrendous affront. To believe in the values of institutional and professional standing is to believe that racism is a disorder that has been largely eliminated from our institutions and our professional probity.

The language of equality of opportunity has now become so pervasive that it hides its contradiction. Institutions and professionals have shielded themselves from contention. BAME staff experiencing exclusion or marginalisation now must navigate a field of obstacles to challenge their exclusion and marginalisation. There are the procedures, which in the main require the complainant to lodge their complaint with the perpetrator in the first instance. There can be recourse, direct to a line manager, who may express sympathy, may suggest that the complainant is mistaken or may advise that the complainant is perhaps a little over sensitive. Any further assertion by the complainant can lead to accusations of having a chip on their shoulder. It can lead to implying that the claimant has intentionally seen insults, where no offence was intended (Ballard and Parveen, 2008; Ahmed, 2012). Alternatively, that the complainant is unfairly upsetting their colleagues. Perhaps

more seriously a charge that the complainant is unwilling to conciliate and of the complainant seeking deliberately to sabotage all the efforts being made to assist them (CIPD, December 2017).

Therefore, to seek redress formally, through an employment tribunal, while less expensive and procedurally easier than civil proceedings in a court of law, are the tip of the iceberg of exclusion, marginalisation and discrimination.

Employment Tribunals (ET) make legal decisions about employment practice. These decisions can include Breach of Contract (BOC), Equal pay for equal value work (EQP) unfair dismissal, discrimination, termination or redundancy. There are sixty-five jurisdiction codes, headings under which it is possible to appeal to an Employment Tribunal.

Claiming to an Employment Tribunal is usually the last step in a process that may have included the employers own appeal process, grievance procedure and some form of conciliation and or arbitration. Employment Tribunals come under Civil Law and are there to bring formal resolution when two parties are in dispute. The threshold of proof for a claimant in civil law is a lower threshold than in criminal law where the state brings a case against an individual(s) or organisation and must prove beyond reasonable doubt their case.

A hard copy of the case study cited above came into my possession in 2010 during my second year of registration for postgraduate study. It was not until early in 2016 that I was able to follow up on this particular judgement. Employment Tribunal Judgements are stored in a repository in Bury St Edmonds. A database stores most Judgements. This database, which I believe was probably developed in the early 1990s, uses an early version of DataEase for Windows. Across the Employment Tribunals Service, there were 266,904 cases in 2016 (Service, 2016). The caseload for the service has steadily risen from 108,827 in 1995/96 (Keter, 2003; Justice, 2008). In total the Register holds 7.5 million records of which 3%, 24,895 records of judgement with a single jurisdiction code of RRD – discrimination or victimisation on the grounds of race or ethnic origin - covering the period 1996 to 2016. On average, there are 1250 Employment Tribunals a year with the jurisdiction code of RRD, approximately 3% of all claims heard by the Tribunal.

The Employment Tribunal Register database is a limited means to gather evidence of the extent to which BAME Headteachers have resorted to resolving conflict in employment. The direct discrimination experienced by Mrs King is the tip of the iceberg of aggressions both macro and micro that BAME leaders experience. The attention to accountability in both the public and private sphere has necessitated the design of new modes of surveillance and measurement to improve both performance and productivity as well as ensuring accountability. Ball usefully explains this in the following way.

“What do I mean by performativity? Performativity is a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as means of incentive, control, attrition and change based on rewards and sanctions (both material and symbolic). The performances (of individual subjects or organisations) serve as measures of productivity or output, or displays of ‘quality’, or ‘moments’ of promotion or inspection. As such they stand for, encapsulate or represent the worth, quality or value of an individual or organisation within a field of judgement.” (Ball, 2003: 216).

Although as identified by Ball “Performativity is a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays.” (Ball, 2003: 216) what judgements, comparisons and displays that are selected reflect the concerns and interests of those people in positions of power. Amongst my interview data there were no examples of performativity being used to challenge racial bias or discrimination. Rather monitoring and other forms of surveillance were deployed inequitable across school improvement practices.

SURVEILLANCE

It is a significant feature from the interviews, the extent to which all the BAME interviewees and Headteachers, cited moments of discrimination that they perceive had a racial bias. Of the 18 BAME interviewees, all cited that being made aware of their ethnicity – their isolated position in the professional community, or their need to

prove themselves and challenge lower expectations - featured strongly in their career. The extent of these perceived racial bias covers personal and individualised experiences as well as experiences that are both structural and institutionalised, some of which brings the case study described above into sharper perspective.

"I don't think I mentioned that when black leaders 'disappeared' their compromise agreements were significantly lower than the small number of white colleagues who also went - but they're not allowed to talk about it for 30 years. Out of the 100 Headteachers in [Authority's] schools, 29 were BAME Headteachers. During the period 2000 – 2008, 30 of these Headteachers were dismissed, only 4 of these Headteachers were White⁴ (CHT 13).

BAME Headteachers in this authority in 2000 made up 29% of all Headteachers. By 2008 30 Headteachers had been dismissed, encouraged to take early retirement, or moved to some other form of activity. This means that during an eight-year period of school improvement practice in this unnamed authority 90% of BAME Headteachers were lost. In 2016, there were only 6 BAME Headteachers in this authority.

For many Headteacher interviewees, surveillance comes in the form of school inspections carried out by Ofsted, the regular monitoring visits that local authorities undertake, as well as the monitoring and challenge function of the governing body. The political and reputational pressures on local authority school improvement teams to ensure decreasing numbers of schools placed in Special Measures, and that an

increasing proportion of schools identified as Good or better is significant. Whilst the national programme for inspecting schools began in 1992 by 1999 Ofsted's remit had expanded and now included responsibility for inspecting local authority education services. The proportion of good or better schools and the effectiveness of the authority's school improvement strategy were part of the evidence for judging the effectiveness of local authority education services.

Consequently, at a time when schools were gaining greater autonomy, a greater share of the direct school grant and increased delegated responsibilities, local authority education services had to develop agreed procedures to know their schools well. Although the Directors of Education/Children's Services had powers to intervene in schools where they judged standards were inadequate, a careful balancing act required them to be sure that they had sufficient evidence, that interventions were proportionate and that interventions were effective⁵.

Many of the Headteachers interviewed, commented on the surveillance that they experienced. "... I began to realise that I had more visits from the LA adviser than other heads in our area" (CHT 14). While they all perceived racial bias, they were also able to rationalise this degree of greater surveillance. This rationalising took one of three forms. First, there was an acceptance that BAME Headteachers tended to be appointed to schools in challenging circumstances. In 'deprived' areas, with a higher proportion of BAME pupils, pupils eligible for free school meals, pupils on the

register of special needs or pupils with English as an additional language. These schools tended to be at higher risk of having lower standards:

- in attainment,
- in achievement,
- in attendance and punctuality,
- in the quality and sufficiency of resources and
- in the extent to which parents and families played an active part in the life of the school.

Second, that BAME Headteachers tended to be appointed to schools that superficially appeared good but had 'hidden' significant weaknesses, often unrecognised by the Governing Body or the local authority. The longer the previous Headteacher had been the schools' leader, the higher the chances of hidden deficiencies being masked, from those appointed to have governance oversight, or for local authorities monitoring and challenge functions to have become less effective. Familiarity, fraternity and even friendships within the leadership networks in a local authority often could mask indicators of decline.

"The school had a three-year-old Good Ofsted judgement. The Deputy had applied for the Headship, but they appointed me. When I started, I realised the school was no longer good. There was a deficit in the budget, teachers were long established, and their teaching was uninspired, standards were poor, and the school had not had any real challenge from the LA. It was light touch,

and the previous Head had been long-standing. Being a new Head, the LA SI Adviser was all over me from the start. The Chair of the Governing Body left at the end of my first term and the pressure from the LA concerned poor leadership and there was no acknowledgement that I had inherited this. It was all being laid on my shoulders. Early in my third term we were inspected and given the notice to improve. The LA gave notice to the school and they set me targets It has taken me two years to turn things around, and throughout this time I had a strong feeling the LA wanted to get rid of me and lay the blame for the school's failings on me. Even though each Ofsted monitoring report recognised further improvements from previous visits. We came out of category, but I only have two teachers who were in the school before I was appointed" (CHT 14)

As is often the case a new leader will see weaknesses which were hidden previously. Schools in recruiting staff make available data and documentation, they usually encourage visits to the school, but crucially the school's governors control the information for prospective candidates. The notion of due diligence is something that is better understood by a Headteacher applying for a second or third Headship. It is far less common amongst those going for their first Headship or when there is promotion internally.

Thirdly, for most BAME Headteachers, this was their first Headship. In most cases, this was also the first BAME headteacher appointed in the area/locality, and while local authorities often had well-structured procedures for supporting new Headteachers for many school improvement advisers, this was the first time that they would be supporting a new Headteacher who was BAME. Consequently "... a lot

of the new BAME heads that I was mentoring felt that the LA adviser was paying greater attention to them.....”(CHT 16).

At one level then BAME Headteachers were able to explain away or to internally challenge their notions of racial bias “..in one sense calling out the racism seem pointless. It’s better to see it in a way that you can get other people to want to work on it with you.” (CHT 17). While this will always remain a possibility too often reality strikes back and your position as a BAME leader is brought out into the open.

“LA officers put into play tokenistic gestures by appointing black leaders so that they looked good but the reality was disempowerment and refusal to allow the Headteacher to lead. I felt strangled, and I knew the bar was significantly higher for me than it was for other leaders.”(CHT 16).

The ‘bar’ being talked about here is not a higher measure, for example, a score of 9/10 rather than a score of 7/10. We need to understand this idea of a higher bar alongside those strongly expressed ideas of interviewees needing to prove themselves as better, which I explore in greater detail in the next chapter. As Ball, drawing on Bernstein, makes clear, as the forms and frequency of measurement grow, so more of the individual becomes available for surveillance:

“In Bernstein’s terms, these new invisible pedagogies of management, realised through appraisals, performance reviews and forms of performance-related pay, ‘open up’

more of the managed to control. The weaker frames of new managerialism enable a greater range of the workers' behaviour and emotional life to be made public new forms of very immediate surveillance and self-monitoring are put in place; e.g. appraisal systems, target-setting, output comparisons" (Ball, 2003: 220).

At the outset of his first appointment, FHT 6 was explicitly told what his bar was. "In the first term, the adviser had said, "YOU [CVP Note: FHT 6 mimicked the adviser finger jabbing gesture] have got about a year to eighteen months no more (to make the necessary improvements)". Whether the expectation was too high or not too high was not what had ensured the lasting memory of that conversation with the local authority adviser, but the aggression and implied threat which FHT 6 knew could only be made by the local authority adviser's privileged position of being White. Another Headteacher interviewee shared the view that had developed around her appointment. "I was the first black Head in the Local Authority, and the comment was, the Local Authority needed a black Head didn't it. So there it was" (CHT 16).

This sense that BAME Headteachers did not have the requisite skills, knowledge and understandings can be summarised in how FHT 10 described their relationship with a local authority adviser.

"...she was pernickety, awkward, tried to cast doubt on everything that we did. And I think she too was suffering from negative preconceived notions of black people in authority, so she couldn't quite believe that I got to where I was on my own merit and therefore sought to question

things and go through things with a fine tooth comb.”
(FHT 10)

As Headteachers and as leaders in local authority school improvement, the interviewees are aware of the complexity of leading a school. They are aware of the demands for school improvement and the overlapping and entwined activities that need to be brought together to effect change. Consequently, they could offer different possible explanations and did not immediately or easily make charges of discrimination or racism. To some extent, the interviewees are also self-monitoring

"I am not sure how but I had soon learned that she was a former Head in the authority, had taught in a couple of other schools in the local authority and her husband was a Head in the local authority. She was pretty well connected [CVP note: this was said with a knowing smile]. She was 'respected' [CVP note: hands passed forward, palms raised to the sky. He is saying she was not to be challenged] (FHT 10)

The idea of surveillance goes beyond the mere act of monitoring/being monitored, and extends into the area where there is a sense of malign intent. In the example from my scrapbook below the University and College Admission Service (UCAS) has released figures that show of the 5,160 forms flagged for possible fraud, between 2013 and 2017, 52% were from black students. Of White students, who represent 73% of all applicants, only 19% of flagged applications. The report in the Guardian newspaper went on to say that UCAS was unclear why this is the case.

From my scrapbook

NEWS

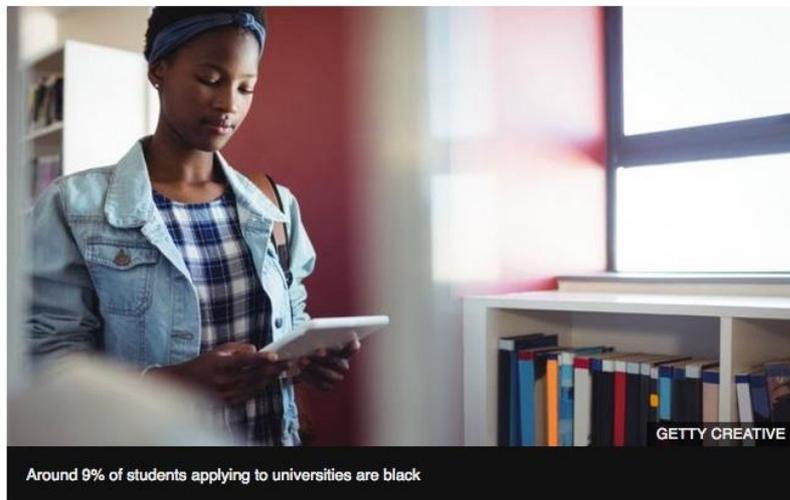
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Family & Education | School Report | Global Education

Black applicants 'face more university fraud claims'

🕒 31 May 2018

f 🗨️ 🐦 ✉️ Share



Around 9% of students applying to universities are black

Black students are more likely to have their university applications flagged for potential fraud or errors than any other ethnic group, according to data from the Ucas admissions service.

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-44311355>

In the case study cited at the start of this chapter, the surveillance of Mrs King was continual, disproportionate, extending into ever-more areas of operation. There is a sense that you are monitored until you can be demonstrated to be deficient no matter how good your performance. In another sense, it extends to the surveillance

applied to look at outcomes by specific groups within a school, or across a local authority. Differential outcomes by pupils has particular currency with the present concern over working-class white boys and their attainment, achievement and destination post-compulsory schooling (Gillborn et al., 2017). It works to disestablish concern, interest and activity to address disproportionate achievement by BAME pupils. One Director of Children Services observed, concerning, her earlier career as a Headteacher.

“There was this meeting between Heads and senior LA Officers about how we were going to develop the strategy and activities around BAME underachievement in the LEA school improvement plan. We were all white and except for five of us women Heads, all male, in a room of around 50 people. I know some of us were aware of this, but none of us said anything. None of us spoke out and said how can we have a strategy in place about BAME underachievement when we couldn't employ BAME headteachers” (CDCS 8)

While the same issue from the perspective of BAME Headteachers

“I am uncomfortable when the issues around our Black communities and our Black students are being discussed. I fear raising what are to me logical links and connections. African-Caribbean exclusions, lower levels of attainment, Me being the only Black Headteacher in the Authority. [CVP obs: she raised her shoulders and hands as if in surrender]. They seem to be satisfied that attainment is rising and less concerned that the differentials remain similar” (CHT 21)

In the negative atmosphere created by a poor Ofsted judgement, there is little scope for history or context to be taken into consideration. A negative Ofsted judgement can lead to a BAME Headteacher being singled out when previous weak leadership was initially not identified by the local authority. In such cases, the previous familiarity, fraternity or friendships that existed between long-standing White Headteachers and local authority officers places additional pressures and attention on newly appointed BAME Headteachers.

"The first school that I was interviewed for [which became] the school that I became Head of three months later were entirely different. I had not seen the cracks. I had not read between the lines. I didn't smell the recently hastily applied paint. The adviser was different. By the end of the first term, I was being treated as if I had been the Head for five years. What had gone on before, what had not been done before was dismissed as history When I applied for my next Headship in a bigger school, I knew what to look for. I know what to ask....."(CHT 14)

The idea of surveillance and monitoring having a disproportionate impact on BAME people can also be seen in the over-representation of BAME people in disciplinary proceedings (DCSF, 2007; Archibong and Darr, 2010; Elkins, 2013; Marsh and Boateng, 2018):

"They know about the data in this authority, about the fact that the minority ethnic people are over-represented

in the authority's data. I don't know if it is more significant in children's services than in adult social care or community services, but I can't tell you what they are doing about it" (CHT 19).

Another example of the excess of surveillance can be found in my scrapbook in what became known as the Windrush affair in 2018. Numerous people, who had migrated as children in the 1950s and 1960s from Caribbean countries of the British Commonwealth were deported, denied access to services including medical care when their immigration status was questioned and checked.

From my scrapbook

Hounding Commonwealth citizens is no accident. It's cruelty by design.

Gary Younge

Fri 13 Apr 2018

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/apr/13/commonwealth-citizens-harassment-british-immigration-policy>

On 4 April Prince Charles opened the Commonwealth Games in Australia's Gold Coast Five days later the Guardian published an article about Michael Braithwaite that illustrates how fragile and selective those connections are. Braithwaite, a Barbadian-born Briton who arrived here in 1961 when he was nine, was educated here, has worked here for his entire life, married here and had three British children and five British grandchildren. He had been a special needs teaching assistant at a north London primary school for over 15 years when his employers launched a "routine" immigration status check. Braithwaite, 66, correctly assumed that he was British.

The incident illustrated in my scrapbook indicates that the onus is on the individual to prove themselves, irrespective of the years of taxed income and national insurance contributions.

Another example, from the interview data, mirrors the example from my scrapbook of needing to prove oneself constantly

“It was after a year of regular Headteacher – LA meetings before I knew that I had been, you know accepted. There on my own merit. I knew it was because it was the shock of seeing a black man in charge. But then I also discovered as well that there were a number of black parents too, who found it hard to believe that a black man could reach the position that I did, look as young as I did and do the job. So you’d have, just from what they said, you could see that they doubted my credentials. How did I get here?” (FHT 10)

Besides having to overcome the ‘quota filling mentality’, BAME Headteachers needed to be able to demonstrate their confidence and competence in a context in which everyday decisions could be challenged.

“Everyone else was white, and I was the only black member of staff who happened to be the Head. So I could see it was a bit of a surprise for most of the staff and something that a number of them had to get their head around, for all kinds of reasons..... so I’d often have my decisions questioned. That’s passive resistance than active. But there was active resistance from 3 members of staff who made it very clear from day one that they were not impressed by me, not interested in what I had

to bring to the school and would have done everything they could to bring me down in all but word saying it” (FHT 10).

While being a Headteacher is leadership in a particular context, schools are also subject to local authority oversight, and consequently, a challenge can be experienced as coming from below as well as coming down from above. For my interviewees, the excess of surveillance coexisted within their professional isolated contexts.

ISOLATION

Thinking and seeing things differently was for many of the interviewees inevitable. I will talk about this in greater detail in the next chapter, however, given the small numbers of BAME leaders in children's learning their isolation within schooling and education is significant.

For the majority of Headteachers, there are three immediate (traditional and established) networks of support. There is the Governing Body of the School, there are local groupings of Headteachers, and there is the local authority and its services (including any outsourced support services). These are complex networks in that they are: co-operative and competitive, supportive and confrontational. Within each of the three networks, BAME Headteachers are usually isolated. “Every meeting I

was the only BAME around the table” (CDCS 7) and this isolation was further reinforced when BAME issues are central to the moment.

“And schools just go, oh well, we're really diverse because we'll get enough of them to pass. And it is not about the 60% who pass; it's about the 40% who don't. And what happens to them next? If I was going to all the PRUs and all the alternative provision units, who am I going to see there? When I look at the behaviour records across schools, and they don't even collect - most schools don't even collect accurate behaviour records - but when I do look at the records that they have, and I look at the ones that are excluded, the ones that have been sent home, the ones that are given partial timetables and are kept on the books, what's the ethnicity breakdown that I'm going to see there? So, we have this systemic suppression of education excellence” (CHT 17)

In some respects, the issue of standards is one of the global data — the proportion of pupils who are getting, for example, Level 4 or 5 A*-C. What is being lost is the data at finer levels of analysis, and it is here that BAME people will be lost in the overall analysis.

‘If there are only 2 in the class and one is excluded that's 50%, but they are telling me that is statistically insignificant. That is a black child, that could be my black child, that black child is not statistically insignificant in our community’

All except one BAME Headteacher had a white school improvement adviser attached to the school from the local authority.

FDCS 5: Er – I did in [a local authority], I experienced, er, a black person coming in as an Adviser, erm, and – you know, so at that time she was the most senior black person, again of African Caribbean heritage, erm...

CVP: Marianne Montgomery⁸

FDCS 5: Absolutely.

CVP: And in some respects the fact I'm able to name...

FDCS 5: You're able to name...

CVP: It speaks volumes, it speaks volumes doesn't it.

This exchange during one interview exemplifies something that occurred on some occasions when people were named whom both the interviewee and I had known at some time or other. This reinforces the relative isolation and awareness of the position many BAME interviewees expressed; they are: numerically small in number, under-represented as a proportion of that part of the profession and yet highly visible at gatherings of their professional peers.

As has already been noted for many BAME Headteachers the degree of surveillance and monitoring they were subjected to, was higher than they feel that comparable white Headteacher peers experienced. Besides adding to a sense of isolation and

reinforcing their position, in some instances, this surveillance led to behaviours of microaggression

MICROAGGRESSIONS

"The feedback from the Adviser was not replicated in the written report; it was obvious the Assistant Director of Children Services had rewritten the report, and it was a different adviser who came back and took over the monitoring and challenging role. I challenged the report, but the monitoring visit became frequent, and my Governing Body were not strong enough to support my challenge of the LA" (CHT 13).

In the case study cited at the beginning of this chapter, the Employment Tribunal did not find any evidence that Mrs King had done anything or was doing anything detrimental to improving standards in Chessboard Primary School. Of greater significance, is that when challenged by the Tribunal to provide evidence the Respondents could not provide evidence that their actions were not based on negative perceptions of the Claimants ethnicity. An interesting incident is described in the Tribunal report where one of the Respondents describes the Claimant and her friend (also Black) of "barging in" to a meeting and "storming out" of the meeting. Two white colleagues supported the Respondent in this incident at the planned meeting with the Claimant. The emotive language of "barging in" and "storming out" as the verbs used for arrival and departure is interesting in how they structure a

particular view of the atmosphere of the meeting. These terms sit outside a professional dialogue of discussion, reflection and decision making.

However, they do reflect how some interviewees described how at various times they were perceived as being 'aggressive', as being 'too narrowly focussed', as being 'too sensitive' as being "unclear and indecisive" as being not like White people. While these snippets do not constitute racial aggression, in the common-sense of racism, they instead propose or hint at qualitative distinctions between them, as BAME and their White equivalents, as microaggressions (Rollock, 2011).

Yosso et al. drawing on other cited works describe microaggressions as regularly received verbal and non-verbal utterances which either intentionally or unintentionally: exclude, dismiss, don't see, don't hear, cut in, cut out, minimise, ignore, isolate or threaten BAME people. They go on to say that in any workplace [BAME people] suffer added stress as a result of: threatened, perceived, and actual racism, because the microaggression "controls: space, time, energy, and mobility of the Black, while producing feelings of degradation, and erosion of self-confidence and self-image" (Yosso et al., 2009: 661). The extent to which the interviewees had feelings of degradation and erosion of self-confidence and self-image will be explored in more detail in the next chapter.

This sense of how BAME leaders can be perceived is expressed in one example by a Former Headteacher:

“The white mothers at the gate saw me as an Asian woman, the Asian mothers at the gate saw me as an Asian woman, the other Headteachers saw me as an Asian woman, the LA saw me as an Asian woman.” (FHT 19).

In other words, who saw FHT 19 as a Headteacher? It is not just about BAME Headteachers perception but also about the experience:

“I was an experienced Headteacher, three schools. All judged as being very good. When the LA looked for Heads to join panels to work on leadership programmes for new headteachers, when the LA looked for Heads to join panels to work on NQT induction, when the LA looked for Heads to join panels to work on middle leaders development – they never asked me. But when the LA looked for Heads to join a panel to work on developing their PRUs and Behaviour and Attendance strategy they came to me. I think that says it all don’t you?” (FHT 10).

Again, in other words, FHT 10’s experience as a leader of three successful schools did not bring him into the ‘club’ of experienced Headteachers used by the local authority to support and mentor new Headteachers or contribute to the development programmes established, to support and mentor emerging and future leaders.

In another example, a microaggression was a repeated experience, separated by time and in this example separated also by status as well:

“.....the same thing happened twice. Early in my career as an adviser, I went to a school. I was waiting in the entrance with another man. The Head had been told I was here and he came out to greet me and walked up to the other man with his hand outstretched saying something like 'Mr Smith I am Mr Green Headteacher here at Greentops Primary School'. He became very uncomfortable as the other man was there from an education publisher. When he turned to me his face had that expression 'let the ground swallow me up'. It happened again many years later. This time I was visiting a Secondary School. I had just started in this shire local authority as a Principal Adviser and the school's key stage 4 results had bombed. I was sent in. I couldn't help but remember how it was earlier in my career and that here I am years later. More senior and it was the same old same old” (CADCS 9)

In thinking about these events, we can see how the expectation of Whiteness in authority has been disrupted. Whether either of these two Headteachers would remember those moments, is irrelevant. Significantly, it remains an overriding memory for CADCS 9. The passage of time has not fundamentally changed what Headteachers appear to expect as senior local authority officers.

These forms of microaggressions, imposed on BAME leaders, while having negative and diminishing potential consequences are also blind spots limiting the potential for new ways to view data, situations, contexts or voices. Morrison likens this to the act

of looking at the fishbowl itself rather than at the gravel, the plants, the rocks, the fish and the bubbles in the fishbowl. The fishbowl is "the structure that transparently (and invisibly) permits the ordered life it contains to exist in the larger world". (Morrison, 1992: 17)

HOW THE WORLD IS SEEN

"If it needed reinforcing, my first inspection confirmed it — a large inner city comprehensive 40 – 50% Black and Asian. There was a debate with the school about Dual Heritage – mainly about the Black Caribbean and White kids. Anyhow that's part of another issue, but in the inspection, there's this thing about triangulation. I am the only Black guy on a 14 or 16 inspection team. I say guy cos there were only three women inspectors and then there was the team secretary/admin person. I am seeing things, Black kids at the back of classrooms, Black kids not being asked questions and such. And then there was the exclusions and the detentions. In those days pupil level data was at its infancy. But cos no one else was seeing it, and because no one else was asking those questions I was being told I am being too sensitive..." (CADCS 9).

What is clear from the interviewees is that they are aware of the different lens that they bring to their leadership role. Regular reminders of their actual isolation in meetings and their responsibilities to their communities they see things, they understand things differently from their White peers.

"A shock. Shock. Um, I didn't act shocked, but, you know, actually seeing yourself, you think – whoah. I thought I was moving into an equal opportunity employer, I thought I was moving into a place that had begun to understand its communities and so on, erm, and other than, I mean I discovered, later on, there were people that were, er, working with community-related organisations, in particular with Asian communities. I wonder why, erm, but – but actually within the central departments there were very few [BAME Officers], and there was very little debate around equalities, and what it meant, it was a completely colour blind approach" (FDCS 5)

Organisational utterances of being an equal opportunities institution and the reality of what this was actually like, when joining such an institution, were rarely the same thing. Outward expressions of a commitment to multiculturalism were and remain superficial at best. For some interviewees, the way that BAME people were not seen as BAME was as problematic as being seen only as BAME. "I was very conscious of the fact that I was often, if not the first, minority ethnic person being appointed. I was one of very few," (FDCS 11). Being seen as BAME is problematic, in that there are many stereotypes around in the public consciousness, against which BAME people continually have to work. This is similar to the experience of being a woman and having to contend with those female stereotypes of femininity and motherhood which continue to impact on, for example, women's employment and earning potentials. Not being recognised as BAME, in the sense of a colour-evasive approach – 'When I look at you, I don't see colour', 'You are so articulate/well-spoken' – is also a problem. It is a denial of ancestry, history, identity and culture. It is also a

negative response to the difference as well as an assertion of what in effect it is to be – White. This has consequences for BAME leaders agency in their under-representation.

"I think black senior leaders find it far more difficult to challenge organisations, in order to bring about more black and minority ethnic representation than, for example, female leaders, in order to bring about senior female representation. I could be wrong, and it could be maybe just my perception, but I think the world has moved on sufficiently that it is ok, or regarded as far more palatable for a senior female leader to stand up and say 'we need more women in the boardroom', or 'we need more, a better gender balance throughout the organisation'. The reason it's still an ... I think it's still an organisational issue, is because it is still far more difficult for a senior black leader to stand up and say exactly the same in relation to black staff or senior leaders. To actually stand up and say 'the problem here folks is there are no other black Headteachers in the room', for example, or 'where are your black Deputy Headteachers?', for example." (FDCS 11).

While there is no attempt here to say challenging sexism or gender inequality is now easy and straightforward. He is saying that it is now more 'palatable', it is possible, in the way that it is still tough to challenge racism – especially in its more covert operations. As I mentioned earlier "the language of equality of opportunity has now become so pervasive that it hides its own contradiction" [see above on page 4]. What FDCS 11 notes are that BAME leaders often feel trapped in a situation where their isolation has significant consequences for how they are perceived and used by colleagues and yet, they feel prevented from naming that isolation, because of

conventions which support colour-blindness. It is more accurate to describe these conventions as being either colour-evasive or colour-averse (Annamma et al., 2017). The distinction here is between conventions that aim to deny or avoid the issues of identity and diversity or conventions that are reluctant or antagonistic to issues of identity and diversity.

While leadership conveys a certain sense of moving things forward, making things better, looking for an incremental change or achieving transformative effects, there remains a tension between the activism of leadership and one's personal sense of worth and achievement.

"I'd even go so far as to suggest that black professionals can be uncomfortable with a situation that means they are working with or alongside a lot of other black professionals. There's something about being the minority and having a degree of kudos by being the minority in amongst what is inevitably and usually a white majority. By definition it says ... or does it say? I don't know. Does it say, the fact I am a minority, and I'm in a senior position, doesn't that say, don't I get a degree of reflected glory from that? Aren't I successful because I'm here? Would I be seen as successful if there were ten others of me? So, is my success ... is my sense of success, or is other people's perception of my success actually bolstered by the fact that I am the only one? And would I still feel the same and would others feel the same about me if there were another 20 in the room? So I think that is a question that might be a bit uncomfortable for us as black leaders in a way that for female leaders, they have got over that. (FDSC 11).

At this point, FDCS 11 begins to reflect on two issues. First, there is the issue of the prominence being given to the 'individual' in the new education policy climate of neo-liberalism with a focus on compliance, performance, outcome and measurability.

This contrasts with a past or residual culture of service, vocation and professional judgement.

Second, there is a reference being made here to the supremacy of Whiteness, which Mills describes as "Racism is a global White supremacy and is itself a political system, a particular power structure of formal and informal rule, privilege, socioeconomic advantages, and wealth and power opportunities" (Mills, 1997: 3). BAME people are not exempt from the power of White supremacy but are more likely to see how it benefits White people at the expense of BAME people. Consequently, in moments of achievement BAME people may 'get a degree of reflected glory' from being in that position, of being a minority and being senior, being a leader.

Given the small numbers that achieve leadership positions, it is essential to have a sense of the hurdles that they face in gaining promotion and advancement in their careers and where data suggests that there are disparities between, superficial commitments to equality and beneath the surface greater degrees of inequality. Statements of being an equal opportunities organisation are about reputation, while a significant aspect of accountability strategies of monitoring is about minimising risk.

RISK AND REPUTATION

The survey of all Local Authorities attempts to identify the level of strategic direction resulting from surveillance and measurement. As mentioned earlier [see Chapter 3 on Methodology] forms of equality monitoring of staff, especially in the public sector, has now been ongoing since the late-1970s. Table 10 below shows that there were 140 returns against 152 surveys sent out.

Question 1 sought a response as to whether the local authority had an equal opportunity in employment policy. 140 LAs returned the survey, and of those one hundred twenty-seven replied in the affirmative - 90.7% of respondents had an equal opportunity in employment policy, while 13 (9.3%) did not. A slightly smaller percentage of respondents, 82.4%, undertook Equality Impact Assessments routinely in policy development. One local authority that did not undertake equality impact assessments responded that "because national government policy and Acts of Parliament underwent rigorous equality impact assessments, the authority did not see a need to replicate bureaucratic activity at a local level"⁹.

Table 10: Local Authority Survey summarised returns for Questions 1 & 2

	Question 1	Question 2
	Does this Council have an Equal Opportunity in Employment Policy?	Does the council undertake Equality impact assessments routinely in policy development in education?
Number of surveys responses	140	131
Number of responses = Yes	127	121
Number of responses = 'Yes' as a percentage of respondents	90.71%	86.43%
Number of responses = No	13	10
Number of responses = 'No' as a percentage of respondents	9.29%	7.14%

The survey then asks for Yes/No/Don't Know responses to several more detailed questions. Table 11 sought data on the monitoring of all existing staff.

Table 11: Local Authority Survey summarised returns for Question 3

	Question 3						
	Does the council monitor all existing staff by...						
	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?	Other (please specify)	Other (please specify)
Number of Surveys responses	136	136	136	133	132	102	52
Number of responses = 'Yes'	134	134	133	112	107	89	37
Number of responses = 'Yes' as a percentage of all responses (140)	95.7%	95.7%	95.0%	80.0%	76.4%	63.6%	26.4%
Number of responses = No	2	2	3	21	25	13	15
Number of responses = 'No' as a percentage of all responses (140)	1.4%	1.4%	2.1%	15.0%	17.9%	9.3%	10.7%

In Table 11 above 95% of responding authorities monitor existing staff by: disability, ethnicity and gender. Monitoring of Religion and Sexual orientation dropped to 80% and 76% respectively. While a significant number of Authorities answered Yes or No to the 'Other (please specify)' sections, the majority did not identify which protected characteristic they were monitoring. Those few Councils that did ,either identified 'Age' or 'Religion'.

The survey returns from local authorities suggest that a high proportion of authorities have a significant amount of numerical data. This data potentially can show how their workforce is structured in terms of many of the protected characteristics identified in the Equalities Act 2010.

Table 12: Local Authority Survey summarised returns for Question 4

	Question 4						
	Does the council monitor all job applications by...						
	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?	Other (please specify)	Other (please specify)
Number of Surveys responses	135	135	135	132	132	93	49
Number of responses = 'Yes'	130	129	128	110	103	79	25
Number of responses = 'Yes' as a percentage of all responses (140)	92.9%	92.1%	91.4%	78.6%	73.6%	56.4%	17.9%
Number of responses = No	5	6	7	22	29	14	24
Number of responses = 'No' as a percentage of all responses (140)	3.6%	4.3%	5.0%	15.7%	20.7%	10.0%	17.1%

In Table 12 above 93% of responding authorities monitor existing staff by: disability, ethnicity and gender. Monitoring of Religion and Sexual orientation dropped to 78%

and 73% respectively. While a significant number of Authorities answered Yes or No to the 'Other (please specify)' sections, the majority did not identify which protected characteristic they were monitoring. Those few Councils that did either again identified 'Age' or 'Religion'.

The data for question 4 (Table 12 above) suggests that monitoring of applications, collecting the data, is undertaken and this will contribute to the numerical data of how their workforce is structured; concerning many of the protected characteristics identified in the Equalities Act 2010. This data is hardly remarkable. 'Equal Opportunity Monitoring Forms' are an almost fixed feature of the recruitment process in many public bodies and organisations and has been for over 30 years.

The monitoring of promotions and the professional development (questions 5 & 6 of the Survey), by the protected characteristics, will be considered in the next chapter. Here I wish to draw attention to the high level of monitoring of disciplinary and competency proceedings according to the data provided by local authorities.

Table 13: Local Authority Survey summarised returns for Question 7

	Question 7						
	Does the council monitor all disciplinary proceedings by...						
	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?	Other (please specify)	Other (please specify)
Number of Surveys responses	132	131	131	127	130	91	60
Number of responses = 'Yes'	98	99	99	61	61	61	26
Number of responses = 'Yes' as a percentage of all responses (140)	70.0%	70.7%	70.7%	43.6%	43.6%	43.6%	18.6%
Number of responses = No	34	32	32	66	69	30	34
Number of responses = 'No' as a percentage of all responses (140)	24.3%	22.9%	22.9%	47.1%	49.3%	21.4%	24.3%

In Table 13 above 70% of responding authorities monitor disciplinary proceedings of existing staff by: disability, ethnicity and gender. Monitoring of Religion and Sexual orientation dropped to 43% for both protected characteristics. While a significant number of Authorities answered Yes or No to the 'Other (please specify)' sections, the majority did not identify which protected characteristic they were monitoring. Again those few Councils that did either, identified 'Age' or 'Religion'.

While the number and percentage of local authorities responding to this question dropped slightly compared to those responding to questions 3 to 6, a substantial number (98) of local authorities, monitor disciplinary proceedings by disability, ethnicity and gender(70%). For the protected characteristics of religion and sexual orientation, this figure drops to 43%. How an organisation responds to those, within the organisation, who do not do as they are required, or asked, is a delicate matter.

I am arguing here that: Employment rights, Discrimination legislation, employee engagement, enjoyment and well-being , provide a context within which organisations work. Issues around: choice, advances in communication, especially social media, has placed the individual in many circumstances as central; especially in democratic states.

Consequently, how the organisation treats an individual, often has a direct bearing on the organisation's reputation, especially in: employment, remuneration and in the provision of services, where there is no direct charge or financial relationship.

In the question related to competency (those who cannot as opposed to those who will not), there is still a higher proportion of Authorities monitoring by disability, ethnicity and gender at 54.3% (and 33% on religion and sexual orientation).

Table 14: Local Authority Survey summarised returns for Question 8.

	Question 8						
	Does the council monitor all competency proceedings by...						
	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?	Other (please specify)	Other (please specify)
Number of Surveys responses	131	131	131	126	126	84	62
Number of responses = 'Yes'	76	77	77	48	47	46	21
Number of responses = 'Yes' as a percentage of all responses (140)	54.29%	55.00%	55.00%	34.29%	33.57%	32.86%	15.00%
Number of responses = No	55	54	54	78	79	38	41
Number of responses = 'No' as a percentage of all responses (140)	39.29%	38.57%	38.57%	55.71%	56.43%	27.14%	29.29%

In Table 14, 54% of responding authorities monitor competence proceedings of existing staff by: disability, ethnicity and gender. Monitoring of Religion and Sexual orientation dropped to 34% for both protected characteristics. Again, those few Councils that did respond to the other characteristics, identified 'Age' and/or 'Religion'.

Disciplinary outcomes are more likely to lead to: censor, demotion or dismissal. All of which will do little for encouragement, advancement, fostering good relations or minimising disadvantage. In a society, stratified by: class (social circumstance), gender, ethnicity, etc. disciplinary sanctions are more likely to be imposed on those already at a career disadvantage. This has been found in a range of reports including the NHS, Higher Education and the Police Service (Dept, 2016; Archibong and Darr, 2010; RCM, 2016; West et al., 2015; Wunsch et al., 2016; Kline, 2014; Leathwood et al., 2009). In this respect, the higher levels of BAME being sanctioned by disciplinary and competency proceedings, reflects what the Lammy Review identified in the overrepresentation of BAME people in the judicial process (Lammy, 2017).

The evidence from the survey of local authorities supports the argument that a far more significant proportion of Authorities monitor disciplinary and competency activities, than promotion or professional development activities. For example, in Appendix 6 Table C, 37.9% of LA respondents said that the council do monitor all

promotions (124 of 140), and in Table D, 41.4% of LA respondents claimed that they monitored 'all professional development' (130 of 140 respondents). By comparison, as can be seen in Appendix 6 Table E some 70% of LA respondents suggested they monitored 'all disciplinary proceedings' by: disability, ethnicity and gender (the proportion drops to 43% for monitoring disciplinary by: sexual orientation and religion). This supports an argument that minimising risk and protecting reputation has a higher value; is more critical and is a better resource investment, than monitoring promotion and professional development. From my experience, competence and disciplinary proceedings is also an area where senior officers and/or elected councillors would want reports rather than in the areas of promotion, and professional development. Asked whether outcomes from monitoring disciplinary proceedings were reported to Councillors, 37.9% of respondents reported on disciplinary and competency outcomes (see Appendix 6 Table E column 7.1).

The web-based research which looked at a sample (50n) of Council's workforce monitoring (WFM), found that, where reports contained data, the data identified that a higher proportion of BAME employees were the subject of competence or disciplinary proceedings. The data evidenced that White employees were less likely to be the subject of competence or disciplinary proceedings. Further, where the data was presented over time, either the higher proportion remained consistent over time, or it was slightly *increasing*. In the summary of the data (Appendix 5) all the sampled authorities provided current data on the number of staff employed and

provided this data broken down by: disability, ethnicity and gender. Only 8 of the Authorities subdivided their ethnicity data by the categories found in the national census data or by the categories used in the DfE's subcategories of ethnicity.

The data from the 50 sampled authorities mirrors the data from the survey of all local authorities (152 LAs with 140 responding). Alongside the monitoring of full-time employees, a significant number of authorities published the data on part-time staffing and the Age profile of employees. In nearly every data stream, for the current workforce, there were significantly fewer data streams for any year on year – measurement of any change over time. The exception here was in terms of the total workforce. All the Workforce monitoring reports showed that local authority staffing was decreasing. Given the austerity programme introduced by the coalition Government in 2010, it is not surprising that authorities were publishing their reducing workforce. Reductions in the workforce were due to government-imposed constraints rather than to the activities of the local authorities themselves.

While 84% of the WFM reports provided data on the age profile of their workforce (but only 24% showed any changes over time) and 76% provided data on their part-time workforce, the only other category where authorities consistently provided data was on disciplinary cases. 82% of WFM reports contained data on disciplinary cases. 78% provided this data by ethnicity and by gender. In the majority of WFM reports, there were only 20% of reports that offered any commentary on the data that they provided. Table 8 in Chapter 3 (page 121) summaries the way Workforce Monitoring

Reports, from the 50 sampled Authorities, present some of the numerical data that they hold on their workforce. There is no consistency in: the format, style and importantly the content of local authority workforce monitoring reports. To address these inconsistencies WFM reports were placed into one of 3 clusters. Each Cluster was sub-divided on the basis of whether commentary had been added to the information in the WFM report. Table 15 presents a summary of the data from WFM reports from the 50 sampled authorities.

While ten authorities provided some commentary on the data that they presented, only 8 of these authorities had set targets to reduce differentials by ethnicity. A further 2 WFM reports had a section in which they listed targets about the data they provided. None of the 40 authorities that produced WFM reports without commentary identified as part of the report any targets to reduce any differentials by ethnicity.

Table 15 WFM data for all 50 sampled councils

Workforce Monitoring (WFM) Analysis							
Type of LA	No of English LAs	Sampled	Proportion of BME Pupils within the LAs sampled				
			20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	80>%
All Councils	152	50	21	16	8	5	
WFM Reports includes Number and percentage			4	3	1	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & commentary			0	0	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & graphs			1	3	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, graphs & commentary			0	1	1	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & pie charts			11	5	5	2	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, pie charts & commentary			2	4	0	2	
Evidence of reducing under-representation against previous year			0	0	0	0	
Evidence of reducing under-representation over 3+ years			0	0	0	0	
Any targets set for reducing under-representation in future years			3	4	1	2	

Further, amongst the sample of workforce monitoring reports, there was not a single local authority that evidenced a decrease in the higher proportion over time, or that they had achieved proportionate parity between BAME and White employee, in the areas of disciplinary and/or competency proceedings. The data summarised in Table 15 above, clearly shows the current limitations of workforce monitoring as an activity to support reducing the underrepresentation of BAME people at all levels of and in all aspects of local authority organisation. The lack of any evidence to show reductions in underrepresentation (Table 15 row 11 & 12) is exacerbated by the small proportion of authorities setting targets to reduce underrepresentation (Table 15 row 13).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, interviewees have described how surveillance and monitoring disproportionately impact on BAME leaders. Their isolation within the professional community singles them out. As professionals, working in complex organisations, they can suggest other possible explanations, but they are in the end naming their oppression. In this respect, the research draws similar conclusions about the impact of racism identified in the other studies undertaken previously (Brar, 1991; Osler, 1997; McKenley and Gordon, 2002; Bush et al., 2006; Cunningham and Hargreaves, 2007; McNamara et al., 2009; Coleman and Campbell-Stephens, 2010; Curtis, 2014; Johnson, 2017). The data obtained from surveys of local authorities support this view; that BAME people in the workforce are subject to greater surveillance and monitoring. Local authorities undertake the monitoring of disciplinary and competence proceedings at a far greater level than monitoring activities which would have the effect of: encouraging, advancing, fostering good relations or minimising disadvantage. Again, the sampling from a representative selection of authorities' supports my argument. Not a single local authority evidenced a decrease in the higher proportion over time or that they had achieved proportionate parity between BAME and White employees in the areas of disciplinary and/or competency proceedings. To survive and develop in such a climate BAME aspiring leaders need to position themselves, they need to grow from pupils to teachers in adverse and isolated contexts and to seek promotion through supportive alliances, professional

development and their perseverance. In the next chapter, I shall look at these issues in detail.

NOTES

1 I have a hard copy of the Judgement in my possession. Details of this Judgement, when and where it was held and the names of individuals have been excluded or anonymised.

2 (from the Judgement of the Employment Tribunal) is being used as the reference for direct quotes from the tribunal report in order to maintain anonymity.

3 I have a hard copy of this (a second) Judgement in my possession and personal communication which evidences this person was a Respondent in a further race discrimination Employment Tribunal.

4 The actual numbers expressed have been rounded to a 100 to ensure that the Local Authority cannot be identified.

5 Chapter 10, 2009 Apprenticeships, Skills, Children and Learning Act pp203-205

6 I would recommend the final pages (531 – 533) of a different version of the article that Ball cites for Bernstein where Bernstein discusses different toilets to explain Classification, Frames and Modalities of Control ref: (Bernstein, 1977)

7 abbreviation of the comments of a BAME woman at a community forum when local authority officers were presenting data on attainment and exclusions amongst BAME pupils in 2005 – A personal experience

8 Name changed to assure anonymity

9 This was a comment by one authority inserted into the Excel LA survey form sent to all 152 local authorities.

CHAPTER 5 PERSEVERANCE, PROMOTION AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter outlines how surveillance and monitoring disproportionately impacted on BAME leaders, and created a cynical and hostile environment. This chapter analyses how, in such an environment, interviewees' struggle and resistance in the form of perseverance are deployed. The Chapter begins by examining interviewees' background and experiences in developing from being a pupil to being a teacher. The next section considers how, as pupils and teachers, interviewees learn how to survive and develop in a climate in which BAME aspiring leaders require determination and perseverance in adverse and isolated contexts.

The next section focuses on the 2010 Equality Act (HMG, 2010) and the recognition that equality does not exist for many citizens. While these features of inequality are deemed to be 'burning injustices' (May, 2016), there are few if any examples of attempts to address these injustices in local authority practice.

The chapter continues with an analysis of the interviewees' understandings and lived experiences of promotion; acknowledging that in some instances, so-called 'promotions' were likened to professional ghettos in which BAME professionals could become trapped

The next section of the chapter draws mainly on the survey data, which exemplifies the low priority of BAME promotion issues in local authorities.

The final section of the chapter critically explores professional development, which is supposedly colour-blind, and in this thesis, is demonstrated as being disinterested in multiple aspects of diversity and identity. The section also illustrates how most professional development opportunities operate from the idea that BAME applicants are problematic and lacking in leadership qualities, and, where professional development opportunities for BAME aspiring leaders (that have been designed by BAME leaders) have existed, it is in a context where White people control the associated funding and accreditation.

FROM PUPIL TO TEACHER

"It was very weird 'cos I was the only black child in the school, er, probably until about 3 years before I left and actually myself and the other [black] girl never spoke to each other, which was also quite interesting, erm, I often wondered what happened to her... anyway, erm, I think

that probably did have quite an impact on me really, although it was a very lonely experience” (CHT 14).

For most of my interviewees, who ranged in age from their early 30s to their late 60s, the experience of being ‘the only one’ had begun in their school days. As seen in the excerpt above, being the only one, or being one of two or three throughout a school is isolating. The majority of interviewees undertook their schooling, undergraduate degree, and initial teacher training in England, and they mainly talked affectionately and with an appreciation of their days in primary and secondary school. These memories of their schooling match with the memories of interviewees reported in Osler's study (Osler, 1997). However for those schooled and trained in the UK, the position of being the only BAME teacher in the staff room, had been a recurrence of their schooling and training. What dominated talk of their early life was the quality of relationships with teachers, other pupils, and for some, with their communities:

“For all my isolation in secondary school, my abiding memories are good memories. I enjoyed secondary school. It was a relatively new comprehensive school, being made up of a former grammar and secondary modern school, and I was always in the top sets. I had friends in school but remember that I didn’t have any friends living nearby and didn’t always feel safe going to and from school” (CHT 21).

"I never experienced as a pupil some of the things that I saw and heard once I became a teacher. I didn't feel that my teachers treated me any different even though I was one of a hand full of Black pupils and most of the others were either dual heritage or Indian new migrants who had not been born in the UK" (FHT 6).

As seen above, interviewees' short biographical utterances rarely strayed into issues of social history (i.e. the curriculum on offer in their school days, youth cultures, music, BAME imagery in the fictional or the news media) or into moments of political, social or economic significance. Instead, utterances related to their experiences of schooling and university were backdrops, and there was no attempt to link these early experiences with their current position as leaders in children's learning.

The interviewees and the interview process, as discussed in Chapter 3, was shaped and focussed by a shared set of understandings, and the focal point was BAME leadership and their experiences of becoming and being a BAME leader. There were, therefore, no narratives around any experiences of overt racism at school or university provided. The interviews did not focus on these early experiences, but more on their experiences as teachers where utterances about being the only one were more common:

"... you couldn't help being aware. Every meeting I was the only BAME around the table." (CDCS 7).

“I was the first Black teacher in my first three schools. And I don't know for sure, but I am certain that for all the teachers in those schools’ I was the first Black teacher they had worked with...” (CHT 12).

Within the brief narratives of schooling and university there was always an underlying sense of determination, commitment and perseverance; either as an individual, or through the strength and support of family. Many interviewees highlighted these personal characteristics as necessary in their early days and in their determination to build a career:

“I had to do something and not sit by or just get along” (FHT 19).

“I knew I could make it [experience of schooling] better than what I had had. I suspect that my parents’ community involvement... their determination for me gave me that commitment” (FHT 6).

Interviewees’ journey into teaching was equally varied. A few determined in their later years of secondary schooling that they wanted to be a teacher. Others made their choice in their mid-twenties or after becoming a parent. Teaching was not necessarily identified as a career, but became a choice in their journey from teenager to young adults:

"All through my teacher training I wasn't 100% sure that's what I wanted to do, but I knew I wanted to go to university and get a degree of some shape or form, so that's what I ended up doing. That's probably why at the end of my university degree I didn't go straight into teaching" (CHT 17).

"It was not an easy decision. I didn't do an undergraduate course that would lead into medicine, dentistry, or the sciences as my parents expected. They were shocked when I told them I was going to do a PGCE [Post Graduate Certificate in Education]. There were no teachers in our community, even though some taught in our community language classes" (CHT 15).

"(I) not so much joined them, but Black Community Groups were beginning to be formed, so we formed the Sickle Cell Society. We formed local community [groups] and a Black Women Organisation. We went on then to get all the Black Groups together. We had a Barbados Group, and in our local authority we got all the Black Groups together in the mid '80s and we made a bid for a Community Centre, which we got cos it was a collective force, and I was forever [involved]. I was on our local authority CRE [Commission for Racial Equality]. I spent a lot of time being Treasurer or Secretary of some organization or other; if I could write a bid for funding, I could write a school development plan" (CHT 16).

For some, skills and understandings in a previous context were seen to be both transferable as well as contributory to entering teaching. Their knowledge and skills, developed in the more extensive and perhaps more supportive community, were equally usable in schools.

Out of the 22 interviewees, 86% were born in England. All except one had their secondary education in England. They had an understanding of being a pupil in England, as well as their knowledge of higher education in England. However, the complexity of their family circumstance; the specificity of ethnicity, religion and community affiliation; as well as the historical and geographical context of their secondary and tertiary education, means that the interviewees were not a homogenous group. In this sense, there is a diverse complexity to the interviewees as a group that reflects the diversity of interviews in previous studies on the experiences of BAME in teaching and leadership (Brar, 1991; Osler, 1997; McKenley and Gordon, 2002; Bush et al., 2006; Cunningham and Hargreaves, 2007; McNamara et al., 2009; Coleman and Campbell-Stephens, 2010; Curtis, 2014; Johnson, 2017).

In a more general and a wider research study, Powney et al. (2003) identifies that most BAME teachers remain in the classroom and have difficulty in gaining promotion. The interviewees in this study were all leaders of children's learning as either a Headteacher or as a Director/Assistant Director of Children's Services. In this interpretation, the interviewees, as a group, are dissimilar from previous studies, which have looked at BAME teachers as well as, in a few cases, leaders. A feature that is consistent amongst the interviewees in this study is their perseverance and determination. This determination can come from interviewees' own experience of schooling:

"I draw on my own background, you know, on what school was like for me. And I know what kind of school I would like a child of mine to go to" (CHT 14).

Or alternatively, from a more community-based perspective:

"I think within the Black communities, for some of us, there is a feeling that we must rise, that getting up from being knocked down is a duty... we owe it to the next generation" (FHT 10).

While the experiential knowledge of my interviewees in the above quotes point to their determination, it would be equally appropriate to recognise that for these interviewees - all of whom have succeeded - there was a recognition of the place of their community in contributing to their career progression:

"The older members had come over during the war. At first, they worshipped in houses, then they could use a school hall, and they organised community language classes. There was always a sense that our generation will do better than our parents' generation and we were encouraged and supported, even when, as in my case, we chose a path that at first did not really please them" (CHT 15).

Community bonds shaped through places of worship, lived neighbourhoods and other forms of community networks for some of the interviewees provided support

and a sense of direction. A belief in a meritorious society sustained these community networks. “..work hard, and you will succeed” (CHT 15).

While another interviewee explained how their father had insisted that she would not follow in his footsteps and end up working in a factory "unless I owned it" (FHT 19). Their determination and perseverance were not bounded even by their experience in school. Neither was it contained by the views and understandings of others.

PERSEVERANCE AND DETERMINATION

“I guess, you know, that most of um, um us in er leadership, want to do it better than it is. You know, either because of what we err, you know experienced, or because you know, we see things that we can do, you know, better” (FDCS 5).

“[CVP note: interviewee is smiling, thinking back] ... It was instilled in me from birth to do well, to work hard, to achieve... [to have] dignity and self-respect, respect for our elders. It has always been about honouring others and honouring ourselves” (FHT 19).

As seen above, determination and perseverance were conscious characteristics which many interviewees identified as being necessary for success. Determination and perseverance are also an essential feature of resistance, both in terms of personal and community struggle. Such characteristics enabled the interviewees “to dissent,

to contend and challenge the various confrontations that they have on occasions experienced. Perseverance as 'plugging away' and determination, as another interviewee called it, as 'fronting up':

"So you have to be somebody who's willing to go back again and again and again, and keep trying and plugging away at it to get people to see the qualities they might naturally look for in others" (CAHT 20).

"It is about having that aggression, having the drive, having ambition, having confidence. Being able to front up to challenges. Standing tall with your shoulders high up in the air and having that air of arrogance mixed with confidence so that everyone else will follow you, and not think about what they're doing themselves, but just follow you without question" (CHT 21).

The determination and the perseverance described by many of the interviewees also goes some way to explain how they handled the occasions of microaggression discussed in Chapter 4, which in other research, some BAME people have described as "producing feelings of degradation, and erosion of self-confidence and self-image" (Yosso et al., 2009: 661). Amongst some interviewees, understandings associated with being a 'role model' were aspects of their determination and perseverance, e.g. "I was first and foremost a Black Woman Headteacher, and I often felt that what I did reflected on Black people" (FHT 22). As mentioned earlier determination and perseverance were for many about an inner drive, but it was also about a sense of

community. But most importantly, it was about resistance to the negativity that they felt, as a BAME person, surrounded them:

“Being one of the few Black special constables, I was often working with Black youth. Their poor experiences of schooling made me want to make a difference there. If they could get through schooling, get qualifications, they would stand a chance against the forces of law and order in which they were so negatively viewed” (CHT 12).

For one of the current Headteachers interviewed, the shift in career was as much about a community commitment and responsibility, as well as about a personal ambition to grow and progress. However, as evidenced by the case study at the beginning of Chapter 4, not all BAME people fully survive the aggression of racism:

“I was discriminated against. An ET [employment tribunal] found in my favour, but the racism I experienced did not prevent some of those respondents doing it again... Their careers were not shattered as mine was” (FHT 22).

What is important to note here, is the disproportionate impact that the racism experienced by this Headteacher had. The careers of those identified as perpetrators through the employment tribunal process, were not negatively affected. They continued with their careers. One of the respondents went on to be appointed

as a Director of Children's Services in another authority. They were again cited as a respondent in two other race discrimination ET cases.

My interviewee's experiential knowledge, and the experiential knowledge of BAME people more broadly in education, rarely informs theoretical approaches to leadership. Consequently, we need to take a critical look at issues of equality more broadly. The following section considers Section 149 of the Equality Act 2010 (HMG, 2010), which sets out the public sector equality duty (PSED).

THE EQUALITY ACT 2010

The Act itself is a piece of legislation that spans over 251 pages of typed A4. Section 149 comes in Part 11 of the Act, and is concerned with "Advancement of Equality". These are the legal duties, which *should* determine the actions that must take place. The development of social structures and social action is in many respects, conditioned by the policy against which practice should operate. For example, monitoring activities in the public sector:

- What is monitored?
- How monitoring outcomes are shared?
- How monitoring activities inform policy development? And
- How monitoring will shape future on-going activity?

Consequently, Acts of Parliament have implications for local authority policy and practice where there is a specific duty.

Section 149 of the Equality Act 2010 states that:

(1) A public authority must, in the exercise of its functions, have due regard to the need to

(a) **eliminate** discrimination, harassment, victimisation and any other conduct that is prohibited by or under this Act;

(b) **advance** equality of opportunity between persons who share a relevant protected characteristic and persons who do not share it;

(c) **foster** good relations between persons who share a relevant protected characteristic and persons who do not share it.

(2) A person who is not a public authority but who exercises public functions must, in the exercise of those functions, have due regard to the matters mentioned in subsection (1).

(3) Having due regard to the need to advance equality of opportunity between persons who share a relevant protected characteristic and persons who do not share it involves having due regard, in particular, to the need to

(a) **remove or minimise** disadvantages suffered by persons who share a relevant protected characteristic that is connected to that characteristic;

(b) **take steps** to meet the needs of persons who share a relevant protected characteristic that is different from the needs of persons who do not share it;

(c) **encourage** persons who share a relevant protected characteristic to participate in public life or in any other activity in which participation by such persons is disproportionately low

(4) The steps involved in meeting the needs of disabled persons that are different from the needs of persons who are not disabled include, in particular, steps to take account of disabled persons' disabilities.

(5) Having due regard to the need to foster good relations between persons who share a relevant protected characteristic and persons who do not share it involves having due regard, in particular, to the need to—

(a) **tackle prejudice**, and

(b) **promote understanding**.

(6) Compliance with the duties in this section may involve treating some persons more favourably than others; but that is not to be taken as permitting conduct that would otherwise be prohibited by or under this Act.

(7) The relevant protected characteristics are—

age;

disability;

gender reassignment;

pregnancy and maternity;

race;
religion or belief;
sex;
sexual orientation.

(8) A reference to conduct that is prohibited by or under this Act includes a reference to—

- (a) a breach of an equality clause or rule;
- (b) a breach of a non-discrimination rule.

(9) Schedule 18 (exceptions) has effect.

(HMG, 2010: 96)

I have emphasised certain words in the Act that I believe summarise its intentions.

These are to *eliminate* [discrimination], *advance* [equity], and *foster* [good relations]. To *remove or minimize* [disadvantage], *take steps* [to meet needs] and *encourage* [persons], to *tackle prejudice* and *promote understanding*. The words in italics can be seen as an explicit call to action, a call that was reinforced by Theresa May at the start of her tenure as Prime Minister in July 2016 (May, 2016).

“Because not everybody knows this, but the full title of my party is the Conservative and Unionist Party, and that word ‘unionist’ is very important to me.

It means we believe in the Union: the precious bond between England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. But it means something else that is just as important; it

means we believe in a union not just between the nations of the United Kingdom but between all of our citizens, every one of us, whoever we are and wherever we're from.

That means fighting against the burning injustice that, if you're born poor, you will die on average 9 years earlier than others.

If you're black, you're treated more harshly by the criminal justice system than if you're white.

If you're a white, working-class boy, you're less likely than anybody else in Britain to go to university.

If you're at a state school, you're less likely to reach the top professions than if you're educated privately.

If you're a woman, you will earn less than a man. If you suffer from mental health problems, there's not enough help to hand.

If you're young, you'll find it harder than ever before to own your own home." (May, 2016)

The above statement, by the then incoming Prime Minister, is another example of those almost daily acts of incorporation that BAME people experience. It homogenises the interests and needs of white working class boys, the poor, Black people, women, the state educated, those suffering from mental health difficulties and the young into a 'union of citizens'. In this discourse of a 'union of citizens' those who historically and presently are beneficiaries' are absent from the discourse. Their absence at this moment in the discourse conceals the reality of their power.

Within CRT the concept of interest convergence and the related concept of contradiction-closing case is relevant here (see Chapter 3). Interest convergence is

when “the interests of Blacks in gaining racial equality have been accommodated only when they converged with the interests of powerful Whites” (Taylor, 2009: 5). In the example being cited above the call to a ‘union of citizens’ is in the interest of the incoming Prime Minister and those who historically and presently are beneficiaries’. The Prime Minister’s statement is suggesting that fighting against the burning injustice is a shared enterprise. Drawing on the related concept of contradiction-closing case “is identified in those situations where an inequity becomes so visible and/or so large that the present situation threatens to become unsustainable” (Gillborn, 2008: 32). The promise of “fighting against burning injustices’ is as argued by Bell “a shield against excesses in the exercise of white power, yet they bring no real change in the status of blacks” (Gillborn, 2008: 32). The point being that for all the Prime Minister’s assertions of a shared enterprise nothing in effect has changed.

The following section illustrates, by drawing on the evidence of the data, that no real change has taken place since the start of the present Prime Minister’s leadership. More importantly that current inactivity continues a long history of inactivity, denial and the bleaching out of the experiences and activism among BAME people.

WHAT IS THE EVIDENCE FOR “FIGHTING AGAINST THE BURNING INJUSTICES”?

The barriers that interviewees have faced were not just ‘brick walls’ or ‘glass ceilings,’ but burning injustices. Too much of the equal opportunities discourse of

local authorities and national government is predicated upon the notion of having “due regard to the need to” (Section 149 (1) HMG, 2010) remove barriers and encourage participation, in effect referencing the Equality Act 2010 and its previous iterations. However, none of the interviewees, through their personal histories or career development, specified examples where they identified institutional support, encouragement or the removal of a barrier. The experience of the interviewees reflects the data in the survey of local authorities – where greater emphasis is given to monitoring, disciplinary, and competency proceedings, than is given to professional development and promotion.

As outlined in the previous chapter, none of the authorities sampled had reduced under-representation against the previous year, or in the previous three-year period; and only 10% of the 50 authorities sampled had set targets to reduce under-representation (see Table 8 in Chapter 3 row 13). With respect to monitoring, disciplinary, and competency proceedings then, the survey indicated that 70% of authorities monitor disciplinary proceedings, and a further 50% monitor competency proceedings. The proportion of authorities that stated they monitored promotions (38%) and professional development (41%), was therefore significantly below the monitoring of disciplinary and competency proceedings (Chapter 4 Tables 13 & 14).

Two examples from my scrapbook show that issue of under-representation, and the failure over time to address under-representation, are not just confined to the area

of local authority work or in the leadership of children's learning but other aspects of social activity.

From my scrapbook

Most UK police forces have disproportionate number of white officers

Kevin Rawlinson, Helena Bengtsson and Will Franklin

Fri 1 Jan 2016 <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jan/01/most-uk-police-forces-have-disproportionate-number-of-white-officers>

Figures paint picture of police service in which people from ethnic minorities have less chance of jobs than white counterparts

A white applicant to the police has a better chance of getting a job than someone from an ethnic minority in more than two thirds of the UK's forces, according to official data.

The figures, released under the Freedom of Information Act, paint the most complete picture yet of a police service in which people from ethnic minorities are represented in disproportionately low numbers and have less chance than their white counterparts of getting jobs when they do apply.

The scrapbook evidence illustrates two inter-related but important points. First, that BAME people are disproportionately under-represented in the police service. Second, when they do apply to join the police service, BAME people have less chance of getting a job.

From my scrapbook

Straw sets new ethnic minority recruitment targets for police

From the Press Association

Wed 14 Apr 1999 <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/1999/apr/14/justice.race>

The Met must recruit more than 5000 new officers from ethnic communities

Police forces were challenged today to recruit more than 8,000 black and Asian officers in the next decade as Home Secretary Jack Straw laid down new targets to boost the number of officers from ethnic communities in the service.

The Home Secretary set a target for each force in England and Wales and said he hoped within 10 years every force would reflect the racial make-up of the area it served.

The second scrapbook example, also drawn from The Guardian, was written 17 years before the first example. It reports that the Home Secretary¹ has set 10 years targets by which time it is hoped each police force would reflect the racial make-up of the area it served. There are differences in language – then police force, now police service. There is also a shift from a notion of the ‘racial make-up of the area’ to a more broader notion of proportionality. However, the fundamental point is that over a 17 year period, little has changed. As reported in the McGregor-Smith Review:

“There is discrimination and bias at every stage of an individual’s career, and even before it begins. From networks to recruitment and then in the workforce, it is there. BME people are faced with a distinct lack of role models, they are more likely to perceive the workplace as hostile, they are less likely to apply for and be given promotions and they are more likely to be disciplined or judged harshly” (McGregor-Smith, 2017).

The requirement within the Act to ‘advance’, ‘foster’ and ‘encourage’ – which would arguably be better realised by the more positive activities of monitoring applications, promotions and professional development – are underutilised in comparison with the more punitive actions of monitoring disciplinary and competency proceedings.

The next three sections will focus on the issues surrounding promotion, more specifically: 1) the interviewees’ own experiences and understandings of promotion, 2) the notion of ‘professional ghettos’, and 3) the low priority of BAME promotion amongst local authorities

PROMOTION

“Yeah, whether I want to take credit for it or not ... my career ascent by anyone’s standards was fairly rapid and people were appointing me. I obviously was, as far as I can tell, making strong applications. I always seemed to get good feedback from interviews ... I can’t remember a post I’ve gone for and not got, so, and I was very conscious of the fact that I was often if not the first minority ethnic person being appointed, I was one of very few” (FDCS 11).

Most interviewees experienced rapid promotion. This is in stark contrasts to reports on major findings in other research (Osler, 1997; NUT, 2003; McGregor-Smith, 2017). The personal histories of the interviewees, their willingness to participate in the study, and most importantly that they, as a group, had achieved a high degree of professional success, contrasts with other studies and research which have drawn on a wider demographic of BAME people in the research sample. However, interviewees were very aware that their promotional success did not mirror what is known from research and did not match what they observed more generally within the authorities in which they worked:

“He said to me I don’t know if it was... cos if you wanted to take race out of it, it could be, but I only just took you on as a probationer. Why would you, after 2 years in my school, think that you're ready for a senior job? And it was a large Primary school so that title was Head of Infants. So in a school with a Head Teacher, he had someone who was Head of Infants. So there was me, just finishing 2 years going for Head of Infants. Now is it because I was black and I was a bit cheeky or whatever he thought, or was it because someone in their second year of teaching couldn't possibly want that senior job. And this is where sometimes the messages get a little bit blurred. And I didn't want to say to him is it because I’m black? Cos he short-listed me. He interviewed me, so... Whom he did appoint was someone who'd been teaching for 8 years, who, when I became a Deputy Head, joined the school [in which] I became a Deputy Head and I was her line manager cos she was Head of Early Years. So it was ... sort of interesting. But he appointed her and I didn't see why he shouldn't appoint her. Cos she surely would have had more experience. Well, she would have had more

experience than me in teaching. But I brought age and wisdom to the post had he appointed me. But I'm not sad he didn't appoint me" (CHT 16).

What is important to note is that generally, my interviewees talked about their experiences of promotion with a certain level of detachment as in the example above by CHT 16. They had the capacity to see their career progress in broad terms. They also referenced other none traditional bodies of knowledge and skills when talking about their career progression. Their exceptional experiences were not reflected more broadly within the teaching profession. For many of my interviewees' their career progressions were groundbreaking. Not only had they experienced being 'the only one in the staffroom', but were also now experiencing being the 'first one' into higher levels of promotion:

"So when I applied for the Assistant Director role within the Council, I ... certainly would have been, if not the first, certainly one of the first senior black or minority ethnic appointments that they'd made" (FDSC 11).

These reflections on seeking promotion bring into question those ideas that BAME people lack the confidence to find promotion, something cited by LW01 in the email exchange referenced in Chapter 1, and cited in existing research and reports (Bush et al., 2006; CIPD, December 2017) for example. However, the interviewees do add to the evidence that BAME people do not find promotion opportunities easy:

"I was always being interviewed by White people. And if you look at it, I suppose in some ways, their understanding of black professionals, where black professionals were coming from perhaps, wasn't there because you never got questions like: As a black professional, how are you working in an environment that's all White? How will you deal with that? And again there's other... if you are working in an environment where they may well be black people, how are you going to deal with that? You know, you've got to deal with that, you've got to be firm and fair. But in some cases, I suppose they just thought, well he doesn't fit. And some of the feedback from those interviews, kind of think you're a close second, what do I need to improve for the next interview. Keep trying. There's nothing, no advice given in terms of feedback" (CADCS 9).

As the interviewee above notes – when it comes to promotion opportunities for BAME people, White people in positions of power are almost exclusively the ones to conduct the interview. As such, the interviewee is also acutely aware of the White norms of interview. He is also saying that in the interview process of question and answer – the normal ritual of interviews – there are so many unasked questions.

For example the question "...how are you working in an environment that's all white?" would, if asked, expose the differences in the room. The experience for BAME people as referenced in the quote above suggest that implicit in many questions is the fact of 'We are White, You are Black.' Which plays into the fear of 'How can you treat us fairly?' (because for years and years we have been exploiting you so what's to stop you doing to us what we have – and still are – doing to you?). These are the questions that interviewers dare not ask and consequently make

assumptions about the candidate. They cannot manage White people, so they will not be able to fit into our workforce. Or else they will not be able to manage Black people and therefore White people will experience disadvantage because obviously if you are Black you are going to treat Black people preferably. This was evident in the comment that follows:

"I have been asked at interviews 'how will I fit in here', and 'how have your experience prepared you for this post'. I am being tested on the extent to which I can meet 'how we do things here' and the extent to which I will not 'rock the boat'...(CHT 18).

Many of these issues are explored in the think piece by Spillet in relation to senior local authority appointments (Spillet, 2014). However, the issues are not confined to appointment and promotion within local authority, but also apply equally to the situation in schools.

With the increasing fragmentation of school governance and increasing devolution to schools away from local authorities. With the reduction in responsibilities of local authorities and therefore the reduction in staffing and local authority roles of activity and responsibility, the potential blocking or barriers for BAME applicants increase.

These experience mirror the experiences cited in one of the earlier studies. As noted by a Black male Deputy Headteacher in Coleman and Campbell-Stephens' study (Coleman and Campbell-Stephens, 2010: 43):

"People who appoint are the main obstacle. To what extent are governors receiving training? People can find any reason to reject you, but cannot find reasons to appoint you. Governors need to look outside the box, and at what a candidate could bring to a role. They should be forward-thinking. The educational world is conservative and traditional. In crucial areas like appointments they still tend to play it safe."

The issue of barriers is clearly identified as being the very people who are in positions of power to select and appoint. The extent to which they have the knowledge, skills, understanding and commitment to social justice is rarely challenged. The experiences of the interviewees in this research reflect the findings in other research undertaken (McNamara et al., 2009; McGregor-Smith, 2017).

Another example of a BAME woman:

"Huge obstacles all along the way, there still are. I don't want to get into the victim mentality, but I feel that there is a glass ceiling and it is more difficult for Black women. People on panels are not sure you will fit in. I have to be careful with parents. If they saw a White man in a suit that's the image of authority, they would respond to that. I have to be articulate, and stand firm, not be swayed by how people see you. It's important to be clear about values and where they fit. I am very aware of the effect I have on people who come in to meet me. I have to be

very professional, very clear (Coleman and Campbell-Stephens, 2010: 44).

What is at stake here is the common assumption that sees the individual as 'the problem' rather than the institution as structuring disadvantage. Institutional arrangements and discourses of equality of opportunity have assumed that there can be no bias. This leaves the individual to prove beyond doubt that they can operate and manage in this environment. As noted by Gus John

"at the root of the problem is the manner in which structural, cultural, institutional and personal manifestations of racism and discrimination are ignored and the image and profile of black people which the system has itself constructed, with all the accompanying baggage, become the focus of attention" (John, 2006: 23).

It is in this context of an assumed discourse of equality of opportunity and the benevolence of contemporary institutions that BAME people are being interviewed for a promotion. Evidence suggests that BAME people are no less likely to seek promotion than White people (McGregor-Smith, 2017).

Another research study looked at the issues for BAME people in career development with the introduction of performance-related pay, as well as new categories of teachers – Advanced Skilled Teachers (AST) etc. This research has evidenced that nationally there has been no research into the impact these changes have made on

BAME people in the education workforce, even though the then Secretary of State for Education stated that "Applications made by teachers for threshold assessment will be monitored for equal opportunities implications" (Menter et al., 2003: 307). The almost arbitrary introduction of performance-related pay and the Upper Pay Spine was focussed on ways of potentially increasing teachers' pay. How such a process would impact on women, ethnic minorities etc. while raised by some was never examined in advance – using an equality impact assessment. Neither was it considered in hindsight – through equality monitoring of the outcomes from the initial rounds of threshold assessments. CRT provides a way of understanding these processes deemed as meritocratic and therefore neutral as being the opposite of meritocratic and neutral. Threshold assessment and other features of Performance-related Pay are features of White privilege in operation.

Promotion and therefore its impact on issues of underrepresentation are features of the tools of White privilege, in McIntosh's knapsack (McIntosh, 1986). Even where there were 'specialist' promotion opportunities, as McKenley and Gordon observed with researching into the field of women's studies, "because they will be entering a 'research ghetto' from which they may never escape" (McKenley and Gordon, 2002: 6). These 'specialist' opportunities have been identified as potential professional ghettos (Bush et al., 2006).

"most of my teaching experience has been special educational needs, ethnic minority achievement, that kind of area. Almost what you might describe as the fringes of mainstream." (CHT 17)

Demonstrating their quality was not always straightforward. For many interviewees, there were the perceptions of others – their peers and managers – as to the value they could bring to the school or to the Department. Roles that were focussed on links with BAME communities, on broadening representation within the taught curriculum and on bilingual learning - usually funded through Section 11² and later the EMAG grants³ - did provide opportunities for promotion, but equally, these 'opportunities' could become professional ghettos in which BAME professionals could be trapped:

"It was different in different institutions. Some settings were really quite quick to get there, or the leadership in those settings, were really quite quick to get their head around the fact that they were using me as almost a kind of broker to have the conversation with parents and families...let's use her to do this piece of work cos actually we'd rather not deal with it thank you very much, so let's park that over there." (CHT 17)

PROFESSIONAL GHETTOS

"I am not sure clearly how I made the move into the EMPA [CVP note: "EMPA" Ethnic Minority Pupil Achievement] service, um it was a promoted post and I was asked to apply. At that time I thought it was because of the work

I had done in the school and in the cluster [CVP note: cluster – schools working together on school improvement activities]. but now when I look back on it I feel that as an Asian woman I was also seen to have the necessary qualities [protected characteristics] and that may have been more important than me being an educationist” (FHT 19).

Being encouraged to apply and her subsequent experiences within the Ethnic Minority Pupil Achievement Service made this former Headteacher feel that a greater emphasis at that time was placed on her protected characteristics than on her abilities as an educationalist and leader. In many local authorities from the mid-60s into the first decade of the twenty-first century, many BAME teachers were supply teachers or were employed in specialist services with a brief for raising attainment and achievement amongst minority ethnic pupils (Garg, 2003). The other area in which BAME professionals could often be found during this time was in responding to the shortage of science and mathematics subjects, especially in secondary schools (Bariso, 2001; DCSF, 2008; Howson, 2011).

Six of the Interviewees had experience of working in local authority Section 11/EMAG funded services. While for some, such services offered promotion opportunities – which they did for the six interviewees, in other cited studies these services became ghettos in which BAME teachers turn out to be trapped. Their specialism increasingly being seen to divorce them from the realities of mainstream teaching in schools (Powney et al., 2003; Bush et al., 2006; McNamara et al., 2009). The six

interviewees, whose career path included post in Section 11/EMAG funded services, viewed these experience as part of their career journey. They did not, through the course of the interview, associate their experience in either positive or negative terms.

“My time with the MSS (Multicultural Support Service) was the only time in my career that I worked alongside other black colleagues. We were always made aware that we were an add on to advisory service, rarely having much input to the predominantly white schools. But when you work in a lot of different schools you learn a lot. That helped me when I applied for a Deputy Headship in a primary school” (CHT 21)

Learning a lot and being made aware that the support you provide is an add on captures the way the six interviewees’ experienced this part of their career journey

While there are no statistics published by the DfE (or earlier iterations of the Department) for the number of BAME staff employed under Section 11 or EMAG, anecdotal commentary supports the view that most BAME staff in many authorities were engaged in these services (Vieler-Porter, 2003: 44; Garg, 2003: 19). Four interviewees made a similar point in that the "only time that significant numbers of BAME staff were seen was when you brought together the whole of peripatetic services to schools. At authority led meetings for Headteachers, professional development training or traded training for schools, it would be rare to see BAME staff” [CDCS 1, similar comments were made by CADCS 2, CADCS 3, FDCS 5].

“For all the progress that has been made, and there is some progress, BAME staff are still under-represented at senior levels in the authority. The few BAME central peripatetic staff we still retain amongst our traded services are employed through what little remains of the EMAG grant and the local authority top-up” (CDCS 7).

Since the Home Office introduced Section 11 funding to local authorities in 1966, it has been a significant professional community for BAME staff. The movement of the funding from the Home Office to the DfEE in 1999, was a policy step taken by the then Labour government for authorities to devolve the significant proportion of the budget to schools (Tomlinson, 2008: 142). This action began a process that moved specialist targeted funding (and its attendant specialist staffing) into the ‘mainstream’, which had the effect of dissolving specialist services and diverting away from the educational needs of marginalised groups

Rather than having specialist services, with specialist staffing, funding went into schools’ general budget. The needs that this target funding aimed to meet were now competing against a broad range of budget decisions (Garg, 2003). Further changes followed, and in 2010 the coalition government moved this ring-fenced funding into the devolved schools’ grant.

Funding was an important issue for my interviewees and this is discussed at greater length in Chapter 7. The devolving this EMAG funding to schools may have had, more broadly, a significant negative impact on the career opportunities for BAME

staff - two reports have suggested this (NASUWT, 2011; Carrington et al., 2011). However, the claims cannot be substantiated using official statistics, as the DfE has not monitored the impact of this shift in funding on the numbers of BAME staff employed by schools and local authorities. At the time of this decision, the DfE did not undertake an equality impact assessment of the potential implications of shifting a ring-fenced funding stream – with its criteria for use – to a devolved general budget for schools. There was a similar disregard for issues of monitoring and equality impact assessments before and after the introduction of Threshold Assessments and pay progression into the upper pay spine (Menter et al., 2003).

As has been noted specialist services for specified groups of pupils, in this case, Ethnic Minority Achievement Services, provided by local authorities, have been identified as professional ghettos, where BAME people have been professionally isolated (Powney et al., 2003). However, as a service to schools and a feature of local authority support for schools and specified groups of learners, these services did have structures of management and leadership. Consequently, they did also offer opportunities for career progression.

Important questions should therefore be asked about the extent to which neoliberal policies, to include: (i) Devolution of funding away from local authorities towards schools directly; (ii) The diversification of school governance alongside reductions in the responsibilities of local authorities for education provision, development and

quality; and, (iii) Cutbacks in local authority income from central government, have created a context in which BAME underrepresentation at all levels, but in particular within leadership, have been maintained, or even, increased.

What is apparent is that the evidence to argue that these policies have had no adverse impact does not exist. In comparison, the extent of the evidence, in the form of ethnic monitoring data, clearly shows underrepresentation exists at all levels of state provision of education services. While some argue, this exemplifies institutional racism (Menter et al., 2003; McNamara et al., 2009; Howson, 2012), which is defined as 'collective failure in public institutions' (Macpherson, 1999b) I would go further by contending that this is the endemic nature of racism as articulated in CRT, as business as usual.

While the interviewees in this research were not dependent upon S11/EMAG for career advancement, attributes of determination, perseverance, as well as commitment, and faith (see Chapter 4) were necessary to navigate career advancement. However, the specialism that existed within their protected characteristics is both an advantage and a disadvantage. It is an advantage in that they bring knowledge and experiences shared with some of the communities that schools and local authorities should meet. It is also a disadvantage, in that it exposes the limits of the ability that current national provision of education has to

meet the needs of all children irrespective of their cultural, ethnic, social, regional or community background.

THE LOW PRIORITY OF BAME PROMOTION AMONGST LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Evidence from the survey of local authorities reinforces that claim that institutional commitment to addressing BAME underrepresentation has a low priority. Tables A to H in Appendix 5 summarises the number of responses to each question in the survey to all local authorities. The data concerning the percentage who do monitor provides the main quantifiable data in my research. Most authorities (96%) did not specify under 'Other' which protected characteristic(s) they were monitoring. Of the 4% (6 Authorities) that did determine a protected characteristic, it was Age or Religion or both (see Appendix 5).

Table 16 below summarises data from the 140 Local authorities who responded, with specific dates, to each of the survey questions from Q3 to Q10.

Table 16: The dates for reporting to Council. Summary of returns

Question Part	Question	No Responding	% Responding*
3.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring of all staff last reported to Council?	99	70.71%
4.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring job applications last reported to Council?	70	50.00%
5.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring promotions last reported to Council?	26	18.57%
6.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring professional development last reported to Council?	35	25.00%
7.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring disciplinary proceedings last reported to Council?	56	40.00%
8.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring competency proceedings last reported to Council?	31	22.14%
9.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring Headteacher appointments to maintained schools last reported to Council?	12	8.57%
10.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring Headteacher applications in maintained schools last reported to Council?	9	6.43%

- No. of responses as a percentage of the total number of LEAs responding (n140)

The survey specifically asked for a date when the 'outcomes for monitoring' were last reported to the council, or in the case of 9.2, when 'Headteacher appointments to maintained schools' were last reported to council. It should be noted that whilst 127 to 128 councils monitor protected characteristics (to include disability, ethnicity,

gender, religious preference and sexual orientation), only 7% (of the 115 councils that responded to question 9.2 see Appendix 6 Table G) claimed to report their monitoring data to the council annually. This as opposed to the data returned which identified that 42% of local authorities responding, monitored by disability, ethnicity and gender appointments to maintained schools (Appendix 6, Table G Question 9.1).

As can be seen in Table 16, and reinforcing the responses from 9.2 discussed above, 12 authorities (8.57%) were also able to provide the date on which the outcomes for monitoring Headteacher appointments to maintained schools were reported to Council. The data shows that monitoring of the leaders of children’s learning in maintained schools has a very low priority for Councils. The data also indicates that while at most 42% of Councils have the data (Appendix 7 Table G row 5 columns 2,3 & 4), only 8.57% share that data with elected Councillors (Appendix 7 Table G row 3 columns 10), and consequently with the electorate – as reports to Council are public documents and are available on Council websites . To be more explicit, the issue of underrepresentation appears to be a non-issue for many authorities: less than half collect the data (42%) and they simply do not report the issue to councillors (8.57%).

In the analysis of LA workforce Monitoring none of the sampled authorities had displayed any evidence of underrepresentation having been reduced, let alone erased, within their workforce (see Appendix 8 summarised data from all Authorities

8.1 rows 10 & 11). Further that only 20% of the sampled authorities (10 out of 50) had set targets to reduce underrepresentation suggests that underrepresentation is a choice, rather than a chance occurrence (see Appendix 8 summarised data from all Authorities 8.1 row 12). Councils have the data available, however even in a substantial climate of target setting and accountability, reducing BAME underrepresentation has no actual stated or practical priority. While local authorities are making these choices about what data to collect, monitor and report on, I would argue that idea of monitoring is designed at the level of national governments and national institutions. How and when this is then done is part of what Ball states as the 'contested, interpreted and enacted arenas of practice' (Ball, 2017: Loc 315)

Where there are expressions of intent around equality issues (NCTL, 2016), the associated discourses continue to shift away from structural, cultural, institutional and personal manifestations of racism and discrimination towards suggesting inadequacy amongst BAME people. In the words, at that time, of the Chief Executive of the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) any efforts "to increase the diversity of entrants to teaching and teacher training, [must be] consistent with maintaining quality" (Mahony and Hextall, 2000). In other words, the Chief Executive is hinting that increasing diversity has the potential to undermine quality. There is no evidence provided to support this idea. It is a statement from a populist perspective that 'they' will take away our jobs and other similar utterances. It is in the provision of professional development in general and specific professional development that

targets under-represented groups that we see the expressions of the 'inadequacy' of BAME people for promotion.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

This assumption of inadequacy in under-represented groups is exemplified in the most recent programme by the DfE to reduce the disproportionate under-representation of BAME people in the leadership of children's learning in schools:

"The purpose of the equality and diversity (E&D) fund is to support under-represented groups covered by the protected characteristics as defined by the Equality Act 2010. This work is an important ministerial priority. The fund was launched in 2015 by the then-secretary of state. The aim is to increase the diversity of the school leadership workforce. The funding has been provided to lead schools, to design and deliver leadership development training to increase leadership diversity.

The key performance indicator is that at least 90% of participants' progress to next stage promotion within 12 to 18 months of completing the programme. Given the time lag before we assess whether this KPI has been met we use proxy indicators (such as participants' increase in confidence levels) to provide us with an overview of whether the programmes are meeting the overarching aims of the fund" (NCTL, 2016).

This funding stream began in the academic year 2014. It has been provided to lead schools who have applied for the funding. The initial round of funding was from 2014 to 2016. Further rounds of funding were made available for 2015 to 2017 and

2016 to 2018. There is the provision in the DfE budgets for an additional round of funding to cover 2018 to 2020. As stated in the purpose quoted here, the key performance indicator is next stage promotion. A survey analysis of the participant's views remains the only evaluation on the DfE website as of November 2018. A freedom of information request to the DfE has yielded no additional information on any further analysis and whether the first round of participants has been followed up concerning the KPI of promotion within 12 to 18 months. The proxy indicator of participants increase in confidence levels' locates the form of professional development as focussed on the individual. Although targeting specific 'protected characteristics', the extent to which each lead school is able or has taken account of the material circumstances, social, economic and cultural barriers that BAME people face is far from clear if such considerations were made in the design of the programmes.

In 2003, the single most significant professional development programme for aspiring BAME leaders was established in the London Centre for Leadership in Learning at the Institute of Education, now part of University College London. Investing in Diversity (IiD) was "a bespoke leadership development programme for aspiring Black and global majority leaders in London schools. The programme recognises the significant and rapid demographic shifts taking place in British cities, and the dilemmas as well as the opportunities that this phenomenon poses for a new generation of leaders" (Campbell-Stephens, 2009). While none of my interviewees

undertook this professional development opportunity, a number contributed to the programme either as mentors for those taking the programme, as contributors to the delivery of the programme or as a tutor of the programme.

Investing in Diversity (IiD) was a leadership development programme for BAME teachers in London schools, funded by London Challenge and the DfE. The University of London accredited the programme. The IiD programme sought both primary and secondary phase participants. A Leadership Foundation Programme for aspiring middle managers in secondary schools was also developed. The structure of the IiD course was a one-year taught programme starting with a weekend residential and ending with a one-day seminar. There is anecdotal evidence of the programme being undertaken in a few other local authorities and Canada. However, there is no documentary evidence available for analysis except for the London Centre for Leadership in Learning's Impact Report (LCLL, 2007) submitted to the London Challenge in November 2007.

The programme started in March 2004, and by November 2007 there were 830 participants (IiD Cohorts 1-21 and LFP Cohorts 1-10) who had either completed the programme or were current participants. Teachers were recruited from all the London Boroughs, and by 2007, 27% of the first 15 Cohorts of 405 participants had gained promotion. The programme was funded for a further four years (2011), and a total of 26 cohorts of approximately 25-30 participants took part in the programme

during its seven years. There is no data on outcomes from cohorts 16 to 26. Of the 110 participants that gained promotion, there is no detail of the number who attained their first headship appointment during or post participation in the programme. In a survey conducted by the London Leadership Centre, based at the IoE in January 2007, 92% found the course helpful, while only 8% found it of little help. Participants' responses did not differ based on their ethnicity, years of teaching experience, or their school phase. However, gender appears to be a factor in the likelihood of applying for promotion. The following summarises outcomes from the survey which were never published by the London Challenge:

- Almost two-thirds of all the responding participants (n=92) have applied for promotion since attending the programme. About 23 participants were in the process of applying for promotions or intended to apply shortly;
- Males (74%) were more likely than females (59%) to apply for promotion, but the survey commentary argued that this result was not statistically significant;
- School phase or years of teaching experience were not found to be factors affecting whether the participant applies for promotion or not;
- Overall, 92 participants (64%) applied for promotions and out of those about two-thirds were successful (n=60);
- Those who had the least experience were more likely to receive promotion compared to those with more experience;

- More staff from Primary schools (77%) than those from Secondary (60%) received a promotion, most notably 13 deputies from the Primary phase achieved Headship positions;
- Achieving promotion was not related to either gender or ethnicity of the school staff (LCLL, 2007).

What is notable from the impact report is the 13 primary deputies gaining a headship. Perhaps more striking is that those with the least experience were more likely to receive promotion compared to those with more experience. This suggests that promotion becomes more difficult as individuals progress up leadership hierarchies. In considering the DfE's data on ethnicity and grade, covering the period from 2004 to 2011, the data show that there was little reduction in the differentials of underrepresentation during this period. The question, therefore, is why was a programme funding an area of need stopped?

Given the anecdotal evidence of the success and impact of IiD, a question arises about what was different about this programme to other professional development aimed at supporting aspiring leaders into leadership:

“But in all the programmes I ran, I make sure people have time to tell their stories, so when you hear the stories of 20-something odd years you think, the stories are very much of being challenged, being ignored, being put-down, being overlooked, not feeling valued. There are

lots of stories like that. I've heard more stories like that than I've heard stories where a black teacher said my Head is amazing, and some have. And he or she has really encouraged me, but if I'm going to do this for those who say they haven't, I'll do this for those who said they have. So, there's been a disproportionate number of people who feel that they were actively discriminated against. And I can say to you that if it was so subtle - and I think once you've worked in our field you recognise racism like this" (CHT 16)

Bringing to the forefront the experiences of being challenged, ignored, put-down, overlooked, and not feeling valued, were fundamental building blocks of the IiD programme. It was making the reality of BAME peoples experience explicit and central to their professional development. As a contributor to the programme CHT 16 makes the following point:

"We do not run a programme as a deficit model. We run programmes that say, these are the obstacles that exist. Now let's look, and I'm very clear about that. Now let's look at what you and you and you and all of us have to do to overcome the obstacles" (CHT 16).

While IiD was not designed based on the tenets of CRT, which has only more recently been taken up by scholars working in UK institutions, there are some shared positions. First, this is about the voice and experience of BAME people and the narratives which explain where they are and where they have come from and what they have had to endure. Second, is the programme itself, in that "it's for black

people, run by black people who fought and got through and have kept our blackness” (CHT 16) and aims to subvert the supremacy of whiteness:

“The difference between our programmes - because almost all of us know each other in some shape or form - and say the generic NPQH (National Professional Qualification for Headship) or whatever, is you go along, and you have this formulaic process. You have no space to say, as a black person this is how I feel, as a black person this is how I'm treated, so we build that space in and that is a very short space on the first morning because people need to get that out. Some people will cry, and some people will become very distressed. So that is it. Now let's move on. These are the obstacles that you're facing, but you can't live with obstacles. How are we going to take them and make them... turn it around? And what do you have to do to get out there? Because if we don't do some of that, our people will always be the only person at NPQML (National Professional Qualification for Middle Leaders) or the only person at NPQSL (National Professional Qualification for Senior Leaders). The only Black person there. The only Asian person. And then you don't have a voice. There is absolutely no space and no voice on those generic programmes for a black person to say, well you know something, I really do feel I've been discriminated against. What happens, and this is how we, who run them position it, it's about empowering, yeah?” (CHT 16).

In positioning the IiD programme against the NPQH, and its derivative qualifications NPQML and NPQSL (explored in detail in the next Chapter), CHT 16 clearly sets out as central the lived reality of BAME people, the need to see and make visible the obstacles (racism, sexism etc.) and challenge the supremacy of Whiteness as important in this professional development. Outside of what was IiD the professional

development route to headship since April 2004 has been through the National Professional Qualification for Headship. However, this route is a further obstacle that aspiring BAME leaders must navigate. This is the subject of the next chapter on Leadership.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has focussed on the extent to which BAME leaders, in becoming leaders, have had to persevere by drawing upon personal characteristics as well as the knowledge, skills and understandings of the professional community within which they work. They have had to overcome cultural and racial stereotyping for their teaching and learning, of all pupils, to be recognised. They have had to navigate direct and indirect discrimination and to learn from the direct and indirect discrimination that surrounds them. BAME leaders must achieve in a context within which promotion and professional development are supposedly colour-blind. However "I am, and I am seen as, a Black woman first and a Headteachers second, because I could have been a Lawyer or an Accountant" (CHT 14). Drawing from the evidence it is clear that national government and local authorities are disinterested in multiple aspects of diversity and identity with only an implied rather than an explicit commitment to the augmentation of social justice and equality of opportunity. And this only at moments which are to their advantage.

The example of professional development which worked to undermine the idea of BAME applicants as problematic and lacking in leadership qualities was an isolated effort.

All of this takes place within a context where equality of opportunity in general and in the specific area of education and children's learning, both at National and Local Government level, make minimal effort to eliminate, advance, foster, remove or minimise the inequitable underrepresentation of minority ethnic people in education and the leadership of children's' learning. The following Chapter will focus specifically on the issues within leadership raised through the research activities.

NOTES

- 1 Home Secretary – officially Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department. It is a British Cabinet level position and one of the Great Offices of State within Her Majesty's Government in the UK
- 2 Section 11 of the 1966 Local Government Act provided a 50% rate support grant for staff in high immigrant areas. The funding was managed by the Home Office until 1999.
- 3 Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) replaces Section 11 funding in 1999 and the funding is transferred from the Home Office to the DfEE in 1999

CHAPTER 6 LEADERSHIP

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 5 I described the evidence from my research, that national government and local authorities are disinterested in multiple aspects of diversity and identity, with only an implied, rather than an explicit commitment, to the augmentation of social justice and equality of opportunity. In this chapter the centre of attention is concerned with the present reality and the imagery of children's learning being dominated by White men. It draws on the ideas within Critical Race Theory that racism, in its institutionalised form, is a central feature in leadership theory and in the development and practice of leadership. Both historical and contextual factors confer the reality of predominantly White male leadership. This in turn means that ideas of meritocracy, neutrality, objectivity and colour-blindness are not configured or influence the leadership of children's learning.

My chapter begins by analysing how the professionalisation, institutionalisation, and deregulation of the leadership for children's learning, has rendered its curriculum as colour-blind/evasive/averse and marginal to positioning education as a potential for social justice. Second, that the fragmentation in school structures and governance -

part of the broad neo-liberal agenda in education - only benefits a specific group of people, and that BAME people are not amongst the group who benefit. Third, I shall analyse what we know about the currently available data on BAME leaders. How the data on the underrepresentation of BAME leaders in children's learning mirrors other identities that are underrepresented and how responsibility for the underrepresentation of BAME people is ultimately shifted onto BAME people themselves. Fourth, how the monitoring of equality of opportunity, as evidenced by my survey of local authorities, ensures that addressing underrepresentation remains, at best, a peripheral concern. Fifth, drawing on my interviews with BAME leaders, I will analyse the extent to which leadership networks marginalise issues of identity and diversity. Finally, I will analyse how the experience and imagery of leadership, structures barriers to promotion and positions of leadership.

NPQH: THE PROFESSIONALISATION, INSTITUTIONALISATION AND DEREGULATION OF LEADERSHIP

As seen in the previous chapter, while Investing in Diversity (IiD) worked to promote the beneficial experiential knowledge of aspiring BAME leaders through a "space to say, as a black person this is how I feel, as a black person this is how I'm treated." (CHT 16), the Government's drive to address school improvement at the beginning of the twentieth century was to establish the National College for School Leadership. From its learning and conference centre on the Jubilee Campus of Nottingham

University, several national qualifications were established leading to the National Professional Qualification for Headship (NPQH).

From 2004 to 2012 the NPQH was a mandatory qualification; essential if you wanted to be a Headteacher. Initially, the qualification was administered and taught by the National College of School Leadership – which evolved (after the establishment of the Coalition government in 2010) into the National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL). Currently, a section within the DfE administers the programme and its provision is contracted out to approximately 33 Licensees, with NCTL providing quality assurance.

The establishment of a separate college of school leadership contributed to further dismantling of the role of Universities in the training and development of teachers. In 2003, when NPQH became a mandatory qualification for Headship, the National College was the sole provider of the qualification. The College developed the NPQH curriculum, the College determined and administered the application process for acceptance onto this professional development opportunity, and the College ultimately conferred NPQH status on participants it had determined as successful.

Additionally, there has been a shift away from the previous dominant model of teacher training based in Universities and Colleges to a system of initial teacher training that has become increasingly a school-based professional training

programme, with a greater diversity of work-based routes into the profession (Furlong, 2013; Whitty, 2016). As with NPQH, there is now a mandatory national curriculum for trainee teachers and there are assessments against prescriptive standards which all trainees must meet (see DfE website 'Get into Teaching'). Thus, individual schools, through the office of the Headteacher, have a greater determining role in gaining teacher accreditation (<https://getintoteaching.education.gov.uk/>).

There has also been the development of specialist schools and the first iteration of academies, which had opportunities to divert from the national curriculum, employ teachers under different contractual arrangements, and bring business and forms of sponsorship into the schooling of children. These policy initiatives, while fragmenting and diversifying schooling, still enable the government to centralise crucial aspects of control (Ball, 2017; Whitty, 2016).

The development of NPQH continued the process of reinforcing a specific form of professionalism in the leadership role of Headteachers. As the government increased diversification of school governance, control over schools could still be exercised through the professionalism driven by central control of the leadership curriculum. This form of professionalism is one that is decided by the government, rather than a confirmation of professionalism as conferred by University accreditation or a representative/governing body of the profession. Consequently, the creation of NCSL institutionalised the role of Headteacher, with the direct influence of

Government reinforced by the accountability regimes of external inspections through Ofsted.

In 2012 NCTL redesigned the qualifications into a 'flexible' Leadership Curriculum with three levels of professional development:

- Level 1: National Professional Qualification for Middle Leaders (NPQML)
- Level 2: National Professional Qualification for Senior Leaders (NPQSL) and
- Level 3: National Professional Qualification for Headship (NPQH)

Licensed providers delivered 1 or more levels according to the license gained from NCTL. Each level is made up of essential and elective modules.

The Government's stated aim through NPQH, along with other leadership development programmes, sought to improve the academic standards in schools by ensuring that there is a well-qualified teaching profession, with enough numbers of middle, senior, and headteacher leaders to meet the needs of the school system.

This programme sat alongside the other objective of the National College, which was to support schools to help each other to improve, as the process of deregulation of school governance, and the monitoring and accountability systems were developed further (DfE, 2016).

These were some of the tools used in the neo-liberalism and neo conservative agendas for change in education (Furlong, 2013; Whitty, 2016). With further

changes introduced by NCTL in 2014; which left licensees with responsibility for developing and maintaining the curriculum material content at each level, ending the NCTL membership scheme, decommissioning the online platform and phasing out scholarships. Consequently, licensees have greater control over admission to the programmes and conferring pass marks. With the professionalisation through leadership standards maintained by the quality assurance role of NCTL – part of the neo-conservative agenda, the neo-liberal agenda of deregulation and the role of market forces has been enhanced.

While these structural changes have taken place, it is in the detail of the leadership curriculum that we can further see the extent to which issues of identity and diversity broadly, and race and ethnicity more specifically, have been relegated to the margins of what it is essential to know and to be able to do as a leader. In the following section I will focus on the curriculum of the NPQH qualification, and the way in which the curriculum has become increasingly based on knowledge-intensive activities, relying on intellectual capital rather than physical inputs, social and cultural experiences of aspiring leaders.

THE CURRICULUM OF NPQH

Increasingly national governments believe that in order to remain competitive on a global stage, nations must become smarter (Whitty, 2016; Ball, 2017). As such, the introduction of programs such as the NPQH can be seen as an English government

response to greater investment in intellectual capabilities in the knowledge and services economy, rather than on physical material or natural resources production.

The curriculum of the NPQH qualification has three areas of competency that are tested over a period between 12 to 18 months.

Table 17: The Competency modules of NPQH

NPQH: Three areas of competency		
Strategic leadership	Educational excellence	Operational management
Self-awareness and self-management*	Delivering continuous improvement*	Efficient and effective*
Personal drive and accountability*	Modelling excellence in teaching*	Analytical thinking
Resilience and emotional maturity	Learning focus*	Relationship management
Conceptual thinking	Partnership and collaboration	Holding others to account
Future focus	Organisational and community understanding	Developing others
Impact and influence		

*competencies tested in the application form (Gov.UK, 2017)

There is a very detailed application process, through which some elements of each competency are tested. What is interesting, however, is the potential within some competencies - for example 'Self-awareness and self-management' or 'Efficient and

effective' - for issues of identity, diversity, equality and social justice to be explored. However, there is no evidence that these issues appear, even at a superficial level within the content of curriculum materials, in either the earlier 'box of curriculum materials' (see Illustration 5) or later (post-2014) in online materials at the NCTL website or the website of Licensees

Illustration 6 - New and Improved analogy of the 2008 iteration of NPQH curriculum materials



(Andrews, 2008)

Andrew's (2008) analogy of the 2008 iteration of NPQH curriculum materials (Illustration 6), mirrored the style of much of the curriculum materials of a range of policy initiatives, including the materials produced to support the training of Ofsted inspectors and the training materials for the national literacy and numeracy strategies.

As Andrews 2008 article in 'Leader', the inhouse publication of the Association of School and College Leaders (ASCL), explains:

"With the national spotlight on the rising number of headship vacancies, expectations are high, to say the least, for the redesigned model of the National Professional Qualification for Headship

According to Jane Doughty, NCSL's operational director leading the redesign, the new programme has two key aims: to offer a more personalised form of professional development for aspiring heads; and to reflect the changing role of headship and of school leadership" (Andrews, 2008).

I would assume, in a journal by and for a professional body (ASCL) that issues around recruiting leaders, managing teaching and learning, responding to educational/societal change, the civic and moral role of schools in a turbulent era etc. But, that is not the case. The Key elements for NPQH at this time according to the article:

- Targets those 12-18 months away from applying for headship;
- Rigorous entry assessment and development process to determine readiness and help applicants plot a personalised pathway through the programme;
- Duration: one-year maximum but can be completed sooner;
- Six units of resources based around National Standards for Headteachers;

- Three online modules - leading personalised learning, leadership for sustainability, models of leadership;
- National learning materials, placements, coaching, online resources and local leadership development activities also part of process;
- Graduation assessment portfolio evidence verified by line manager, coach and headteacher of placement school; and,
- Pilot project underway for first 150 aspiring headteachers with first two cohorts selected in June and October 2008 (Andrews, 2008)

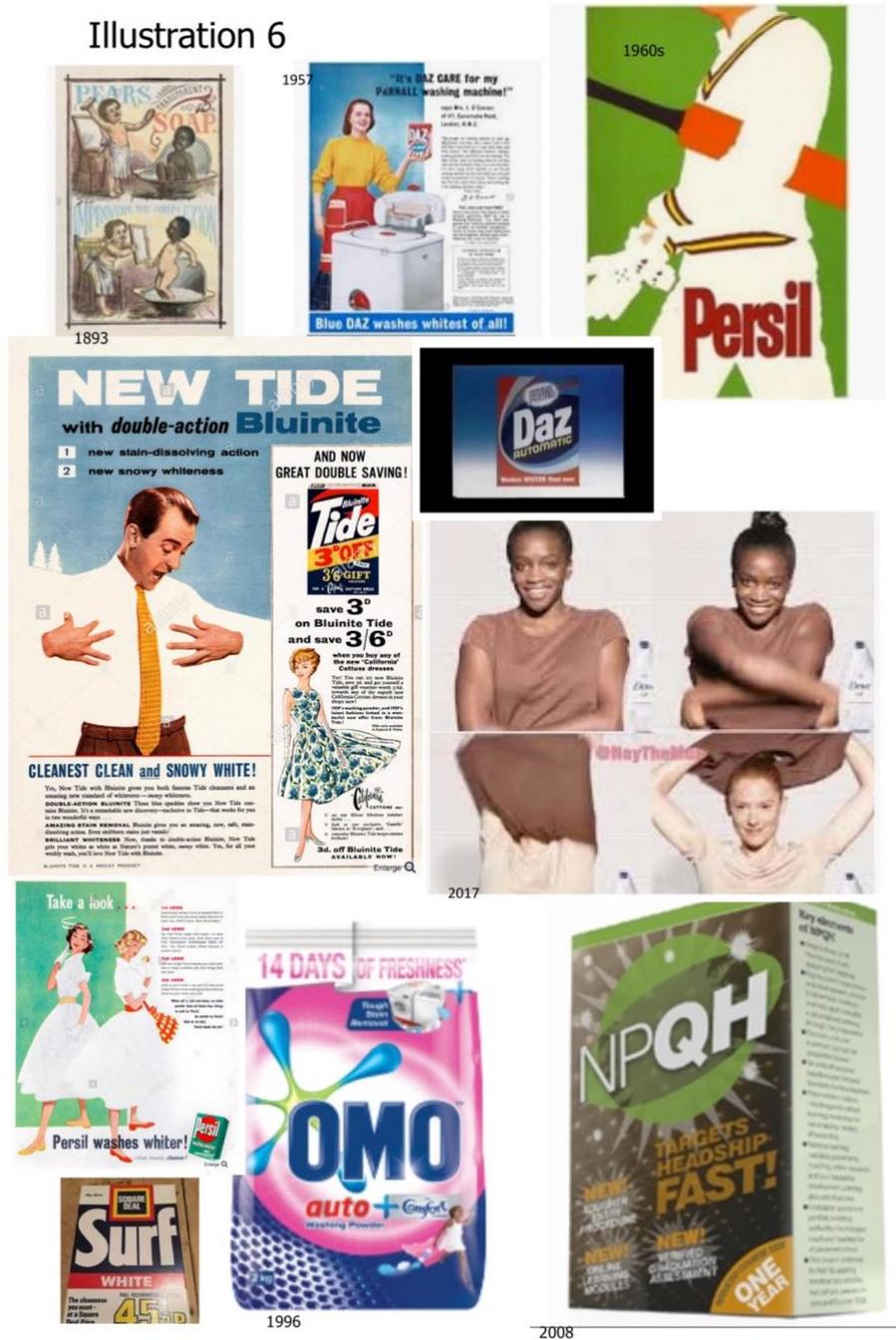
Of note, at the same time as there was a launch for the 'new' iteration of NPQH, NCSL, also published a guide to achieving equality and diversity in school and children's centre leadership (Ali, 2008). There were no words in the 2008 formulation of the NPQH program – the 'packaging' thereof - that suggested a need for, nor an intention to, increase the diversity of the Headship community. Neither are there words that reflect "why equality and diversity leadership action at every level is critical to providing effective, fair and accessible education services for all children and employment practices for all staff" (Ali, 2008: 3).

However, as highlighted by the cereal box analogy (Illustration 6), the headline sales claims of the 2008 program were: 'New! Higher Entry Procedure', 'New! Online Learning Modules', and 'New! Verified Documentation and Assessment'. A central claim was that the 'NPQH Targets Headship Fast!' Perhaps Andrews' likening of the

NPQH program to a washing powder was also not happenstance; as washing powders hold the promise of eliminating stains and dirt; or to use a colloquialism they make clothes 'whiter than white'. For example – as illustration 7 (see next page) demonstrates, there is certain kind of historical imagery associated with advertising washing powder and cleaning products:

Illustration 7 Collage of soap adverts:

Illustration 6



Earlier iterations of the NPQH curriculum have been challenged and criticised for their “colour-blindness” and disinterestedness in multiple aspects of diversity and identity and only an implied rather than an explicit commitment to the augmentation of social justice and equality of opportunity (Brundrett and Anderson de Cuevas, 2008; Lumby and Morrison, 2010; Lumby, 2006). This in stark contrast to programmes like IiD, which make colour and ethnicity explicit and equality of opportunity and social justice as central issues.

The most recent evaluation of the Leadership Curriculum was undertaken by CFE Research with support from the University of Leicester and published in 2017 (Cork et al., 2017b; Cork et al., 2017a). This research was a three-year formative and summative evaluation of the Leadership Curriculum commissioned by the DfE and NCTL. The purpose of the research was to:

1. Gain knowledge and understanding of the successes and areas for development” of the Leadership Curriculum,
2. Explore the satisfaction of participants with the qualification whilst
3. Examining the self-reported impact of the Leadership Curriculum on participants and their school

(Cork et al., 2017a)

The study used the following mixed method approach:

- A longitudinal telephone survey of trainees on the three Levels of the Leadership Curriculum across two sampling points. 766 survey responses were received at Sampling Point 1 (SP1 - on completion of the qualification) and 752 survey responses were received at Sampling Point 2 (SP2 - 12 months after completing the qualification). 359 participants were interviewed longitudinally across both sampling points;
- Semi-structured depth interviews with trainees. Across the 3 qualifications, 19 interviews were undertaken at SP1 and 27 at SP2;
- Semi-structured depth interviews with Line Managers. Across the 3 qualifications, 11 interviews were undertaken at SP1 and 19 at SP2;
- 10 semi-structured paired interviews with Licensee representatives;
- An online survey of representatives of Licensees. 49 responses were received, representing views from 22 licensed providers;
- An online End-of-Module survey was designed and administered by NCTL. 4,445 responses were received (1,905 responses for NPQH, 1,382 for NPQSL and 1,158 for NPQML);
- An online End-of-Qualification survey was designed by NCTL and disseminated by CFE. 2,876 responses were received (492 responses for NPQH, 1,236 for NPQSL and 1,148 for NPQML);

- Analysis of 45 participants' final assessment tasks, which they completed as part of the qualification. 15 participants were selected for each qualification and all relevant tasks were coded

(Cork et al., 2017a)

Nothing in the published research study suggested that 'knowledge and understanding of the successes and areas for development' related to issues of gender, ethnicity, race, or disability, for example. Where numerical data on the percentage of participants were given, this was never subdivided by any of the protected characteristics identified in the 2010 Equality Act. Equally, nothing in the DfE commissioned research study suggested that 'satisfaction with the qualification' responses varied for BAME leaders. Finally, nothing in the published research study suggested that examining the self-reported impact of the Leadership Curriculum on participants and their school was related to issues of ethnicity, of gender, of disability, age etc. Nothing in the research study suggests that issues of identity and diversity impacted, in any way, with their evaluation of the Leadership Curriculum.

Arguments could be made that the evaluation was more focussed on the impact of the programme and its curriculum to raising standards, however this cannot, in my view, be maintained given that pupil outcomes by identity, diversity, class, region etc. did not shape the analysis. The profile data for the telephone sampling aspect of the research identified that 69% of the respondents were women (and only 31%

were men) and that 93% of the respondents were White (90% White British and 3% White Other). The remaining respondents were identified as 4% 'Other' and 3% who preferred not to identify their ethnicity. Given that the profile of respondents was recorded in terms of gender and ethnicity (however broad the categories), this most recent Government report on the leadership curriculum again highlights how professional development is colour-blind/evasive/averse and disinterested in multiple aspects of diversity and identity with only an implied rather than an explicit commitment to social justice and equality of opportunity.

Women make up much of the education workforce but are not equally represented in leadership positions. In the total workforce there are 451.9 thousand people. Men represent 117.7 thousand (26%) and Women 334.1 thousand (73.9%) (Nov 2017 SWFC_Table Table 4 DfE, 2018b). From a total workforce of 451.9K, 22K are Headteachers (4.85%). 14.6K Headteachers are women (66.4%), while 7.3K Headteachers are men (33.2%). Women constitute 73.9% of the teaching workforce² but only 66.4% of the leadership of schools.

Pupils of minority ethnic heritage constitute 30% nationally of pupils. In some areas, minority ethnic pupils constitute over 80% of pupils and the proportion of areas where you do not have pupils from minority ethnic heritages is decreasing year on year (ONS, 2018). Yet despite the proportion of minority ethnic students in schooling, the evaluation of the Leadership Curriculum research study suggests, that

in the areas of 'knowledge and understanding of the successes and areas for development', there is nothing to say about identity and diversity.

This finding is important to the arguments made in this chapter. First, the colour-evasive approach to identity and diversity, in consideration of the impact of the Leadership Curriculum hides the disparities of outcome for BAME people – their underrepresentation in leadership positions. Second, it hides away from, it evades, it ignores the issue of how opportunities should be developed to reduce the differential gaps for BAME people into leadership. Third, in identifying the profile for the telephone sampling aspect of the research by gender and ethnicity, the evaluation leaves that data unchallenged and treats it as normal, as given, as acceptable as colour-averse. Fourth, on the impact of the programme and its curriculum to raising standards, this cannot be maintained given that pupil outcomes by race/ethnicity, disability, social circumstance (for example free school meals), region etc. did not inform and shape the analysis. Consequently, the question of standards for all pupils and the standards for different cohorts of pupils is not always considered. Raising standards is about raising *all* pupil's standards; currently, the differential outcomes for pupils by race/ethnicity, disability, social circumstance are lost in the generality of raising standards. This level of generality hides the colour-evasion/aversion, the denial of institutional racism, and perhaps more damaging, the denial of racism itself.

Findings such as those above remind us of the tenets of CRT outlined in Chapter 2, which argue that racism is endemic in English education and highlights the importance of contextual and historical analysis and that in exposing these elements we are working towards the elimination of racial oppression (Ladson-Billings, 2009)

As well as the professionalization, institutionalisation, and deregulation of leadership demonstrated in this section, there has also been fragmentation in school structures and governance, which have also an adverse effect on BAME leaders; a claim that is examined in the next section.

THE FRAGMENTATION IN SCHOOL STRUCTURES AND GOVERNANCE

Outside the curriculum of leadership, the governance of schooling has equally shifted from local democratic control, through local authorities, to more fragmentation in the form of specialist schools, studio schools, free schools, academies and multi-academy trusts. These variations in governance were first developed by the Labour Government from 1997 for schools in special measures and to give good schools a specialism that they could offer to attract parents whom the Government argue should have a greater choice of schools (Tomlinson, 2008; Alexander, 2010) These policies were extended under the coalition Government from 2010 (Ball, 2017; Whitty, 2016)

The increased fragmentation was built upon a model of school governance covering grammar, comprehensive, voluntary, and voluntary-controlled faith schools, which were mainly managed and controlled through local education authorities (Alexander, 2010: 382-388). It must also be noted that before the development of an education service in 1944, there has been, and there remains today, a sizeable private sector bolstered by governments through their charitable status. There are around 2,500 independent fee-paying schools with approximately 615,000 pupils (7% of the school-age population). This is important given that pupils from fee-paying schools are overrepresented in Oxbridge and Russell Group Universities in England (Weale, 2016).

This degree of fragmentation, and the very selective nature of monitoring and accountability arrangements, has created more significant opportunities for schools to manipulate policy in pursuit of topping league tables of attainment, securing local popularity, and gain success through status and links to elite universities. Examples of such include increases in exclusions (Adams, 2018), anecdotal reports of increased forms of 'off-rolling' pupils³ (Weale, 2018; Savage, 2017), increased newspaper reports of manipulative and fraudulent accounting practices (Boffey, 2015; Adams, 2016; Perraudin, 2017).

From my scrapbook

St Olave's is not alone. Schools with dodgy practices are everywhere

Fiona Millar

Thu 12 Jul 2018 09.30 BST Last modified on Thu 12 Jul 2018 11.26 BST

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jul/12/st-olaves-schools-marketisation-performance-table-pupils>

The marketisation of schools has unleashed a dark side where performance tables are more important than pupils' welfare

This example from my scrapbook concerns a selective grammar school which forced pupils whose grades (after AS level) were not in the top 30% to leave the school and continue their learning somewhere else.

Since the removal of some schools from local authority control there have been increasing reports of increasing number of incidents of 'gaming' as in the example above where some pupils were 'weeded out' for the school's overall performance to be better. This form of systematic gaming happens across English schools to the extent that Her Majesty's Chief Inspectorate (HMCI) "is to launch a major investigation into schools accused of 'gaming the system' by moving out pupils who would drag down their GCSE results" (Mansell, 2017; Weale, 2017)

Similarly, there is also an increase in the number of newspapers that report on financial irregularities and pay differentials by gender. A further question could be asked if these issues have a differential impact on BAME staff? In the following scrapbook entry, the focus is on the gendered impact of practices in academy schools. No data is publicly available on the race-dimension. However, research into Performance-related Pay in teaching and a Guardian report on analysis undertaken by NHS Digital on pay disparities amongst medical staff in the NHS would suggest that similar BAME inequities are highly likely in education (Menter et al., 2003; Campbell, 2018a) .

From my scrapbook

Gender pay gaps in academy school chains among the worst in UK

Richard Adams and Pamela Duncan

Sun 25 Mar 2018 16.37 BST

<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/mar/25/gender-pay-gaps-in-academy-school-chains-among-the-worst-in-uk>

Women working in academy school chains suffer some of the worst gender pay gaps in the UK, according to the Guardian's analysis of data received through the government's national survey of gender and pay.

Having evidenced that the Leadership Curriculum is colour averse and disinterested in multiple aspects of diversity and identity. Having also evidenced the further

fragmentation of governance, the increased financial opportunities through the marketisation of education provision and its development and support, it is in this rapidly emerging context that benefits are accrued by 'a certain group of people'. The evidence that I have presented implies that, in varying and complex ways, any benefits have not been shared equitably by gender, race, disability etc. Across the social spectrum, in the criminal justice system (Lammy, 2017; Grierson, 2018), in the National Health Service (Campbell, 2018b), within leadership of the technology sector (Hern, 2018), amongst the directorships of leading companies (Partington, 2018) and in the workplace (Kerr, 2018) to highlight a few examples, BAME people are underrepresented in leadership positions.

It is not surprising to find the data on leadership in children's learning provides the same forms of evidence that show the multiple aspects of diversity and identity found in society at large is not reflected amongst the leaders in children's learning. This references an element of CRT which distrusts and disbelieves any arguments that the social world is neutral, objective, colour-blind or even remotely meritocratic. The most recent DfE data for 2017 and previous data, for 2012 provides evidence of the underrepresentation of BAME people in the leadership of children

DATA ON ETHNICITY IN THE LEADERSHIP OF CHILDREN'S LEARNING

Data on the appointment of Headteachers comes from one significant source. The DfE publishes annual data on the school teacher workforce by ethnicity and grade.

Table 18 below provides the data for 2012 and 2017 (at the time of writing this was the most up to date data available). Besides showing that for 2017 less than 3.5% of Headships were filled by people who identified themselves as being BAME, while BAME people constituted 14% of Classroom and other posts in education. In comparison Headteachers identifying themselves as White British constitute 93% of Headships and 86% of Classroom and other posts in education. The data clearly shows how BAME people are underrepresented in teaching and in the leadership of schools. A situation that has not changed since 1985.

“Irrespective of the absence of detailed statistical data, it is clear that there are disproportionately low numbers of teachers of ethnic minority origin in our schools. We regard this under-representation of ethnic minority teachers as a matter of great concern which merits urgent attention and positive action” (DES, 1985: 601)

This raises the question of how do we explain, with the improved level of statistical data, the identification of under-representation in teaching and leadership in 2017

Table 18: DfE 20102 & 2017 teacher workforce by ethnicity and grade

Title	School teacher workforce by ethnicity and grade					
Location	England					
Time period	2012 & 2017					
Ethnicity	Headteachers		Deputies and assistants		Classroom and others	
	%		%		%	
	2012	2017	2012	2017	2012	2017
Asian	0.9	1.4	2.0	2.8	3.5	4.5
Bangladeshi	-	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.6
Indian	0.6	0.8	1.1	1.5	1.7	2.0
Pakistani	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.7	0.9	1.2
Asian other	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.7
Black	0.8	1.0	1.3	1.6	1.8	2.3
Black African	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.9
Black Caribbean	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.1
Black other	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3
Mixed	0.5	0.7	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.2
Mixed White/Asian	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3
Mixed White/Black African	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Mixed White/Black Caribbean	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3
Mixed other	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5
White	97.5	96.6	95.6	94.1	93	91.1
White British	94.4	93	92.1	90	88.1	85.4
White Irish	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.6
White other	1.3	1.8	1.8	2.4	3.3	4.1
Chinese and other	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.8
Chinese	-	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
Any other	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6

NB Of 22,200 Headteachers, 0.01% equivalent to 22 people

(DfE, 2018b)

According to DfE data (DfE 2018c), during the five years of data between 2012 and 2017, the number of Headteachers in post increased by 500. As can be seen in Table 20, the overall number of people identifying themselves as White headteachers decreased by 0.9% during the same time. Only slight increases in leadership numbers of Black (+0.2), Chinese (+0.2) and Asian (+0.5) headteachers were noted. Currently 29.1% of secondary aged pupils and 32.1% of Primary aged pupils are identified as BAME heritage (DfE, 2018c). If the same pattern and speed of demographic change that occurred between 2012-2017 repeats, it will take roughly 148 years for the proportion of Headteachers identifying themselves as White to match the current proportion of pupils identifying as White. Arguably, this is seven more generations of children and that statistic assumes the current proportion of BAME students remains at 30%.

The evidence presented above is not a 'one off' but is symptomatic of wider social agency which maintains White supremacy in the institutions of the state.

From my scrapbook

Met disproportionately white for another 100 years – police leaders

Vikram Dodd

Tue 19 Feb 2019 https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/19/met-police-disproportionately-white-for-another-100-years?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other

Cressida Dick says the Met has 'an absolute determination to have zero tolerance for racism' on the 20th anniversary of the Macpherson report.

The Metropolitan police will be disproportionately white for at least another 100 years at the current rate of progress, but are no longer institutionally racist, leaders of the force have declared.

20 years on from the Macpherson Report, little progress has been achieved in making the largest police force in the UK representative of the people it serves.

For several years, Education Data Surveys Ltd on behalf of the NASUWT surveyed schools annually on the appointment of senior staff. This was before the DfE publishing school teacher workforce data by ethnicity and grade. Table 19 below shows Education Data Surveys Ltd data summarised over the period 2002 to 2011. During each year of this period, the percentage of BAME people being appointed to Headship vacancies never exceed 3%. Using a three-year rolling average, to ease

year on year variations, the percentage of BAME people appointed to Headship vacancies rarely exceeded 2%.

Table 19: Summary from Education Data Surveys 18th Annual Survey of senior staff appointments in schools across England & Wales 2011/2012

BAME Headship appointments										
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
No of Headship appointments	1110	1026	995	932	812	636	691	655	467	435
No of BAME Headship appointments	22	24	22	13	18	7	9	19	6	6
BAME Headships as a %	1.98	2.34	2.21	1.39	2.22	1.1	1.3	2.86	1.28	1.37
No of Headship appointments as a rolling 3yr average			3131	2953	2739	2380	2139	1992	1813	1557
No of BAME Headship appointments as a rolling 3yr average			68	59	53	20	27	35	33	31
Headship BAME 3yr Av %			2.17	2	1.94	0.84	1.26	1.76	1.82	1.99

Education Data Surveys 18th Annual Survey of senior staff appointments in schools across England & Wales 2011/2012 (Howson, 2012)⁴.

There are two significant points to be made from this data. First, the data confirms that BAME people are underrepresented in the leadership of children's learning in schools; supporting the widely-accepted view about the underrepresentation of

BAME people in leadership across all social systems and institutions (OBV., 2017; McGregor-Smith, 2017; Office, 2018; Kerr, 2018). Importantly these reports show “that for more than 1,000 of the most senior posts in the UK, only 3.4% of occupants are Black and Minority Ethnic (BME), and less than 23.6% are women” (web page OBV., 2017).

Second, the gap in the underrepresentation of BAME is not changing with any significance and will be unlikely to change unless something significant is done. The duties on public bodies in the 2010 Equalities Act to eliminate, advance, foster, remove or minimise the inequitable underrepresentation of BAME people in education and the leadership of children's' learning will not be met in the current context. This context is arguably a choice of both government and local authorities. As McGregor-Smith points out:

“Much of the bias is structural and a result of a system that benefits a certain group of people. This doesn't just affect those from a BME background, but women, those with disabilities or anyone who has experienced discrimination based upon preconceived notions of what makes a good employee. Fixing this will involve a critical examination of every stage of the process, from how individuals are recruited to how they are supported to progress and fulfil their potential” (McGregor-Smith, 2017: 80).

What is importantly identified by McGregor-Smith is that fixing inequality in BAME leadership will involve a critical examination of ‘every stage of the process’ rather

than focussing on the 'supposed' failings or deficits that most initiatives to date have put forward. For example, in describing the work of the judiciary to increase the proportion of BAME judges, the Lord Chief Justice commented that:

"The committee ... has each year pursued more initiatives to explore what might be done to accelerate progress... It has been strongly supported by judges from all backgrounds across the courts and tribunals in England and Wales... It has worked with the Judicial Appointments Commission, universities and professional bodies to host evening outreach events... The primary purpose of these events is to attract suitably qualified lawyers from groups currently under-represented in the judiciary and to enable them to explore the possibility of a future judicial career... The events provide a panel of varied speakers and an opportunity to meet serving judges. They may sow the seed of wanting to join the judiciary years ahead, when they are ready to apply... we have run increasingly popular application workshops aimed at under-represented groups. These form part of a positive action programme which is intended to help candidates make stronger applications; but once they have completed the programme, they are expected to compete on merit with the other applicants" (Khomami, 2017).

As seen in this excerpt, action to boost the proportion of BAME in the judiciary focuses on the individual as the source of failings, or limits that need to be developed in order that BAME individuals are better able to compete 'on merit'. The assumption is therefore that an even playing field exists, and that people are appointed 'on merit' - which ignores (or rejects) that bias is structural and as a result of a system that benefits a certain group of people (McGregor-Smith, 2017). The underlying assumption is that the system is fine and thus the deficit(s) exist in the

underrepresented group themselves, they need encouragement and some support to aspire to the role and construct themselves as 'suitable applicants'.

Evidence to identify national initiatives to address under-representation within leadership in schools is difficult to find. In 1992, the Higher Education Funding Council established a few funded one-year projects to encourage increased BAME participation in teaching (Lewis, 2002: 209). However, in most years Higher Education Institution's targets to BAME students have routinely been missed (DfE, 2016; DfE, 2010). What does happen, every so often, is that a commitment is made at some level of state structure. The most recent example of which was published in October of 2018 (the text of this DfE statement has been reproduced in Appendix 9).

The 'Statement of intent on the diversity of the teaching workforce' (DfE and RDU, 2018) in effect is taking us back to the beginning – the beginning of calls for a representative workforce. The late 2018 statement, through its omissions denies the historical struggles for representation of BAME communities, denies previous statements for equal representation, and denies the agency of many individuals and groups that have worked for, argued for, and campaigned for equal representation. In drawing on CRT the 'explain or change's mantra of current policy is seen as being ahistorical or another example of a Contradiction Closing Case (Bell, 1987). As one former Headteacher comments:

"I suppose part of my answer to your 'why' question, is that we keep starting over. Equal opportunities talk comes and goes. Each time it comes out, there is some impetus to make changes. Then all goes quiet and we have moved onto something else, or the funding is moved, or the post becomes empty and the post holder is not replaced. The issue of equality of opportunity is too easily dropped because it is not an issue for current leaders (FHT 6).

Consequently, the data proves that since identification in 1985 (DES, 1985) there has been little change in the underrepresentation of BAME people in the leadership of children's learning. With the institutionalisation and now deregulation of professional development; with the fracturing of school structures and governance; and, with the neutral and unquestioning production of identity and diversity data, very little has been done to address the persistence of under-representation. It is partially in the collection of identity and diversity data that we can see another example of how certain groups self-interest is maintained. The next section will examine local authority approaches to monitoring.

LOCAL AUTHORITY MONITORING

Although the deregulation of governance has significantly impacted the role and responsibilities of local authorities and the schools within their control, they remain a significant provider of education services, especially in the primary sector. Local government is a leading employer in most areas, along with the NHS, and one would expect that local government would push forward on national policy; especially as the local government is not only an employer, but also a representative body for local people. Since the mid-1980s, local authorities have been routinely collecting identity and diversity data on their employees. A more recent (2012) example of the form used to collect identity and diversity data can be found in Appendix 1. It should be noted that at the end of the monitoring form there is a long list of what the Council will do, and most Councils will state as part of their 'core purpose', 'core values', 'core strategic intent' to be an Equal Opportunity Employer.

Since 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Bill of Human Rights (1976) have mandated that Government in the United Kingdom has developed domestic law that protects the rights of those who might face discrimination. For example, the UK government introduced gender and equal opportunities legislation to include the Equal Pay Act of 1970 and the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975. The Race Relations Act of 1976 (Amended in 2000) meant that it is unlawful to discriminate against anyone based on ethnicity, and there is a positive duty on public authorities to promote racial equality. There were also

laws introduced relating to Gender Reassignment (1999), Sexual Orientation (2003), Disability Discrimination (1995 and 2005) and Special Educational Needs and Disability (2001). The Employment Equality (Religion or Beliefs) Regulations of 2003 protects workers regarding their religion. Regulations on age discrimination were introduced in 2006. The Equality Act 2010 brought together all previous legislation into one single Act (HMG, 2010).

Practice in local authorities has developed from collecting identity and diversity data, to publishing the data in the form of workforce monitoring surveys. As evidenced from my survey of local authorities (see Table 5) most authorities monitor the existing workforce by Disability, Ethnic Group, Gender (98.5%), Religion (84.2%) and Sexual Orientation (81.1%).

Table 5: Local Authority Survey summarised returns for protected characteristics of all existing staff (repeated from page 110)

Does the council monitor all existing staff by:					
	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?
Number of responses	136	136	136	133	132
Number of responses as a percentage of all survey respondents (140 Local Authorities)	97.14%	97.14%	97.14%	95.0%	94.29%
Number of responses = Yes	134	134	133	112	107
Number of responses = Yes as a percentage	98.53%	98.53%	97.79%	84.21%	81.06%
Number of responses = No	2	2	3	21	25
Number of responses = No as a percentage	1.47%	1.47%	2.20%	15.79%	18.94%

However, when it comes to monitoring applications to Headteacher posts in the maintained schools of the authority (see Table 20), the percentage monitoring by Disability, Ethnic Group, Gender, Religion and Sexual Orientation dropped to between 46.5% and 36.7%. In the column for each protected characteristic the proportion of authorities not monitoring exceeds the proportion that are monitoring. Therefore, the Public Sector Equality Duty to monitor appointments by protected characteristics is not being undertaken by the majority of local authorities; an important finding that will be further explored in the next chapter.

Table 20: Local Authority Survey summarised return for Headteacher appointments in maintained schools

Does the Council monitor all Headteacher appointments in maintained schools by:					
	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?
Number of responses	127	128	127	128	128
Number of responses as a percentage of all survey respondents (140 Local Authorities)	90.71%	91.43%	90.71%	91.43%	91.43%
Number of responses = Yes	59	58	59	49	47
Number of responses = Yes as a percentage	46.46%	45.31%	46.46%	38.28%	36.72%
Number of responses = No	68	70	68	79	81
Number of responses = No as a percentage	53.54%	54.69%	53.54%	61.72%	63.28%

As more schools are encouraged or forced into the academies programme (Ball, 2017: loc 1895), the likelihood of local authorities to be in a position, let alone have the desire, willingness or resources to monitor and report in this area is likely to decrease still further. The disparity in pay identified in the 2017 gender pay disparity audit (Barr, 2018; Adams and Duncan, 2018) is a small intervention into how equality of opportunity operates in the increasing marketization of schools. While the pay disparity audit publishes data on the gender pay gap, other sources attest to the lower pay that BAME people in general receive (Office, 2018; OBV., 2017; Showunmi et al., 2016; McGregor-Smith, 2017).

The data presented in Table 20 demonstrate a distinct lack of engagement with addressing underrepresentation. It is worth drawing attention to The Global

Institute for Women's Leadership, whose concept note in 2017 made the following points.

"Women continue to be under-represented in positions of leadership, power and responsibility across industries, sectors and countries. Global-level data clearly illustrates this: women make up just 23% of national parliamentarians, 26% of news media leaders, 27% of judges, 15% of corporate board members, and 25% of senior managers worldwide.

Even in the face of these highly concerning statistics, it may be tempting to assume that change is merely a matter of time because the right conditions have been put in place to realise equality. Unfortunately, such optimism is misplaced. For example, despite recent increases in the number of women in national parliaments, at the current rate of progress, it will take another half-century to reach parity with men. Equally concerning, when progress is made, it can also be reversed; women are now more under-represented in the American cabinet than at any time since the Reagan administration, and the representation of female ministers in Brazil has slumped from more than a quarter in 2014 to just 4% in 2017. Even the Nordic countries, often held up as beacons of progress, have experienced a 6.2% drop in the number of female ministers since 2015 to 43.5%. And it's not just in the political world that progress has stalled. The number of women in senior management globally has risen just one percentage point in 10 years, from 24% in 2007 to 25% today" (GIWL, 2018).

The concept note by GIWL identifies some of the issues as well as highlighting the need for women to network. In the past, local authorities created leadership networks for headteachers within their geographic area - those networks are now becoming national. As well as being fragmented as changes in governance create

new terrains and challenges for leaders to engage in and with, a 2018 meeting of the Chief Executives of multi-academy trusts in England had only one BAME attendee. This suggests that changes in governance, which have created new terrains for leaders, remain ethnically homogeneous. Consequently, for women networking in a range of leadership sectors, there remain significant issues and challenges. Many of these issues and challenges were reflected in the utterances of the interviewees in my research.

LEADERSHIP NETWORKING

"There is this myth about the isolation of the headteacher. There is an ignorance of how they network. As LA direct leadership of schools reduced, new patterns of partnership emerged. Headteachers were increasingly a partner in committees with the LA. And had a voice over LA expenditure decisions. Schools had a direct influence and Headteachers in groups of interests or through groups of friendships had an increasingly strong voice. The National College, especially in the early days provided another network of associations. Inevitably these networks were white male dominated, and while the gender balance is changing, there is still a largely monoethnic identity and culture to these networks at both a national level and within LAs" (CDCS 7).

Amongst my interviewees there was no single view about leadership networks. In one sense this can have something to do with regional variations i.e. BAME Leaders in the Greater London area had more developed leadership networks with fellow BAME leaders. Whereas those in other cities and parts of the country had fewer

networks which involved BAME Leaders; “when you’re at the lower end, I mean at the start of your Headship career, it seems that it’s very individualistic and lonely at the top” (CHT 14).

There are also factors relating to experience and gender. The female BAME leaders interviewed tended to be more aware of their isolation within networks of leaders within their localities:

“We are encouraged to network, particularly online networking and sharing. These are then reinforced through conferencing both physical and online. It’s not how I work best and I know other female colleagues who feel the same but you also feel that to admit this you are fulfilling a stereotype of women leaders that cannot compete with the business model” (CHT 17).

I started this section of the chapter with the general comment that there was no single view about leadership networks among my interviewees. However, there was a clear divide noted between female interviewees and male interviewees, in that female interviewees predominantly raised networking as an issue. At the start of Chapter 4 I made the point that my interviewees were not a homogenous band of leaders but rather a complex set of individuals, who as leaders in children’s learning located variously along the different axis of identity and diversity, were sharing experiences, understandings, and knowledge with me. My focus has been mostly on the issues of race and ethnicity, however I am aware of the additional complexities

of gender, disability, sexual orientation, class, religion and age which add layers of complexity and interconnectedness that this research aims to contribute towards. This results in a matrix of domination or structural intersections where power and oppression are structurally organised across social forces which legitimise, perpetuate and control the lives of individuals and groups. Consequently, each of my interviewees' experiences both privileges, discrimination and oppression - not equally, not uniformly, and not proportionately (Crenshaw, 1995; Collins, 1990; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Brah and Phoenix, 2009).

BAME women's experience of networking within school leadership was that it tended to be more distant, impersonal, and it required a degree of self-confidence which they interpreted as bordering on arrogance:

"I do think those at the top are very well networked [CVP note: this is said with reference to male leaders]. They talk more in terms of what they have done and achieved. They rarely seem to be sharing strategies and experiences or inviting suggestions. Having gained Headship, having successfully navigated Ofsted, having made an incremental improvement in standards, they present themselves as leaders never as learners" (CHT 18).

To demonstrate the point, the BAME female Headteacher pointed to an online leadership forum in which throughout two weeks 80% of comments had been written by male leaders. It would be difficult to extract from this small example that

female leaders, and BAME female leaders in particular, are less active in school leadership forums, but this observation supports the limited existing research which suggests that networking in the main produces networks that are homogenous (Kenny, 2007; Becker et al., 2010). The counter effect of this is that where White men dominate in school leadership networks, Women and BAME people may take a less active part.

Outside online web forums there is a suggestion that traditional White middle-class male activities remain significant sites for networking; "I feel at times that decisions are made in the Golf club or the Rugby Club" (CHT 21). This may be more perception and anecdotal, but it is a perception held amongst several of the interviewees - not just the female interviewees.

These perceptions and understandings of networks also hold that there is a degree of movement that can be achieved through networking:

"It's not particularly lonely because at the top they are so well connected that they can move fluidly from one aspect to another and one area to another and gain support from that network that's up there" (CAHT 20).

Networks are then seen to be gateways to other networks, and that these school leaders can move fluidly from one network into another network, especially as with online forums there are no geographic boundaries. Further, as the role of local

authorities is reduced, new networking opportunities are developed within the academies community through the market of school improvement consultancies, and/or through networks of specialist schools – including training schools, which have a growing role in the development of senior leaders and not just new entrants to the profession. These market orientated features contributed to what many interviewees saw as their experience and imagery of leadership, a phenomena discussed in the next section.

INTERSECTIONALITY: THE EXPERIENCE AND IMAGERY OF LEADERSHIP

"But make no mistake, it's been a struggle because for every white ally you get, you will meet Headteachers, Chairs of Governors and Governing Bodies, Chairs of Trust, Local Authority Advisers and Officers who have no construct for or concept of the head that goes beyond that sort of mirror image of themselves..... " (CHT 17).

The issues of surveillance and BAME underrepresentation identified previously, mean that promotion for BAME potential leaders is in the hands of people who more commonly see their image across the interview table. In some respect, this is reinforced by the fact that most of the interviewees identified their ethnic identity as a critical part of themselves: "I am a Black Man who is a Headteacher – I am a Black Headteacher. I cannot see myself in any other way. And I know that's how I am seen by everybody else" (CHT 12). This highlighting of ethnic identity and professional status is something that exclusively BAME professionals may say. It is

extremely rare to read anywhere 'I am a White Headteacher' and it is equally rare that a White employee would feel the need to say that seeing more people like them who have made progress in their career would help raise their career aspirations and prospects. This is something that generally BAME employees are going to be saying (CIPD, December 2017). A similarity exists in that many more women are likely to identify themselves as a female Headteacher, whereas it is rare for a male to identify themselves as a male Headteacher.

Amongst my interviewees, a common language emerged to describe the imagery of leadership.

"I think that too many Headteachers are yet to fully grasp what this transformation of education is all about. Yes, they see the raft of policies coming down on them, the new procedures, the widening of consultative partners and the requirement for a speedy response and the technologies of business - markets, management, leadership, innovation and performance. This idea of transformation, these new cultures do appear heavily gendered, and yes dominantly white as are the banks, the economy and the leaders of new technologies and digital modes of communicating" (CDCS 7).

For some, the developments in education are seen not just as top-down but also about new technologies of performance, which CDCS 7 sees as being both gendered as well as White. The new technologies in education come from both an ideological commitment to diversification (different models of governance), deregulation

(freedom from the central control for remuneration, the curriculum etc.), and a notion of choice (parents having market freedoms in educational provision). Consequently, leadership in children's learning (in schools) shares the same characteristics as leadership in other institutions and systems:

"I am watching rooms full of white people in the leadership level who are talking about leadership to people who understand it in the same cultural sense that they do, and it's almost exclusionary and if it weren't for my ability to adapt and understand and know that I need to acclimatise to the British system and therefore have that understanding of the white language, have that understanding of the white sense of leadership, and were it not for that, I would not be this far" (CHT 16).

The idea that education has a new language – and this links to the ideas of new technologies of performativity (Ball, 2006), was explicitly articulated by a former and current headteacher:

"It's all budgets, transformation, networking, outcomes, outsourcing, clients, client satisfaction, client-initiated, I sometimes cannot remember if we talked about children. It's suits and white shirts. It's aggressive and competitive, It's blunt and impersonal. That's what leadership looks like" (FHT 19).

"All this school improvement talk, where are the pupils in all this, progress measures, value for money, accelerated this and deregulated that..." (CHT 14).

“The Director here in this local authority, the Assistant Director for school improvement, the locality school improvement partner, the Regional Commissioner (who I have heard about but have yet to see), my chair of governors, they never were and are not anything like my children here in this school. None of them thinks like my children, feel like my children or look like my children” [CVP Note: This said with real pain in her voice] (CHT 21).

It is important to emphasise here that the imagery of leadership as being White, is also male. Interestingly, in 2017 the Government published The Equality Act 2010 (Specific Duties and Public Authorities) Regulations 2017 and The Equality Act 2010 (Gender Pay Gap Information) Regulations 2017 which required public authorities and private businesses with 250 or more employees to publish their gender pay disparity data. Across nearly all sectors, the imagery of leadership exemplified in reports like Operation Black Vote’s *The Colour of Power* (OBV., 2017) not only identified that power lies predominantly in the hands of White People, but also that these White people are predominantly male.

In certain contexts the predominance of white male leadership is increasing. In a recent published report, since the early 2000s, there has been:

“●a material reduction in the percentage of women in chair or non-executive roles on NHS boards. The percentage of women in these roles peaked at 47 per cent (for all chair and non-executives roles) in 2002. The latest intelligence from NHS Improvement, published in 2018,

shows that 38 per cent of chair and non-executive roles are held by women.

- a reduction in the percentage of chairs and non-executives from a Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) background, despite today 19 per cent of the NHS workforce being BME. The percentages of people from BME backgrounds in these roles peaked at 15 per cent (for all chair and non-executive roles) in 2010. Today, 8 per cent (for all chair and non-executive roles) and 6 per cent of chairs are from a BME background.
- no progress in increasing the percentage of those who are disabled which tends to be about 5 to 6 per cent of all appointments” (nhsconfed, 2019: 1).

This report by the NHS Confederation evidences that under-representation is increasing:

“The reasons for these declines are not clear but two important factors appear to have had an impact. The first is the continuous change of those who are in charge of recruiting to these roles, starting with the abolishment of the NHS Appointments Commission, which oversaw appointments to a range of NHS public bodies, including NHS trusts

The second important change involved the creation of foundation trusts. As foundation trusts are independent public benefit organisations, any appointments to their boards are no longer considered public appointments” (nhsconfed, 2019: 2).

The issues of continuous change (which is a theme explored in the next chapter) and the fracturing of governance through Foundation Trust status (see page 249 in this Chapter) replicate the data findings in my research. The report also highlighted the lack of fairness in the salary and conditions.

In most media reporting of pay disparity within companies, local government, and the voluntary sector, the emphasis was invariably on the gender disparity. Rarely, as with the BBC's coverage of their pay disparity (see illustration 8), was any attention drawn to the fact that the top earners were not only male but also White.

Illustration 8 Men dominate star salaries



Source: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-44779292>

In the 9th paragraph, the online report 'Men still dominate star salaries list' goes on to state: "There were also complaints about a lack of ethnic diversity. This year, the figures at the top of the list are all white again, although the BBC said the overall number of BAME stars on the list is rising" (BBC, 2018).

Equally the language of "suits and white shirts" (FHT 19) as utilised by one interviewee also suggest male characteristics, as does the language of aggression and competition. However, there is a 'catch twenty-two':

"A Head Teacher once said to me you're far too relaxed in demeanour. So, everything that's thrown at you, you just seem really passive about it. We want to see that aggression, that persistence and confidence, that drive coming forward...." (CHT 14).

A characteristic here that is seen to be essential - 'aggression' - is precisely the same characteristic that is stereotypically used to paint BAME people negatively. This idea of aggressive-as-negative, is exemplified in the case study cited at the beginning of Chapter 4, where there is the following passage in the report of the Employment Tribunal:

"The allegation put to the Claimant (Mrs King) by Mr G (Counsel for the Respondents) that she and a black friend had according to Mrs Knight "barged" back into a room with three white women in it and Mrs Knight's own evidence in the Tribunal that the Claimant (Mrs King) "stormed" when she (Mrs King) discovered a meeting she was going to have with Mrs Knight was of an entirely different nature than she thought. We have also had regard to the Claimant's evidence accepted at the Hearing by Mrs Knight that she had at the end of an assembly immediately gone to congratulate the only white teacher in the room... The Tribunal finds that consciously or

subconsciously their (the Respondents) action was on racial grounds.”

(from the Judgement of the Employment Tribunal)

In other words, characteristics (of aggression in the examples above) can be defined by White people as either positive or negative depending on the circumstance and what suits them at any given moment in time and space. As in Bell’s formulation of the Rules of Racial Standing: White people are assumed to be more accurate, impartial and objective in what they say about race and racism (Bell, 1992).

The imagery of leadership and how it affects BAME leaders have also been identified in several previous studies (Osler, 1999; McNamara et al., 2009; Coleman and Campbell-Stephens, 2010; Bush et al., 2006):

“Huge obstacles all along the way, there still are. I don’t want to get into the victim mentality, but I feel that there is a glass ceiling and it is more difficult for Black women. People on panels are not sure you will fit in. I have to be careful with parents. If they saw a White man in a suit that’s the image of authority, they would respond to that. I have to be articulate, and stand firm, not be swayed by how people see you. It’s important to be clear about values and where they fit. I am very aware of the effect I have on people who come in to meet me. I have to be very professional, very clear” (Coleman and Campbell-Stephens, 2010: 44).

Correctly, this interviewee, from another research study, identifies additional difficulties for Black women. This interviewee explains that the image of authority

would be a 'White man in a suit', and that to be professional you must be clear about your values, articulate and secure, with attributes that can found in the online curriculum materials of NPQH. The issues of identity and diversity in leadership is, therefore, further complicated by issues of gender:

"Being female, it's difficult as a female to apply for these jobs because of so many of the characteristics of leadership as we discussed before, are male. And so many of the characteristics that people look for in times of challenge, and because there's a recession on and you need to have really stringent rules on the finance, and you need to have really hard hitting HR people who are going to get the best efficiency out of their staff - those are all characteristics that year after year after year people have ingrained in their heads are male" (CHT 18).

As described in this extract from one of my interviewees, these are images closely associated with the world of business, banking and insurance, tied to imagery of difficult times – 'the recession', 'times of challenge' occasions requiring a firm hand.

Irrespective of the gender of my interviewees and how they identified their ethnicity, what was clear across the interviewees is that the imagery of leadership they experience, is predominantly White and Male. The media commentary, during the spring of 2018, around gender pay disparity reinforced that imagery of leadership being male and White. It also highlighted that modifications to legislation, record keeping and reporting on monitoring enables disparities (in this case gender pay disparities) to be more transparent. Publication of disparities can then be shown to

be part of a process to address the disparities. This point will be addressed in greater detail in the next chapter, however this is not to argue that reporting in and of itself will remove disparities, but it does offer an opportunity to address the inequality of pay and identity that exists within both the public and the private sector.

The development of further instruments to the Equalities Act 2010 introduced in 2017 is an example of a specific set of decisions whose silences are just as meaningful as its headlines. The decision was to seek to address the disparities of pay between men and women. The decision could equally have incorporated disparities of pay by ethnicity, or age, or any of the protected characteristics identified in the Act. However, those voices were either ignored or not listened to. The decision of the Government not to include the other protected characteristics of the Act was, and remains, a decision of the design of the further instruments. In the words of C Wright Mills, 'their failure to act, their failure to make decisions, is itself an act that is often of greater significance than the decisions they do make (Wright Mills, 1976: 3-4). A year later in October 2018, the government decided to consult on introducing ethnicity pay disparity reporting along the lines of policy enacted in 2017 - whether this policy initiative will be developed, whether it will be enacted, whether it will be maintained, is yet unknown.

The Government had little difficulty in introducing gender pay disparity reporting in 2017. The legislation required responses from all public and private organisations with 250 or more employees to publish their data by March 2018. On race pay disparity the Government has adopted a more cautious approach. Another view is that the Government is delaying. That is, adopting an approach that looks like something is being done i.e. that the issues will be discussed, and that action will take place at a later date. The potentials and implications of this will be explored in greater depth in the next chapter, which looks at policy - both concerning policy development and policy implementation.

CONCLUSION

Addressing underrepresentation is a marginal – arguably non-existent - concern at the level of national and local government activity. The choices made are highly selective. In this chapter I have evidenced that in the professionalization, institutionalisation and deregulation of leadership, the underrepresentation of BAME people remains totally peripheral to schooling and raising standards in the agenda of national and local government. Where evaluations of initiatives have taken place, nothing in these research studies suggests that issues of identity and diversity impacted their evaluation of the Leadership Curriculum in any way. The idea of a colour-blind position: a position that is neutral, objective and meritorious, is in fact a colour-averse position. It is a position that seeks to evade and deny its complicity in maintaining the racist tenure of activity at both a formal and informal level.

The activities that initially established professional and institutional practice were colour-averse in approach. An approach that was antagonistic of and reluctant to engage with identity and diversity rather than a denial or evasion of identity and diversity. There was no linkage - theoretically or practically - between the 'competencies' of school leadership and issues of identity and diversity. Over time, the professional and institutional practice established by the state has been rolled back to allow for a market approach in which individual schools or groups of schools (in the form of Multi-Academy Trusts) need to sponsor professional development. In the same way that the state has drawn back from the professional development of leaders, so has local authority's ability to support and fund professional development.

As in the case of the Race Disparity Audit, much of the national data that shows inequality of representation, whether inequality through overrepresentation in the negative aspects of social life or underrepresentation in the positive aspects of social life, sits at the margins, remains uncoordinated, is variable in quality, and is uneven in its usage. This is further rationalised through the arbitrary nature of local government practice in monitoring. The effect of which means that there is little if any evidence that local authorities will be doing anything to address disparities in representation.

Issues of social responsibility and social safety are reduced as market forces are given greater autonomy. Consequentially, the networks of leaders reflect the needs and wants of those who already have a significant investment in these networks. Therefore, power lies predominantly in the hands of White people but also that these White people are predominantly male.

It is in the context of policy development that we can see the role of the state in designing out activity to address the underrepresentation of BAME people in the leadership of children's learning. This is the focus of the next chapter.

NOTES

1 References for the images and potential meanings in Illustration 6 can be found at:

Pears Soap Advert 1893 (for more on cleanliness, colonialism and boundaries of gender and race:

ref: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pears_\(soap\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pears_(soap)) &

<https://thefutureisvisual.wordpress.com/2014/03/26/pears-soap-advertisement-analysis/> & <https://www.designmantic.com/blog/racism-in-advertising/> &

<https://www.kqed.org/pop/101669/the-extraordinarily-sexist-history-of-laundry-detergent-commercials>)

References: Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire*, Routledge, 2003.

Meghan Vaughan, *Curing their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness*, Stanford University Press, 1991

Alison Bashford *Imperial Hygiene A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health* Palgrave Macmillan 2004

All the other images can be found at

https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=soap+and+soap+powder+adverts+over+time&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjnpMqD0b_fAhUpRxUIHedRCokQsAR6BAgEEAE&biw=2348&bih=1316

Daz Advert 1957, Persil advert 1960s, Tide advert 1959, Daz advert 1986, Dove advert: Facebook campaign October 2017 , Persil advert 1954:, Omo advert circa 1996, Surf advert circa 1970s,

2 This data does not included administrative staff, non-qualified teaching roles or other personnel necessary to maintain on a day to day basis a school.

3 'off rolling' is considered to be the action of moving pupils from the school roll to other forms of provision or Home Schooling so as to maximise higher average levels of attainment at times of statutory assessments.

4 Education Data Surveys ceased producing this data in 2012

5 In her first statement as Prime Minister in 2016 Theresa May talked about the burning injustices of inequality and her determination to have these either 'explained or changed' (May, 2016)

6 At the funeral in 2018 of a former colleague I met two of my interviewees. One of whom attended this meeting

CHAPTER 7 POLICY

INTRODUCTION

As I have argued in the previous chapters, the environments of surveillance, the struggles for promotion and professional development, the experience of isolation, and the imagery of leadership experienced by my interviewees have been articulated within a context in which they have experienced perpetual change. The reality for these interviewees, the evidence in history and the evidence from the data gathered is that for BAME people there has been little if any change, and that equality of opportunity and equity in outcomes remain illusionary and illusive.

This chapter begins by focussing on the continual cascading down of exhortations that have marked the last forty years for my interviewees. Their experience that change has been perpetual is not matched by experiences which suggest things are getting better. This is followed by a section that considers how the broader picture of policy development in education is more about governments being seen to act – the dynamism of government, and the tensions that this realises between research and policy. The dynamism of government initiates consistently shifting the focus of concern. Consequently new barriers are both identified and constructed. This third

section on shifting barriers is followed by a section that argues that a policy and practice divide further marginalises any concerns for identity and diversity. While theory in the sociology of policy sees policy formulation and enactment as parallel the experiences of interviewees in this study show there is clear disunity.

The fifth section appropriates Merton's theoretical discussion of the unanticipated consequences of purposive social action, within the context of the more recent perspective of CRT. In appropriating Merton's work I am also questioning a feature of the definition of institutional racism that currently prevails in England. The penultimate section attention is drawn to contradictions citing how funding and pay illustrate contradictions between stated objects and the day to day real experiences for BAME people. This is further reinforced in the final section that focuses on the arguments around bureaucracy and monitoring through equality impact assessments.

The relentless persistence of change and its arbitrary nature, provides an oppressive and disjointed environment in which BAME leaders work. Policy initiatives have sought to address inequality, to provide additional resources for the poor rather than to redistribute existing resources from the advantaged to the disadvantaged.

Inequality here is seen purely in terms of poverty with little regard to other characteristics of disadvantage, gender, disability, race or any of the other protected characteristics of the Equality Act 2010. Consequently, those already at an

advantage continue to gain, and the gap between those who have and those who do not have, at best remains the same, at worst, grows.

CHANGE HAS BEEN PERPETUAL

Nineteen of my interviewees contextualised their professional lives by articulating the extent of the changes and challenges they experienced. In each case, as interviewees began listing the litany of policy changes and shifts, they were, in their own way, also expressing exasperation, exhaustion, incredulity, irritation, frustration and a little anger:

“As a Head and now as a DCS, change has been perpetual. Nothing appears to have lasted, nothing appears to have become fixed. There are concerns over breadth, balance, quality and management of the curriculum; changes to end of schooling assessment O levels; CSE, GCE, GCSE, AS levels and A levels, changes to Initial Teacher Training and In-Service training, changes to the National Curriculum [CVP Note: since its inception it has been modified and redrawn on at least 5 occasions]” (CDCS 8).

This interviewee was the only one who used the words “change has been perpetual”. However, nearly every interviewee was literally counting off, using their fingers, the extent of change in education and in schooling that has taken place during the last forty years. The following extracts provide some of the evidence of the ‘endless and

continual' policy changes and shifts that interviewees experienced and explicitly identified.

"Thatcher, Baker, Joseph, Blunkett, Gove, all of them with their agendas and did they listen to us professionals, did they listen to Headteachers? It was all about big policies and little about nuisances. There was little thought to our contexts" (FHT 10).

It is interesting to note that policy development here was articulated in the context of named Secretaries of State for Education:

"So much has changed and not to the better. Sometimes it feels we have returned to things like the importance of the home [CVP Note: a feature of the Plowden Report in 1967] and things like Grant Maintained Status which came and went and then Blunkett brought in Academies and Children's Trust and there was this central government vs. local government battle over controlling schools and the measuring of schools through Key Stages and end of Key Stages assessment, League Tables of end of KS assessments and the Ofsted framework for the inspection of schools which has been modified or developed, I suppose it depends on where you are in the system, and Every Child Matters, and the five ECM Outcomes which is still here in parts but isn't the fundamental policy originally envisaged... It is progress of a sort, but I am not sure we have really embedded much of what was at one time seen as the development of school improvement" (CADCS 2).

In the previous and next example governance – types of schools – has real significance:

“We don’t have Grammar Schools, and we haven’t got any free schools as yet, but we have Voluntarily and Controlled Church schools, Academies, part of a Multi-academy Trusts, and a Studio School. I am spending more time trying to get some agreements around admissions, and SEN, and accessing CAMHS. The changes over the years to the curriculum, to assessment, and to initial teacher training and in-service development are continual struggles over resources” (CADCS 4).

“To me there er, was all this er, stuff going on the child being er at the er centre of learning, the er move away from the 11+ and comprehensive schools in secondary education, there was er an emphasis on language across the curriculum and the increased attention to listening, talking and drama. And then we got all of this stuff on er the national curriculum and as teachers we were having to take what Sir Keith Joseph was saying and we got SATs and the breaking up of local authorities with GMS [CVP Note: Grant Maintained Status]” (FDCS 5).

“I sit at the table with Heads of Controlled and Voluntarily Controlled Church schools, Academies, Multi-academy Trusts, Free schools and it’s all about control and budgets and never about learning and children or about what their families need” (CHT 12).

In some examples the issues of children’s learning within the ‘perpetual change’ is evidence of the interviewees sense of frustration

“When I first became a Head I believe we were as a school trying to make sure we could meet our children’s needs for learning but now we seem to be more concerned with making children school ready” (FHT 19).

“We are testing them, everyone is comparing our results against neighbouring schools, parents are reading Ofsted reports and comparing schools based on reports that are in some cases 8 years out of date with our school’s report from two terms ago” (CHT 21).

“Local management of schools, grant maintained status [CVP note: the 1st iteration of ‘privatising schools’], parental choice, key stages and end of key stages assessment, league tables of end of KS assessments, the continual change to general and dedicated budgets, LEA league tables, Ofsted and the framework for the inspection of schools [CVP Note: The original framework has been revised at least 10 times since 1992], changes to school based training, the development of teaching standards and competencies, the list is endless” (CDCS 8).

“It has been, you know, endless and continual. Schools are not, you know today, like the places that I started in. Sometimes I wonder what has happened that has made a real difference. How have we joined up provision for care and learning alongside the system of Controlled and Voluntarily Controlled Church schools, Grammar schools Academies, Multi-academy Trusts, University Technology Colleges, Studio Schools and Free schools” (CADCS 3).

Policy around accountability, SATs, Ofsted, the national strategies, governance – LMS, GMS, academies and multi-academy trusts, were consistently referenced by most of the interviewees. In the view of these interviewees, these changes were taking place within a climate marked by 'choice', diversification/fragmentation, increasing degrees of monitoring and challenge, as well as greater accountability, and more recently decreasing resource budgets and increasing austerity. The interviewees reflect "the experience of a constant flood of new requirement, changes, exhortations, responsibilities and expectations" (Ball, 2009: 11). "Nothing appears to have lasted, nothing appears to have become fixed" (CDCS 8). The litany of policy development was not necessarily seen in the context of 'time frames' or 'political movements' as such – Thatcherism or New Labour – but rather a continual cascading down of exhortations.

Interestingly, many interviewees associated some of the policy changes with individual secretaries of state: Baker and the National Curriculum and 'teacher days', Clarke with teaching styles, Patten with grant maintained schools, Blunkett and the National Strategies, Balls and Every Child Matters, and Gove with the expansion of academies:

It seemed as if each successive Secretary of State now saw raising standards in their terms and there seems little research behind much of the policy development. I cannot see how Gove's ideas to expand academies had any support from research but a blind commitment to the

market and to the effectiveness of public schools” (FHT 19).

In the utterances of the interviewees, change was articulated as ideological. In that different strategies and policies when being listed were not grouped in terms of Conservative Party policy 1979 to 1990 under Margaret Thatcher, and 1990 to 1997 under John Major. Or New Labour from 1997 to 2007 under Tony Blair, or Labour under Gordon Brown for a further three years for example. Neither were distinctions made for the period of the coalition government under David Cameron from 2010 to 2015, or the most recent period of Conservative Party governance first under David Cameron until 2016 and then by Theresa May.

However, while ‘raising standards’, was accepted by all as a necessary goal, interviewees nevertheless inferred that these policy activities appeared to be driven by ideology rather than evidence. Not only were the strategies and policy activities divorced from research they were also insidiously frequent. As the practice of teaching children increasingly required explicit planning and evidence of pupil progress, achieving a policy activity became increasingly difficult and frustrating, one interviewee suggested: “I have this tremendous sense of frustration and this feeling that I never got anything established” (FHT 6).

A further important point being made by my interviewees is that these policy shifts and changes were general and all-encompassing across the education and school

landscape. Consequently, issues of locality, place, social circumstance, as well as issues of identity and diversity were absent from the policy impulses of central government:

“And where were minority pupils in all this? It was some ten-years after the literacy and numeracy strategies were up and running when they [CVP Note: The National Strategies¹] got around to publishing materials on bilingual learners, new arrivals, [and] gypsy and Roma pupils” (CADCS 4).

These utterances on changes in policy and practice over the last forty plus years’ mirrors the literature that have identified, summarized and critiqued the changes in the educational landscape (Barber, 2001; Berg et al., 2012; Bottery, 2007; Emira, 2010; Gray and Summers, 2015; Hammersley-Fletcher and Adnett, 2009; Riley et al., 2005; Young and Lopez, 2005; Alexander, 2010; Lauder et al., 2006b; Gunter, 2008; Ball, 2009; Karabel and Halsey, 1977; Halsey et al., 1997; Lauder et al., 2006a; Ball, 2017; Whitty, 2016).

Two features in the literature that are important to reference here are: 1) the extent to which policy development in education is about the ‘momentum of government’, and 2) the ‘research’ and ‘policy’ relationship (Ball, 2017; Whitty, 2016). These two issues in particular link to the ‘frustrations’ and the ‘what has happened that has made a real difference’ feelings expressed by many of the interviewees. These two areas of literature are considered separately in the next section.

MOMENTUM OF GOVERNMENT, RESEARCH AND POLICY

Momentum of government:

Policies, especially in the legislated context, are constructed: they are produced by policymakers – civil servants, local authority officers - usually at the behest of elected representatives - policy shapers. Besides giving purpose, shape, resources, conduct, direction, and timescales, to an intended destination, policymakers try to bring coherence across a multiplicity of contexts. Who they are, what they know and what they believe invariably has an influence on policy development. This will have implications for the degree to which there is coherence, commitment, and consistency within policies and across Policy contexts. Further as policies are developed, space and time are required to establish the infrastructure for the policy initiative, its practice within a social institution and across many social institutions (Lauder et al., 2006a; Whitty, 2016; Ball, 2017; Leonardo, 2010a).

Ball draws on the account of Peter Hyman (a speechwriter for Tony Blair, who was Prime Minister from 1997 to 2007), who stated that: “modern politics is all about momentum. Stagnate, drift, wobble, and the media or, if strong, the opposition, will pounce” (Ball, 2017: loc 209). What my interviewees were experiencing was this ‘momentum of government’.

Many have commented that an education reform debate – the ‘great debate’ - was first started by Prime Minister James Callaghan in 1976 (Tomlinson, 2008; Alexander, 2010; Whitty, 2016; Ball, 2017). However, it was the Conservative government from 1979 which began the process of change. Through the 1980 Education Act and the ‘Great’ Reform Act 1988 (Grant Maintained Status, the National Curriculum, Standard Assessment Tests etc.), the Education (Schools) Act 1992 (Ofsted and polytechnics allowed to become universities) and further legislation in 1996 the road to a transformation of the education landscape started.

By 1997 a New Labour Government with the mantra ‘Education, Education, Education’ continued the road of transformation through a further raft of legislation. Ball (quoting Coffield) described the period of the last twenty years as “an unprecedented depth, breadth, pace of change and level of government activity” (Ball, 2009: 2). It must be understood in my view that the period of concern for Ball followed a period of equally substantive reconfiguration of the education landscape as he acknowledged in the 3rd edition of his book ‘The Education Debate’ (Ball, 2017).

Research and Policy:

Alongside the hyper activism of government education activity, there has also been a corresponding tension between ‘research’ and policy (Nelson and Campbell, 2017).

Whitty notes that Margaret Thatcher, while Secretary of State for Education and Science, expressed “frustration that too much research sponsored by her department was not relevant to its needs or timetable” (Whitty, 2016: loc 263). In the period up to the New Labour Government in 1997, “UK educational research as a whole was defined by a series of failings: a lack of rigour, an absence of cumulative research findings, theoretical incoherence, ideological bias, irrelevance to schools, lack of involvement of teachers, inaccessibility and poor dissemination” (Whitty, 2016: loc 270). What followed was a New Labour Government substantially investing in educational research but requiring a research community to identify ‘what works’ – to raise standards and how to influence changing practice in schools (Whitty, 2016: loc 319). Ball saw the consultation paper on this research model as a vision of research which “ceases to be an intellectual exercise either for its practitioners or for its readers. It is simply about providing accounts of ‘what works’ for unselfconscious classroom drones to implement” (Ball, 2001: 266).

What is important here is that research was being seen by Government as instrumental to policy development that would shape education and schooling in its totality (Nelson and Campbell, 2017). An example of this can be seen in terms of the change in language pertaining to the development of qualified teachers (i.e. originally Initial Teacher Education ‘ITE’, now Initial Teacher Training ‘ITT’), which has followed a similar process to the certification of Headteachers explained in the previous chapter (Whiting, 2016). This change in language also masks a deeper set

of concerns. These are concerns not only around the preparation of teachers, but the role of research in providing answers to policy questions, and the ability of research to question prevailing knowledge – including national policy and the reform agenda (Whitty, 2016).

This concern can be described as a concern between the autonomy of research in relation to policy or the servitude of research in relation to policy. Within this concern issues of diversity and identity could be argued to be either central or peripheral. However, as is being evidenced in this thesis, issues of diversity and identity are peripheral, and where they do break into the surface of research and/or policy, issues of diversity and identity are contradiction-closure cases, they are singular events, they are contextually specific, and are ahistorical (Gillborn et al., 2018: 4 Intro to Vol 1).

An example from this period is that of the National Strategies, originally introduced in 1997. In a summary of the impact and effectiveness of the National Strategies (NS) it is described as a:

“Systematic attempt at a national level to drive improvements in standards through a focused programme of managing changes in the way that core subjects are taught in classrooms. The first attempts to do that were the National Literacy Strategy followed by the National Numeracy Strategy. Then came the Key Stage 3 Strategy (for 11 to 14 year olds) and the Early

Years Foundation Stage. These developments culminated in the remit of the National Strategies extending to all core subjects, to Key Stage 4 as well as Key Stage 3, and to Early Years, Behaviour and Attendance, the School Improvement Partner programme and Special Educational Needs” (DfE, 2011).

This large and dominating policy initiative was established at the outset of the Labour Government in 1997, and continued until the Coalition Government came into power in 2010. The scope of the strategy effected every school and each local authority. It significantly conditioned what and how teachers taught in both Primary and Secondary schools. It inserted staffing into local authorities through the funding of NS Consultants. It provided a further layer of accountability in terms of monitoring schools as well as local authority school improvement services. The full extent of the NS can be seen in the detail laid out in Appendix 8.

Several research strands predated the introduction of the National Strategies. First Gillborn and Gipp’s detailed analysis on behalf of Ofsted, which aimed “to establish, on the basis of the best available evidence, the relative significance of ‘race’ and ethnicity alongside other factors, especially gender and social class background, so as to clarify an agenda for racial equality in education” was published in 1996 (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996). Following on from this publication, an Advisory Group on Raising the Achievement of Ethnic Minority Pupils² to the DfEE was established, which further led to the commissioning of a study into successful multi-ethnic schools (Blair et al., 1998).

In 2003, the Government published a non-statutory consultation paper titled *Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils*. This paper drew attention to differential attainment by ethnicity, disproportionate exclusion rates and underrepresentation of BAME people in the teaching profession. However, it was not until 2009 that the National Strategies introduced *Narrowing the Gap* (National Strategy, 2009a) which focused specifically on:

- Underachieving children who are eligible for free school meals (FSM), with particular focus on Black and minority ethnic (BAME), White British, gifted and talented (G&T) pupils and those with special educational needs (SEN);
- Other underachieving BAME learners, and
- Disadvantaged gifted and talented pupils (National Strategy, 2009b).

As seen above, the specific needs of BAME pupils that had already been recently evidenced (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996; Blair et al., 1998), were not addressed within a national policy initiative until the introduction of the National Strategy *Narrowing the Gap* initiative in 2009.

Although, the Labour Government of 1997 had made an explicit commitment to 'evidence-based policymaking', there is little indication that it did make much use of evidence any more than previous governments had done (Jones, 2016; Heymann and Cassola, 2012; Whitty, 2002). Despite the campaigning of many organisations,

community groups, academics, the Advisory Group, and the publication of the MacPherson Report, little policy activity was undertaken specifically to address BAME differential achievement in learning or BAME underrepresentation in education (Warmington et al., 2017):

“Equity issues are very often subsumed within more general policy strategies and are tied to goals concerned with workforce skills, flexibility, efficiency and effectiveness, reforms of teachers and the modernisation of the public sector generally” (Ball, 2017: loc 3483)

Clearly what is being said here is that policies, especially in the legislated context, are constructed. They are produced by policymakers – civil servants, local authority officers giving purpose, shape, resources, conduct, direction and timescales to an intended destination, policymakers try to bring coherence across a multiplicity of contexts. Who they are, what they know and what they believe invariably has an influence on policy development. This will have implications for the degree to which there is coherence, commitment and consistency within policies and across policies contexts. Further as policies are developed, space and time necessarily are required to establish the infrastructure for the policy initiative, its practice within a social institution and across many social institutions.

In that policies are constructed, they are also “contested, interpreted and enacted in a variety of arenas of practice and the rhetorics, texts and meanings of policy makers

do not always translate directly and obviously into institutional practice (Ball, 2017: loc 315)

As others have implied, policy is a process (Alcock et al., 2003; Ball, 2009; Bottery, 2007; Gillborn, 2005; Gillborn et al., 2017; Apple, 2006; Ball et al., 2012):

“Policies are made and remade in many sites, and there are many little-p policies that are formed and enacted within localities and institutions. Furthermore, policy that is ‘announced’ through legislation is also reproduced and reworked over time through reports, speeches, ‘moves’, agendas and so on. Policy cannot be treated simply as an object, a product or an outcome but, rather it is a process, something ongoing, interactional and unstable” (Ball, 2017: loc 307)

In this sense attention also needs to be given to policy enactment which:

“involves creative processes of interpretation and translation, that is, the recontextualization through reading, writing and talking of the abstractions of policy ideas into contextualised practices. For example, part of our analytical approach towards what happens in schools in relation to policy is based on a perspective that locates teachers and other education workers as key actors in the policy process and part of our theoretical endeavour is the challenge to conceptualise being both an agent and a subject of policy enactments” (Braun et al., 2011: 586)

In this sense “individuals bring their own experiences, skepticisms, and critiques to bear on what they see/read/are exposed to and will read policies from positions of

their identities and subjectivities” (Ball et al., 2012: 15). Identity and diversity can be seen as potentially framing and intersecting, what Braun et al argue are formulating contextual dimensions of policy enactment:

Situated contexts – for example the locality of a school, its history, its intake and setting geographical, social etc.,

Professional contexts – for example the values of teachers, their commitments and their experiences, and the ‘policy management’ regime in the school,

Material contexts – for example the school’s staffing, its budget, its buildings, the extent of its technology and infrastructure,

External contexts – for example the extent and quality of local authority support, the form and function of the school’s governance, the schools relationships with neighboring schools, legal requirements and responsibilities, pressures and expectations from broader policy context, such as Ofsted ratings and league table positions.

(Braun et al., 2011)

Besides the pace and frequency of policy activity, implementation and enactment that my interviewees identified, there was also a sense that the educational focus of government was constantly shifting. New barriers and targets were being identified before the previously identified barriers and targets had been addressed.

Shifting Barriers

"I always had a maxim and I'd forgotten it until we talked, erm, now... and that was, 'never underestimate an organisation and its ability to resist change', never, ever do that. Erm, and that is not only, you know, you propose change and you resist change, but its ability to be able to do that over a sustained and long period of time... I think the proof of the cake there is actually looking at, well, what's happened to our institutions, because you had a time around, you know, certainly what I think we experienced around the '90s, you know, growing in the '80s, early '90s, where you had a lot of activity, you know - you had commissions being set up, you had race equality policies coming in, you had, you know, whole other organisations that were very active in, you know, promoting black professionalism and recognition of that you know, across the whole, across the whole piece. Erm, and collectively those things were having an impact and then suddenly you just pulled a rug from, you know, underneath those, so those organisations were subsumed into something else, it became watered down, that the, er something else was put up front to be dealt with" (FDCS 5).

While individual interviewees did not specifically mention reports or policy activity focused on BAME children or BAME professionals, as illustrated in the quote above, there is a clear recognition that some activity in these areas was occurring but it was piecemeal, subject to resistance, and never sustained to an extent where an impact could be seen and measured. While most policy change that was driven from the centre was wholesale - across the board and undifferentiated - where small developments came in, they did not last long. Funding was a significant 'rug', a point made under Professional Development in the previous chapter. Specific central funding would often initiate an area of development. This funding, ring-fenced and criteria-bound, would eventually be moved back into the general schools devolved

budget. Funding here has been importantly identified to achieve some change, some development. In a centralizing system then, it focusses all onto the same priorities. Once ring-fenced and criteria-bound rules are removed, the funding decisions, interests, and priorities of thousands of Headteachers are set free:

“There was that film about Watergate and Deep Throat said to follow the money and that’s kind of what you can do around ethnicity and BAME achievement. As the specific pots of money go into a general pot, out of which all issues around learning are to be addressed, individual schools start to go their own way” (CDCS 7).

While the idea of giving Headteachers greater freedoms to innovate and lead learning in their institutions appears attractive and progressive, we need to remind ourselves who are the people that gain from these freedoms and make funding decisions. In Chapter Four I evidenced the isolation of BAME leaders, how their views and perspectives were challenged. In Chapter Five I demonstrated how promotion constraints and limitations to professional development – especially in the control and use of budgets – affected BAME people in their aspirations to leadership. And in Chapter Six, I illustrated how leadership is structured and imagined. Consistently across these chapters BAME agency is denied, the historical and contemporary activities of racism are averted, “issues of inequality are growing” (Ball, 2017: loc 3504), and “the slight narrowing of the attainment gap... has stalled or even been reversed” (Whitty, 2016: 71) - all of which impact on the BAME community more significantly.

These new emerging barriers were not just shifts of focus and attention, but were also reflected in how issues were perceived. In the following extract, an interviewee argues that their governors chose to ignore the issue of race and instead shifted the focus of attention to a broad issue of provision rather than to see and address the race dimension. As a BAME headteacher their professional judgement was being questioned as well as questioning their ability and experience of identifying racism in action:

“Race, the learning experience of BAME kids, it was never on the LA’s agenda, it wasn’t a DFE circular. Even as a Black head I found it difficult to get my Governing Body to engage with the issues. We had this letter from a parent about the number of second language learners in the school and my governors tried to see this as about the level of support we could provide for SEN, EAL and other stuff – not that this was an attack on BAME pupils in the school” (CHT 12).

Moving the focus away from race/ethnicity to other areas of additional support – as in this case with SEN and EAL, was a similar theme picked up by another interviewee:

“It was around the mid 90s when the DFE started to move S11 funding directly into schools and out of LA control. Briefly there was the ethnic minority achievement grant, but this soon disappeared into the general school budget and the issues around BAME learners – issues associated

with bilingualism, home/school relationships, community engagement, differential attainment were taken off the agenda. The language of diversity, a kind of loose baggage of 'isms' became the norm and we went back to simplistic notions of working class achievement, in particular white, working class boys. This became the singular issue for schools. A complex set of issues were reduced to a simple notion of white working class boys' underachievement" (FHT 19).

What is being highlighted here is that where specific funding is targeted at an issue there is potential to address that issue. However once targeted funding is taken away or moved to a discretionary and generalised budget, then issues around race and ethnicity disappear from an institution's agenda. As has already been mentioned, much of the policy activity concerned attempts at 'levelling up'. This was not always with 'new money'. Often it was about redirecting resources, something that Callaghan in 1976 had suggested would be the norm in agendas to raise standards (Callaghan, 1976: para 20):

"I was in at the start of it, helping to influence at that time, er, er – the Secretary of State, you know, at that time, around their thinking about it, saying how did you want to transform and achieve, actually what you need to be able to do is put support in for youngsters after school, before school, actually having family support, changing the way in which schools actually work towards... they did this in the Secondary Schools Programme but then we got to 2010₃ – pssshhh – gone, you know, so that would have been a major victory but..." (FDCS 5).

Again, in this example the importance of a central commitment is vital. As soon as the government's policy focus moves to another issue, and there is no resource, focus, or direction, an initiative seen as being beneficial becomes lost.

The most significant factor in policy activity has been the increasing role of central government in determining the level of funding to schools and the extent to which local authorities can work with schools to identify, shape, and develop support to raise standards. In 1987, approximately 45% of local authority spending in England came from central government funds. Central government departments developed formulae based on national government's assessment of local needs. By 2006, about 74% was provided centrally in formula spending shares determined by central government, and included a specific dedicated schools grant (Bottery, 2007). Most of the central allocation for education must be directly passed on to schools:

"Certainly developments in the use of S11 funding in the mid 80s were lost by early 2000s as the specific funding streams merged into general budgets. With reductions in LA specialist teams, specialist teachers became increasingly isolated and marginalised. As these specialists were lost in LA roles, you had two things occurring simultaneously. The proportion of BAME staff reduced. The issues around BAME underachievement and differential achievement was lost in the general raising of standards that was being achieved nationally and in most LA contexts" (CDCS 7).

Consequently, only a small proportion can be retained by local authorities for the provision of local support services. These nationally determined formulae and policy activities suggest that education culture in England:

“has become primarily technical-rational and implementational in nature. It is therefore argued that this combination of directive government policy and acquiescent professional culture has enhanced a monolithic approach to education, has helped silence alternative voices, and may be contributing to a much more corporatist and reduced form of democracy” (Bottery and Wright, 2000).

In the words of one interviewee, we have moved from a time when teachers in school voted on policy formulation to a time in which the local authority is negotiating between partners, governing bodies of Academies, Chief Executives of Diocesan authorities and Multi-Academy Trusts:

“I can’t believe it now, where teachers voted in staff meetings on policy, you know, could you imagine that happening now, it just wouldn’t, would it? Now, well we don’t so much, you know, do policy. It’s about getting partners around the table, agreeing how things, you know, will be done” (CADCS 4).

This is not to argue that policy activity in the realm of education should be understood as separate from the wider forms of social organisation and of social structure:

“At the societal level, the destabilisation of the Keynesian welfare state has thrown in the air many of the old disciplinary definitions, particularly those rooted in the institutions of the state. The growing dominance of neo-liberalism has resulted in a shift away from state-provided welfare towards more fragmented, privatised and plural forms. Social policy can no longer be safely defined in terms of the classic ‘social services’ or indeed state activity at all” (Twigg, 2002: 422).

As exemplified in the previous chapter through the professionalization, institutionalisation, and deregulation of Headteacher leadership, wider social organisation and structure have impacted on the development of education policy. However, this has not been smooth, seamless or unproblematic. As noted by Ball in talking about education policy, while we may focus on policy activity, on change, on intentions, we must also be cognisant of “what stays the same, the continuities of and in policy” (Ball, 2009: 8) and at where intentions have little if any effect.

POLICY AND PRACTICE DIVIDE

“In much writing on school reform and school improvement, the meaning of policy is taken for granted and seen unproblematically as an attempt to ‘solve a problem’, generally through the production of policy texts such as legislation or other nationally driven insertions into practice. In contrast, we understand policy as a process, as diversely and repeatedly contested and/or subject to ‘interpretation’ as it is enacted (rather than implemented) in original and creative ways within institutions and classrooms” (Braun et al., 2011: 586).

Here I am agreeing with that divide to view policy enactment as separate from policy formation (Ball et al., 2012). As noted earlier, policy is “contested, interpreted and enacted in a variety of arenas of practice and the rhetorics, texts and meanings of policy makers do not always translate directly and obviously into institutional practice (Ball, 2017: loc 315). This is because enactment is often the responsibility of government departments, local government, other agencies of society, or the responsibility of business and industry (Alcock et al., 2003), and increasingly in the area of education, the responsibility of individual schools and Multi-Academy Trusts.

The multiplicity of ‘arenas of practice’ enables us to understand the idea of a policy/practice divide. An explanation for this policy vs practice divide was given by one Director of Children’s Services:

“The best way to answer this is by putting forward some well used sayings:

“Most things that are important are not urgent and what is urgent is seldom important”,

“We value more what we can measure and value less what is more difficult to measure”,

“We are good at policy but lack the capacity or the will or the foresight to effectively put policy into practice”,

“There is a lot of innovation and little reflection”.

We, here in the LA - and this only reflects what happens nationally - develop a lot of strategies, but this becomes a matter of trial and error because it is usually based on a belief or a will and is rarely based on research. I think the links between the education delivery and education research communities has weakened, [the space between] it's got bigger over the years. The idea of the teacher/researcher has no institutional base – there is little opportunity for peer review, little opportunity for debate and dialogue as innovations and strategies tend to come down from on high to practitioners” (CDCS 8).

This was put more forcefully by another interviewee, who provided a distinction between the important, and the urgent:

“We have the tools – we have the knowledge. What we are going to do with that is to be discussed tomorrow, but of course tomorrow never comes. There is something urgent to do and although this [CVP Note: circling his hand over my note pad - referencing my research on underrepresentation] is important – and it is long term, it is not urgent” (CADCS 9).

This links back to the expressions of exasperation, exhaustion, incredulity, irritation, frustration and a little anger that was mentioned earlier in this chapter. The constancy with which the urgent drives out the important, and the accommodations of incorporation that many of the Directors/Assistant Directors talked about:

“You absorb these things, you know, you water it down, you know, you incorporate them, you give them too much to do and what have you, and you let it – fritter it out, you know – er, and you may do that consciously, you may do that subconsciously, but nevertheless that’s a really effective way of, er, managing these” (FDSC 5).

This quote is perhaps a more sinister or calculated expression of management enactment to ‘contest’, ‘interpret’, ‘delay’ or ‘resist’. This person is talking about how you ‘water down’ or insert the policy activity within a different, or an overarching strategy. Or how you build in drift. You put something in place as a pre-condition – which must be established first. Or you overload people you manage with activity and therefore leave what gets prioritised to them. Perhaps most significantly, is the idea of conscious and unconscious resistance, and the extent to which intransigence keeps existing orders and structures in place. Resistance here should not be seen in terms of the civil rights movements, urban uprisings or large demonstrations but:

“As Hooks and West (1991) have detailed, resistances can be ‘thick’ and ‘thin’; thick resistances challenge major structures and thin resistances are typically located in more everyday micropolitical interactions. Perspectives

that begin with a view of power as dispersed and pervasive are particularly helpful for making sense of thin or everyday resistances (Foucault [1976] 1998) (Maguire et al., 2018: 1061).

Seeing examples of management enactment as 'thin' resistance is helpful in thinking about the 'important' and the 'urgent'. Linked in with the notion of the competition between the urgent and the important, and the tensions of managing these, there is also the issue of who is producing policy, who is implementing policy, and at whom is the policy directed:

"What we have is policy and practice based on the unexamined assumptions of white middle aged, middle class, men. While in this authority there is still an imbalance in terms of senior officers, within our authority there is a balance of men and women, young and old, black and white, with a higher proportion of people who are poor and sick among the constituents" (CDCS 8).

Clearly those formulating policy, and the senior officers with responsibility for enacting policy, differ in terms of identity and diversity with the people for whom they work or for whom they represent. The use of 'unexamined assumptions' is particularly interesting and suggests that a divide – which is both ideological and professional in nature – exists within leadership in this authority. In many other utterances by interviewees a similar policy vs practice divide was evidenced:

“That’s what I was doing at the time. So, Draughtshire⁴, you know, it started out, you know, of all places, it had a Race Equality Policy and it had a Gender Equality Policy, you know, and we were looking at monitoring what we did, we changed our recruitment practices so we were looking at it still, the system though was not sustained. New needs, new requirements, you know, shifts in thinking and um changes in political leadership” (FDSC 5).

The important point that is being made is that while the capacity for identifying ‘new’ needs is there, what in effect happens, is that contentious or more challenging needs where some effort is required to address policy, get dropped as soon as there is an opportunity. Part of the issues is that policy, especially in education, tends to be broad – for example the National Strategies, Multi Academy Trusts – and it is rare for national policy to consider issues of identity and diversity in the pupil population, within a school community, within a local area – a parish – a district:

“It’s all about student outcomes and CP (Child Protection). If outcomes are good and CP is good – then we have little capacity to interfere with staffing etc. We are concerned that schools have good relations with their BAME communities, we are committed to stopping inter community violence, we are working on the prevent strategy – but this is difficult as the majority in our Muslim communities feel this targets them all – treats them all as possible terrorists and they feel that the attention given to the far-right is not on the same level, with the same intensity” (CADCS 2).

A similar point was made by a Headteacher reflecting on twenty years as a Headteacher, thinking about why the underrepresentation gap persisted:

“All of these initiatives and strategies have been directed at improving standards and protecting children, at reconfiguring the education workforce. They have been applied in our good schools as well as those schools with weaknesses, in good LAs and those that have been found to be struggling... but in answer to your question, I cannot in all honesty, you know, what does this do for our underrepresentation? Honestly, presently, nothing” (CHT 13).

The argument being presented here is that the broad brush of national policy and the people who are driving practice do not share the identities and diversities of the population at which policy is directed. People become an object in policy and the practice subsumes diversity and identity creating a distinct us and them, them and us feeling.

The idea of ‘us and them’ is further evidenced through the survey of local authorities (Appendix 3), conducted as part of the data gathering. For each of the question banks the date was sought when outcomes from monitoring were last reported to Councillors. 87% of authorities identified a date on which they adopted a policy on Equal Opportunities (EO) in Employment. 78% also identified a date on which the EO in Employment policy will next be reviewed.

Table 16: The dates for reporting to Council. Summary of returns (repeated from page 218)

Question Part	Question	No Responding	% Responding*
3.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring of all staff last reported to Council?	99	70.71%
4.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring job applications last reported to Council?	70	50.00%
5.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring promotions last reported to Council?	26	18.57%
6.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring professional development last reported to Council?	35	25.00%
7.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring disciplinary proceedings last reported to Council?	56	40.00%
8.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring competency proceedings last reported to Council?	31	22.14%
9.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring Headteacher appointments to maintained schools last reported to Council?	12	8.57%
10.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring Headteacher applications in maintained schools last reported to Council?	9	6.43%

- No. of responses as a percentage of the total number of LEAs responding (n140)

In Table 16 above, the proportion of authorities reporting to Councillors in the areas of promotion, professional development, the appointment of Headteachers, and

applications to the post of Headteacher in maintained schools, is low in comparison to the overall monitoring of all staff to Councillors (70%).

While the overall enactment of equality monitoring through reports to the council is relatively high (99/140 = 70.71%), the detail of what aspects of monitoring which are then reported to council shows significant variation. In the more detailed review (see Table 8 in Chapter 3) of a sample of authorities' workforce monitoring reports, which show that practices are varied and involve contradictions, some targets may be stated, but others remain largely hidden and can only be untangled by looking at the political processes that first created policy within the authority:

"I am very aware that what we monitor is not the same as what we are regularly organised to report on to Members. We have numerous areas of data that we collect. Some of that, as you well know is very specific, for example pupil attainment at the end of key stages, attendance, exclusions. Other data, so what you were specifically asking about in terms of our staffing, we have that data and we would be able to analysis that data but it is not part of our DNA. We are not very self-reflecting. We tend to look more deeply where things are not working well. Members want to know who are the good Headteachers, which are the successful schools. They are less concerned with the gender or ethnicity of the Heads" (CADCS 5).

Consequently, there is little nuance, little thought to localism and certainly no thought to identity and diversity. While overall policy formulation in education is towards deregulation (neo-liberalism), there is little if any consideration to diversity

and identity issues that are continually present within society. This can lead to an argument of 'unintended coincidence', as a counter to a policy which was applied generally, not properly thought through, not properly implemented or not based on all the available knowledge.

UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES: A SECTION OF APPROPRIATION

The idea of unintended consequences, or coincidence, has a history. Examples of unintended consequences are numerous and frequent. There is medicine Aspirin originally a painkiller but now also used as a blood thinner in the management of heart disease. The discovery that a drug to lower blood pressure during clinical trials was found to negate erectile dysfunction, consequently Viagra has become more famous and used more often for a purpose for which it was not intended. In this section I am appropriating Merton's theoretical discussion of the unanticipated consequences of purposive social action (Merton, 1936) within the context of the more recent perspective of CRT. In undertaking this appropriation of Merton's work I am also questioning a feature of the definition of institutional racism that currently (often reluctantly) prevails in England.

In 1999 The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (Macpherson, 1999b) defined institutional racism as:

“The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people” (Macpherson, 1999b: para 6.34 pp 49)

As Gillborn has identified (Gillborn, 2008: 123), there are a number of important aspects to the definition. This definition is critical both of individuals, organisations and agencies. The definition shifts the debate from intentionality and unintentionality to outcomes. However within the definition little attention is placed on the notion of ‘collective failure’. Synonyms for failure include breakdown, decline, deficiency and loss, all of which suggest unintentional, the opposite of intentional. The synonyms for intentional being, calculated, premeditated, wilful and designed.

The definition then of institutional racism while being critical of individuals, organisations and agencies, as well as being focused on outcomes is to see these as collective failures, as unintentional.

Merton’s work here is useful. He makes a clear distinction between ‘conduct’ and ‘behaviour’ where conduct is activity which draws upon motives which are a choice between various alternatives rather than behaviour as some form of conditioned reflex or similitude (Merton, 1936: 895). He also argues that much purposive social action is driven by “opinion and estimate”.

“The importance of ignorance as a factor is enhanced by the fact that the exigencies of practical life frequently compel us to act with some confidence even though it is manifest that the information on which we base our action is not complete. We usually act, as Knight has properly observed, not on the basis of scientific knowledge, but opinion and estimate.” (Merton, 1936: 900)

He goes on to identify that in addition, social agents can be inclined to selectively use knowledge based on what they understand as important to the conditions in which they are called upon to make decisions. Further that to acquire sufficient knowledge takes both time and energy. That within certain conditions social actors may not have the necessary time and energy available. This becomes critical in the pursuit for immediate results or the “imperious immediacy of interest” (Merton, 1936: 901).

Any purposive social action can be affected by error. Situations might be erroneously interpreted and mistakes made in the execution of purposive action. Any social action has the potential to affect areas that the action itself did not target. Social action often produces consequences outside the scope originally intended. While acknowledging that social actions carry unintended consequences is important, anticipating the potential impact of such consequences is relevant to understanding equality monitoring activities of equality policies. “It is clear, then, that the partial

knowledge in the light of which action is commonly carried on permits a varying range of unexpected outcomes of conduct." (Merton, 1936: 899).

"But precisely because habit is a mode of activity which has previously led to the attainment of certain ends, it tends to become automatic and deliberative through continued repetition so that the actor fails to recognize that procedures which have been successful in certain circumstances need not be so under any and all conditions." (Merton, 1936: 901)

The opening section of Merton's argument rests on four important points:

- conduct is activity which draws upon motives which are a choice between various alternatives
- much purposive social action is driven by "opinion and estimate"
- social agents can be inclined to selectively use knowledge based on what they understand as important
- the pursuit for immediate results or the "imperious immediacy of interest"

In Chapter 3 I identified that "CRT proposes an analysis of society as being based on systemic, deep-rooted racist oppression that saturates common-sense understandings and traditions to such an extent that all but the most extreme racism appears normal and unexceptional" (Gillborn et al., 2018: Vol 1 pp 1). Merton's opening points redrafted in CRT terms would read as follows:

- conduct is activity which draws upon motives, developed within patriarchal and racist power structures, which are a choice between various alternatives. However, these alternatives do not move power or effect the choices of subjected minorities;
- much purposive social action is driven by “opinion and estimate” of those with power and irrespective of the experiential knowledge of subjected minorities;
- social agents will selectively use knowledge based on what the powerful understand as important irrespective of the experiential knowledge of subjected minorities;
- the pursuit for immediate results or the “imperious immediacy of interest” of patriarchal and racist power structures are pursued irrespective of the outcomes on subjected minorities.

Consequentially, outcomes that can be explained as ‘unintended consequence’ a coincidence resulting from unforeseen issues at the stage of policy formulation or issues arising from the enactment of a policy are in fact because of the ‘selectiveness’ of the knowledge drawn upon, insufficient resource in development or implementation and or a greater concern with just getting the job done – the “imperious immediacy of interest” irrespective of the impact on subjected minorities.

In raising the question of the under-representation of BAME people in leadership of children's learning: chance, coincidence or design, Merton's work moves us from notions of coincidence or unintended consequences towards an understanding of choice making. In terms of the definition of institutional racism this could require a modification to the current definition so that it would read as the choice of an organisation to not provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. The choices are enacted in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.

As has been stated earlier the last forty years have seen a growth in inequality across a range of social circumstances and many commentators have challenged policy initiatives which purport to advance social mobility, for example, around selective education (Andrews and Hutchinson, 2016) and the implications within the debate for black children. The use of my redefined definition of institutional racism helps to locate the many disadvantages faced by BAME people. In the example from my Scrapbook the focus are BAME children.

From my scrapbook

Why are black children missing from the grammar school debate

Remi Joseph-Salisbury

Friday 19th May 2017 [https://www.theguardian.com/teacher-](https://www.theguardian.com/teacher-network/2017/may/19/mays-grammar-school-plans-will-only-increase-racial-inequality)

network/2017/may/19/mays-grammar-school-plans-will-only-increase-racial-inequality

The argument for the reintroduction of grammar schools hinges on the idea of meritocracy, but this denies the ways race and other social factors such as class

impact education and grammar school admissions. Black students are already at a disadvantage in our education system, and May's plans will worsen this

By the time black students reach the end of primary school, they have already faced a litany of barriers that would prevent them from getting the grades to enter grammar schools: race and class biases in examinations, harmfully low teacher expectations and a whitewashed curriculum that refuses to recognise Britain's colonial past, to name a few

The article begins to explain that selective education policies, here grammar schools, will worsen the position of already disadvantaged BAME children.

Policy, especially education policy, which is mainly derived from central government activity is rarely developed in agreement, and with consistency within government or between central government, local government and the diverse education community (Professional bodies, the different education sectors - Primary; Secondary; Tertiary; Higher, the different representative bodies of governance etc.

etc.). The very notion of central government is fraught with difficulty as within political parties' visions, understandings and intentions can be varied. Alongside this there is the professional civil service who advise ministers, brief MPs and ultimately produce White Papers.

Policies are also not boundary free and do not exist in isolation from each other. Policy derived in one area of government will have implications to policy derived in another area of government. This degree of complexity can lead to vagueness and ambiguity about policy intentions (Williams, 1989; Alcock et al., 2003). Ball in *the Education Debate* provides an excellent example alongside the two scrapbook entries above:

"An example of ambiguous policy goals was the 2005 Education White Paper, 'Higher Standards, Better Schools for All'. A good deal of time was spent by the House of Commons Education and Skills Committee determining exactly what the government's intentions were (HC633-1 2006). White Papers are a key way in which British governments set out their policy goals; but because of dis-agreements in the cabinet and governing party both principles and detail may be 'fudged', leading to uncertainty rather than a clear policy." (Ball, 2009: 187)

Conventionally social policies can be examined in terms of the intentions and objectives that lie behind individual policies or whole groups of them; the administrative and financial arrangements that are used to deliver policies; and/or the outcomes of policies, particularly in terms of who gains and who loses (Alcock et

al., 2003). In considering policy outcomes as evidenced both in the survey of all local authorities and the sampling of workforce monitoring reports there have been no gains into leadership positions for BAME people. Administrative and financial arrangements are patchy, inconsistent and lack any real incentives for ensuring the outcomes change. Interestingly examples do exist where “bonuses were paid to both senior and junior Home Office staff according to whether targets for enforced removals from the country had been met.” (Gentleman, 2018a). In other words, if it is important enough a means can be found to encourage, promote or enforce a policy decision:

From my scrapbook

Home Office pays out £21m after mistakenly detaining 850 people

Amelia Gentleman

Thu 28 Jun 2018 06.00 BST [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-](https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jun/28/wrongful-detention-cost-21m-as-immigration-staff-chased-bonuses)

news/2018/jun/28/wrongful-detention-cost-21m-as-immigration-staff-chased-bonuses

"The document also reveals that bonuses were paid to both senior and junior Home Office staff according to whether targets for enforced removals from the country had been met. Some staff were set "personal objectives" on which bonus payments were made "linked to targets to achieve enforced removals"

As the example from my Scrapbook shows policy formulation and enactment can be brought into closer alinement. This suggests that not only is there a policy practice divide but that the extent to which policies are implemented leads to a hierarchy of

policies. Some policies are more important than others and to ensure that these policies are implemented conventional forms of incentivising practitioners, or as in the case of league tables – using ‘shaming’ strategies, are developed.

The specific point that is being made here is that the idea of unintended consequence as a strategy or as an explanation of differential outcomes by disability, ethnicity, gender etc. is to ignore power structures that ensure and maintain inequality. That the lens of CRT usefully unpacks the fallacy of unintended consequences of purposive social actions that Merton was suggesting then and what it means now understanding continuing inequality.

A further issue in the rate and pace of policy development generated by central government in the pursuit of immediate results or the “imperious immediacy of interest” (Merton, 1936: 901) results in contradictions in the spheres of policy production and implementation.

CONTRADICTION

“Certainly, developments in the use of S11 funding in the mid 80s were lost by early 2000s as the specific funding streams merged into general budgets. With reductions in LA specialist teams, specialist teachers became increasingly isolated and marginalised. As these specialists were lost in LA roles you had two things occurring simultaneously. The proportion of BAME staff reduced. The issues around BAME underachievement

and differential achievement was lost in the general raising of standards that was being achieved nationally and in most LA contexts" (CDCS 7).

In this example, the policy decision to move funding from local authorities directly into schools' general budgets, and out of ring-fenced, criteria-led allocations had a direct impact on the proportion of staff centrally funded of BAME heritage; an issue that was also identified in a report by the National Union of Teachers (Garg, 2003). The loss of these staff not only reduced, if not erased the voice of BAME people in the education services of local government, it also reduced from the central pool a group of staff able to develop careers that had leadership opportunities in local authority areas. The contradiction here is that a policy around funding to schools negatively influences the proportion of minority ethnic people employed in the authority.

As Tomlinson identifies, the education system:

"Has developed within a socio-political context in which there has been a lack of political will to ensure that all groups were fairly and equitably treated. The climate has been such that politicians of all parties, their advisors and civil servants have to some extent acquiesced in processes of social, political, economic and moral denigration of groups considered to be racially, ethnically or culturally different, and they have seldom provided adequate and positive leadership that would work towards what, by the 2000s was described as community cohesion" (Tomlinson, 2008: 2).

The inadequacies and lack of leadership can be seen in the recent publication of the Race Disparity Audit (Office, 2018). This audit reveals a significant degree of policy contradiction, and in this analysis of such contradictions, the question again arises as to whose interest is currently being served by equality legislation.

When my research began there was no Race Disparity Audit – or a dedicated website or specific unit within the Cabinet Office. The disparity audit was an outcome of the Prime Minister’s inaugural speech in July 2016. A year after this speech the Race Disparity Audit was published.

While criticism from the right focussed on the audit as racial injustice⁶ - that it encourages a blame culture, and that the data denies the existence of other forms of injustice - ignoring in the process, the gender pay disparity issues raised by the Prime Minister. My criticism of the Audit focussed on the fact that the Audit did not reveal any data that was not already in the public domain. The data also evidenced that disparities by ethnicity in some areas have existed for several years. In the example of the exclusion rates of Black and Roma boys, this data has existed for over 30 years, and patterns of exclusion have remained consistently the same over this period.

My second significant criticism of the Audit was of the fact that there was no attempt at providing any explanation or commentary on the disparities evident from the publication of the data. For the government, this was about ensuring the primacy of the statistics:

“The aim of the website is to provide high-quality data in a single resource and we agree that detailed commentary could be seen to compromise its impartiality. Other organisations and researchers may use the same data to reach different conclusions to those of the Government, and that is an important component of accountability. The aims of providing an accurate resource and of comprehensive analysis are not mutually exclusive, but the analysis should not obscure the statistics” (Commons, 2018: 8).

My third issue with the Audit is that there is no consistency across the data sources in the use of ethnicity categories. The 18 + 1 categories in the Census are inconsistently used across national and local government departments. The DfE data cited in this thesis is based on 16 Categories. The immediate effect is to reduce the ability for cross-cutting analysis and to see disparities as complex and multifaceted. Further inconsistencies arise when data on ethnicity is not broken down by gender or age, or any of the other protected characteristics. Additionally, no regard is given to ethnicity by areas from Region areas (the North East for example) through to the smallest geographic area of lower super output areas⁷.

Many written submissions⁸ to the Women and Equalities Committee commented positively on the “explain or change” requirement of government departments. However, across submissions there was a general concern that the Race Disparity Audit made no reference to existing requirements in legislation, in particular the public service equality duty (PSED).

Within the Equality Act 2010 there is a public service equality duty. This duty, as practice in both local and national government, is stuck between identifying discrimination in practice and delivering equality of opportunity, and consequently provides neither. However, this is arguably not through chance or coincidence but as a consequence of its design.

Based on my local authority survey, data gathering and monitoring by officers who are in Merton’s terms “not concerned with the objective consequences of these actions but only with the subjective satisfaction of duty well performed” (Merton, 1936: 903), is not a matter of unanticipated consequences – chance or coincidences. This reflects the issue nationally where the Race Equality Audit, as an example, does not anticipate the potential impact of its publication, or leaves that impact to be addressed at some future yet undefined date.

In undertaking the workforce monitoring sampling through local authority websites, the decision as to what and how to present data, civil servants and local authority

officers are more inclined to selectively employ knowledge based on what they perceive as important to the circumstances in which they are called to make decisions, and their knowledge of what elected representatives – policy shapers – will want to see and deal with.

The low priority for issues of race and ethnicity can be exemplified further by looking at the policy treatment around gender and race related disparities in pay. Examples of inequality in pay led the Government in 2107 to introduce Gender Pay Disparity reporting in March 2018. However, there have been numerous examples of race pay disparities, and this has been known as long as we have known about disparities in pay by gender. The two following examples from my scrapbook, demonstrate this claim:

From my scrapbook

ITN reveals BAME staff typically get four-fifths pay of white colleagues

Mark Sweney

Wed 18 July 2018 16.22 BST <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2018/jul/18/itn-reveals-bame-staff-typically-four-fifths-pay-white-colleagues>

"ITN, the maker of news for ITV, Channel 4 and Channel 5, has revealed that staff from a black, Asian or other minority ethnic background typically get paid a fifth less than their white colleagues"

From my scrapbook

Why do black male graduates earn £7,000 less than their white peers

Kehinde Andrews

Wed 18 July 2018 15.00 BST

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/shortcuts/2018/jul/18/why-do-black-male-graduates-earn-7000-less-per-year-than-their-white-peers>

" the latest research provides a damning indictment of this view. Between 2007 and 2017, black male graduates earned a staggering £7,000 less than their white counterparts. The same study showed that black male participation has increased in higher education by 24%, compared with a 15% rise for white men. So, black men have been more likely to invest in higher education, even though the returns are diminished. We have become so used to the idea that we have to work twice as hard to get half as far that we now take it for granted.

However, although these scrapbook entries are from 2018, the issue of Race Pay Disparity has a long history. The longevity of the issue can be understood in terms of the arguments being put forward by Black Workers' Movement in the late 1970s (Solomos and Jenkins, 1987; Ramdin, 1987) and by the many individual experiences, for example:

"In 1981 two black electricians employed by the GLC complained that they were getting lower wages and

bonuses and less overtime than equally qualified white workers, as a result of being consistently allocated the least remunerative work. At the enquiry the black workers refused to be defended by the EEPTU -(indeed, the EEPTU senior steward had allegedly threatened to expel the black workers from the union), - and they turned for help to the Black Trade Unionists Solidarity Movement. The enquiry lasted five days and found in the black electricians' favour on almost every point" (Wrench, 1986).

Yet while the Government acted on Gender Pay Disparity in 2017 with mandatory reporting by all organisations employing 250 or more staff in March 2018. Proposals to consult on Race Pay Disparity reporting were only published in October 2018. As can be noted from the following scrapbook extract, "Employers could be obliged to release their race pay gap figures":

From my scrapbook

New law could force employers to reveal race pay gap figures

Peter Walker and Jessica Elgot

Thu 11 Oct 2018 09.28 BST <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/oct/11/new-law-employers-reveal-race-pay-gap-figures>

Employers could be obliged to release their race pay gap statistics under new plans to be unveiled by Theresa May to increase ethnic minority representation in the workplace.

As in the CRT concept of contradiction-closing cases as introduced by Derrick Bell, “an inequity becomes so visible and/or large that the present situation threatens to become unsustainable” (Gillborn, 2008). We must ask ourselves what would it take to enact Race Pay Disparity reporting. While Race Pay Disparity reporting in itself, would not address under-representation, it could be part of a process towards addressing under-representation.

This raises a question about the nature of process, about the role of monitoring, reporting and assessing the potential of policy.

EQUALITY IMPACT ASSESSMENTS

A further example of contradiction that sits at the heart of policy development is the role and function of equality impact assessments. As has been evidenced earlier in this thesis, there is a current drive to deregulate school governance yet strive to retain as much control as possible through mechanisms of funding and control over qualifications – which in effects is control of the curriculum. Curriculum here is not only the curriculum that pupils study in school but also the curriculum that leads to accreditation as a teacher, as a middle and senior leader, and accreditation to be a Headteacher. This can be highlighted by three quotes. First, the former Secretary of State for the Department for Education Michael Gove appearing before the Education Committee in April 2012:

“Michael Gove: There are two things I would say. I am concerned, and it influences how we think about policy, about some of the broader changes that are occurring in other areas of Government policy. As always, when there are changes elsewhere that are driven to provide the best of measures, there are always going to be risks and potential benefits as well. As the Children’s Society has noted, the move towards universal credit may change the way in which free school meals are allocated. There are both risks and benefits in that, and we are looking at that closely because we want to model what the impact will be. There is a difference between that and also the Government approach towards impact assessments overall. I personally think that the form we have inherited of impact assessments is a bureaucratic exercise that does not always necessarily help us in the formulation of policy. There are two things I would say: do I seek to assess the impact of policy on children and how well they will do in life? Absolutely. Is the formal impact assessment required by statute one of the best ways of doing so? No.”

Ian Mearns: “Improve it” (Commons, 2012: Q317).

The immediate response given by the select committee member Ian Mearns “Improve it” is interesting here. He is dismissing Gove’s “No” comment. And repositioning responsibility back on the then Secretary of State for the Department for Education.

The Secretary of State describes briefly the Whitehall process of undertaking impact assessments “which are often produced after the fact in an attempt to retrofit a justification on to the policy” (Commons, 2012: Q319). Consequently “the current system of impact assessments is not - to use a Whitehall phrase - fit for purpose.” (Commons, 2012: Q319).

In 2012, at the time of this exchange, an Equality Impact Assessment was an analysis of a proposed organisational policy, or a change to an existing one, which assesses the extent to which the policy has a negative differential impact on persons with protected characteristics (Pyper, 2017). Equality Impact Assessments were carried out primarily by public authorities to assist compliance with equality duties.

The fact that Whitehall “often produced after the fact in an attempt to retrofit a justification on to the policy” in Gove’s words, is in fact not what the legislation had proposed. There is nothing in Whitehall procedures which requires impact assessments to be undertaken in retrospect of the formulation of policy. In fact, Gove went on to say “in an ideal world assessing the impact of the policy would be part of the process of policy formulation” (Commons, 2012: Q319), which is how Equality Impact Assessments were designed to be undertaken as part of the process of policy formulation.

The second quote comes from the then Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, Eric Pickles:

“Time and time again, I hear complaints from councils about how much of a burden the National Indicator set is. Not because measurement and targets are always a bad thing. But national targets tend to mean that councils are constantly working on things which matter to

Whitehall, regardless of what local residents think. I'd much rather councils were tackling local issues. The money being spent on form fillers and bean counters could be far better spent helping elderly people to stay in their homes. So I'm scrapping the existing local area agreements. I'm handing over control of more than 4,700 targets to councils and their voters. To keep them or dump them as they see fit. And instead of the National Indicator Set, and instead of every single department's endless demands that you measure this, that or the other, there's just going to be one list of every bit of data that government needs" (Gov.UK, 2010).

The third quote came in late November 2012 when the then Prime Minister, David Cameron, said the following to the annual conference of the Confederation of British Industry:

"In government we have taken the letter of this law and gone way beyond it, with Equality Impact Assessments for every decision we make. Let me be very clear. I care about making sure that government policy never marginalises or discriminates. I care about making sure we treat people equally. But let's have the courage to say it: caring about these things does not have to mean churning out reams of bureaucratic nonsense. We have smart people in Whitehall who consider equalities issues while they're making the policy. We don't need all this extra tick-box stuff. So I can tell you today we are calling time on Equality Impact Assessments. You no longer have to do them if these issues have been properly considered" (Cameron, 2012)

There are several things to note here, first:

- “We have taken the letter of this law and gone way beyond it” – i.e. notion that the government does more than the law requires.
- “I care about making sure that government policy never marginalises or discriminates” – This is an assertion only. There is no evidence about “making sure”;
- “I care about making sure we treat people equally” – Again there is no evidence about “making sure”.

Second, undertaking an analysis is equated with:

- “churning out”
- “reams”
- “bureaucratic nonsense”
- “tick-box stuff”

Third linked to the point made in the Pickles quote above:

- “I’m handing over control”
- “You no longer have to do them”

What is absent, however, is any explanation of what the final seven words mean - “if these issues have been properly considered”. Raising important questions about how anyone or any organisation evidence that they have properly considered the issues?

According to a note on the EHRC website⁹, there is no requirement to carry out a formal equality impact assessment:

“Rather than carrying out a formal equality impact assessment, the Authority had to demonstrate that it had paid ‘due regard’ to its equality obligations. In other words, the Court held that public authorities did have to assess the impact their proposed policies had on equality but that there was no prescriptive way to do so. Consideration could be shown in a number of other ways, for example in the form of various reports, including research/data gathered from fieldwork and consultations” (Pyper, 2017: 23).

Here both the articulation of bureaucracy and local authority officers being dismissed as purely ‘form fillers and bean counters’ reduces the role of monitoring and impact assessment to an unnecessary burden and profligacy. Which can partially explain the inconsistencies in the way local authorities report on the monitoring of their workforce. The extent to which local authorities report to elected officials about the monitoring of their employees suggests a significant negligence and care-less-ness. Yet in the words of the then Prime Minister “I care”. These assertions are regularly and repeatedly made. The current Prime Minister talks about “fighting the burning injustices” (May, 2016), but between talk, policy progression, and policy performance, there are innumerable contradictions which ensure that little has or will change in respect to the under-representation of BAME people in the leadership of children’s learning.

CONCLUSION

Expressions of exasperation, exhaustion, incredulity, irritation, frustration and a little anger could be heard in the undertones of interviewees litany of the continual cascading down of exhortations to do this, that or the other. Policy initiatives developed by Government were general and all encompassing, consequently issues of locality, place, social circumstance, as well as issues of identity and diversity were absent from these policy impulses.

At one level the 'momentum of government' is purely about maintaining power and the extent to which 'making a difference' has contextual as well as historical relevance has been brought into question. In one respect this is about the relationship between policy and research. The extent to which the purpose of research is to support and nurture policy directions or the extent to which research is autonomous of policy to the extent that research can critically challenge policy initiatives. In the context of the underrepresentation of BAME people leading children's learning the status of this issue, the funding constraints and the accrediting process, all of which have been drawn into ever greater control of central government.

Then drawing on interviewees utterances I have illustrated their experience of a policy and practice divide. This is heightened by the multiplicity of 'arenas of

practice' in education with responsibility for policy implementation delegated to individual schools and Multi-Academy Trusts.

The next section deals specifically with the idea of coincidence in the title of the research thesis. Merton's approach to unintended consequence is developed using critical race theory. This then suggests that all purposive social actions, including policy, exist within the race inequalities of society and consequentially provide differential rather than unintended consequences. These differential outcomes are the inherent contradictions of much policy. Even where strategies for analysis of a proposed organisational policy, or a change to an existing one as in Equality Impact assessments they are misused and derided undermining the whole fabric of policy being influenced by knowledge.

In the final chapter I shall bring together the research evidenced across five chapters within the context of the literature review and the methodology of this thesis.

NOTES

1 The National Strategy is a body that was set up to develop and fund strategies – i.e. funding local authorities to employ strategy consultants and funding the production of training materials for consultants to use in school-based, as well as in centrally run, training courses. It also had a quality control role in the implementation and maintenance of the strategy (DfE 2011 p30)

2 Established by the Conservative government in response to the Gillborn and Gipps research. The advisory group had a 10-point action plan which was continued by the 1997 Labour Government and chaired by Estelle Morris, Minister for Education. Some early achievements include the launch of a video on Travellers, an initiative with Bangladeshi parents, a report on exclusions and as mentioned a study of good practice in schools. On becoming Secretary of State in October 2002 Charles Clarke disbanded the Advisory Group.

3 2010 brought a change of government and complete change in policy focus. The Labour Government led by Gordon Brown lost the general election and a Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition with the Conservative leader David Cameron as Prime Minister became the government.

4 Authority name has been changed

5 i.e. The publication by government of data on pupils performance at the end of Key Stages as a measure of school performance.

6 See for example <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/4656785/race-disparity-audit-racial-injustice-harmful>

7 The main geographic areas directly associated with the ten year Census are Output Areas (OA) and Super Output Areas (SOA). Super Output Areas can be further sub divided to Lower Super Output Areas (LSOA). An LSOA has a population of between 1,000 and 3,000 and between 400 and 1,200 households.

8 26 written submissions were received by the Committee (Commons, 2018: 27)

9 <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/advice-and-guidance/relevant-case-law>

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION: CHANCE, COINCIDENCE OR DESIGN?

INTRODUCTION

The question posed in this thesis is whether the under-representation of Black and minority ethnic people (BAME) in the leadership of children's learning is a matter of chance, coincidence or design? Whether the under-representation is chance (it's just one of those things), or coincidence (a meaningless concurrence of events that signifies no deeper connection), or design (an inevitable consequence of the decision to apply or not to apply processes, practices and procedures to achieve certain outcomes). In this concluding chapter I review findings that have emerged from my analysis and answer the question; fundamentally, the under-representation of BAME people in the leadership of children's learning is by design.

The first section focuses on the context in which this thesis has been researched analysed and presented. The following sections review each chapter under the sub-headings of: Getting to grips with the Literature (Chapter 2); Methodology and Methods (Chapter 3); Surveillance (Chapter 4); Perseverance (Chapter 5); Leadership (Chapter 6); Policy (Chapter 7) a section on Conspiracy or design? And a final section on further work that I believe is needed.

CONTEXT

In the context of the leadership of children's learning over the last thirty years there has been a stated knowledge that BAME people are underrepresented in the teaching profession (DES, 1985) and more significantly their underrepresentation increases against the levels of power and responsibility that mark career progression (DfE, 2016; Howson, 2011; Howson, 2012; Menter et al., 2003). This was recently confirmed as "burning injustices" by Theresa May when she first became Prime Minister in 2016 (May, 2016). Her speech confirmed that "money was being taken out of the pockets of some people" (May, 2016) but that:

"We will do everything we can to give you more control over your lives. When we take the big calls, we'll think not of the powerful, but you. When we pass new laws, we'll listen not to the mighty but to you. When it comes to taxes, we'll prioritise not the wealthy, but you. When it comes to opportunity, we won't entrench the advantages of the fortunate few. We will do everything we can to help anybody, whatever your background, to go as far as your talents will take you.....and we will make Britain a country that works not for a privileged few, but for every one of us" (May, 2016).

Variations of "we will do everything" have featured in political, social and economic discourse for a considerable period of time. However, we are still waiting:

“Everyone is allowed to put his oar in on how to overcome our economic problems, how to put the balance of payments right, how to secure more exports and so on and so on. Very important too. But I venture to say not as important in the long run as preparing future generations for life. RH Tawney, from whom I derived a great deal of my thinking years ago, wrote that the endowment of our children is the most precious of the natural resources of this community” (Callaghan, 1976).

As far back as the mid-seventies, education and preparing children for adult life has been seen as an essential responsibility of society and as the quote above indicates, the idea is that education is for all children. However as I discussed in the first chapter privilege should be understood as appropriation.

Within this context I began undertaking a review of the literature on the under-representation of BAME leaders of children’s learning.

GETTING TO GRIPS WITH THE LITERATURE

Chapter 2 explores through an analysis of the literature that research into the under-representation of BAME people in the leadership of children’s learning is marginal, almost a non-existent area of inquiry.

Investing in the abilities, talents, and interests of children has a history in the welfare developments which arose after the period in which the British Empire developed, through to the end of the Second World War in 1945 (Dorling and Tomlinson, 2019;

Tomlinson, 2019). The sociology of education has sought to identify and explain how individuals' experiences shape the way they interact with schooling. Its branches cover questions of purpose, structure, teaching, learning, policy, equality, theory, and methodology. Specifically, it examines the ways in which individuals' experiences affect their educational achievement and outcomes (Karabel and Halsey, 1977; Halsey et al., 1997). In Britain the speech by the Prime Minister James Callaghan (Callaghan, 1976) began the 'Great Debate' in education and within that overarching debate, the issues concerning the knowledge, skills and understandings necessary for contemporary life. What takes place in schools has been a significant focus of education. It has been both a political, theoretical and research focus. It has developed into dominant movements around school effectiveness and school improvement (Lauder et al., 2006a; Whitty, 2016; Ball, 2017).

The school effectiveness and school improvement communities of interest are working in a moment when neo-liberal processes of deregulation and neo-conservative processes of control dominate. As this agenda was beginning to be rolled out, Rutter et al published their research which identified that schools can and do make a difference (Rutter et al., 1979). Leadership increasingly became a key area reinforced by its position in the first iteration of the Inspection Framework for Schools in 1992 (Education and Skills Committee, 2007). Research in the field of educational leadership has been an area of interest in the sociology of education for some time. Bernbaum, looked at the values and perceptions of the head and how

these are internalised through their previous professional and other experiences (Bernbaum, 1974).

Looking back at this work and the context within which it was researched and written, it is understandable that issues of identity and diversity are totally absent from his research. However, the literature research for this thesis, identifies the scarcity of research into the under-representation of Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) people working in education. My literature research reflects the absence of concern with BAME peoples work and lives in education. It exposes and names the indifference to the cache of data that illuminates the injustice of the under-representation of BAME people working in education. In addition, and importantly, I would add that the issues of identity and subjectivity – issues around, within and across, class, disability, gender, race, sexuality, politics, culture, social experiences and history are significantly absent in political, theoretical and research approaches to leadership and management.

There is a small body of published research that evidences that racism, both covert and overt, individual and institutional, impacts on the policy, practice and procedures of educational leadership (Spillet, 2014). My review of existing literature identified the need to build on this small, but important body of research that had already been undertaken. Important was the need to corroborate by comparing data that had been gathered through different methods.

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

The methods I adopted brought together the experience, knowledge and understandings of BAME leaders – their voice – with quantitative data and an analysis of documentary evidence. The different methods provided a “fuller picture”, that “provides more support” and “increased confidence” in answering the question of chance, coincidence or design (Denscombe, 2013: 348).

The defining elements in CRT and the concepts and methods that have developed in CRT provides the central theoretical foundations to the deployment of the mixed method approach for data gathering and analysis.

There are some similarities in the themes/sub-themes arising from the interviews that replicate the findings of some of the research conducted previously (Brar, 1991; Osler, 1999; McKenley and Gordon, 2002; Bush et al., 2006; Cunningham and Hargreaves, 2007; McNamara et al., 2009; Coleman and Campbell-Stephens, 2010). These themes were identified in the Survey data and the analysis of workforce monitoring reports. Importantly, references to other areas of agency through my use of scrapbooks show, that these themes are not isolated to BAME leadership in children’s learning.

The interviews provide an authentic perspective. Although interviewees are 'powerful people' (Cohen et al., 2007: 127), in the context of children's services and British society at large they correspond to Hall's meaning of a formative community of representation at the margins (Hall, 1988) and to Spivak's articulation of the 'subaltern' as the oppressed given their limited access to or control over the colonial structures and curricula of contemporary education services. What this community of representation shared are their identification of BAME heritage and their specific shared status as leaders of children's learning. The semi-structured form of the interviews ensured that each interview covered the same questions. This enabled answers to be analysed through a consistent structure of the interview process. Similarities and differences provided codes which were specific and detailed. These codes were then combined to identify themes. In this sense my interviewees articulate their different experiences of surveillance, microaggressions, perseverance, promotion and leadership. The themes identified through analysis of the interviews are supported and highlighted through the data obtained in the 92% surveys returns of local authorities.

The strength of the survey of local authorities is the high response rate. The Freedom of Information request as a procedure, alongside directing the survey into the email Inbox of Directors of Children's Services provided an exceptional rate of return. While postal surveys "typically suffer from a poor response rate One does not have any information about the non-respondents" (Cohen et al., 2007: 218) in

the case of the survey data presented in this thesis, the non-respondents constitute only 8% of the survey population. Consequently the data provides an accurate presentation of what is monitored through the equal opportunities data that authorities routinely collect. The areas that local authorities priorities in their monitoring and reporting responsibilities to Councilors confirms that BAME professional lives (as well as the professional lives of women, the disabled etc.) are on the margins of interest and concern. Beyond the reporting to Councilors process, the publication on Council websites of WFM reports, under the guise of transparency and accountability, equally evidences the marginal and disinterested concern with under-representation. As shown in Appendix 8 Table 8.1 from the sample of WFM reports there is no evidence of targets to reduce under-representation by ethnicity. Importantly the use of scrapbooks provide a link that shows the specific of the analysis in this thesis is reproduced across a spectrum of social agency.

The different methods provide a range of data that supports the analysis which identified the themes. In the following sections I reflect on the key themes that emerged from my analyses.

SURVEILLANCE

In Chapter 4 evidence from the interviewees identifies that surveillance for BAME leaders has become antagonistic and pernicious. The development of new technologies of performativity (Ball, 2006) and the increasing levels of accountability

have impacted more significantly on BAME leaders. The extent to which they are questioned and are required to prove themselves, is greater than what they see as taking place within the localities in which they work. Professionally BAME leaders are also physically isolated in the professional landscape. When they dissent from the views of White people their disagreement is often judged as defiance and or aggression. This is used against them to undermine their professionalism, to deflect from the legitimacy of any concern that they raise and to hinder them in developing more inclusive practices. Invariably they are seen as BAME first and a leader second. Whereas their white peers, rarely if ever, are defined in a professional context by their ethnicity before being identified by their status or role. However, many of my interviewees, in this professional space, appropriate this ordering themselves as part of their identity. Their countering of dominant discourse of leadership by acknowledging themselves as BAME, as a woman, as disabled, as well as being a leader.

BAME leaders are also regularly in conflict as they struggle against the power and assets wielded by White people. This occurs as microaggressions as well as more overt forms of repression and aggression. In the struggle with power – how the world is seen by White leaders and how they, as BAME leaders see things, their lens on the world, is often in conflict with that of White leaders. BAME people are not supported by the forms of monitoring that local authorities undertake in terms of their duties under the Equalities Act 2010. Monitoring activities (which are

themselves specific acts of surveillance) in the main seek to protect the reputation of and minimise the risk to local authorities rather than promote the aspirations of emergent BAME leaders.

The survey of local authorities evidenced that monitoring of disciplinary and competence proceedings takes place more often and more regularly than monitoring activities which would have the positive effect of encouraging, advancing, fostering good relations or minimising disadvantage. This pattern of monitoring is also seen in the sampling from a representative sample of authorities' workforce monitoring reports. In addition, the analysis identified that not a single local authority evidenced a decrease in BAME negative over-representation over time or that they had achieved proportionate parity between BAME and White employees in the areas of disciplinary and/or competency proceedings.

PERSEVERANCE AND PROMOTION

The theme of perseverance and promotion explicitly references how White power is preserved. Chapter 5 identifies that most professional development opportunities operate on the basis of a deficit perspective that views BAME applicants as problematic and lacking in leadership qualities. This reflects a wider issue where blame and responsibility is placed on BAME people. This can be further illustrated by a recent report by a former Prime Minister.

"In this report, we make it clear that there is a duty to integrate, to accept the rules, laws and norms of our society that all British people hold in common and share, while at the same time preserving the right to practise diversity, which is fully consistent with such a duty" (Redgrave et al., 2019).

From my scrapbook

Former PM claims that 'failure' of multiculturalism has led to rise in bigotry

Michael Savage

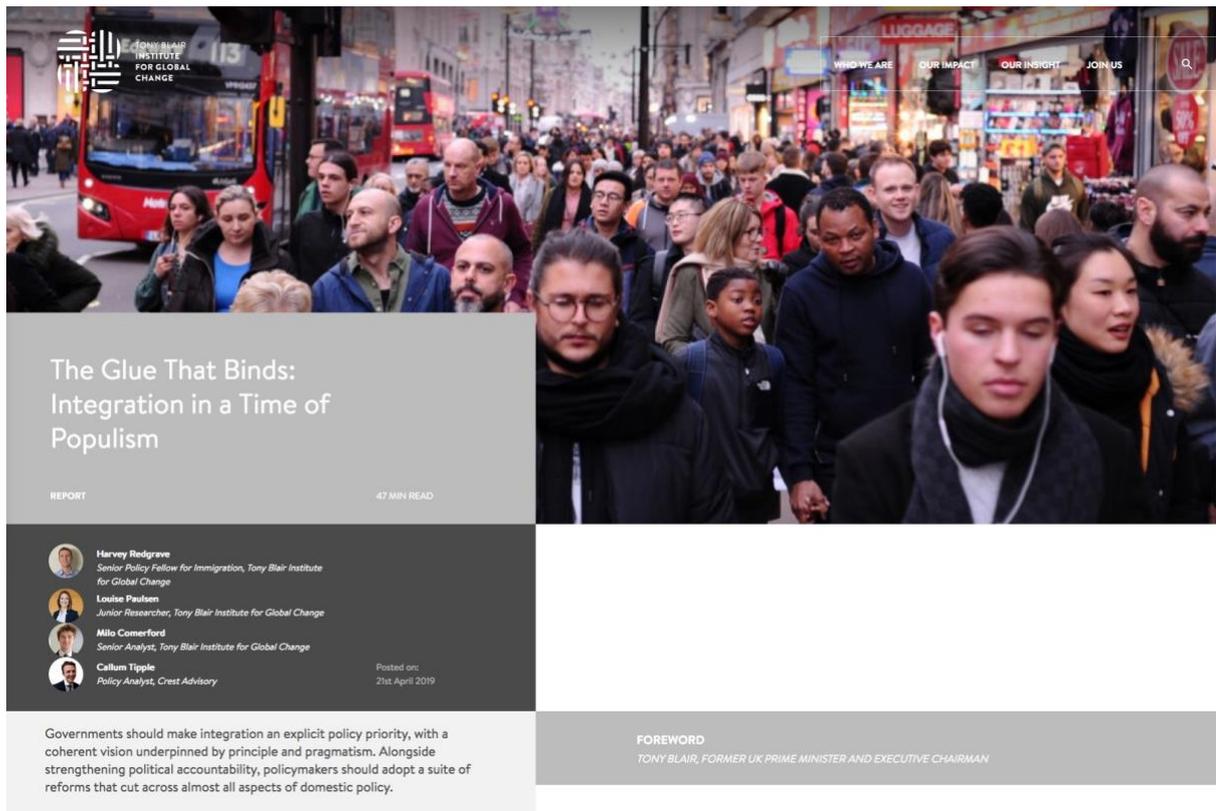
Sat 20th April 2019 17.30 BST

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/apr/20/tony-blair-says-migrants-must-integrate-to-combat-far-right>

Migrant communities must be compelled to do more to integrate to help combat the rise of "far-right bigotry" Tony Blair has warned.

The web page offers an interesting perspective to the report:

Illustration 9 Global Change Institute Report 2019 webpage



Ref: <https://institute.global/integration>

An image of people walking along (most probably) Oxford Street in London is overlaid by a panel with images and the status within the organisation of the report's authors. There is a real disconnect between the people in the street, as representatives of society, and the panel of authors (representatives of knowledge). The report places no blame on the perpetrators of racial abuse. The report talks of the failure of much government policy. However, the logic of the argument produced by this unrepresentative group of policy advisers and analysts suggests

that people who experience racial abuse and discrimination are significantly culpable for it. Locating the blame on BAME people is a perennial tactic.

Where professional development opportunities for BAME aspiring leaders, designed by BAME leaders, have existed, it is in a context where White people generally control the associated funding and accreditation. All of this takes place within a context where equality of opportunity in general, and in the specific area of education and children's learning, both at National and Local Government level, make minimal effort to eliminate, remove, minimise or advance and foster the inequitable under-representation of minority ethnic people in education and the leadership of children's learning.

A consequence of this is that the accountability procedures and processes mentioned earlier – for example teacher appraisal (a feature of promotion) – are officially regarded as neutral and the issue of the gender and ethnicity of the appraiser is regarded as of no consequence for the appraisee.

LEADERSHIP

Chapter 6 is focused on themes that relate to the question of Leadership. Evidenced where evaluations of Leadership initiatives have taken place, shows that in these research studies issues of identity and diversity are usually absent from evaluations of the Leadership Curriculum. The idea of a colour-blind position: a position that is

neutral, objective and meritorious, is in fact a colour-*evasive* position. It is a position that seeks to evade and deny its complicity in maintaining the racist tenor of activity, at both a formal and informal level.

Addressing under-representation is a marginal – effectively non-existent - concern at the level of national and local government activity. The choices made are highly selective. Through the professionalization, institutionalisation and finally deregulation of leadership, the under-representation of BAME people remains totally peripheral to schooling and raising standards in the agenda of national and local government.

The activities that initially established professional and institutional practice were colour-*averse* in approach. An approach that was antagonistic of and reluctant to engage with difference. As in the words of the former Prime Minister John Major and reiterated by a later Prime Minister David Cameron “policies must be colour-blind just tackle disadvantage” (cited in Tomlinson, 2005: 182). There was no linkage - theoretically or practically - between the ‘competencies’ of school leadership and issues of identity and diversity. Over time, the professional and institutional practice established by the state has been rolled back to allow for a market approach in which individual schools or groups of schools (in the form of Multi-Academy Trusts) need to sponsor professional development. In the same way that the state has

drawn back from the professional development of leaders, so has local authority's ability to support and fund professional development.

As in the case of the Race Disparity Audit, much of the national data that shows inequality of representation (whether inequality through over-representation in the negative aspects of social life or under-representation in the positive aspects of social life) sits at the margins, remains uncoordinated, is variable in quality, and is uneven in its usage. This is further worsened through the arbitrary nature of local government practice in monitoring. The effect of which means that there is little, if any, evidence that local authorities are doing anything to address disparities in representation now or in the future.

Issues of social responsibility and social safety have been shunted to the margin of social policy as market forces are given greater autonomy. Consequentially, the networks of leaders reflect the needs and wants of those who already have a significant investment in these networks. Therefore, power lies predominantly in the hands of White people and, in fact White people who are predominantly *male*. This is further illustrated in the context of policy development.

POLICY

In Chapter 7, I evidence the role of the state in designing out activity to address the under-representation of BAME people in the leadership of children's learning.

Expressions of exasperation, exhaustion, incredulity, irritation, frustration and a little anger could be heard in the undertones of interviewees litany of the continual cascading down of exhortations to do this, that or the other. Policy initiatives developed by Government are general and all encompassing, consequently issues of locality, place, social circumstance, as well as issues of identity and diversity are absent from these policy impulses.

At one level the 'momentum of government' (Ball, 2017: Loc 209) is purely about maintaining power. The idea that education policy is about 'making a difference', has contextual, as well as historical relevance. For example the publication of 'Making the difference: Teaching and Learning Strategies in Multi-Ethnic Schools' (Blair et al., 1998) arose from a specific initiative by a Government Advisory Group (Sanglin-Grant, 1998). The Advisory Group was closed down with a change to the Secretary of State for Education in 2002. There was no explanation to individual members of the Advisory Group, or a departmental statement. In one respect, this is about the relationship between policy and research. The extent to which the

purpose of research is to support and nurture policy directions. Or the degree to which research is autonomous of policy so that research can critically challenge policy initiatives.

In the context of the under-representation of BAME people leading children's learning the status of this issue as determined by who is leading, who is funding, who determines the scope and the accrediting process, all of this has been drawn into greater control by central government arising from neo-liberal and neo-conservative policy initiatives.

Another feature of the 'momentum of government' is the way that the focus of debates, the forms of analysis and the instruments of control are constantly changed. As in research related to assessment, changes in pass marks (the pass/fail boundaries), tracking, setting and tiering make attainment for BAME people more difficult if not impossible (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996; Gillborn and Mirza, 2000; Gillborn and Youdell, 2000; Gillborn and Youdell, 2001).

Interviewees also listed changes to the end of schooling assessment O levels; CSE, GCE, GCSE, AS levels and A levels, and the introduction of assessments at the end of Key Stages. The introduction in 1988 of the National Curriculum (which has been modified and redrawn on at least 5 occasions). Ofsted and the framework for the inspection of schools (which has been revised at least 10 times since the publication

of the original in 1992), changes to the training of teachers and the development of teaching standards and competencies. The National Strategies for Literacy, Numeracy, KS3, and the 14-19 Strategy; at times it seems like an endless strwam of policy changes without any attention to equity and diversity.

There have also been changes to early years learning, Workforce remodelling in education and further changes to school governance and structures with LA maintained and Grammar schools, alongside the system of Controlled and Voluntarily Controlled Church schools, becoming diversified further through Academies, Multi-academy Trusts, University Technology Colleges, Studio Schools and Free schools.

For all this policy activity in education during the last thirty years, social mobility, as identified in the latest report into the state of the nation, has remained stagnant and there is a double disadvantage when class is taking into consideration with, disability, ethnicity and gender (Milburn, 2019).

A feature of the question being addressed in this thesis is the issue of whether under-representation is a matter of chance, coincidence or design. In addressing the issue of coincidence, I have appropriated Merton's approach to unintended consequence. This is developed by using critical race theory. This suggested that all purposive social actions, including policy, exist within the race inequalities of society and consequentially provide differential rather than merely coincidental unintended

consequences. These differential outcomes arise from the inherent logic and processes of much policy. Even where strategies for analysis of a proposed organisational policy, or a change to an existing one (as in utilising Equality Impact Assessments) they are misused and derided. This has the effect of undermining much of the structure of policy being influenced by knowledge.

The question of chance, coincidence or design explicitly raises the question of unintended consequences which often is used to explain away outcomes that have a negative impact. This can be illustrated through the Home Office's "hostile environment" set of administrative and legislative measures designed to make staying in the UK as difficult as possible for people who did not have permission to remain in the UK (Committee of Public Accounts, 2019). As a consequence British citizens, members of the Windrush generation, had been criminalized, denied access to health care, removed from their employment, made homeless and, in some cases, illegally deported because they did not have enough documentary evidence of their presence in the UK prior to 1978. In the Windrush generation report summary it states:

"We call for essential checks and balances in the system to be reinstated, and for the whole suite of hostile environment measures to be subject to an evaluation, in terms of their efficacy, fairness, impact (including both intended and unintended consequences) and value-for-money (WWW.Parliament.UK, 2018).

Whereas the report documents the policies and procedures that underpinned the Home Office's 'hostile environment' climate the caveat of unintended consequences, cushions and bleaches the real intended outcomes. Drawing on an appropriation of Merton's thinking on the unintended consequences of purposive social action I demonstrate that outcomes that can be explained as unintended consequence, a coincidence resulting from unforeseen issues at the stage of policy formulation or issues arising from the enactment of a policy are in fact because of the selectiveness of the knowledge drawn upon, insufficient resource in development or implementation and or a greater concern with just getting the job done – the "imperious immediacy of interest" (Merton, 1936: 901) irrespective of the impact on subjected minorities.

"CRT articulates racism as a structural phenomenon as opposed to a problem that derives from the failure on the part of individuals and institutions to treat people formally the same" (Dixson and Anderson, 2018: 122).

It is the recognition of the structural formulation of purposive social action that we see and recognise that the under-representation of Black and minority ethnic people in the leadership of children's learning is not a matter of chance. Neither is it an unintended consequence of the application of a particular policy. The decision to apply policies, procedures and practices is a decision not to apply other possible policies, procedures and practices.

CONSPIRACY OR DESIGN?

My dictionary defines conspire as to: plot or scheme together, to devise, to act together to one end. The act of conspiring is an agreement between two or more persons to commit to act or to accomplish an act usually an unlawful act or a lawful end by unlawful means. Building on a tradition of African American social critique, and CRT, Gillborn has argued that structural racism operates as a form of conspiracy through the operation of Whiteness (Gillborn, 2008: 163-171). Whiteness as an attribute, a property, a way of thinking, as normality. Whiteness's supremacy is its pervasiveness from the violent extremes to its everyday performativity. White supremacy is articulated as a hub-and-spoke conspiracy; as Steve, a character in a counterstory argues:

" ...some spokes are more important than others: the criminal justice system, the economy, education. I picture those as really big struts, you know, doing a lot of work supporting the structure, but surrounded by millions of smaller spokes: the individual teachers, politicians, doctors, police officers, journalists ... all you white people busily going about your business-as-usual, unaware for the most part that you're not only benefiting from institutional racism, you're actively *supporting* it" (Gillborn, 2008: 193)

Another character, the Professor adds:

"No single person or agency can be held up as wholly responsible, but to some extent the power and force of the edifice relies on them *all*" (Gillborn, 2008: 194)

My argument, as evidenced throughout this research, is that the focus needs to move away from only focusing on the outcomes for BAME people, and critically question the intentions and interests of White people. Policy and its resultant practices, procedures and processes are designed by White people for the interests of White people (by men for the interests of men, by the 'able' for the interests of the 'able' etc.). In this respect, design has a greater legitimacy as it directly connects with the equality issues of who is making the decisions and who will receive the greatest benefit from the decisions made or who will continue to receive the greatest benefit by not making a decision, by not effecting the practices, procedures and processes that could undermine, diminish or recompense, White supremacies power, control, its normality. This returns us to the idea of White supremacy as the purposive social action of people, of white men.

Design is evidenced through ethnic monitoring of teachers and leaders of children's learning not being used in strategic planning for education. The data that is available is not sufficiently consistent, comprehensive, detailed, or disaggregated. It is not critically analysed. The fact that it can be and is not is an issue of design.

By design there has been little progress in addressing the barriers to BAME teachers' career progression. There is also little evidence of systematic development strategies used to support BAME teachers and aspiring leaders in their journey for career advancement.

By design theories of leadership are mono-cultural and Eurocentric; it is a study of 'Whiteness' that is not in and of itself problematised. There is limited understanding of difference and diversity of identity, biographies and lived experiences, both within and across minority ethnicities, and how they are played out in the context of dominant models of school leadership.

My research data evidences that discrimination on an individual, institutional and structural level is still experienced in the leadership of children's learning. Policies that deregulate and fragment the provision of education through schools and allied support structures will only exacerbate this situation and therefore maintain White male supremacy in the leadership of children's learning.

NEXT STEPS

The following questions are political questions that seek to move research beyond technical competences in rectifying the under-representation of BAME leaders in children's learning. However, efforts to address under-representation of BAME people in the leadership of children's learning are unlikely to succeed isolated from broad efforts to reduce under-representation and discrimination of all kinds in all aspects of social life.

- Would research with a greater proportion of BAME leaders provide more detailed analysis by other protected characteristics and would academia, government departments and political parties care?
- Can further research on the interactions and conduct of the recruitment and selection process be supported?
- Who will ensure that institutions provide consistent, comprehensive, detailed, and disaggregated workforce data that is comparable across institutions?
- Can CRT scholars engage with the dynamics and interactions of recruitment and selection?
- Will CRT scholars engage with leadership competences, practices and behaviours?
- Can CRT research question whether the presence of a more representative number of BAME leaders effect the learning experience of BAME children?

- Can CRT research question whether the presence of a more representative number of BAME leaders effect the organisation of schools, their cultures and their structures and processes?

These questions and many more are generally avoided in the discourse about leadership.

Appendix 1: A reproduction of the Equal Opportunities Monitoring Information form cited in Chapter 1 and 3

Ludoshire¹ Equal Opportunity Monitoring Information

The Council has an Equal Opportunity in Employment Policy, which we are keen to monitor; the following information will enable us to measure its effectiveness in our recruitment practices. The information provided will be treated in the strictest confidence and will only be used for statistical purposes.

Please tick or complete as appropriate

Full Name:

Ref. Code:

1. Gender:

2. Date of Birth:

3. Council Employee:

Are you currently an employee of Ludoshire Council?

If so, will this position be a promotion for you?

4. Ethnic Origin: How would you describe your ethnic origin? (tick one box)

Asian or Asian British

Black or Black British

Afghani

Caribbean

Bangladeshi

Ethiopian

Indian

Ghanaian

Pakistani

Nigerian

Sinhalese

Somali

Sri Lankan Tamil

Any other African background

(specify)_____

Any other Asian background

Any other Black background

(specify)_____

(specify)_____

White British

Irish

Albanian

Kosovan

Any other White background

(specify)_____

Other ethnic groups	Dual Heritage
Arab	White and African
Iranian	White and Asian
Iraqi	White and Caribbean
Kurdish	White and Chinese
Lebanese	Any other Dual background (specify)_____

Any other ethnic group (specify)

5. People with disabilities

The Disability Discrimination Act 1995 defines a person as disabled if they have “a physical or mental impairment which has a substantial and long-term adverse effect on a person’s ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities”

Do you consider yourself to have a disability?

If yes please specify the nature of your disability

6. Job Sharing Are you applying as Job Sharer?

Yes No

7. Advertisement

Where did you see the post advertised or hear about this vacancy?

Recruitment, Selection & Retention: The Council will:-

Recruit, select, promote and treat applicants on objective criteria, having regard to relevant experience, potential, skills and abilities. In particular, the Council will ensure that no applicant or employee will be placed at a disadvantage by requirements or conditions which are not necessary to the performance of the job, or which constitute direct, indirect or unfair discrimination.

Training: The Council will: -

Ensure that staff are trained to carry out all duties in line with current and emerging legislation and the implementation of the Councils commitments and the Equal Opportunities and diversity Policy;

- Produce a training plan, which integrates diversity and equal opportunities. This plan will be consulted on with staff, managers and unions;
- Undertake training to promote equal opportunities and diversity to all staff at all levels.

Review: The Council will: -

- Ensure that all employment policies are consistent with current legislation and all relevant employment Codes of Practice;
- Ensure that proactive measures are put in place to identify and address areas of inequality in all areas of human resource management.

HR Monitoring: The Council will: -

- Undertake Workforce Profiling and analyse implications of such profiling;
- Monitor, by ethnic group, disability, sexual orientation, religion and gender all existing staff and applicants for jobs, promotion, and training and publish these results every year;
- Monitor grievances, harassment, oppressive behaviour, disciplinary action, performance appraisals, training and dismissals;
- Undertake exit interviews to monitor reasons for staff attrition.

Fair Treatment: The Council will: -

- Act on our fair treatment policy, which promotes every employees right to be treated with respect, by challenging homophobic, racist, sexist, and other discriminatory behaviour.
- Keep under review complaints from staff against harassment, victimisation and bullying and any other discriminatory behaviour.

Equal Pay: The Council will: -

- Implement a fair employment and equal pay policy.

Complaints: The Council will: -

- Safeguard the individual rights of any employee who wishes to complain
- Any prospective employee who wishes to complain about the application or non-application of the policy may contact the Director of Human Resources at **the address and post code given.**

Tel: **given.** Fax: **given.** Email: **www.given@given.gov.uk**

Ludoshire Promoting Equality of Opportunity in Employment and Training

Appendix 2: Major education leadership and school improvement texts

This is the list cited in Chapter 2 of the original and subsequently updated list of major leadership and school improvement texts derived from an emailed questionnaire sent to some DCSs, Headteachers and school improvement officers/advisers.

Appendix 2		The number of page index references for five key terms in major education leadership and school improvement texts								
Author	Year	Book	Google scholar No. of citations	Web of Science Core Collection	Key terms searched for in the Index pages and the total number of page references cited					
					Cultural diversity	Diversity and difference	Equality of opportunity	Ethnicity	Race/ Racism	
Fullan	M	1982	The meaning of educational change	1855	63	0	2	0	0	0
Sergiovanni	T J	1992	Moral leadership: Getting to the heart of school improvement	909	174	0	0	0	0	0
Stoll & Fink	L & D	1996	Changing our schools	373	53	0	0	0	0	0
Bowring-Carr & West-Burnham	C & J	1997	Effective learning in schools	61	8	0	0	0	0	0
Davies & Ellison	B & L	1997	School leadership for the 21st century : a competency and knowledge approach	61	19	0	0	0	0	0

West- Burnham	J	1997	Managing quality in schools	115	7	0	0	0	0	0
Caldwell & Spinks	B & JM	1998	Beyond the self managing school	202	45	0	0	0	0	0
Caldwell & Spinks	B & JM	1998	Leading the self managing school	814	99	0	0	0	0	0
Harris et al	A	1998	Organizational effectiveness and improvement in education	86	11	0	0	0	1	0
Hopkins et al	D	1998	School improvement in an era of change	680	170	0	0	0	0	0
MacBeath	J	1998	Effective school leadership	144	53	0	0	0	0	0
Bowring-Carr & West-Burnham	C & J	1999	Managing Learning for Achievement	5	2	0	0	0	0	0
Brighouse & Woods	T & D	1999	How to improve your school	118	24	0	0	3	0	0
MacBeath	J	1999	Schools must speak for themselves	423	9	0	0	1	0	0
Elmore	RF	2000	Building a new structure for school leadership	975	334	0	0	0	0	0
Riley & Louis	KA & KS	2000	Leadership for change and school reform	28	16	0	0	0	0	0
Senge et al	P	2000	Schools that learn	734	56	0	0	0	3	0
Sergiovanni	T J	2000	The lifeworld of leadership	331	20	0	0	0	0	0

Tomlinson	CA	2000	Leadership for differentiating schools and classrooms	134	3	0	0	2	0	0
Beare	H	2001	Creating the future school	137	39	0	0	0	0	0
Donaldson	GD	2001	Cultivating leadership in schools	214	41	0	0	0	0	0
Fullan	M	2001	The new meaning of educational change	7145	2362	0	0	0	0	0
Gladwell	M	2001	The tipping point	1086	550	0	0	0	0	0
Harris	A	2002	School Improvement Whats in it for schools?	183	9	7	1	0	0	0
Preedy, Glatter & Wise	M, R & C	2003	Strategic Leadership and Educational Improvement	77		0	0	0	0	0
Anderson & Bennett	L & N	2003	Developing Educational Leadership	22	7	0	0	2	0	0
Copland	MA	2003	Leadership of inquiry: Building and sustaining capacity for school improvement	167	153	0	0	0	0	0
Fullan	M	2003	The moral imperative of school leadership	539	199	0	0	0	0	0
Harris	A	2003	Distributed leadership for school improvement	194	24	0	0	0	0	0
Harris et al	A	2003	Effective leadership for school improvement	312	104	6	0	0	0	0

Leithwood et al	K	2003	Changing Leadership for Changing Times	734	384	25	0	3	0	0
Coleman & Earley	M & P	2005	Leadership and Management in Education	58	28	2	1	0	3	0
Fink	D	2005	Leadership for mortals	19	13	0	0	0	0	0
Fullan	M	2005	Leadership & sustainability	790	10	0	0	0	0	0
Leithwood	K	2005	Educational Leadership for Organizational Learning and improved student outcomes	255	170	0	0	0	0	0
Murphy	J	2005	Connecting teacher leadership and school improvement	116	113	0	0	0	0	0
Busher	H	2006	Understanding Educational Leadership	184	41	3	2	4	4	0
Copland & Knapp	MA & MS	2006	Connecting leadership with learning: A framework for reflection, planning and action	147	29	0	0	2	0	0
Hargreaves and Fink	A & D	2006	Sustainable leadership	427	383	0	0	0	0	0
Reeves	D B	2006	The Learning Leader: How to focus school improvement for better results	156	2	0	0	2	0	0
Spillane	J P	2006	Distributed Leadership	1145	10	0	0	2	1	0
Hopkins	D	2007	Every School a Great School	395	1	0	0	0	0	0

Sergiovanni	TJ	2007	Rethinking Leadership	101	47	0	1	4	3	0
Collarbone & West Burnham	P & J	2008	Understanding System Leadership	23	2	0	0	1	1	3
Davies et al	B	2008	Passionate Leadership in Education	6	12	0	0	0	0	0
Dempster & MacBeath	N & J	2008	Leadership for Learning: Towards a practical theory	8	1	2	0	0	0	0
Hopkins et al	D	2008	Seven strong claims about successful school leadership	2312	232	0	0	0	0	0
Sapiro & Gross	J & S J	2008	Ethical Educational Leadership in Turbulent Times: (Re)Solving moral dilemmas	201	2	0	0	0	0	0
Duke	DL	2009	Differentiating school leadership	46	8	0	3	0	1	0
MacBeath & Dempster	J & N	2009	Connecting Leadership and Learning: Principles for Practice	242		0	0	0	0	0
West- Burnham	J	2009	Rethinking Educational Leadership	69	13	0	0	1	0	0
Alexander	R	2010	Children, their World, their Education	65	2	5	3	19	41	0
Dimmock	C	2011	Leadership, capacity building and school improvement	119		0	0	2	0	0
Early & Jones	P & J	2011	Accelerated Leadership Development: Fast tracking school leaders	12		0	0	0	0	0
Payzant	T	2011	Urban School Leadership	29		0	0	0	0	1

Preedy et al	M & R	2011	Educational Leadership: Context, Strategy and Collaboration	14		0	0	0	0	0	0
Kouzes & Posner	JM & BZ	2012	The Leadership Challenge: How to Make Extraordinary Things Happen in Organizations	127		0	0	0	0	0	0
Massey	D	2012	Leading the Sustainable School: Distributing Leadership to Inspire School Improvement			0	1	2	0	0	0
Earley	P	2013	Exploring the School Leadership Landscape: Changing Demands, Changing Realities	44		0	0	4	0	0	0
Harris et al	A	2013	Effective leadership for school improvement	305		0	0	0	0	0	0
Laar	B	2014	Primary Heads: Exceptional Leadership in the Primary School			0	0	0	0	0	0
Neishe	R	2014	Deconstructing Educational Leadership	21		0	0	0	1	0	0
Coates	S	2015	Headstrong			0	0	0	0	0	0
Bangs & Frost	J & D	2016	Positional Teacher Leadership			0	0	0	0	0	0
Edwards & Martin	J & B	2016	Schools that Deliver			0	0	0	0	0	0
Earley & Greany	P & T	2017	School Leadership and Education System Reform			0	1	1	2	0	0
Riley	KA	2017	Place Belonging and School Leadership			0	0	1	0	0	0
Bailey & Bates	A & B	2018	Educational Leadership Simplified: A guide for existing and Aspiring Leaders			0	1	1	1	0	0

Bates & Bailey	B & A	2018	Educational Leadership Simplified: A Guide for Existing and Aspiring Leaders			0	0	3	0	0
Brazer & Bauer	SD & SC	2018	Leading Schools to Learn, Grow, and Thrive: Using Theory to Strengthen Practice			0	0	0	0	0
Jones	G	2018	Evidence-based School Leadership and Management: A practical guide			0	0	0	0	0

Appendix 3 Interview Schedule

“Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed.” Carry on introduction:

- A brief outline of my PhD research, which I am self funding
- That my research has been approved by the University of Birmingham
- My supervisor is Professor David Gillborn. I will leave you with relevant contact details.
- Your involvement is Voluntary and I am very grateful that you are giving up this time for me.
- I will keep your identity anonymous and will only reveal your identity to my supervisor within the context of the supervision of my research. Names of individuals and places you mention during our discussion will also be anonymised.
- You can stop and withdraw from this discussion at any time.
- Our discussion will be recorded and it will be transcribed into a word document. The recording and the transcript will be stored on (.....) as per University regulations.
- I shall also send you a copy of my completed thesis, as a thank you, after submitting it to the University for assessment.

“I have a number of questions, which I want to talk to you about. Many of these questions are ones I have asked myself and in the context of my research I believe are important to capture from the perspectives/view point of the people like yourself with whom I am interviewing/discussing. As I am recording this and getting it transcribed, I will only make notes if something occurs which sound may not capture. I may at times interrupt for more clarification or explanation. I hope that is ok.”

1. Can I begin by asking about your early memories of being a school pupil? [try to establish a comfortable dialogue – be prepared to share some of my own experiences – establish trust, show my respect]
2. Why did you go into education? [what were the motives, does colour/ethnicity shape their motives to go into education]
3. What are your abiding memories of your earlier career in education? [How did colour/ethnicity shape those memories?, Were they made to feel that they contributed to children’s learning? Were they made to feel that they were contributing to the profession?]
4. Was advancement/promotion easy for you [try and draw out specific examples]
5. Did you find your colour/ethnicity advantageous or a barrier to promotion?
6. Were you made to feel a role model by your peers or managers during your career?
7. Much has been said, in research, in local policy contexts, in national debates around differential outcomes by ethnicity at the end of the Key Stages in schooling. What is your explanation for these different outcomes?

8. Throughout your career (or at certain times in your career) were you aware of a positive drive towards equality of outcome in education (strive for specific examples related to professional development, to pupil outcomes, to community empowerment etc)?
9. On becoming a DCS/DDCS/ADCS/HoS/Headteacher – a leader in children’s learning what were/are the struggles around race/ethnicity in your organisational context.
10. How about in the immediate area, region?
11. And in terms of the national context?
12. Do you think it is a significant issue that Black and minority ethnic people in leadership roles in LAs and schools are underrepresented?
13. What would you list as your professional victories?
14. What are the struggles still yet to be won?

“Thank you for your contribution. It is a small gesture but it is a thank you that I will send you a copy of my thesis once it has been submitted. If there is anything else that occurs to you later feel free to email me. Thank you.”

Appendix 4 The Freedom of Information request form used in the survey of 152

local authorities

1	Does this Council have an Equal Opportunity in Employment Policy?	Yes	No
1.1	The date on which the Equality Opportunity in Employment Policy was adopted by the Council	Date	
1.2	The date on which the Equality Opportunity in Employment Policy will next be reviewed by the Council?	Date	
2	Does the Council undertake Equality Impact Assessments routinely in policy development?	Yes	No
3	Does the Council monitor all existing staff by:	Yes	No
	Disability	Yes	No
	ethnic group	Yes	No
	gender	Yes	No
	religion	Yes	No
	sexual orientation	Yes	No
	other ?	Yes	No
	other ?	Yes	No

3.1	Are the outcomes from monitoring in 3 above reported to Council annually?	Yes	No
3.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring in 3 above last reported to Council?	Date	
4	Does the Council monitor all job applications by:	Yes	No
	Disability	Yes	No
	ethnic group	Yes	No
	gender	Yes	No
	religion	Yes	No
	sexual orientation	Yes	No
	other ?	Yes	No
	other ?	Yes	No
4.1	Are the outcomes from monitoring in 4 above reported to Council annually?	Yes	No
4.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring in 4 above last reported to Council?	Date	

5	Does the Council monitor all promotions by:			Yes	No
			Disability	Yes	No
			ethnic group	Yes	No
			gender	Yes	No
			religion	Yes	No
			sexual orientation	Yes	No
			other ?	Yes	No
			other ?	Yes	No
5.1	Are the outcomes from monitoring in 5 above reported to Council annually?			Yes	No
5.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring in 5 above last reported to Council?			Date	
6	Does the Council monitor all training by:			Yes	No
			Disability	Yes	No
			ethnic group	Yes	No
			gender	Yes	No
			religion	Yes	No
			sexual orientation	Yes	No
			other ?	Yes	No
			other ?	Yes	No

6.1	Are the outcomes from monitoring in 6 above reported to Council annually?	Yes	No
6.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring in 6 above last reported to Council?	Date	
7	Does the Council monitor disciplinary action by:	Yes	No
	Disability	Yes	No
	ethnic group	Yes	No
	gender	Yes	No
	religion	Yes	No
	sexual orientation	Yes	No
	other ?	Yes	No
	other ?	Yes	No
7.1	Are the outcomes from monitoring in 7 above reported to Council annually?	Yes	No
7.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring in 7 above last reported to Council?	Date	
8	Does the Council monitor competency action by:	Yes	No
	Disability	Yes	No
	ethnic group	Yes	No
	gender	Yes	No

			religion	Yes	No
			sexual orientation	Yes	No
			other ?	Yes	No
			other ?	Yes	No
8.1	Are the outcomes from monitoring in 8 above reported to Council annually?			Yes	No
8.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring in 8 above last reported to Council?			Date	
9	Does the Council monitor Headteacher appoints in maintained schools by:			Yes	No
			Disability	Yes	No
			ethnic group	Yes	No
			gender	Yes	No
			religion	Yes	No
			sexual orientation	Yes	No
			other ?	Yes	No
			other ?	Yes	No
9.1	Are the outcomes from monitoring in 9 above reported to Council annually?			Yes	No
9.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring in 9 above last reported to Council?			Date	

10	Does the Council monitor applications for Headship appoints in			Yes	No
	maintained schools by:				
			Disability	Yes	No
			ethnic group	Yes	No
			gender	Yes	No
			religion	Yes	No
			sexual orientation	Yes	No
			other ?	Yes	No
			other ?	Yes	No
10.1	Are the outcomes from monitoring in 10 above reported to Council			Yes	No
	annually?				
10.2	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring in 10 above last			Date	
	reported to Council?				

Appendix 5 A summary of the areas of and extent of WFM from my analysis over a three year period May June 2015 to November 2018.

Possible data areas in which the 50 Councils sampled provided data in any published Workforce Monitoring Reports*	All Staff	Disability	Ethnicity	Gender	Religion	Sexual Orientation	Age	Transgender	Other
Data provided on current fulltime workforce headcount	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	82.0%	12%^ (8)	32% (2)	0%^	0.0%
Data provided overtime (year on year) of fulltime workforce headcount	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	46.0%	0.0%	6% (0)	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided on current part-time workforce headcount	76.0%	34% (24)	40% (30)	86% (76)	12.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided overtime (year on year) on part-time workforce headcount	76.0%	24.0%	18.0%	72.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided on current age profile of workforce	84.0%	0.0%	16.0%	74.0%	10% (14)	0.0%	58% (0)	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided overtime (year on year) of age profile of workforce	24.0%	0.0%	16.0%	68.0%	0.0%	0.0%	26% (0)	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided on current workforce by Grade (salary band)	48.0%	0.0%	48.0%	48.0%	0.0%	0.0%	22% (0)	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided overtime (year on year) of workforce by Grade (salary band)	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided on in year applications received	36.0%	24.0%	24.0%	24.0%	18.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided overtime (year on year) of in year applications received	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided on in year shortlisting received	28.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided overtime (year on year) of in year shortlisting received	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided on in year promotions	16% (20)	0.0%	2% (8)	2% (16)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided overtime (year on year) of in year promotions	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	14.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided on in year professional development	12.0%	0.0%	4.0%	12.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided overtime (year on year) of in year professional development	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided on in year grievance raised	38.0%	38.0%	38.0%	38.0%	0% (4)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided overtime (year on year) of in year grievance raised	12.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided on in year disciplinary cases	82.0%	24.0%	78.0%	78.0%	0% (2)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided overtime (year on year) of in year disciplinary cases	40.0%	18.0%	62.0%	62.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Data provided on in year capability cases	18.0%	0.0%	18.0%	18.0%	0% (18)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided overtime (year on year) of in year capability cases	26.0%	4.0%	18.0%	18.0%	0% (10)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided on in year maternity leave return rate	6.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided overtime (year on year) of in year maternity leave return rate	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided on these areas (listed above) where there is commentary on at least 50% of the data	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	0% (20)	0% (6)	14% (8)	0.0%	0.0%
Data provided on these areas (listed above) broken down by Council Service Departments	56% (62)	48% (62)	48% (62)	56% (62)	18% (40)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Some additional note

* The first sample undertaken June - July during the calendar year 2015. The third sample undertaken during November 2018
Unbracketed percentage data relates to the third search period. Bracketed percentage data relates to the first search period.
0% in some cases means no data and in some cases data withheld to maintain anonymity of staff
^ against a percentage figure indicates that some Authorities were now collecting the data but withheld publishing data, which would be small in number, to maintain anonymity of staff
There is no consistency between Authorities on how they monitor and report on their workforce
All 50 sampled Authorities monitored by disability, ethnicity and gender. Monitoring by age, religion, sexual orientation etc. was inconsistent across Authorities. There is no variation by type of Council. Data presented as 100% = all 50 Authorities sampled. 50% = 25 of the 50 Authorities sampled. 24% = 12 of the 50 Authorities sampled and 2% = 1 of the 50 Authorities sampled
1] Sexual orientation and Transgender monitoring is increasingly being undertaken 2] Age data is also being reported. This maybe due to the fact that in all the sampled Authorities staffing numbers have decreased during the periods when sampling was undertaken. 3] Increase in the reporting of staff grades by age. 4] Only one authority was still reporting on promotions by gender and ethnicity

Appendix 6 Survey Summary Form: Extract from the Microsoft Excel spread sheet used to collect local authority survey returns

						% of BME pupils by Phase				Question 1			2	Question 3									
						Primary BME	Secondary BME	Special BME	<20%	Does this Council have an Equal Opportunity in Employment Policy?	The date on which the Eoin Employment Policy was adopted by the council?	The date on which the EO in Employment will next be reviewed by the council?	Does the council undertake Equality impact assessments	Does the council monitor all existing staff by	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?	Other (please specify)	Other (please specify)	Are the outcomes from monitoring in 3 above reported to Council annually?	On what date were the outcomes from monitoring in 3 above last reported to Council?
									21% - 40%														
									41% - 60%														
									61% - 80%														
									80%>														
Unique Reference No	Region	TYPE	LEA	email - S	email - R	P BME	S BME	Sp BME	%	1	1.1	1.2	2	3	3a	3b	3c	3d	3e	3f	3g	3.1	3.2
20140417EQ9365	Y&H	C		03/12/2014	10/12/2014	7.8%	4.9%	7.8%	<20%	Yes	01/01/2006	01/01/2016	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes			Yes	01/08/2014
20140417EQ9236	SW	C		03/12/2014	05/01/2015	11.3%	9.5%	7.8%	<20%	Yes	over 10 yrs	3 yearly	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		No	01/01/2010
20140417EQ9198	NW	C		29/11/2014	16/01/2015	9.5%	7.2%	5.1%	<20%	Yes	01/02/2007	TBA	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	01/09/2014
20140417EQ9232	SW	BC		02/12/2014	05/01/2015	22.6%	18.7%	13.4%	<20%	Yes	11/04/2013	01/02/2016	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	
20140417EQ9211	SE	BC		02/12/2014	16/03/2015	20.5%	15.2%	15.4%	<20%	Yes	01/01/1995	3 yearly	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	01/12/2014
20140417EQ9169	E	CoC		21/09/2014	10/10/2014	20.5%	15.4%	11.0%	<20%	No			Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		No	

Appendix 7 Table A Survey responses to Question 3

The following tables summarise the number of responses (and these responses as a percentage) to each question in the survey for *all responding local authorities*. Of the 152 LAs who were contacted, 140 LAs responded to the survey.

Table A Responses to Question 3

	Question 3							3.1 Are the outcomes from monitoring in 3 above reported to Council annually?	3.2 On what date were the outcomes from monitoring in 3 above last reported to Council? (providing a date)
	3.0 Does the council monitor all existing staff by...								
	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?	Other (please specify)	Other(please specify)		
Number of responses	136	136	136	133	132	102	52	125	99
Number of responses as a percentage of all survey respondents (140 Local Authorities)	97.14%	97.14%	97.14%	95.00%	94.29%	72.86%	37.14%	89.29%	70.71%
Number of responses = Yes	134	134	133	112	107	89	37	91	
Number of responses = Yes as a percentage	95.71%	95.71%	95.00%	80.00%	76.43%	63.57%	26.43%	65.00%	
Number of responses = No	2	2	3	21	25	13	15	34	
Number of responses = No as a percentage	1.43%	1.43%	2.14%	15.00%	17.86%	9.29%	10.71%	24.29%	

The majority of authorities did not specify anything under 'Other' in Q3.0 (96%) i.e. which other protected characteristic(s) they were monitoring. Of the 4% of authorities that did respond (6 Authorities,) the protected characteristics itemised were Age and/or Religion.

Appendix 7 Table B Survey responses to Question 4

	Question 4							4.1 Are the outcomes from monitoring in 4 above reported to Council annually?	4.2 On what date were the outcomes from monitoring job applications last reported to Council? (providing a date)
	4.0 Does the council monitor all job applications by...								
	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?	Other (please specify)	Other(please specify)		
Number of responses	135	135	135	132	132	93	49	127	70
Number of responses as a percentage of all survey respondents (140 Local Authorities)	96.43%	96.43%	96.43%	94.29%	94.29%	66.43%	35.00%	90.71%	50.00%
Number of responses = Yes	130	129	128	110	103	79	25	67	
Number of responses = Yes as a percentage	92.86%	92.14%	91.43%	78.57%	73.57%	56.43%	17.86%	47.86%	
Number of responses = No	5	6	7	22	29	14	24	60	
Number of responses = No as a percentage	3.57%	4.29%	5.00%	15.71%	20.71%	10.00%	17.14%	42.86%	

Appendix 7 Table C Survey responses to Question 5

	Question 5							5.1 Are the outcomes from monitoring in 5 above reported to Council annually?	5.2 On what date were the outcomes from monitoring promotions last reported to Council? (date provided)
	5.0 Does the council monitor all promotions by...								
	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?	Other (please specify)	Other (please specify)		
Number of responses	124	124	124	122	122	86	67	111	26
Number of responses as a percentage of all survey respondents (140 Local Authorities)	88.57%	88.57%	88.57%	87.14%	87.14%	61.43%	47.86%	79.29%	18.57%
Number of responses = Yes	53	53	53	40	40	35	15	29	
Number of responses = Yes as a percentage	37.86%	37.86%	37.86%	28.57%	28.57%	25.00%	10.71%	20.71%	
Number of responses = No	71	71	71	82	82	51	52	82	
Number of responses = No as a percentage	50.71%	50.71%	50.71%	58.57%	58.57%	36.43%	37.14%	58.57%	

Appendix 7 Table D Survey responses to Question 6

	Question 6							6.1 Are the outcomes from monitoring in 6 above reported to Council annually?	6.2 On what date were the outcomes from monitoring professional development last reported to Council? (date provided)
	6.0 Does the council monitor all professional development by...								
	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?	Other (please specify)	Other (please specify)		
Number of responses	130	130	129	129	128	84	64	116	35
Number of responses as a percentage of all survey respondents (140 Local Authorities)	92.86%	92.86%	92.14%	92.14%	91.43%	60.00%	45.71%	82.86%	25.00%
Number of responses = Yes	58	59	58	43	40	40	16	37	
Number of responses = Yes as a percentage	41.43%	42.14%	41.43%	30.71%	28.57%	28.57%	11.43%	26.43%	
Number of responses = No	72	71	71	86	88	44	48	79	
Number of responses = No as a percentage	51.43%	50.71%	50.71%	61.43%	62.86%	31.43%	34.29%	56.43%	

Appendix 7 Table E Survey responses to Question 7

	Question 7							7.1 Are the outcomes from monitoring in 7 above reported to Council annually?	7.2 On what date were the outcomes from monitoring disciplinary proceedings last reported to Council? (date provided)
	7.0 Does the council monitor all disciplinary proceedings by...								
	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?	Other (please specify)	Other (please specify)		
Number of responses	132	131	131	127	130	91	60	116	56
Number of responses as a percentage of all survey respondents (140 Local Authorities)	94.29%	93.57%	93.57%	90.71%	92.86%	65.00%	42.86%	82.86%	40.00%
Number of responses = Yes	98	99	99	61	61	61	26	53	
Number of responses = Yes as a percentage	70.00%	70.71%	70.71%	43.57%	43.57%	43.57%	18.57%	37.86%	
Number of responses = No	34	32	32	66	69	30	34	63	
Number of responses = No as a percentage	24.29%	22.86%	22.86%	47.14%	49.29%	21.43%	24.29%	45.00%	

Appendix 7 Table F Survey responses to Question 8

	Question 8							8.1 Are the outcomes from monitoring in 8 above reported to Council annually?	8.2 On what date were the outcomes from monitoring competency proceedings last reported to Council? (date provided)
	8.0 Does the council monitor all competency proceedings by...								
	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?	Other (please specify)	Other (please specify)		
Number of responses	131	131	131	126	126	84	62	113	31
Number of responses as a percentage of all survey respondents (140 Local Authorities)	93.57%	93.57%	93.57%	90.00%	90.00%	60.00%	44.29%	80.71%	22.14%
Number of responses = Yes	76	77	77	48	47	46	21	32	
Number of responses = Yes as a percentage	54.29%	55.00%	55.00%	34.29%	33.57%	32.86%	15.00%	22.86%	
Number of responses = No	55	54	54	78	79	38	41	81	
Number of responses = No as a percentage	39.29%	38.57%	38.57%	55.71%	56.43%	27.14%	29.29%	57.86%	

Appendix 7 Table G Survey responses to Question 9

	Question 9							9.1 Are the outcomes from monitoring in 9 above reported to Council annually?	9.2 On what date were the outcomes from monitoring Headteacher appointments to maintained schools last reported to Council? (date provided)
	9.1 Does the council monitor all Headteacher appointments in maintained schools by...								
	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?	Other (please specify)	Other(please specify)		
Number of responses	127	128	127	128	128	91	78	115	12
Number of responses as a percentage of all survey respondents (140 Local Authorities)	90.71%	91.43%	90.71%	91.43%	91.43%	65.00%	55.71%	82.14%	8.57%
Number of responses = Yes	59	58	59	49	47	29	13	10	
Number of responses = Yes as a percentage	42.14%	41.43%	42.14%	35.00%	33.57%	20.71%	9.29%	7.14%	
Number of responses = No	68	70	68	79	81	62	65	105	
Number of responses = No as a percentage	48.57%	50.00%	48.57%	56.43%	57.86%	44.29%	46.43%	75.00%	

Appendix 7 Table H Survey responses to Question 10

	Question 10							10.1 Are the outcomes from monitoring in 10 above reported to Council annually?	10.2 On what date were the outcomes from monitoring Headteacher applications in maintained schools last reported to Council? (date provided)
	10.0 Does the council monitor all applications for Headteacher appointments in maintained schools by...								
	Disability?	Ethnic Group?	Gender?	Religion?	Sexual orientation?	Other (please specify)	Other (please specify)		
Number of responses	113	113	113	113	113	83	69	103	9
Number of responses as a percentage of all survey respondents (140 Local Authorities)	80.71%	80.71%	80.71%	80.71%	80.71%	59.29%	49.29%	73.57%	6.43%
Number of responses = Yes	52	51	52	43	40	25	11	10	
Number of responses = Yes as a percentage	37.14%	36.43%	37.14%	30.71%	28.57%	17.86%	7.86%	7.14%	
Number of responses = No	61	62	61	70	73	58	58	93	
Number of responses = No as a percentage	43.57%	44.29%	43.57%	50.00%	52.14%	41.43%	41.43%	66.43%	

Appendix 8 Summary of workforce monitoring data from sampled Authorities

Table 8.1 All sampled Authorities

Workforce Monitoring (WFM) Analysis								
Type of LA	Possible Responses	No of responses	Sampled	Proportion of BME Pupils within the LAs sampled				
				20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	80>%
All Councils	152	140	50	21	16	8	5	
WFM Reports includes Number and percentage				4	3	1	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & commentary				0	0	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & graphs				1	3	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, graphs & commentary				0	1	1	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & pie charts				11	5	5	2	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, pie charts & commentary				2	4	0	2	
Evidence of reducing under-representation against previous year				0	0	0	0	
Evidence of reducing under-representation over 3+ years				0	0	0	0	
Any targets set for reducing under-representation in future years				3	4	1	2	

Table 8.2 Borough Council Authorities only

Workforce Monitoring (WFM) Analysis								
Type of LA	Possible Responses	No of responses	Sampled	Proportion of BME Pupils within the LAs sampled				
				20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	80>%
Borough Council	22	18	7	2	3	1	1	
WFM Reports includes Number and percentage				1	2	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & commentary				0	0	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & graphs				1	0	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, graphs & commentary				0	0	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & pie charts				0	0	1	1	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, pie charts & commentary				0	1	0	0	
Evidence of reducing under-representation against previous year				0	0	0	0	
Evidence of reducing under-representation over 3+ years				0	0	0	0	
Any targets set for reducing under-representation in future years				0	1	0	0	

Table 8.3 Council Authorities only

Workforce Monitoring (WFM) Analysis								
Type of LA	Possible Responses	No of responses	Sampled	Proportion of BME Pupils within the LAs sampled				
				20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	80>%
Council	20	19	8	6	2			
WFM Reports includes Number and percentage				1	0			
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & commentary				0	0			
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & graphs				0	1			
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, graphs & commentary				0	0			
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & pie charts				2	1			
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, pie charts & commentary				1	0			
Evidence of reducing under-representation against previous year				0	0			
Evidence of reducing under-representation over 3+ years				0	0			
Any targets set for reducing under-representation in future years				2	0			

Table 8.4 City Council Authorities only

Workforce Monitoring (WFM) Analysis								
Type of LA	Possible Responses	No of responses	Sampled	Proportion of BME Pupils within the LAs sampled				
				20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	80>%
City Council	23	20	7	2	3	1	1	
WFM Reports includes Number and percentage				0	0	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & commentary				0	0	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & graphs				0	0	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, graphs & commentary				0	1	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & pie charts				2	0	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, pie charts & commentary				0	2	0	0	
Evidence of reducing under-representation against previous year				0	0	0	0	
Evidence of reducing under-representation over 3+ years				0	0	0	0	
Any targets set for reducing under-representation in future years				0	1	0	0	

Table 8.5 County Council Authorities only

Workforce Monitoring (WFM) Analysis								
Type of LA	Possible Responses	No of responses	Sampled	Proportion of BME Pupils within the LAs sampled				
				20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	80>%
County Council	35	34	11	9	2			
WFM Reports includes Number and percentage				2	0			
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & commentary				0	0			
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & graphs				0	1			
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, graphs & commentary				0	0			
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & pie charts				5	1			
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, pie charts & commentary				1	0			
Evidence of reducing under-representation against previous year				0	0			
Evidence of reducing under-representation over 3+ years				0	0			
Any targets set for reducing under-representation in future years				1	0			

Table 8.6 London Borough Council Authorities only

Workforce Monitoring (WFM) Analysis								
Type of LA	Possible Responses	No of responses	Sampled	Proportion of BME Pupils within the LAs sampled				
				20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	80>%
Lon Borough Council	33	31	10	0	4	4	2	
WFM Reports includes Number and percentage				0	1	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & commentary				0		0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & graphs				0	1	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, graphs & commentary				0		0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & pie charts				0	1	4	1	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, pie charts & commentary				0	1	0	1	
Evidence of reducing under-representation against previous year				0	0	0	0	
Evidence of reducing under-representation over 3+ years				0	0	0	0	
Any targets set for reducing under-representation in future years				0	1	0	1	

Table 8.7 Metropolitan Borough Council Authorities only

Workforce Monitoring (WFM) Analysis								
Type of LA	Possible Responses	No of responses	Sampled	Proportion of BME Pupils within the LAs sampled				
				20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	80>%
Met Borough Council	19	18	7	2	2	2	1	
WFM Reports includes Number and percentage				0	0	1	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & commentary				0	0	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & graphs				0	0	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, graphs & commentary				0	0	1	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage & pie charts				2	2	0	0	
WFM Reports includes Number, percentage, pie charts & commentary				0	0	0	1	
Evidence of reducing under-representation against previous year				0	0	0	0	
Evidence of reducing under-representation over 3+ years				0	0	0	0	
Any targets set for reducing under-representation in future years				0	1	1	1	

Appendix 9 Statement of intent on the diversity of the teaching workforce – setting the case for a diverse teaching workforce

This statement was published on the 11th October 2018, by the DfE and the RDU



Department
for Education



EXPLAIN
OR
CHANGE

Statement of intent on the diversity of the teaching workforce – setting the case for a diverse teaching workforce

Today the teaching workforce is more diverse than ever before. This reflects the increasing diversity of the country and its pupil population. Yet data shows that amongst others, women and ethnic minority teachers remain under-represented at senior levels: 8% of teachers come from ethnic minority backgrounds, but only 3% of headteachers come from ethnic minority backgrounds

74% of teachers are women, but only 66% of headteachers are women¹ Research also suggests that there is more to do to support teachers from the LGBT community or disabled teachers and we recognise that many teachers will have more than one of these characteristics. Under-representation is an issue amongst governors and trustees also. Only 4% of governors and trustees are from an ethnic minority background and although the majority of governors and trustees are women, it is less likely they will be in leadership roles². The Race Disparity Audit, the Gender Pay Gap reporting duty and the LGBT survey have provided an important platform which has highlighted the disparities for these groups and challenged each sector to step up and respond.

The value of a diverse workforce and school leadership is clear. Diversity within schools is valuable in fostering social cohesion and most importantly, in supporting pupils to grow and develop in an environment of visible, diverse role models.

We want to see a teaching profession that prides itself on promoting a diverse workforce, that supports the progression and retention of all teachers, and that builds an inclusive environment for teachers and pupils where they can be themselves.

Each part of the school system can play a valuable role in supporting the progression of all teachers and removing any biases in recruitment practice.

Everyone has a part to play in this. This is why we are inviting the school sector to join us and to work with us to drive this important change.

Today the Department is setting out its activity across these areas and we are delighted that a number of organisations who are already active in this space are joining us.

Whilst this statement offers an important first step in setting the case for change, we recognise that we must be clear on how we will drive change. This is why we will be talking to schools, teachers, multi-academy trusts and governing boards over the coming months to understand what needs to happen to drive this change as part of our recruitment and retention strategy. We look forward to working across the sector to effect positive change in this area.

If you would like to work with us, we ask that you:

- 1) State that you agree with the value of a diverse workforce in schools and the need to prioritise work in this space
- 2) Commit to engaging with the schools sector to make the case for a diverse workforce
- 3) Set out activity that your organisation is taking forward to make the case and/or to support the progression and inclusion of presently under-represented groups

Share your intention to work with us by contacting: Teacher.DIVERSITY@education.gov.uk.

¹ <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/school-workforce-in-england-november-2017>

² School Governance in 2017, Annual Survey by NGA and TES,
<https://www.nga.org.uk/Guidance/Workings-Of-The-Governing-Body/Governance-Tools/School-governance-in-2017-an-annual-survey-by-NGA.aspx>

This statement has been co-signed by: Department for Education, National Association of Headteachers, Association of School and College Leaders, Chartered College of Teaching, National Governance Association, Bame Ed, Women Ed, LGBT Ed, Disability Ed, Ambition School Leadership and the Institute for Teaching, All-in Education.

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/diversity-of-the-teaching-workforce-statement-of-intent>

Appendix 10 The Scope of the National Strategies:

- Improved pedagogy and subject knowledge in the core subjects of primary - English and mathematics, and in secondary science. Developed from 1998.
- The Key Stage 3 Strategy – English, mathematics, and science. Developed from 2001.
- Support for secondary schools below floor targets (National Challenge). Developed from 2001.
- Improving attainment and progress of the lowest-attaining 5% of children in primary schools through the Every Child programmes. Developed from 2002.
- Developed from 2002 Primary programmes such as the Improving Schools Programme (ISP), which was originally targeted at schools below floor targets but was later extended as a bespoke support to a wider range of schools. Including:
 - Supporting schools in the use of the Assessing Pupils' Progress (APP) materials and the pedagogy of Assessment for Learning (AfL).
 - Developing data analyses that are designed to help to identify how different groups of pupils are progressing and to promote effective ways of intervening to accelerate the achievements of vulnerable groups.
 - The continuous drive to support planning and teaching for progression through the development and use of the Primary and Secondary Frameworks.
 - Promoting the uptake of How Science Works as a key component of the national Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) agenda and in preparation for the new science GCSEs.
- Behaviour and Attendance, including the well-regarded Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL) programme. Developed from 2003.
- Support and challenge to local authorities through National Strategies' regional teams. Developed from 2003
- The School Improvement Partner (SIP) programme. Developed from 2004.
- Special Educational Needs (SEN), including the highly successful Inclusion Development Programme (IDP) and the Achievement for All (AfA) pilot. Developed from 2004:
 - The pilot and national roll-out of Functional Skills. Developed from 2005
 - The development of systematic synthetic phonics through the Communication, Language and Literacy (CLLD) programme. Developed from 2006.
 - The Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) framework and materials, with a particular focus on supporting the narrowing of gaps in early years outcomes. Developed from 2007.
- Developed from 2008: Narrowing the Gaps (for pupils on free school meals, black and ethnic minority pupils and gifted and talented pupils from deprived backgrounds).

Appendix 11 Nationality, Immigration and Race Relations Acts of

Parliament since 1945:

1948	British Nationality Act
1962	Commonwealth Immigration Act
1965	First Race Relations Act
1968	Commonwealth Immigration Act
1968	Second Race Relations Act
1971	Immigration Act
1976	Third Race Relations Act
1981	British Nationality Act
1986	Immigration Act
1988	Immigration Act
1990	British Nationality (Hong Kong) Act
1996	The Asylum and Immigration Act
1997	Special Immigration Appeals Commission Act
1999	Asylum and Immigration Act
2000	Race Relations Amendment Act
2002	Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act
2004	Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants) Act
2006	Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act
2006	Equality Act
2009	Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act
2010	Equality Act
2014	Immigration Act
2016	Immigration Act

NOTES

- 1 Name changed to preserve anonymity

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