The Education Policy Knowledgeable Polity (EPKP) project:
a contribution to critical education policy scholarship.

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Volume I

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ABSTRACT

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Title of submission: The Education Policy Knowledgeable Polity (EPKP) project: a contribution to critical education policy scholarship.
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The *Education Policy Knowledgeable Polity* (EPKP) project addresses the question: what is the relationship between the state, public policy and knowledge? The thesis summary statement together with 16 research outputs presents an overview of forty years of research interrogating this core question. In the first part of the summary statement, the EPKP project as a substantial and innovative contribution is explained in full, and in the second part, the significance for critical education policy scholarship is presented. The EPKP project is located in political sociology whereby the focus is on *knowledge production as a governing strategy* at a time of complex depoliticization and privatization processes. The case is made for the examination of how and why policy actors (e.g. ministers, civil servants, researchers, consultants, professionals), who are located in different *vantage points,* develop and enact *standpoints*, and *exchange* knowledge in *regimes of practice* where ideas, data, and reputations are staked. Such claims give prime attention to forms of knowledge, ways of knowing and displays of knowledgeability that both shape and are an outcome of *governing by knowledge production*. This programme of research makes two main contributions to ongoing debates in the field of critical education policy scholarship: first, it makes a significant, critical and original contribution to the field's empirical and conceptual resources; and second it breaks new ground through the development of the concept of the *knowledgeable polity* as an arena where actors take up positions in regimes in relation to standpoints regarding options and strategies. Notably the study makes the case for political sociology, particularly by examining the prime role of the state and sovereignty. The impact of the EPKP project is examined, and an agenda for ongoing research is presented.

Key words: Education Policy, Exchange Relationships, Governing Strategy, Knowledge Production, Knowledgeable Polity, Political Sociology, Regimes of Practice, Standpoints, State, Vantage Points.

DECLARATION

Helen Mary Gunter

Faculty of Humanities

Doctor of Social Science

(1) 16 published outputs are submitted for this DSocSc thesis. The outputs represent the conceptual and empirical underpinnings of the EPKP project outline and contribution presented in the summary statement.

Outputs 1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, are sole authored.

Outputs 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 15, 16 are co-authored where I am lead author. My contribution to each output is at least 80%.

(2) No part of the work presented has been submitted in support of a successful or pending application for any other degree or qualification of this or any other University or of any professional or learned body.

I confirm that this is a true statement and that, subject to any comments above, the submission is my own original work.

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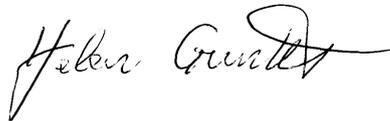
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STATEMENT OF QUALIFICATIONS

The candidate holds degrees of B.A. (Hons) Modern History and Politics, awarded 1979 from the University of Liverpool, UK; an MSc Educational Management, awarded 1990 from the CNAA; and a PhD, *An intellectual history of the field of education management from 1960,* awarded 1999 from Keele University, UK. The candidate was awarded a PGCE in 1980 by the University of Liverpool, UK, with qualified teacher status (Registration Number 79/39467). The candidate was employed by Cheshire County Council as a teacher 1980-1991, and then employed at Leeds Metropolitan University 1991-1993 (Senior Lecturer), Keele University 1993-1999 (Lecturer B), University of Birmingham 1999-2004 (Senior Lecturer 1999-2002; Reader 2002-2004). The candidate has been employed by the University of Manchester since 2004 (Professor of Education Policy) and held the honorary Sarah Fielden Chair of Education 2014-2017. The candidate was executive editor for the *Journal of Educational Administration and History* for a decade. From the candidate has been a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences since 2010, and in 2016 received the Distinguished Service Award, from the British Educational Leadership Management and Administration Society (BELMAS).

STATEMENT OF RESEARCH OUTPUTS

The 16 outputs are listed here. Notification is provided in the summary statement of when these outputs are linked to the EPKP project. The journal/publisher status and citation data for each together with the rationale for selection is provided in Appendix 1. Copies of the outputs are provided in Volume 2 of this thesis.

Output 1
Gunter, H.M. (2018) Depoliticisation and education policy. In: Wilkinson, J., Niesche, R. and Eacott, S. (Eds.) *Challenges for Public Education* London: Routledge. 87-100.

Output 2
Gunter, H.M., Hall, D. and Bragg, J. (2013) Distributed Leadership: a study in knowledge production. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*. 41 (5) 556 - 581.

Output 3
Chapter 1 from Gunter, H.M. and Mills, C. (2017) *Consultants and Consultancy: the Case of Education*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

Output 4
Gunter, H.M. and Forrester, G. (2009) Institutionalised Governance: the case of the National College for School Leadership. *International Journal of Public Administration*. 32 (5), 349-369.

Output 5
Gunter, H.M. and Forrester, G. (2008) New Labour and School Leadership 1997-2007. *British Journal of Educational Studies.* 55 (2), 144-162.

Output 6
Gunter, H.M. and Forrester, G. (2009) School Leadership and Policymaking in England. *Policy Studies* 31 (5), 495-511.

Output 7
Chapter 8 from Gunter, H.M. and Mills, C. (2017) *Consultants and Consultancy: the Case of Education*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer. 105-119.

Output 8
Chapters 1 and 2 from Gunter, H.M. (2016) *An Intellectual History of School Leadership Practice and Research.* London: Bloomsbury Press. 15-40.

Output 9
Gunter, H.M. (2020) Thinking politically with Arendt: depoliticised privatism and education policy. In: Veck, W. and Gunter, H.M. (Eds.)

Hannah Arendt on Educational Thinking and Practice in Dark Times: Education for a World in Crisis. London: Bloomsbury. 79-166

Output 10
Gunter, H.M. (2017) Corporate consultancy practices in education services in England. In: Gunter, H.M., Hall, D. and Apple, M. (Eds.) *Corporate Elites and the Reform of Public Education*. Bristol: Policy Press. 149-163.

Output 11
Chapters 1 and 8 from: Gunter, H.M. (2018) *The Politics of Public Education: Reform Ideas and Issues*. Bristol: Policy Press. 1-24; 157-178.

Output 12
Gunter, H.M., Courtney, S.J., Hall, D. and McGinity, R. (2018) School principals in neoliberal times: a case of luxury leadership? In: Means, A.J. and Saltman, K.J. (Eds.) *Handbook of Global Education Reform.* New York, NY: Wiley-Blackwell. 113-130.

Output 13
Gunter, H.M. (2020) Criticality in the field of educational administration. In R. Papa (Ed.), *[Oxford] Encyclopedia of Educational Administration*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
1-20.

Output 14
Gunter, H.M. (2003) Intellectual histories of the field of education management in the UK. *International Journal of Leadership in Education,* 6 (4), 333-347.

Output 15
Gunter, H.M., Hall, D. and Mills, C. (2015) Consultants, consultancy and consultocracy in education policymaking in England. *Journal of Education Policy*. 30 (4), 518-539.

Output 16
Chapter 12 from: Gunter, H.M., Grimaldi, E., Hall, D. and Serpieri, R. (2016) NPM and the dynamics of education policy and practice in Europe. In: Gunter, H.M., Grimaldi, E., Hall, D. and Serpieri, R. (Eds.) *New Public Management and the Reform of Education: European Lessons for Policy and Practice*. London: Routledge. 173-185.

ABBREVIATIONS

BELMAS   British Educational Leadership Management and Administration Society

BA   British Academy

CMR   Conservative Market Regime

CEPS   Critical Education Policy Scholarship

DCSF   Department for Children, Schools and Families

DfE   Department for Education

DFEE   Department for Education and Employment

DfES   Department for Education and Skills

ELMA   Educational Leadership, Management and Administration

EPKP   Education Policy Knowledgeable Polity

ESRC   Economic and Social Research Council

EU   European Union

4Ks   Knowledges, Knowings, Knowers, Knowledgeabilities

KP   Knowledgeable Polity

KPEL   Knowledge Production in Educational Leadership project

LA   Local Authority

MBA   Masters in Business Administration

MAT   Multi-Academy Trust

NCSL   National College for School Leadership

NLPR   New Labour Policy Regime

PRR   Policy Research Regime

PwC   PricewaterhouseCoopers

RSC   Regional Schools Commissioner

SEU	Standards and Effectiveness Unit
SLR	School Leadership Regime
TINA	There Is No Alternative

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Martin and Mary Stanton. This is a photograph of their wedding day 12th April 1952.

Martin Stanton 18th May 1925 - 27th October 2019
Mary Stanton (nee Butler) 20th December 1924 – 3rd January 1985

I have much to be thankful for, and without Barry nothing would be worthwhile or make sense. We have been together forty years, married for thirty eight years, and I look forward to another forty years…

Thank you to Professor Erica Burman who has acted as my advisor, and her insights and support have been invaluable. Thank you in advance to Professor Carlo Raffo for acting as Independent Chair. I would also like to thank Dr Steve Courtney, Professor Tanya Fitzgerald and Professor Steve Jones for providing excellent feedback. Of course, I take full and final responsibility for the text. I have been sustained over the years by a range of colleagues and doctoral students at Manchester and those who have visited us at Manchester. Thank you to all past and current members of the Critical Education Policy research group.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

Introduction

The *Education Policy Knowledgeable Polity* (EPKP) project is focused on the question: what is the relationship between the state, public policy and knowledge? Across forty years of research I have addressed this core question through a secure and continuing intellectual project about *knowledge production* within, for and about education policy. This project has made conceptual, methodological and empirical contributions to political sociology in the field of Critical Education Policy Scholarship (CEPS).

The original contribution to CEPS is located in the development of the *knowledgeable polity* (KP) as an arena of knowledge production where the prime role of the nation state in policymaking and the significance of oligarchic occupation of state institutions is the site of enquiry. The focus is on the authority and legitimacy of state sovereignty to access and commission knowledge, promote particular ways of knowing, contract selected knowers, and use particular ideas, languages and claims to demonstrate preferred knowledgeabilities. A KP is therefore the site of *governing by knowledge production*, and this is important for CEPS because the focus on governing, rather than networked governance, restores the idea and reality of government through institutions and technologies of the state, and enables productive investigations into how and why policy is codified, authorised and enacted at intersections with civil society.

The EPKP is an example of a KP where the empirical, conceptual and methodological contributions are located in a novel way of approaching governing. I have primarily focused on charting and theorising how and why policy actors (e.g. ministers, officials, consultants, professionals, philanthropists, researchers, business owners, trade unionists) operate from different organisational/institutional *vantage points* (e.g. government department; business office; private home; classrooms). I have collected and used professional biographies to examine how and why policy actors locate (and relocate) in knowledge production through deploying *standpoints*, forming *regimes of practice* and engaging in *exchange relationships* regarding what is or could be a public policy issue and how it might be addressed.

I situate the EPKP project in post-1988 radical reforms undertaken by successive UK governments to the provision of educational services in England [1]. I have undertaken research into the deregulation of supply and demand of school places by Conservative-led governments (1979-1997; onwards), with a specific focus on investment by New Labour governments (1997-2010) into school leaders, leading and leadership. The contribution to the field in the UK and internationally has been made explicit in five landmark monographs (Gunter 2012a, 2014, 2016a, 2018a; with Mills 2017), ten edited collections (e.g. Gunter et al. 2016, 2017), and over 100 journal articles. Methodologically, the major innovations afforded by the EPKP project are underpinned by substantial data sets and project theorizing that have been primarily funded by the British Academy and the

ESRC. Notably I am the leading Arendtian scholar in CEPS (Gunter 2014, 2018a), and I was the first to deploy Bourdieusian thinking tools to map and examine knowledge production in regard to the field of educational leadership, management and administration (Gunter 1999a) with funding from the ESRC (Gunter 2012a).

This programme of research is based on both planned funded projects and serendipitous invitations that have generated new opportunities. The EPKP project emerged in the last twenty years, and in order to present this work I have developed a new framework for this summary statement that organises and brings thematic coherence to ideas and investigations. I provide a narrative verification of my status as a leading authority on political sociology in regard to knowledge production in CEPS, and to agenda-setting for ongoing EPKP project plans.

The summary statement consists of two inter-connected sections:

> **Part 1**: the leadership and development of the EPKP project, where I anchor the discussion using a policy text (see Appendix 2), reference a programme of research (see Appendix 3), recognise collaborations (see Appendix 4), and evidence outputs (see Appendices 1 and 5).

Part 2: the methodological location of the EPKP within CEPS debates through an examination of the purposes and practices of this field (see Appendices 5 and 6).

The summary statement includes notification to the reader of the interconnection between the text and the nominated outputs. I provide details of selection in Appendix 1.

Part 1: The EPKP Project

1.1 Political sociology

The EPKP project breaks new ground for CEPS by bringing an innovative research complexity to understanding and explaining governing by knowledge production through the knowledgeable polity. I locate this project within policy scholarship whereby the focus is on critically describing, understanding and explaining the scoping and enactment of policy through the deployment of social science theorising and methodologies (Grace 1991). The position I take within policy scholarship is that of *political sociology*, where the core question regarding the relationship between the state, public policy and knowledge production requires research design insights into the location and exercise of power that is both 'political' and 'sociological'. Notably this requires "the examination of the links between politics and society, between social structures and political structures, and between social behaviour and political behaviour" (Rush and Althoff 1971: 3). Consequently, and following Clemens (2016), I give recognition to the political as a feature of

the state as a polity or government institutions, formal roles (ministers, civil service), constitutional rules, electoral mandates and sovereignty, and to sociological enquiry regarding formal and informal political engagement in civil society (e.g. business, faith, unions, friendships, families).

This innovative approach to the interplay between the political and sociological enables the identification, location and exercise of sovereign power within the state, and enacted through and within civil society, to be recognised as regulatory control. The UK state inter-relates with civil society through the oligarchic occupation of key roles in the executive, legislature, judiciary and military/security. By oligarchic occupation I mean how access, authority and legitimacy by elites are variously claimed based on inheritance, wealth, election, appointment, education, beliefs, and entitlement. Hierarchy is normalised, and positioning (and repositioning) through various preservation, renewal, expansion and restoration projects dominates as "club government" (Marquand 1981, Moran 2003). However, such traditional forms of elite control have been threatened by democratic participation, universal public services and civil rights (Miliband 1973), and so continues to be redesigned in order to protect entrenched interests (Gunter 2020a).

Ongoing oligarchic positioning/repositioning projects at a time of democratic development are premised on the state as a site of sovereign power for and over civil society (Moran 2003), and, following Mann (1986)

the resolution of novel "non-traditional" problems requires the state to interact at intersections with civil society in ways that are "interstitial" or in-between the public and private. Action (along with agendas, agreements, disputes) both creates borders between the legitimate authority of the state and the private in civil society, and is the prime focus of activity at this intersection (i.e. debates about and for problem identification, options and solutions). My contribution is to show how and why arenas of problem posing, scoping, and resolution emerge in a knowledgeable polity regarding what is known and is worth knowing. Civil society can impact on the defended occupation of the state through demands for different types of expertise to be recognised, however, the state has authoritative reach that is intensive, and in Mann's (1986) terms can outflank civil society through the "institutionalization" of preferred people and networks.

Public services such as education are problematic for oligarchic positioning projects and have created an "interstitial crisis" (Mann 1986: 32) owing to campaigns over time within civil society for more inclusion and participation. The notion and reality of public education legitimises universal access, makes demands on resources, and where investment produces outcomes that challenge elite distinctiveness and achievements. My work shows that in order to resolve this policy actors within the state have turned to and used particular knowledge claims to provide the tools, language and symbols regarding 'opportunity', 'talent' and 'social mobility' underpinned by what is known and what is claimed to 'work'. The EPKP project has examined the state's control of the

interstices within knowledge production, particularly the creation, packaging and communication of knowledge with and for policy. This requires an understanding of how problems are represented (Bacchi 2009) and how agenda setting operates (Kingdon 2003), where I have found Dale's (1994) characterisation of "the politics of education" and "education politics" (35) to be fruitful for the EPKP project.

I adopt "the politics of education" as focused on "*the agenda for* education and the processes and structures through which it is created" (Dale 1994: 35, my emphasis). Hence, I am interested in knowledge production for *the agenda* through the interplay of the state (government institutions, rules and personnel) and civil society (e.g. professions, trade unions, universities, consultancy, business, philanthropy). Integral to this is how and why "education politics" engages with *the* agenda as *this* agenda, particularly through "the processes whereby *this agenda* is translated into problems and issues for schools, and schools' responses to those problems and issues" (Dale 1994: 35, my emphasis). Hence, I am interested in how and why governing by knowledge production can best be understood and explained through the intersection within and of the state and civil society as a knowledgeable polity that examines sovereignty in relation to professionals, unions, elected representatives, researchers, and philanthropists. I now move onto examining the key features of my political sociological investigations through establishing contextual trends, contemporary reforms, knowledge production processes, and governing by knowledge production.

1.2 Modernisation Trends

The agenda *for* education, and the processes of translating *this* agenda for local and organisational resolution is located in a modernisation dynamic. I have developed Diagram 1 in order to present modernization trends within UK education policy reforms in England.

Diagram 1: Modernisation trends in education policy (based on Gunter 2018a)

Modernisation	Meaning for knowledge production	Education policy claims are…
Medieval	Oligarchic control through established hierarchy, family, blood inheritance, faith and cultures of privilege.	Embedded and immutable. Entitled access and status on the basis of position and eugenics e.g. private/faith schools.
Enlightenment	Expert control through observation, questioning, methods, evidence and reason.	Measured and data determined. Scientific method to provide evidence and recommendations e.g. pedagogic practices.
Trade	Financial control through product design and manufacture, marketing and exchange.	Designed and sold. Private goods are traded based on needs e.g. parental choice.
Civic	Citizen control through constitutional rights and duties, procedures and transparency, voting and representative democracy.	Provided and inclusive. Public goods are shared and all-encompassing e.g. common school.
Corporate	Company control through ownership (private and shareholding), profit and dividends, deals and contracts.	Globalised and branded. Competitive expansive trade to secure profit and trademark dominance e.g. testing and software packages.

My research shows that all five trends are visible and expressed in narratives and practices that structure individual agency through selective remembering and proactive forgetting (Gunter 2020d). A process of complex layering and over-layering of these modernisation trends is in evidence, where knowledge claims for and about education policy can be contradictory but are simplified into transformational and normative messages combined with the reassurance of conservation and stability. Following Apple (2006) the portmanteau label of modernisation may be strategically framed as 'neoliberal' or 'neoconservative' or 'populist' or 'cosmopolitan' but in ordinary everyday engagements the claims speak to people's concerns, fears and hopes.

I have shown in my work (e.g. Gunter 2018a) how and why the *civic* form of modernisation has been a key feature of education policy in the post second world war era, with an emphasis on in-common compulsory and universal local provision, with a broad and balanced curriculum based on the educability of all children. What Newman and Clarke (2009: 2) call "publicness" is particularly evident in the relationship between education and democratic development through the adoption of common schools, where schools are owned and funded by the public, and operate in public (see Fielding and Moss 2011). Agendas were scoped and enacted as a form of *public politicisation* within government, society and everyday assumptions that education is a shared public good. This civic form of modernisation is enabled by *enlightenment* claims whereby social justice aspirations are evidence-informed regarding inclusion (for example, the case against segregation such as grammar schools) and based on trained and accredited expertise (for example, the professionalisation of teaching knowledge and skill training located in higher education).

I have shown how advances in the civic and enlightenment trends where and continue to be challenged by embedded oligarchic positioning in three main ways: first, the *medieval* 'right to rule' through elite power (family, inherited wealth, military, faith) combined with 'knowing your place' structures for 'others', and where property rights, class, race and gender endure as discriminators of who is and who is not worthy of a particular type of school place; second, the *trade* claims for the right to rule through markets and profit may challenge medieval entrenchment, but also aligns

with them in regard to exclusionary purposes and practices; and third, the *corporate* focus establishes the company as the rival elite structure to the medieval family or mercantile trade association, but also complements this through the acceptance of hierarchy and prohibition (see Gunter 2018a). Hence the dominant modernisation trend is the enduring logic of the private, where the rationality of oligarchic positioning projects can be characterised as modern through speaking to 'others' who are enabled to accept and/or aspire to be included. What Macpherson (2011) identifies as "possessive individualism" is attractive to those who identify with the conditions of elite autonomy and segregated lives. The public are presented with the possibilities of social mobility that is (supposedly) open to all through talent and hard work, where the body has to demonstrate uniqueness in competition with others. This tends to be evident in notions of choice with the language of 'freedom', 'needs', 'self-determination' and 'responsibility', and is evident in what I have identified as forms of modernised *depoliticisation* and *privatisation* (Gunter 2018a, 2019a).

I have examined oligarchic positioning as depoliticisation and privatization processes through drawing on political studies (e.g. Fawcett et al. 2017; Hodge 2006; Kingdon 2003; Saint-Martin 2000; Wood and Flinders 2014). Wood and Flinders (2014) have identified the proactive relocation of decision-making from government to agencies, to social networks in the form of families and individuals, and to 'nowhere' by the removal of shared issues from public discursive agendas. Data from my programme of research show how and why in education policy there is evidence of "*the*

process of placing at one remove the political character of decision-making" (Burnham 2001: 128, original emphasis), where issues that used to be located in public institutions and subject to public accountability are increasingly rendered private, or even no one's business.

Privatism is about what is 'private' in 'privatisation', not only in regard to 'selling off' public assets and the entry of private providers into a new market, but also in rendering what is publicly political as a non-political private matter (see Carrasco and Gunter 2019; Gunter 2018a, 2019a). I have characterised what is emerging as a form of *biopolitical distinctiveness* whereby the ultimate privatisation is the body, where agency is ascribed with status through structured acclaim/criticism based gender, class, race, and sexuality (Gunter 2018a). Diagram 2 provides an overview of my conceptualization of *depoliticised privatism*:

Diagram 2: Depoliticised Privatism (based on Gunter 2020b: 85)

Depoliticisation	Privatism	Education
Government	Privy	Quangos and Trusts
Social	Privatisation	Consumer choice
Discursive	Private	Individual Practices

As Diagram 2 shows, there are three forms of depoliticisation (Wood and Flinders 2014) that I have interconnected with privatism (Gunter 2020b):

> **Government depoliticisation:** decisions transferred from the remit of elected representatives. In education, for example, (a) the use of quangos such as the National College for School Leadership (NCSL) to train heads to deliver government policy (Gunter 2012a); and (b) the use of trusts such as MATs to run groups of schools, and to provide branded school places e.g.

Baker Dearing Educational Trust (Gunter 2011). What was once public (e.g. debates about budgets in the local council) is now a *privy* matter to be led and managed by people who conflate their private interests with the public interest.

Societal depoliticisation: decisions transferred from the public to the private domain, with a "shift towards individualized responses to collective social challenges" (Wood and Flinders 2014: 165). In education issues that were once on a public agenda are now ones for private decision-making such as the *privatisation* of demand for school places through the deployment of individual and family assets (e.g. income, faith).

Discursive depoliticisation: decisions are transferred from the privatised individual to the *private* in the sense of not existing, except as "as elements of fate" where "things just happen" (Wood and Flinders 2014: 165). In education, events and debates only become concerns for the public through the individual or family using their resources to raise it (e.g. "off-rolling" Savage 2017; and "academisation" Rayner and Gunter 2020), and where there may be demands for re-politicisation (Gunter 2018a).

I argue that depoliticised privatism enables oligarchic positioning and repositioning in four key ways: first, the preservation of the occupation of the state; second, the expansion of corporatised interests within the state;

third, the relocation of public service professionals from salaried employment to billable invoicing in private businesses; and fourth, the downgrading of the idea and reality of a public agenda and removal of education from this agenda. I now turn to how and why the oligarchic positioning project evident in these trends is realised and enacted through reforms that have been legitimised by successive UK governments in England. **Selected Outputs 1 and 9 present this research, and at this stage Output 1 should be read.**

1.3 Modernising Reforms

Researching modernisation in public educational services requires a focus on the specifics of the reform agenda *for* education, and how it is enabled to form *this* particular agenda. In order to facilitate the explanation of my contribution to CEPS I present an extract in Diagram 3 (D3) from a UK government education policy text: *teachers: meeting the challenge of change* (DfEE 1998) (see Appendix 2). I use this text as a leitmotif throughout this summary statement, where ongoing referral to D3 means this extract.

Diagram 3: extract from *teachers: meeting the challenge of change* (DfEE 1998: 22).

All the evidence shows that heads are the key to a school's success. All schools need a leader who creates a sense of purpose and direction, sets high expectations of staff and pupils, focuses on improving teaching and learning, monitors performance and motivates the staff to give of their best. The best heads are as good at leadership as the best leaders in any other sector, including business. The challenge is to create the rewards, training and support to attract, retain and develop many more heads of this calibre.

D3 makes five very significant claims regarding UK government policy for the profession in England: first, it identifies and elevates the headteacher as leader above other professionals in the school workforce; second, it

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establishes a causal relationship between the person as head, their leadership and the outcome indicators of success; third, the headteacher as leader is defined in regard to organisational unity and performance, with the adoption of transformational forms of leading and leadership; fourth, the status of school leader, leading and leadership is given equivalence in regard to stratified notions of the "best" and in particular there is an emphasis on the 'corporate best'; and fifth, the problem for policy to resolve is identified as one of talent spotting, training and accreditation, individualised progression and gains [2].

D3 encapsulates the potential interface between the agenda *for* reform, and the articulation of *this* agenda. Strategically this can be explained through how depoliticised privatism is premised on a rejection of the post-war settlement of a public and inclusive system of education, where I have developed Dale's (1989a) work in Diagram 4 to show the major waves in policy positions from 1944 onwards [3]. Such shifts are meant to cause a break with the past, but in reality such 'breaks' represent and enable ongoing oligarchic positioning.

Diagram 4: Change and education policy in England (based on Dale 1989a: 115; Gunter 2004)

	1944-74	1974-88	1988-97	1997-2010	2010 onwards
National Ministry	Oversees (Chair)	Limited Assertiveness	Minister's Instrument	Interventionist	Regulator
Political Party in Power	Reserve Power	Electorally opportunist	Dominant	Dominant	Dominant
LEA	Active partners (Managing Director)	Squeezed	'Eunuchs'	By passed	Who?
Headteachers	Leading professionals	Managing directors	Entrepreneurs	Transformational	Corporatised
Teachers	Active partners (Executive Director)	Problems	Proletarianised	Deliverers	Corporatised
Parents	Who?	Constructed as 'natural experts'/moral guardians	Consumers	Consumers	Consumers
Industry	Indifference (full employment)	Concerned (increasing unemployment)	Consultants	Sponsors	Providers
Education Policy	Educational Administration	Educational Management	School Leadership	Performance Leadership	Corporate Leadership

Diagram 4 provides the agenda-setting context in which D3 has been codified and enacted. There are clear trends in the location and legitimacy of oligarchic authority: first, the role of national government from overseer to dominant regulator, and local government from partner to marginalised and underfunded 'who?'; second, in the purposes of educational professionals from experts to corporatised deliverers of outcome data; third, the privatised status and contribution of parents from partners to consumers, and business from indifferent users to philanthropic providers of educational services. This emerging agenda *for* the school structured *this* agenda for the school as an organisation, where D3 illuminates the separation of the teacher from the headteacher, where the latter was reworked as an oligarchic delivery project. Heads had been *educational administrators* within a 'national' integrated system, with a shift towards the school as a 'business' or 'firm' that required *managers* in the 1970s,

and *leaders* of the 'school', 'performance' and 'corporate product' in the post 1988 ERA period.

D3 encapsulates how and why the headteacher had to change from leading teaching and learning within an organization to demonstrating the performance of all within that organisation. Hence the preparation of education professionals moved from national and local investment into educational management in the 1970s and 1980s (Gunter 1999a, 2012b) to direct national intervention into training provision and accreditation through the setting up of the NCSL (Gunter 2012a). I have led and collaborated on projects that examine forms of corporatised leadership that were enabled through the privatised provision of school places (Courtney 2015; Rayner et al. 2017), and the construction of MATs with CEOs (Hughes 2019). Corporatisation is not only an intensification of the quasi-market post 1988 but is also about shifting citizenship identities and practices of shared investment in a public service into segmented and stratified provision that enables profit from public contracting (Gunter 2018a; Gunter et al. 2017). Professional development is integral to depoliticised privatism through corporatised qualifications (e.g. MBA) combined with the purchasing of best practice business solutions to protect and enhance the school/MAT label (Gunter and Mills 2017).

1.4 Knowledge Production

What is innovative about this research is how and why modernization raises questions about the knowledge production processes. For

example, what knowledge was available that enabled D3 to be written, used and defended? Addressing this question requires an understanding of the 4Ks:

Knowledges: key theories and data. Can be made visible through what is said and done, usually inscribed, for example, within books, in building architecture, and in a curriculum vitae, and codified in the historiography of the canon. For example, the claims made in D3 have been normatively validated by school effectiveness and school improvement (SESI) (e.g. Barber 1996; Sammons et al. 1997).

Knowings: the methodologies and methods that generate knowledges. Can be evident in life experiences of doing a job and/or through formal research design with findings and recommendations. For example, the claims made in D3 are underpinned by SESI projects that pursued measurement and correlational studies (e.g. Day et al. 2009) combined with personal beliefs and normative change imperatives designed to produce corporate equivalence (e.g. Forde et al. 2000).

Knowers: the *knowledge actors* who deem something *knowable* through creating, sustaining, and challenging knowledges and knowings. Can be espoused and/or accredited experts through to the diverse publics who constitute civil society. For example, D3 is not referenced or authored, but the KPEL project revealed it

was authored by Barber and underpinned by SESI networks (e.g. Barber 1996; Gunter 2012a).

Knowledgeabilities: the assuming, accessing, owning, mobilising, deploying and exhibiting of knowledges and knowings by knowers in ways that illustrate insight, expertise and being *in the know*. For example, the claims in D3 are certain (e.g. All the evidence shows…) and speak to an inclusive and normalised notion of the 'best' professional that was validated by SESI (e.g. Astle and Ryan 2008; Leithwood et al. 2006).

Significantly I have identified how these 4Ks are enabled by the identification of distinctive ontological and epistemological positions:

Positivist: functional technologies, and in particular the eradication of organisational dysfunctions.

Interpretive: values and relational experiences, and in particular realist dispositions and practices.

Socially critical: social justice and power, and in particular the relationship between ideas and action.

Entrepreneurial: packaging of ideas and strategies for sale, and in particular the retailing of solutions to organisational and systemic problems (See Ball 1995; Fay 1975; Gunter 2016a).

Reading D3 in regard to this positioning enables the 4K claims to be recognised as *primarily positivist*, a position known as "deliverology" (Barber 2007), and expressed in school effectiveness (e.g. Rutter et al. 1979; Sammons 1999), and school improvement (Harris et al. 2003; Hopkins 2007) texts. UK government-commissioned projects for schools in England invested in this knowledge production (e.g. Day et al. 2009; Earley et. al 2002; DfES/PwC 2007; Leithwood et al. 2006) and generated a normative change imperative. Consequently, there are often echoes of *interpretive epistemological approaches* in policy texts, whereby the notion of "All the evidence shows…" enables a reader to personally commit to the assertions by selectively connecting their broader cultural experiences as a pupil, parent, governor, teacher, taxpayer with the codified claims. In addition, while some of the language in New Labour policy texts is *socially critical* regarding notions of success (e.g. social mobility, aspirations), the focus is on the transformation of learning outcomes in spite of the socio-economic conditions in which students and families are located.

The dominance of positivism with an occasional interpretive and socially critical overlay has enabled *entrepreneurial epistemic* positions to be recognised as "textual apologism" (Thrupp and Willmott 2003 p9). My work has shown how the shift to corporatised leadership as a vended product impacted on the notion and reality of epistemic communities committed to research and theorisation. Professionals, professors and

consultants, who entered government to design policy and/or to set out to implement policy by devising training software, books, and events, avoided epistemic debates (Gunter 2012a). Indeed, it seems that the field's job is to keep rebranding itself in order to 'modernise' and 'stay relevant' (Gunter 2004), and the lack of capacity to review knowledge production was also recognised (Gunter 1997). For example, the key outcomes of field reviews (Hall and Southworth 1997), and two major ESRC seminar series (1997-1999, see Bush et al. 1999; EMA 1999; and 2002-2003, see Gunter et al. 2003) did not provide the evidence in the 1990s to justify D3. Exclusionary processes were and remain in place whereby the interpretive reality of doing the job is missing (e.g. Ribbins 1997), and socially critical epistemology within established knowledges (e.g. Smyth 1989, 2017) were ignored, and those who professed such knowledge production were often identified as "enemies" (see Hyman 2005). **Output 2 should now be read.**

1.5 Governing by Knowledge Production

The development of the knowledgeable polity (KP) has brought an innovative conceptualization for CEPS. A KP is based on a recognition that power is both *situated* within and between people and organisations, and *exercised* through interconnections and exchange relationships. The EPKP is a focused KP in relation to the provision of education services, where activity is at the intersection of the state and civil society. D3 illuminates EPKP activity regarding how and why the UK government is able to present the outcome of 4K dynamics for reform in England, and

how such a statement is/is not related to knowledge production processes within and between organisations such as business, professions, and wider civil society.

I have taken this forward by engaging in the debates about the interplay between the meaning and role of government and governance [4]. A dominant argument from political studies that is widely accepted in CEPS is that the UK state has undergone a process of "hollowing out" (Rhodes 1994) with a shift from 'government' (e.g. Moran 2003) towards the dynamics of 'governance' (e.g. Bevir and Rhodes 2003), 'markets' (e.g. Hodge 2006) and 'networks' (e.g. Kickert et al. 1997). However, such 'shifts' have been the subject of ongoing revision in three main ways: first, the continued dominance of government in the legitimacy and authority public/education policy making (e.g. Scott 1998); second, oligarchic control of and positioning within government at a time of democratic development, not least to counter the demands for democratisation (e.g. Moran 2003); and third, the endurance of hierarchy not only in the location and exercise of power within and by public institutions, but also within business, professions, and civil society (e.g. Davies 2011). I have developed the EPKP project in ways that fruitfully position my research within these debates, and so CEPS has access to a major innovation through a prime focus on *governing by knowledge production*.

Governing by knowledge production is a "governing strategy" (Bache 2003) through which the law and regulation, guidance and exhortation,

enable the government to operate at "intersections" with non-government organisations within civil society (Clemens 2016). For example, the shift from the state as provider to commissioner of public services is a governing strategy based on knowledge production by high-profile libertarian thinkers (e.g. Friedman 2002) and influential texts (e.g. Bobbitt 2002; Chubb and Moe 1990; Osborne and Gaebler 1993) regarding the size and purposes of the state, and the veracity of public service and professional ethos. Such knowledge production was used by UK governments from Thatcher/Major onwards (1979-1997) to redesign public hierarchies in professional structures and to restore the status and opportunities for private hierarchies within business, faith and elite society (see Bache 2003). While New Labour (1997-2010) adopted a "Third Way" (Giddens 2000) between the public and private, and so used the state to modernise public services alongside private provision, the Thatcher legacy was clearly evident in the focus on 'autonomy', 'diversity' and 'parental choice'. New Labour's governing strategy for public education is evident in D3, whereby the state invested in the agency of the headteacher as corporate visionary leader, doing transformational leading in a school as an autonomous business, and exercising power over the school workforce, teachers, parents and community (Gunter 2012a, 2014, 2016a,b, 2018a). Such a governing strategy is about how and why elites within civil society who are not currently employed/influential within government institutions are invited into and actively participate in oligarchic design and delivery. The governing strategy is located in, funded by, and actively led by government, but is interdependent with

external hierarchies that are (or become) internalised within the state (Gunter and Forrester 2009a; Gunter and Mills 2017). **Output 3 should now be read.**

The original and substantial contribution I to bring to CEPS is by examining the practice of governing by knowledge production through four key features:

- Vantage points
- Standpoints
- Regimes of practice
- Exchange relationships

1.5.1 Vantage Points: are organisational locations for governing by knowledge production, for example, Whitehall, Think Tanks, Schools, Universities, Businesses, Charities. Such vantage points are: repositories of knowledges (some codified, some convention, and some not recorded); knowings (facts, rules, systems, spreadsheets, beliefs, assumptions, gossip); knowers (ministers, owners, managers, workers, researchers); knowledgeabilities (cultural practices; languages; modes of communication; architecture; offices; furniture; titles).

Vantage points was developed through data and conceptualization within a number of projects (e.g. Gunter 2012a): first, the focus on New Labour's investment in school leadership whereby I have identified "institutional governance" (Gunter and Forrester 2009a); and second, successive UK

government investment in consultants and consultancy (Gunter and Mills 2017).

What this work shows is that hierarchy matters within and between organisations, not least in regard to purposes and remit: how people earn their living, what bestows authority, legitimacy, and the types and operation of accountability. Hence in order to fully understand the 4Ks for and within governing strategies there is a need to focus on the intersections where those who occupy vantage points have an interest in policy, not least within and for the location, operation, development and endurance of hierarchies. Four vantage points have been identified:

- Knowledgeable *State*

- Knowledgeable *Markets*

- Knowledgeable *Expertise*

- Knowledgeable *Civil Society*

My research shows that the prime vantage point is the *Knowledgeable State* as the formalised organisational structure that operates through constitutional rule-based bureaucratic public institutions (parliament, offices of state) known as the government, using laws, policies, guidance, and investment in public services, undertaken by elected/appointed representatives, permanent civil service, and advisors in relation to the wider population as citizens. Pearton (1982) argues that, in regard to warfare, the state is the "overall policy-maker" and, through public revenue

"finances the whole process" (p.254) which secures outcomes. As such the state is a "Researcher" and so acts as a knowledge "Producer" and "User" (254). I have also considered the state's strategic role outside of its monopoly for defence, such that the state is "Manager" (Clarke and Newman 1997), and "Evaluator" (Neave 1998) (see Gunter 2016a, 2020a). I have identified the oligarchic knowledgeable state as:

Researcher: commissioning projects to confirm, develop and legitimise governing strategy;

User: scoping preferred knowledge production, particularly through authorising trusted knowers, in ways that can be handled, processed, embedded and represented within policies;

Producer: constructing 'evidence informed' outcomes in ways that can be defended and acted upon both in the home context and can travel abroad;

Manager: controlling exchange relationships in order to regulate external knowledge sources and production;

Evaluator: operationalising performance audits of standards with judgements and feedback regarding termination and renewal.

The state is the site of sovereign power, where those who occupy positions are concerned to preserve oligarchic interests but do debate and disagree, where there is an issue about the dynamics between a hierarchy of vantage points within the knowledgeable state, for example, the PMs office (No 10; Cabinet Office), the Treasury, and Departments. People occupying roles within the state have knowledge, and decide what is known and what is worth knowing. They demand knowledge, seek out ways of knowing, and relationships with knowers through identifying, commissioning and deploying goods and services from:

Knowledgeable Markets: product providers and philanthropic donors in small businesses through to globalised corporations, and the wider population as consumers located in investment, trading and charity relationships based on the exchange of goods and services enabling financial and reputational capital accumulation.

Knowledgeable Expertise: formalised groups that control entry/exit through professional accreditation, licensing, and practice of expert capabilities and skills (e.g. lawyers, doctors, nurses, teachers, researchers) as public employees within state institutions (e.g. social workers) and/or private providers within the market (e.g. consultants).

Knowledgeable Civil Society: wider population in families and communities, and includes socio-economic-cultural segregation in a range of ways: (a) structures such as class, race, gender, age, sexuality; (b) organisations such as business, faith, unions, media; and (c) identities and practices such as voting, hobbies, work, education within locations such as neighbourhood through to and beyond the nation state.

Hence my research shows the need to examine how the knowledgeable state retains sovereignty but also operates at the intersection with other vantage points as an integral part of knowledge production. **Output 4 should now be read.**

1.5.2 Standpoints: these are knowledge production positions constructed and taken by policy actors in one or more vantage points, where espoused claims tend to be presented as rationally secure, and can be evident in manifestos, speeches, interviews, diaries, Green/White papers, reports, as well as practices and associated networking. I use the idea of standpoint based on Arendtian (1958, 2005) thinking, notably how a person presents the self within the public realm through how that person takes action based on a standpoint and seeks to understand other standpoints. The formation, communication and action in regard to standpoints is premised on plurality– we are unique human beings but we share humanity, and natality - we are all born into the world with the capacity to do something new (Gunter 2018a).

The conception of standpoints was developed through empirical research and theorizing arising from a number of projects (e.g. Gunter 2012a, 2016a), where one journal article reported on the major investment by New Labour into distributed leadership in schools (Gunter et al. 2013), and a second reported on the emergence of private consultancy firms in supporting school improvement and effectiveness (Gunter et al. 2015). In addition, a monograph (Gunter 2016a) reported on the dimensions of standpoint development within context and over time through the notion of intellectual histories, where the agency of the knower was shown to interplay with the structuring context in which governing by knowledge production is located.

I provide an overview in Diagram 5 of various standpoints evident within education policy knowledge claims:

Diagram 5: Knowledge production and standpoints (based on Gunter 2012a, 2016a)

Normative instrumentalism	Interplay between the efficacy and potential of normative personal beliefs about what needs to be done and the technologies required to effect approved of change (e.g. Taylor 2009).
Functional science	Production of 'cause and effect' measurement data that demonstrate the requirement, validity and processes of the change (e.g. Day et al. 2009).
Critical narratives	Espoused and storied accounts (individual and group) of lived realities and experiences of change at a moment in time or over time (e.g. Salokangas and Ainscow 2018).
Critical social justice	Identification and commitment to reveal and work against inequity and for social justice at a moment in time or over time (e.g. Blackmore 1999).

Reading D3 through these four standpoints illuminates the primacy of positivist epistemologies in *Normative Instrumentalism* embedded in "All schools need a leader who…" and "The best heads are… business", interplayed with *Functional Science* underpinning the claim that "All the evidence shows that…". Importantly the knowledge claims also speak to

and evoke notions of experiential interpretive *Narratives* of what it means to be in a culture of "high expectations" that "motivates the staff and pupils" but overall the Green Paper is more about redesigning in the interests of preserving oligarchy. In addition, *Social Justice* is buried in the text by being equated to "school success" and made dependent on the school leader who is trained and rewarded as the corporate leader, rather than a professionally committed activist within a wider community. **Output 5 should now be read.**

1.5.3 Regimes of Practice: policy actors who are located in vantage points and who espouse standpoints form distinctive 'regimes' where associative and mutual connectivity regulates exchange relationships in the promotion of oligarchic interests. Regimes manage potential and actual interstitial encounters, and form around shared problem identification, solution dispositions and espoused truths, and engage in associated practices regarding investments in careers, reputations, and resources. Regimes draw boundaries and actively include and exclude regarding what is known, how it is known and why it matters. While policy actors may be occupationally located in distinctive organisations (e.g. public institutions, private businesses, charities, universities) it is the case that shared dispositions and agendas are necessary for regime formation, with 'revolving doors' as people move jobs within inter-connected sites of knowledge production, where forms of authority and legitimacy are interplayed with recognition/denial of credible expertise.

Regimes of practice was developed for the *Knowledge Production in Educational Leadership* project (KPEL, see Appendix 3), reported in a range of outputs (e.g. Gunter 2012a), and is based on original theorising with regime theory (Harding 2000) and the logic of practice (Bourdieu 1992). I use 'regime' to describe the objective relationship between those who occupy particular vantage points and espouse certain standpoints in ways that demonstrate a shared agenda. Regime theory is helpful because it enables the prime vantage point of the knowledgeable state to be in evidence but also recognise intersections that embrace standpoints from markets, expertise and civil society that bring policy authority and legitimacy as a "governing coalition" (Harding 2000: 55). A regime is "constructed through informal bargaining and the 'tacit understandings' of its members" (Harding 2000: 55), and so power can be located in a range of vantage and standpoints, and can flow in different ways. It is therefore vital to describe and explain practices of those who inhabit vantages and hold standpoints, and in order to do this I have used Bourdieu's (1990, 1998, 2000) thinking tools of to identify a policy game in play.

I developed an original regime mapping process for how vantage points and standpoints are evident in government (ministers, civil servants, advisors, local government officials), universities, private companies and consultancies, and professionals (in schools and unions). The mapping was undertaken by reading and coding biographical and professional practice in the data produced from the oral and written texts using Bourdieu's (2000) indicators of capital. Diagram 6 demonstrates original

field leadership through presenting a map of regimes in regard to New Labour education policy 1997-2010, with specific focus on school leadership policy.
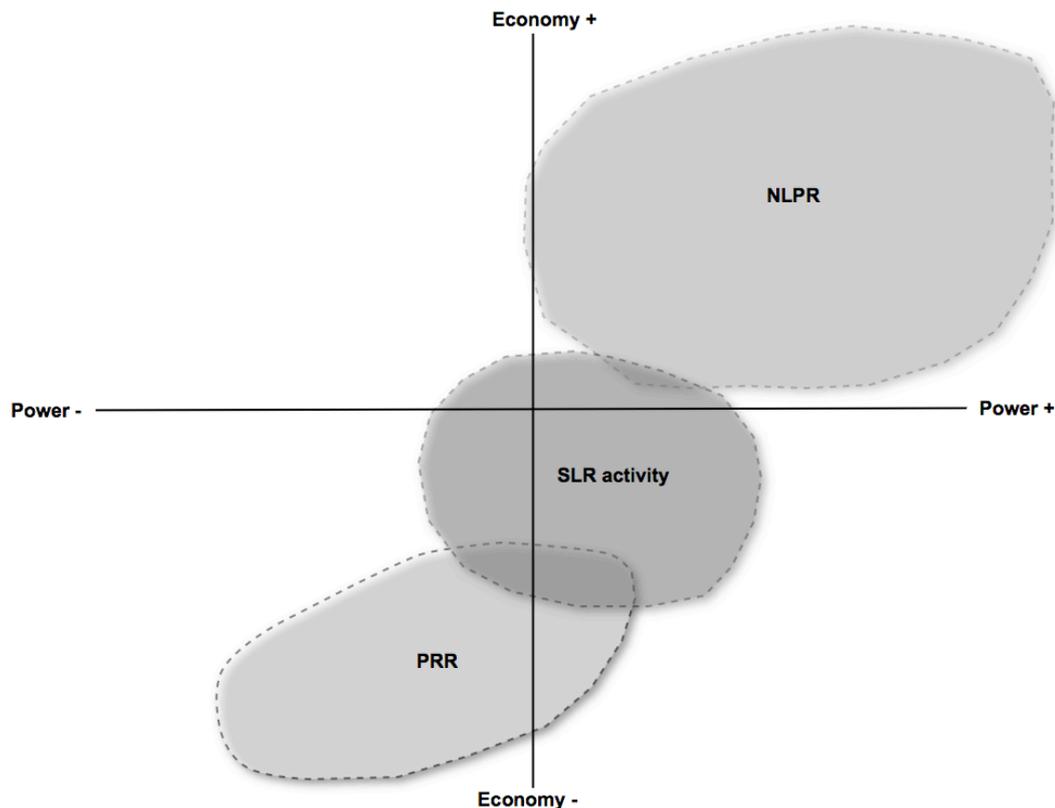
Diagram 6: Regimes of Practice (Gunter 2012a: 79).

Policy actors in the knowledgeable state tend to form a governing regime as the means of protecting and advancing oligarchic control, and may invite participation from other knowledge actors from knowledgeable expertise in civil society. Those outside the governing regime tend to position at the borders ready to be invited in, or seek to distinguish their practices by forming alternative relational oligarchic regimes. For example, the KPEL project identified three regimes of practice:

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New Labour Policy Regime (NLPR) is the governing regime of policy actors from vantage points in government, universities, schools, consultants, unions, and businesses, who promoted a modernizing corporate leadership standpoint combining normative instrumentalism and functional science. Engagement with government provided legitimacy of funding and enactment, and engagement by the government provided access to claims to be modern in the form of 'on-board' business products, philanthropic families, professionals and professors both from the UK and internationally. Commissioned projects (e.g. Earl et al. 2003) provided "discursive and legitimatory work" (Whitty et al. 2016: 46), and a supply of ideas to enable policy to be realised and delivered.

Policy Research Regime (PRR) is a regime of policy actors from universities, schools, and unions who promoted a standpoint based on critical narratives and social justice. Framed as policy sociology (Ball 1990a; Ozga 1987) located in the social sciences in the UK and internationally, it grew in relation to right-wing governments such as Thatcherism (Halpin and Troyna 1994) and post-Thatcher legacies (Whitty 2002, 2016). Notably funding by the BA, ESRC, EU, and Leverhulme, enabled the policy processes and impact of Thatcherism to be subject to scrutiny in a range of projects and groundbreaking texts (e.g. Ball 1990a; Ball et al. 2012), where the contribution was to problem pose in

order to understand and explain rather than to problem solve (see Gunter 2016a,b). However, the vantage point of social science research in elite universities and the social justice standpoint that connected classrooms with wider social and economic structures was regularly marginalised, not least because it revealed evidence of elite control of and by the NLPR.

School Leadership Regime (SLR) is a regime that included partnerships between those who worked in schools, local authorities, and higher education in regard to professional practices and engagement with change. The SLR was in decline by the 1990s due to its relational location between the dominant NLPR and the social science research-focused PRR. Policy actors from universities, local authorities and schools repositioned their standpoints in line with the NLPR and so operated in border territories as they sought to engage/re-engage with modernization trends. Others engaged in policy differently, and repositioned their standpoints in regard to PRR research and social justice claims, with a particular emphasis on gender and school leadership.

A Conservative-led Coalition (2010-2015) took office in 2010, followed by Conservative governments (2015-2017, 2017-2019, 2019 onwards) with concomitant shifts in the governing regime from the NLPR to a Conservative Market Regime (CMR). Depoliticised privatism was

intensified through oligarchic positioning (Gunter 2019a), where members of the NLPR relocated their standpoints into private consultancy vantage points (Gunter and Mills 2017).

D3 can be located in this account of regime practices, and is an outcome of the NLPR that intensified the *doxa* of headteachers as corporate leaders, doing leading and leadership. The *illusio* or "fundamental belief in the interest of the game and the value of the stakes which is inherent in that membership" (Bourdieu 2000: 11) was articulated by a minister: "we always knew we couldn't do what we wanted in education unless we turned around leadership" (Gunter 2012a: 19), and led by Blair (1998) and by key people in Whitehall (i.e. Barber, 2007; and Blunkett 2000). Capitals were staked by professionals (e.g. Clark 1998); unions (e.g. Miliband 2003); consultancies (e.g. DfES/PwC 2007); researchers (e.g. Hopkins 2001), supra-national organisations (e.g. Huber et al. 2007), and universities (e.g. the NCSL was established on the Jubilee Campus of the University of Nottingham, and had regional centres including one at the University of Manchester, see Gunter 2012a). Practices revealed dispositions or *habitus* to use vantage and standpoints to play the game of oligarchic positioning with energy and optimism. Opportunities existed to secure influence, jobs, and win bids for commissioned projects and training delivery, whereby the NLPR controlled objective relationships within what was a complex field of research and practice. Importantly the PRR and SLR both scripted their purposes and achievements in relation to the NLPR. **Output 6 should now be read.**

1.5.4 Exchange Relationships: these take place between policy actors whereby vantage point authority and legitimacy interplays with standpoint framing and articulation. The conceptualization of exchange relationships was developed through empirical research and theorization within a number of projects (e.g. Gunter 2012a; 2018a), with outputs that have reported in regard to school leadership (Gunter 2016a), consultants (Gunter and Mills 2017), and school restructuring (Gunter 2011). What is significant is how regime formation, activities and developments (sustaining, fracturing, repositioning within and outside) is more than knowing people (or getting to know people) but is about a sense of a shared project. Even though knowledge actors may not have met before or may never actually meet each other in person, they actually *know* someone is 'one of us'. This is vital for securing tangible gains from the trading of products as ideas and actual projects, through to status and the acclaim generated by certain people being associated and involved.

Regimes of practice examine empirically the dynamic positioning and repositioning of exchange relationships based on, in Bourdieu's (2000) terms, shared dispositions and a *doxa* of self-evident truths. For example, there is an ongoing oligarchic repositioning *game* in play, that is played in public as the leadership of schools game. New Labour formally entered in 1997, and they played strategically and with huge financial and symbolic resources invested into school leaders, leading and leadership. This is a *game* that was dominated by particular named policy actors from

government, universities, and the education profession, and was defined by and entry controlled through the *doxa* located in values and discourses, and espoused in project tenders, peer reviewed policy texts, training programmes and ministerial speeches (Gunter 2012a).

The logic of practice regarding the *illusio* of a game worth playing and the objective exchange relationships between policy actors within and external to a regime is regulated through contracts (Bourdieu 2000). Diagram 7 presents my characterisation of contractual exchange relationships:

Diagram 7: Contractual exchange relationships (based on Gunter and Mills 2017)

Forms	Purposes
Personal	Secure obligations and opportunities.
Employment	Do a job of work
Project	Deliver on a commissioned project
Socio-political	Secure stability
Cultural	Rework identities and practices (contractualism)

The exchange of relationships within the NLPR illuminates how these forms of contracting actually work in practice. Those who occupy posts in government (Ministers, Special Advisors, Civil Servants etc) exchange in order to bring symbolic value (modern government associating with companies, experts and professionals) and substantive knowledge (approaches to improvement and models of effectiveness) to help to frame and deliver policy. The KPEL project demonstrates the value given to how and why people know people *personally*, and hence they vouch for each other as being located in approved vantage points with preferred standpoints. In a high-stakes risky context, it is the case that trust and reliability are important, where personal friendships, likes and dislikes also

feature. Some were offered *employment* contracts to work within the Department in London, and/or in the NCSL; while others secured contracts for commissioned *projects* and/or training design/delivery. Importantly I also demonstrated through the KPEL project that these exchange relationships were seen by those outside of Whitehall to be opportunities to tell the Department what to do in regard to problem solving. The evidence I presented shows that while each contract may be a stand-alone 'one-off' it is the case that particular people and groups tend to be identified as preferred providers who help Ministers and Civil Servants to understand an issue in particular ways and to fund options that are conducive to policy delivery.

In Diagram 7 I identify the embedded tradition of *socio-political* contracts that are integral for democracy and the rule of law to operate. While the law and regulation exist, it is the case that this form of imagined agreement is about bringing stability to human conduct (and is distinct from the Hobbesian notion of the 'state of nature'), whereby I or we "agree to not only engage in certain activities, but also to take on the obligation to regulate one's own behaviour in an appropriate fashion" (Hindess 1997: 14-15). There is evidence of regime activity premised on this social contract, whereby the logic of practice within and between the three regimes operated on the basis of broader rules of the game. While frustration with the NLPR is evident in the interview data, not least from those who lost personal, project and employment contracts, there was always an adherence to a wider socio-political contract regarding legality.

However, what I identified from KPEL and other projects is a major shift towards *cultural* contracting that is known as contractualism.

Contractualism challenges the social and political notions of the imagined contractual bonds between people because it is "both individualistic and individualising" (Hindess 1997: 15). From organising and governing a state through to a single organisation within the state, researchers have identified the use of contracts in order to govern the individual (see Rawolle et al. 2017). Bodies, identities, and practices are regulated at an individual 'private' level that is public through the use of a contractual agreement: "the requirement for the individual user of a service both to choose what it is they require of that service, *and* to make that choice explicit in such a manner that it can be determined whether the service has responded effectively to that choice or not" (Yeatman 1994: 2, original emphasis). Not only does this manage risk but it also elides contradictions generated through structural injustices, and it does this through enabling the individual to be responsible and to enact responsibly.

Contractualism is based on individualised self-calculation within regime exchange relationships, whereby there is a need to be seen to fulfil a remit for contract delivery but also to (a) offer to take on the provision of services that previously where the responsibility of the state; and (b) insure the self against the loss of a contract (and services) that previously the state provided (see Peters 2017; Shamir 2008). While contracts are presented as a rational form of regulatory control, what is emerging is a form of

contractualism that is replete with individualised struggling for positioning and acclaim for the self and hence relational advantage. Importantly the working of contracts and contractualism means that the binary of state actors and non-state actors within CEPS is an inaccurate categorisation. Rather all are state-actors but position and are positioned differently in regard to regime membership and activity over time.

Contractual exchange relationships manage knowledge production, as illustrated in D3. The claims are based on a clear policy commitment that training headteachers as 'leaders' would enable policy delivery to take place locally, and this is evident in the KPEL data as well as the wider statements by policy actors (see Barber 1996, 2007). In addition, contractual exchange relationships enabled particular people to enter government (e.g. Barber and then Hopkins as Head of the SEU; Jackson and then Southworth as Directors of Research at the NCSL), trusted people to advise government and support policy enactment with the profession (e.g. Leithwood from University of Toronto; Mackay from the Centre for Strategic Education, Melbourne), and to enable private companies (e.g. PwC) and teams within universities (e.g. Day et al. 2009) to undertake commissioned projects. While there is little empirical evidence to support the statement in D3, it is the case that it was spoken and enacted into existence through contractualism, where particular 4Ks and epistemologies were used to frame the normative situation, and importantly other 4Ks within the PRR and the dying SLR were marginalised and often condemned. **Output 7 should now be read.**

1.6 EPKP Project Development

I have reported on my leading authority status and substantial contribution in sections 1.1-1.5, and here I intend presenting three examples of specific project themes that have been the engine rooms of this research.

Theme 1: Intellectual histories and educational professionals

I continue to set the agenda on knowledge production through the mapping and developing of intellectual histories (Gunter 2016a): I have led methodological and conceptual innovations for the idea and realisation of field mapping (e.g. Gunter 1995, 1997, 1999a,b, 2001a, 2003, 2004, 2006a,b, 2010a, 2012a,b,c,d, 2013b, 2016a, 2018a,b; Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008; Gunter and Ribbins 2002, 2003a,b; Ribbins and Gunter 2002), researched individual contributions (Gunter 2010b, 2013a, 2019b), and methodological matters (Courtney and Gunter 2020; McGinity and Gunter 2012; Ribbins et al. 2003; Thomson and Gunter 2008), and what it means to undertake a critical approach to knowledge production for and with the profession (Courtney et al. 2018; Gunter 2001b, 2009, 2020c). I have focused specifically on the leadership field where I have identified a narrow intellectual, and in some instances an anti-intellectual, shared standpoint in successive regimes of practice (see Courtney and Gunter 2015; Gunter 2016a; Gunter et al. 2018; Hughes et al. 2019; McGinity and Gunter 2017).

Exchange relationships are more about who or what to keep out, where the dominant standpoint is that professional practice should be based on particular forms of improvement and effectiveness evidence. This is what Barber (2007) as NLPR player actually calls "pseudo science" (79) that is based on prime ministerial authority combined with forms of 'what works' contractualism, where there is acclaim when it works and shame when it does not. The state vantage point (and the struggles within) intersected with professionals, businesses, and researchers who promoted and benefited from governing by knowledge production as a depoliticised private matter, in ways that are veiled in offices, homes, and networks (see Butt and Gunter 2007). Regime practices and exchange relationships enabled certain 4Ks to be acceptable to policy actors as it met with their personal and ideological positions to preserve oligarchic dominance, and hence denied the plurality of the field and the location of alternative sites of knowledge production. D3 is both a product of and an encouragement to a limited intellectual history, and a modernisation project that focused on forgetting (or approved of remembering) as integral to new forms of professional capabilities (Gunter 2020d; Hughes et al. 2019). **Output 8 should now be read.**

Theme 2: Provision of school places

I continue to lead research on the provision of school places (Gunter 2011), not least with productive doctoral/post-doctoral collaborations (e.g. Courtney and Gunter 2015, 2017; McGinity and Gunter 2017; Rayner et al. 2017). Notably I focus on the segregation of school place provision in

regard to the 4Ks, where I have identified an oligarchic ideological restoration project in regard to access to school places (Gunter 2018a). Exchange relationships are about normalising the idea of choice and diversity in ways that relocate decision-making away from public institutions into private arenas, where the dominant standpoint at the intersection of the state and private interests is one of autonomy in the public interest (Gunter 2019a). Regimes of practice and exchange relationships secure elite domination of segregation in ways that are seemingly inclusive through rhetoric and faux choice processes (Gunter 2018a; Gunter et al. 2017). D3 is framed in regard to the school being able to secure and demonstrate "success", and as such it is about enabling victories through school leadership within a depoliticised context, and in ways where 'everyone knows' what this "success" looks and feels like. While the D3 text does not talk directly about a segregated system *per se*, the meaning of "success" is recognition and acclaim, and when interplayed with other reforms such as the private provision and governance of 'diversified' and 'specialist' school places, then it becomes clear that 'school leaders' lead schools where the focus is on exclusion. **Output 9 should now be read.**

Theme 3: Consultants and consultancy

I continue to lead research into the role of private and commercial approaches to the 4Ks in education policy (Gunter 2017b; Gunter and Mills 2016, 2017), whereby I have been recognised as the leading authority on mapping consultants and practices in within the

knowledgeable state (Gunter 2017a, 2020a; Gunter et al. 2015, Gunter et al. 2016). I focus on a range of educational issues (school leadership, school place provision, curriculum, pedagogy), but have primarily examined the role of major companies, educational professionals, and researchers who shift from salaried employment in public institutions (or are made redundant) into for-profit consultants. Importantly this focus is connected with themes 1 and 2 above, whereby the vantage point for knowledge produced within and for business has a prime position at the intersection with public institutions of the state, and where pro-business standpoints have been welcomed and have impacted on the culture and practices of the state vantage point. Depoliticised privatism has facilitated consultants entering, re-structuring and re-culturing public institutions and professionals, and it has been developed and intensified by such consultants enabling the idea and the reality of the private to take the lead in policy solutions (Gunter and Mills 2016, 2017; Gunter 2020a).

Regime practices and exchange relationships remain dominated by the state but are legitimated through modernisation trends that consultants bring and enable in Whitehall through to classrooms (Gunter and Mills 2017). D3 is an outcome of commercialised knowledge production, where governing is based on presenting knowledge claims that create the conditions in which the market can work productively in order to reshape professional identities and practices. It seems that the content of D3 cannot be contested and so is the only standpoint to be displayed in public, and hence exchange relationships are focused on creating the

conditions in which such a statement can be repeated, and underpin what is thinkable and doable in research and practice. **Output 10 should now be read.**

1.7 Agenda Setting

I have been recognised as being a leading authority in CEPS regarding conceptual thinking and evidence about the relationship between the state, public policy and knowledge production, with substantial and original innovations regarding governing by knowledge production within the EPKP. My research agenda takes forward the ideas on oligarchy, hierarchy and segregation, where I intend utilizing the EPKP to establish the importance of biopolitical distinctiveness as a form of privatisation in two inter-related ways:

Genetics and Personalisation (GaP) project: I have demonstrated that the body is privatised through using Arendtian thinking to develop "biopolitical distinctiveness" and the relationship with oligarchy and segregation (Gunter 2018a). Work on eugenics and the emerging science of genetics and education has generated a collaborative project with Dr Steven Courtney and Professor Steve Jones where we are scoping ideas in regard to the claimed causal relationship between genes and human potential. We are reading texts that make this claim (e.g. Asbury and Plomin 2014) and those that challenge (e.g. Chitty 2007; Richardson 2017), and we have scoped the field through five conference papers (e.g. Gunter et al. 2019). Our plan is to make bids to obtain funds to study the

proposed impact on how educational services may be more effectively personalised.

Political action: I have scoped pro/anti-political trends in western style democracies where I am interested in the notion and reality of policy failure as a governing strategy (Gunter 2018a). In addition, I intend doing novel conceptual thinking through interplaying Arendtian and Bourdieusian scholarship regarding the conditions in which practice in public takes place. Notably there is little work on thinking with both Arendt and Bourdieu (e.g. Topper 2011), and so I intend examining biopolitical distinctiveness through Arendt's work on forms of oligarchic sovereignty, and how in Bourdieu's terms symbolic violence takes place through how fields of struggle and recognition operate in ways that are exclusionary. **Output 11 should now be read.**

Part 2: The Contribution of the EPKP Project to CEPS

2.1 Introduction

I have made an original and substantial research contribution to CEPS through challenging the dominance of sociology and by generating new insights from *political* sociology.

2.2 Research Positioning in CEPS

I have identified four main positions of criticality in regard to education policy research, and these are presented in Diagram 8.

Diagram 8: Criticality in education policy (based on Gunter 2016a, 2018a, 2020c)

Policy Positions	Meaning of Policy Positions	Position criticality questions the…
Description	Narrative of structures, key events and people	Accuracy and chronology of narratives.
Entrepreneurialism	Normative claims for trade, profit and effectiveness of products.	Denial of markets in public systems, and promotes trade in the provision of services.
Scholarship	Empirical and conceptual research into the interplay of agency and structures.	Ideological underpinnings and impact of reforms, and presents the evidence for a socially just education system.
Science	Empirical measurement research regarding the delivery of reforms.	Implementation and fidelity of reform delivery.

I locate the EPKP project in the *Policy Scholarship* position. Following the work of Ball (1995) and Grace (1995) I am concerned to study the agency of the person and the interplay with economic, political, social and cultural structures, where policy scholars such as Grace (1994) give more attention to "'complex hope' rather than the 'simple hope' of the school improvement lobby" (Whitty 2002: 16; see Thrupp and Tomlinson 2005). I align with policy scholars who have identified the tendency of *description*, *science* and *entrepreneurialism* in the form of school 'improvement' and 'effectiveness' to "support rather than interrogate policy" (Halpin 1994: 201).

In regard to D3, *description* is important (e.g. Goddard 2014), but for CEPS it is a first stage mapping process. On its own it can be a form of what Raab (1994) describes as "mindless empiricism" (18) whereby the sense of a contribution to a field is limited, and is disconnected from analysis about the location and exercise of power. This deficit is also shared with *entrepreneurialism* (e.g. Taylor 2009) and *science* (e.g. Day et al. 2009) where, for example, Dale (1994) identifies "the self-imposed limitations of a problem-solving approach (that) severely curtail its ability to solve problems" (40). Such criticality does not facilitate problem posing:

what is the actual problem, and whose problem is it? Concerns have been raised from within the PRR about *science*, it is "seductive in its concreteness, its apparently value-free and objective stance, and its direct relation to action", and so ideology, campaigns and debates are "what gets lost" (Grace 1991 p26). In spite of this the demand from the NLPR and the CMR for 'what works' combined with attacks on educational research and impatience with methodological debates (see Ribbins et al. 2003), has led to the packaging and retailing of problem solving strategies that D3 exemplifies (see Ball 1995). Entrepreneurial vendors have grown in number due to the relocation of researchers and professionals from public service organisations into consultancy businesses (Gunter and Mills 2017).

My positioning as a policy scholar through my PhD studies (1995-1999) is a combined product of my research interests, supervision by Professor Jenny Ozga, and the contextual methodological and conceptual disputes in the field. Notably there were major debates in the emerging PRR in the 1990s concerning the interface between national policy requirements and local policy enactment (e.g. Ball 1995; Dale 1994; Deem et al. 1995; Grace 1995; Halpin and Troyna 1994; Ozga 1990; Power 1995; Ranson 1995), that was networked internationally (e.g. Apple 1993; Blackmore 1999; Gale 1994; Lingard 1993; Smyth 1989, 1993). Generational shifts continue to take place within UK based (e.g. Courtney 2015; Gorard 2018; Higham 2014; Maguire et al. 2019; West and Wolfe 2019; Wilkins 2016) and international (e.g. Anderson 2009; Burch 2009; Fitzgerald 2013;

Gulson et al. 2015; Olssen et al. 2004; Saltman 2012; Thrupp 1999; Verger et al. 2016) policy scholar teams and networks, where my work on the EPKP project is aligned with the intensity of this empirical and conceptual research but is distinctive through the focus on the state and politics [5]. Notably I have drawn on historical studies of the UK state, government and policy (e.g. Chitty 2004; Fielding 2001; Green 1990; Phillips and Walford 2006; Silver 1990), where I have led the field through the focus on intellectual histories and knowledge production (e.g. Gunter 1997, 1999a,b, 2016a).

2.3 From Policy Sociology to Political Sociology

Policy scholarship is located within and is often synonymous with sociology (Byrne and Ozga 2008; Gale 2001; Ozga 1987, 2019; Ball 1990a,b; Raab 1994; Whitty et al. 2016). The label *policy sociology* has been adopted by policy scholars to claim that research is "rooted in the social science tradition, historically informed and drawing on qualitative and illuminative techniques" (Ozga 1987: 144). This definition has underpinned the formation and development of the PRR, and so is evident in field debates and the reporting of funded projects (e.g. from ESRC, EU, Leverhulme) in pioneering texts (e.g. Ball 1990a; 1993a; 2015a; Dale 1989a; Deem et al. 1995; Gewirtz 2002; Grace 1995; Halpin and Troyna 1994; McPherson and Raab 1988; Whitty 2002; Whitty et al. 2016); editorships such as the *Journal of Education Policy*; named chairs such as the Karl Mannheim professor at the London Institute of Education; and networked links with policy sociology scholars internationally (e.g. Apple

et al. 2010; Blackmore 1999; Lingard et al 2003; Lingard and Ozga 2007a; Ozga et al. 2006; Rivzi and Lingard 2010; Seddon 2014; Smyth 1989, 2017) [6].

I have made an original and extensive contribution to the UK based and internationally networked policy sociology research:

Researching practice: I joined the tradition exemplified by Ball (1994) as engaging with 'real world' issues" (172), through a range of research, commissioned evaluation, and doctoral projects (see Appendices 2 and 3). I produced new analysis for the CEPS field into localised policymaking in regard to students (e.g. Thomson and Gunter 2006); teachers (e.g. Gunter et al. 2007; Gunter 2005a, 2008a; Gunter and Fitzgerald 2007; Gunter and Hall 2013); 'middle' roles (e.g. Fitzgerald and Gunter 2009a, with Eaton 2006); 'senior' roles (e.g. Courtney and Gunter 2015; Gunter and Forrester 2010b; Tomlinson et al. 1999); whole school change (e.g. Hollins et al. 2006; McGinity and Gunter 2017; Rayner and Gunter 2020) and system change (e.g. Chapman and Gunter 2009; Fitzgerald et al. 2012; Gunter 2011; Gunter et al. 2016; Gunter et al. 2017). **Output 12 should now be read.**

Researching borders: I joined the tradition of border drawing by engaging with the limitations of description, science and entrepreneurship (Diagram 8) (see Ball 1995; Thrupp 2005;

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Thrupp and Willmott 2003; Ozga 1992), with debates (e.g. Lingard and Sellar 2012), and cross border debates (e.g. Teddlie and Reynolds 2001, Thrupp 2001a, b; Ball 2001, Dyson et al. 2002). I produced new analysis for the CEPS field: first, reviews of knowledge production in the ELMA field (Raffo and Gunter 2008; Gunter 1995, 1997, 2005b; 2008b, 2012b; Fitzgerald and Gunter 2009b); second, primary research into knowledge production and the networking of policy actors in relation to policy processes (Gunter 2004, 2012a); third, presenting and using evidence of field plurality as a resource for educational professionals and researchers (Gunter 2001a,b; 2016a; 2020b; Gunter et al. 2013; Gunter et al. 2015); and fourth, following Glatter (1979) I have worked on bridging the fields of policy and practice through an inclusive approach to critically explaining professional practices (Gunter 2020c). **Output 13 should now be read.**

Researching theorising: I joined the tradition of reflexivity within the field regarding the methodological relationships between data, interpretation and meanings (e.g. Ball 1997, 2015b; Gale 2001; Troyna 1994b), and I have found Ball's (1994) contention regarding experimental "adventurous" thinking for "a sociology of complexity, uncertainty and doubt" (180) to be helpful. In addition, important questions have been raised about research and oligarchic contexts (e.g. Ozga and Gewirtz 1994; Walford 1994),

and are transparent about what this means for positionality. I have engaged in experimental thinking and analysis for the CEPS field: first, I am the first CEPS researcher to use Bourdieu's thinking tools to explain the development of leaders, leading and leadership in education (Gunter 1999a, 2000, 2001a, 2002, 2012a; Gunter and Forrester 2010a); second, I led ELMA researchers within CEPS regarding thinking critically (e.g. Bradbury and Gunter 2006; Courtney and Gunter 2020; Courtney et al. 2020; Courtney et al. 2018; Gunter et al. 2014; Raffo et al. 2010) [7]; third, I have led the productive and legitimate use of metaphor and cultural tropes in thinking differently about data (e.g. Gunter 1997, Gunter and Thomson 2009, 2010; Rayner and Gunter 2020); and fourth, I was executive editor with Fitzgerald of the *Journal of Educational Administration and History* for ten years, and I am co-editor of book series where we have published books on theorising and intellectual work [8]. **Output 14 should now be read.**

I have taken forward debates in CEPS from the mid-1990s (e.g. Halpin and Troyna 1994), and by providing compelling evidence and analysis for challenging the dominance of sociology, my work has been recognised as a leading authority on *political*-sociology.

I associate with Troyna's (1994a) argument that the characterisation of policy sociology is based on a false border in the social sciences, whereby

Raab (1994) states that the field may be labelled education policy sociology but "there is nothing exclusively 'sociological' about education policy sociology" (23). In addition, Halpin (1994) notes the primacy given to sociology almost as if "education policy is simply a branch of the sociology of education" (200). Both Halpin (1994) and Dale (1994) alert the field to the potential traps of "disciplinary parochialism" by researchers who do not give recognition to how and why other forms of theorising are pertinent, indeed Halpin (1994) states: "historians, psychologists, economists, political scientists, anthropologists, evaluators and those who deliberately transcend disciplinary boundaries may have much to contribute to our understanding of the sources, nature and effects of education policy" (200). Importantly few political studies researchers engage with education (Goodwin 2015; Kogan 1975), where it seems that education policy does not have the same status as economic or foreign policy studies.

My lead role in political sociology is rooted in: first, border work where I associate with Canovan (1977) who argues that political studies has become a sub-field of sociology, and needs to have parity of status (Gunter 2018a); second, practical work where I have undertaken interdisciplinary research within the wider social sciences (e.g. Gunter 2017a; van den Berg et al. 2020); third, conceptual work where I am the lead Arendtian scholar in the CEPS field (Courtney and Gunter 2015; Gunter 2014, 2018a, 2020b; Gunter and McGinity 2014; Hughes et al. 2019), and I have taken a lead role in the wider education studies research

field (see Veck and Gunter 2020; Veck and Jessop 2016). **Output 15 should now be read.**

I have taken an activist role to developing political-sociological approaches in CEPS. There are serious concerns in the field in regard to positioning within the PRR (Gale 1999; Rizvi and Lingard 2010). Two interconnected examples will suffice. Ranson (1995) identifies that the task of CEPS is not only to provide descriptions and argumentation about the situation in education, but also "to theorise the conditions for a different form of polity and public policy" (443). Consequently, there is a need to examine values, whereby the role of theory is not only to expose social injustice but to renew democracy through a *"practical theory"* (444, original emphasis) that enables practice: "to develop understanding of the values, purposes, conditions and practice of public policy for a democratic learning society" (444). This commitment to values-driven change is also evident in the second example, where Troyna (1994a) argues that while policy sociology and what he labels as "critical social research" have similar questions, when a comparison is made it is the case that policy sociology does not "harness that analysis to an explicit political commitment to change things" (72), and indeed recent agenda setting debates persist with this limitation (e.g. Seddon 2014). Engaging with the Ranson and Troyna legacies, I have undertaken critical social research through explicit change projects. This includes a range of action research (e.g. Kingswood High School, Thomson and Gunter 2008); and I have worked with professionals in schools, FE and HE in regard to their doctoral

projects that are concerned to raise and engage with critical questions (see Appendix 4). I have made links with world-leading CEPS activist researchers such as Apple (Wisconsin-Madison); Blackmore (Deakin), Fitzgerald (UWA) Smyth (Federation/Huddersfield) (see Appendices 2, 3), all of whom have pioneered the form of critical social research that Troyna is concerned is missing in the UK (e.g. Apple 2013; Blackmore 2010; Smyth 2011, 2017).

2.4 Political Sociology and the State

I locate the EPKP project in political sociology, and as such it is premised on the state as user, producer, legitimiser and authoriser of knowledge production. The state is evident in policy sociology research but there is a troubled relationship with the idea and reality of the state, and public institutions (see Halpin and Troyna 1994). Policy sociology has productively used the shift from government to governance in the social sciences, with a tendency to see the state as what Ozga (1990) identifies as the "bigger picture" for policy actors and networks (e.g. Ball 2008). Consequently, a policy text such as D3 is characterised as a pluralist "compromise" and a product of a *process* based on "discursively suturing together differing interests to achieve apparent consensus and legitimacy" (Lingard and Ozga 2007b: 2).

This is evident in a range of projects such as the growth of globalised policy actor networks (e.g. Ball 2012a; Ball and Junemann 2012; Grek 2013; Lawn and Grek 2012; Ozga 2009; Ozga and Jones 2006) and

research into the realities of localised policymaking (e.g. Bowe et al. 1992; Ball et al. 2012). As Dale (1994) argues the starting point is to recognise "that the State has never been the sole means through which education (or any other social service) has been coordinated and delivered" (38) and so the importance of the market and civil society needs to be recognised. What this theorising does is to focus on processes that involve the state (conceptualisations of policy texts, cycles and discourses e.g. Ball 1990a, 1993a, 2015a; Bowe et al. 1992; and sources, scoping and patterns e.g. Ozga and Dale 1991) where there have been changes to the state and government, or what Ball (2009a) characterises as "new state forms and modalities (governance, networks and performance management)" (83, see also Ball 2007).

There are serious areas of divergence and contention regarding this approach, where there are two main positions: first, Ball (1994, 2010) and Ozga (2000a, 2009) have focused on the plurality of policy actors who connect with but who are located externally to the state, and second, Dale (1989a,b) and Hatcher and Troyna (1994) have focused on networked interests within and external to the capitalist state (see Rizvi and Lingard 2010). I lead on and make a contribution to the second, and I intend now presenting the debates and how the EPKP is positioned.

Beginning with the 'decentring' of the state by Ball and colleagues, there is evidence from a range of contributions that the state is increasingly a referee of pluralist interests (Croce and Salvatore 2012), whereby

professional practice is about sites of interpretation and the readability of policy texts (e.g. Bowe et al. 1992). This is what Taylor (2010) describes as 'society-centred" (15) enquiry, where Ball (2007) identifies a shift from the "Keynesian National Welfare State" to the "Schumpeterian Workfare State" (3), and so explanation is not located in the hierarchy of state institutions or the complexities of markets, but through "heterarchies" as "horizontal self-organisation among mutually interdependent actors" (Jessop 2000: 15, see Ball 2009a; Ball and Junemann 2012). Consequently, the state engages in "the regulation of knowledge" (Grek and Ozga 2010: 271), but is "reluctant" (Ball 2012b) to provide and so, following Kickert (1991), the state coordinates by "steering at a distance" (Ball 1993b: 65). What this means in relation to local, national and globalised reform processes for professional practice is the importance of studying the micropolitics of the organisation (Ball 1987), with a focus on "policy *translation* and *enactment*" (Ball 2015a: 306, original emphasis, see Ball et al. 2012).

I associate with and lead the challenges from the "state-centred" (Taylor 2010: 15) researchers in the political sociology community, whereby Dale (1992, 1994), Gale (1994), Hatcher and Troyna (1994), and Lingard (1993) have recognised the importance of the state. Indeed, Hatcher and Troyna (1994) argue "for an understanding of the policy process that, while acknowledging processes of institutional reinterpretation, gives much greater weight to the ability of the state to control outcomes than Ball and his colleagues do" (162). This control is about intervention,

evaluation and restructuring/reculturing by the state, and so demonstrates the legal imposition of changes (e.g. 1988 Education Reform Act and the Local Management of Schools and Formula Funding), where such changes are not a discourse but an actual change because "state control has the upper hand" (Hatcher and Troyna 1994 p165). Ball (1994) answers back by claiming that he does "not deny the power of the state, or its forcefulness" (172), but he rejects the implication that "teachers are cultural and political dupes" (177) and so he is "unhappy with the totalitarian vision of state and the disempowerment of 'ordinary' social actors which that involves" (172). More recently this has been restated by Ball (2009a), and it has been taken forward through challenging forms of "methodological nationalist assumptions" (Seddon 2014: 10) and promoting a research position regarding the study of "globalisation and transnationalism" (12).

My contribution has drawn on political sociology (e.g. Dale 1989a; Halpin and Troyna 1994), but is distinctive through my conceptualisation of the role of public institutions (e.g. Gunter and Forrester 2008, 2009a) and of regimes of practice (Gunter and Forrester 2009b, Gunter 2012a), and where I lead on the legitimacy and authority of the law, sovereignty and the role of the electoral mandate (Gunter 2018a). I have made important contributions to knowledge production concerning New Public Management and reforms within and across nation states (see Gunter et al. 2016) through leading debates within a European network (see Appendix 4), and internationally regarding corporate elites and reform

(e.g. Gunter et al. 2017), and cosmopolitanism (Gunter 2017c). Notably this substantial body of work gives recognition to the globalization of policy actors in private business, supranational organisations, (e.g. Gunter 2016a; Gunter and Mills 2017). A core theme of this work is the primacy of the nation state, and that following Chernilo (2006) I argue that the nation state necessarily presents itself as a unitary 'it' but has been wrongly assumed by policy sociology to be a unitary concept, whereas I continue to work on the state as "an unfinished project" (Chernilo 2006: 16).

I argue that the CEPS community needs to engage with the wider social sciences (e.g. Scott 1998), and certainly to give parity of treatment to political studies. It is insufficient to recognise the activity of policy actors in policy networks without recognising that their contractual role and juridical rights and duties are determined by the state. In addition, as Moran (2003) argues, the restructuring of the state is based on hierarchical preservation by oligarchic elite interests at a time of democratic development, not least through the redesign of "club government" (Gunter 2020a). What I mean is that the development of education policy at a time of both depoliticisation and privatisation (see Part 1) has preserved oligarchic power through co-option and consent for the relocation of decision-making away from elected representatives, professional experts and the wider public. For example, as Moran (2003) demonstrates, the education profession have traditionally benefitted from the "club system" as the state needed experts to provide services, but

such public democratising processes have been halted by oligarchic repositioning around globalised corporate interests, and this has demanded a shift from expert knowledge to traded reform delivery (Gunter 2020a).

Ball (1994) counters such thinking by arguing that "I get no sense whatever from H(atcher) and T(royna) of what the state cannot do" (179). Such an analysis is a product of a policy sociology whereby Ball's (2009a, b) adoption of networked "heterarchical" governance and Ozga's (2009) claims about "steering by data" (159) are based on a misrecognition of how oligarchic club re-positioning within existing and new structures represents the retention of the location and exercise of power. Political sociology engages differently through how and why the state, in Ball's terms, *can do all* through the legitimacy and authority of the law, and within an uncodified constitution there remain important residual powers that are medieval (e.g. Royal Prerogative, see Diagram 1). Hence while the state has been under attack (e.g. Bobbitt 2002), with influential texts produced to justify ending the state's involvement in education services (e.g. Chubb and Moe 1990), I argue that state legitimacy has not actually not changed, but the mode of governing has adapted in order to protect elite interests in their occupation and control of that governing (see Gunter et al. 2016). D3 illuminates this, whereby the oligarchic club is reworking membership to include the professional only through equivalence with the corporate world. This is taking place at the intersection of the state, business, philanthropy, and professionals and in ways that are both national and

global (Gunter et al. 2016). In the UK such modernisation is taking place in policy in England, where for example, the 1997 electoral mandate that gave authority to the 4K processes that produced and then went on to invest public money in D3.

I have demonstrated that political sociologists address the sovereignty issue in ways that expose the limitations of policy sociology. This is evident in projects that focus on Europeanisation and globalisation: first, those that seek to understand the conditions in which knowledge production takes place (e.g. Dale and Robertson 2009; Grek 2009; Grek et al. 2009; Lawn and Grek 2012; Ozga 2019; Seddon 2014); and second, where claims are made about research that "means shedding or at least bracketing, the methodologically nationalist and statist assumptions" (Dale 2009: 37). As Part 1 shows, such concerns actually limit understanding of how education policy is located within and is a product of the nation state, and how policy actors may travel and indeed exclude themselves from certain states (e.g. for tax purposes) but they are anchored (for work, business, residence, passport) and legitimised by the nation state (see Gunter et al. 2017). Policy actors may network in spaces and in the shadows, but it is the case that the space is 'in-between' those who occupy formal structures and a shadow is cast and manipulated by those who are in and enabled by state vantage points. It is the idea and reality of sovereignty through the workings of Parliament, elections and monarchical prerogative that matters in regard to who enters and controls public institutions (Gunter 2012a, 2018a).

I have shown that the study of policy actors and networks within and external to the nation state is vital, but beyond the mapping of interconnectivity, actual impact requires political studies to have parity with sociology. This has been recognised by Goodwin (2009) who in replying to Ball (2008, see Ball 2009b) argues that identifying connections between policy actors is insufficient, and so there is a need to locate such analysis in relation to "which networks and which actors matter in education governance" (686). I have addressed Goodwin's (2009) legitimate concerns through giving recognition to the complex state and the implications for the objective relationships regarding those who have ideas, methods and credibility to inform, scope and deliver on policy mandates. Whereas Byrne and Ozga (2008) identify that policy sociology is concerned with "who defines policy?", and "who sets the agenda and in whose interests?" (383), I am concerned with more than this: where do those definition making processes take place, and with what authority and legitimacy?

A return to D3 is helpful here, because policy sociology could engage with the claims made by identifying new forms of "governing knowledge" and the "heterarchies" that produce and promote it (e.g. Ball 2009a, 2010; Ozga 2009). However, there are clear limitations to notions of a policy text as a "compromise" (Lingard and Ozga 2007b), and where Saltman (2010) also argues that Ball's (2007) analysis of the restructuring of public services education is based on a "collapsing" of the distinctive purposes

of the private and public in the provision of school places (28). Governing by knowledge production that is both political and sociological is able to engage with D3 more productively as a state authorised and legitimated text. Those who occupy roles and exercise influence in state institutions determine the borders and intersections with other hierarchically powerful actors in civil society. In addition, they frame purposes and practices in regard to what is public and private (or hybrid), and so contract particular vantage points and standpoints, and control not only regime purposes but also exchange relationships and practices. **Output 16 should now be read.**

2.5 Impact of EPKP within CEPS

The claims made within this summary statement are underpinned by a substantial academic publishing portfolio and by peer review recognition and acclaim for lead authority status (see Appendix 6).

CEPS is a troubled field, and there is a need to recognise "the fissiparous tendencies of theorists" (Ranson 1995: 442). For example, those who locate as critical entrepreneurs (Diagram 8) have claimed that my 1997 book is "anti-management" (Caldwell and Spinks 1998: 35), while policy scholars have claimed that my work warrants membership of the "textual dissent" community (Thrupp and Willmott 2003: 174). In addition, reviews of specific books can illuminate a divided field (e.g. Ball 2017; Ginsberg and Singh 2018), where Ozga (2013) rejects engagement with state and political analysis as not sociological enough. It seems that debate matters

in CEPS but there is a tradition of taking a categorical and dismissive approach (e.g. Ozga 1990; 1992; 2000b), where Angus (1994) has challenged Ozga regarding the lack of respect for research that supports professionals in challenging policy contexts.

My research continues to receive a positive reception and is making a substantial and sustained difference to how CEPS researchers think about and design research, and has been recognised by non-education policy/government researchers (Gunter 2020a; van den Berg et al. 2020). I have published 20 books (10 monographs, 10 edited collections) with internationally renowned publishing companies and over 100 articles in high quality journals. I have published in major CEPS journals (e.g. *Journal of Education Policy*, 2018 Impact Factor 2.684, Ranking 29/243), educational leadership studies (e.g. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 2018 Impact Factor 1.804, Ranking 87/243), and general educational journals (e.g. *British Journal of Educational Studies* 2018 Impact Factor 2.298, Ranking 43/243).

Reception of the research has been very positive with a range of indicators:

> **Citations**: are high, and at the time of writing Google Scholar shows 8029 citations, h-index 52, and i10-index 144 (June 2nd 2020). The top two citations are my 2001a book with 702 citations, and 2012a book with 241 citations.

Peer review: positive whereby the contribution of the research is recognised and acclaimed for the field. See Appendix 6 for book reviews.

CEP research group: in 2005 I set up a research group at the University of Manchester that now includes over 15 active researchers, and a range of global scholars including Professor Michael Apple (Wisconsin-Madison) have visiting appointments. CEP research was recognised as an area of strength by REF2014.

Visiting roles: I have held nine visiting roles in Australia, Europe, and South Africa, and for five years (2012-2017) I was Adjunct Professor II at the University of Oslo, Norway.

Supervision: I have supervised 37 doctorates (14 PhD; 22 EdD) and two MPhils to completion.

Recognition by my peers within the social sciences is evident through a number of awards. I was elected Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in 2010, and I was presented with the Distinguished Service Award in 2016 by BELMAS. I have been a member of the ESRC Peer Review College since 2005. In addition, the University of Manchester awarded the Sarah Fielden Chair 2014-2017; and Professorial Enhanced Research Leave in 2017.

14,811 words.

ENDNOTES

[1] The UK government governs education in England. During the development of the EPKP project major changes took place constitutionally regarding the UK whereby devolution was introduced to Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Education is a devolved power in these three home nations. This devolution was not given to England and there is no parliament/assembly for England. The UK Department in Whitehall responsible for education in England has undergone a number of changes, and here I will note the names from the second world war onwards:

1944-1964:	Ministry of Education
1964-1992:	Department of Education and Science (DES)
1992-1995:	Department for Education
1995-2001:	Department for Education and Employment (DfEE)
2001-2007:	Department for Education and Skills (DfES)
2007-2010:	Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) (and the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills, DIUS).
2010:	Department for Education (DfE).

[2] It is out of the scope of the summary statement to provide the details of how *the* agenda became *this* agenda. In summary, D3 was enacted by

a range of complex policy reform investments that can be characterised as:

Remodelling: the construction of the preferred type of headteacher (and other professionals) through a combination of national standards, and the identification of role model heads as archetypes to symbolise 'success' and 'fear of failure' requirements (Hughes 2019).

Responsibilisation: the disciplining of professional practice through remodelling combined with high stakes accountability resulting in liberation rewards (performance related pay) and 'name and shame' punishments (contract termination; school closure) (Butt and Gunter 2007).

Redesigning: the combination of remodelling and responsibilisation to re-purpose identities, priorities and practices regarding policy delivery, and the implications for access to and termination of a school place for children and workforce employment (Hughes et al. 2019).

Restructuring: the dismantling of the Local Authority (LA) system, enabled and intensified by the three Rs above, means that there are now between 70 and 90 different types of schools (Courtney 2015), and new middle level structures through CEOs and Multi-Academy Trusts (MATs), and the introduction of Regional Schools Commissioners (RSC) (Rayner et al. 2017).

Reculturing: a combination of the four Rs above reworked values

and practices that included and excluded professionals, parents,

pupils and communities, and so generated and sustained what

was imagined, said and done in regard to problem identification

and solutions. The speedy reform imperative was framed as

'There Is No Alternative' (TINA) with 'No Excuses' for poor

performance, with the exclusion of 'enemies' who think and do

otherwise (Gunter 2012a).

The Critical Education Policy research group at the University of

Manchester has been actively involved in developing a programme of

research to map and investigate these changes. Appendices 2 and 3

demonstrate projects and collaborations.

[3] Diagram 4 is based on my development and deployment of Dale's

Table 2 on page 115 of his book *The State and Education Policy* (1989a).

This was initially through my PhD (Gunter 1999a) and in later outputs (e.g.

Gunter 2001a; 2004). Dale (1989a) provides the first three columns, and

I have developed his table in two main ways: (a) I have changing the

heading of column three from 1988-, to 1988-1997, and added in two new

columns that demonstrate the change to New Labour 1997-2010, and

then the Conservative led governments from 2010; (b) I have added in a

row at the bottom that provides a summary characterization of each of the

five main periods of change, from Educational Administration through to

Corporate Leadership.   In addition, I would like to explain that Dale is

using "eunuchs" based on Brighouse's 1988 characterisation of the impact of the 1988 Education Reform Act on LEAs in his article "Politicising the manager or managing the politicians? Can the headteacher succeed where the education officer failed?" *Educational Management and Administration*. 16 (2) 97-103.

[4] My work is located in conceptualisations of the state that are informed by (a) political studies because my first degree is in Modern History and Politics, I taught A level and Oxbridge level British Government and Politics for 11 years, and I have given papers at a range of social science/politics conferences, including: Critical Management Studies, the International Conference on Public Policy, Political Studies Association Annual International Conference, and the Policy & Politics Conference; (b) conceptualisations of politics based on Arendtian scholarship (e.g. Gunter 2018a); and (c) conceptualisations of sociology based on Bourdieu's thinking tools (e.g. Gunter 2012a). This research has produced the EPKP where the focus is on government and governing (e.g. Gunter and Mills 2017) where, unlike many other authors, I have not fully ventured into Foucault and governmentality. There is an important trend in the adoption of governmentality in the social sciences (e.g. Miller and Rose 2008) and education (e.g. Ball 2013) that is helpful in regard to the exercise of power but, based on my empirical data and theorizing analysis, it does not provide the conceptualisation necessary to first, explain state sovereignty and the impact on political exchanges that

Arendtian thinking does (Gunter 2014, Gunter 2018a); and second, explain regime practices that Bourdieusian thinking does (Gunter 2012a).

[5] Appendix 4 provides the overview of collaborations. I would like to stress two important policy scholar networks that have supported my research: first, as Adjunct Professor II at the University of Oslo (see Gunter 2019); and second as a co-convenor the LE@DS (Leading Education and Democratic Schools) European network (see Gunter et al. 2016).

[6] It is out of the scope of this summary statement to provide a full mapping of the field both nationally and internationally. My approach is to focus on how the EPKP project is located in the UK field specifically, but also to recognise how this community is/is not networked internationally with research communities in other countries. Hence in Part 2 I explain the research contribution through referencing authors and texts internationally (see Appendices 2, 3,4).

[7] I was co-editor of 2013-2020: *Critical Studies in Educational Leadership, Management and Administration* (Routledge). This book series focused on the role and utility of theory from the social sciences in providing research understandings and explanations for educational leaders, leading and leadership.
https://www.routledge.com/Critical-Studies-in-Educational-Leadership-Management-and-Administration/book-series/ELMA

[8] From 2019 I am co-editor of *Perspectives on Leadership in Higher Education* (Bloomsbury)

https://www.bloomsbury.com/uk/series/perspectives-on-leadership-in-higher-education/

APPENDIX 1

JOURNAL/PUBLISHER STATUS AND CITATION

DATA FOR SUBMITTED OUTPUTS

Please note that the selection of the outputs is based on how they illustrate the emergence of the EPKP project and the development of my thinking and contribution to CEPs. Some outputs are quite recent, and so the citation data may not be as high as my earlier outputs.

Output 1
Gunter, H.M. (2018) Depoliticisation and education policy. In: Wilkinson, J., Niesche, R. and Eacott, S. (Eds.) *Challenges for Public Education* London: Routledge. 87-100.

> **Selection criteria:** this output reports on data and analysis that examines my most recent work on depoliticisation and elite interests.
> **Journal Status:** not applicable. Routledge is an internationally renowned publisher.
> **Citation Data:** not yet available.

Output 2
Gunter, H.M., Hall, D. and Bragg, J. (2013) Distributed Leadership: a study in knowledge production. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*. 41 (5) 556 - 581.

> **Selection criteria:** this output reports on ESRC funded research and demonstrates my work on knowledge production.
> **Journal Status:** 2018 Impact Factor 1.804, Ranking 87/243 Education and Educational Research.
> **Citation Data:** 116 citations (Google Scholar).

Output 3
Chapter 1 from Gunter, H.M. and Mills, C. (2017) *Consultants and Consultancy: the Case of Education*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

> **Selection criteria:** this output reports on ESRC and BA funded research and demonstrates my work on governing by knowledge production.

Journal Status: not applicable. Springer is an internationally renowned publisher.
Citation Data: 36 citations (Google Scholar).

Output 4

Gunter, H.M. and Forrester, G. (2009) Institutionalised Governance: the case of the National College for School Leadership. *International Journal of Public Administration*. 32 (5), 349-369.

> **Selection criteria:** this output reports on ESRC funded research and demonstrates my work on oligarchy and the state.
> **Journal Status:** Not available.
> **Citation Data:** 17 citations (Google Scholar).

Output 5

Gunter, H.M. and Forrester, G. (2008) New Labour and School Leadership 1997-2007. *British Journal of Educational Studies.* 55 (2), 144-162.

> **Selection criteria:** this output reports on ESRC funded research and reports on policy and knowledge production.
> **Journal Status:** 2018 Impact Factor 2.298, Ranking 43/243 Education and Educational Research.
> **Citation Data:** 71 citations (Google Scholar).

Output 6

Gunter, H.M. and Forrester, G. (2009) School Leadership and Policymaking in England. *Policy Studies* 31 (5), 495-511.

> **Selection criteria:** this output reports on ESRC funded research and provides an overview of the main findings from the KPEL project. The full details are reported in my (Gunter 2012a) book.
> **Journal Status:** 2017 Impact Factor: 0.714, Ranking 40/47 Public Administration.
> **Citation Data:** 49 citations (Google Scholar).

Output 7

Chapter 8 from Gunter, H.M. and Mills, C. (2017) *Consultants and Consultancy: the Case of Education*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer. 105-119.

> **Selection criteria:** this output reports on ESRC and BA funded research, and this chapter provides my work on knowledge production, contracts, and the state.
> **Journal Status:** not applicable. Springer is an internationally renowned publisher.
> **Citation Data:** 36 citations (Google Scholar).

Output 8

Chapters 1 and 2 from Gunter, H.M. (2016) *An Intellectual History of School Leadership Practice and Research.* London: Bloomsbury Press. 15-40.

> **Selection criteria:** this output reports on research and Bourdieusian scholarship that began with my PhD (Gunter 1999a), and has been developed through ESRC and BA funded projects.
> **Journal Status:** not applicable. Bloomsbury Press is an internationally renowned publisher.
> **Citation Data:** 90 citations (Google Scholar).

Output 9

Gunter, H.M. (2020) Thinking politically with Arendt: depoliticised privatism and education policy. In: Veck, W. and Gunter, H.M. (Eds.) *Hannah Arendt on Educational Thinking and Practice in Dark Times: Education for a World in Crisis*. London: Bloomsbury Press. 79-166.

> **Selection criteria:** this output reports on research using Arendt to think about the restructuring of education. The detailed work on Arendt is presented in my two books: Gunter 2014; 2018a.
> **Journal Status:** not applicable. Bloomsbury Press is an internationally renowned publisher.
> **Citation Data:** Not available.

Output 10

Gunter, H.M. (2017) Corporate consultancy practices in education services in England. In: Gunter, H.M., Hall, D. and Apple, M. (Eds.) *Corporate Elites and the Reform of Public Education*. Bristol: Policy Press. 149-163.

> **Selection criteria:** this output reports on ESRC and BA funded research and presents analysis about how and why public sector professionals in universities, local authorities and schools either proactively moved into the market or were made redundant and had to set up a business.
> **Journal Status:** not applicable. Policy Press is an internationally renowned publisher.
> **Citation Data:** 26 citations (Google Scholar).

Output 11

Chapters 1 and 8 from: Gunter, H.M. (2018) *The Politics of Public Education: Reform Ideas and Issues*. Bristol: Policy Press. 1-24; 157-178.

> **Selection criteria:** this output reports on ESRC and BA funded research and presents (a) my most up to date thinking using Arendtian scholarship; and (b) my contribution to CEPS regarding the importance of political studies.

Journal Status: not applicable. Policy Press is an internationally renowned publisher.
Citation Data: 12 citations (Google Scholar).

Output 12

Gunter, H.M., Courtney, S.J., Hall, D. and McGinity, R. (2018) School principals in neoliberal times: a case of luxury leadership? In: Means, A.J. and Saltman, K.J. (Eds.) *Handbook of Global Education Reform.* New York, NY: Wiley-Blackwell. 113-130.

> **Selection criteria:** this research output presents data from four ESRC funded projects, and a novel approach to understanding school leadership.
> **Journal Status:** not applicable. Wiley-Blackwell is an internationally renowned publisher.
> **Citation Data:** 8 citations (Google Scholar).

Output 13

Gunter, H.M. (2020) Criticality in the field of educational administration. In R. Papa (Ed.), *[Oxford] Encyclopedia of Educational Administration*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. 1-20.

> **Selection criteria:** this research output is based on thinking and writing developed over thirty years of funded research and conceptual innovation regarding criticality.
> **Journal Status:** not applicable. Oxford University Press is an internationally renowned publisher.
> **Citation Data:** Not available.

Output 14

Gunter, H.M. (2003) Intellectual histories of the field of education management in the UK. *International Journal of Leadership in Education,* 6 (4), 333-347.

> **Selection criteria:** this research output is based on my PhD and reports on primary data regarding the border territory between educational management and policy scholarship/sociology researchers.
> **Journal Status:** 2017 CiteScore 0.72.
> **Citation Data:** 21 citations (Google Scholar).

Output 15

Gunter, H.M., Hall, D. and Mills, C. (2015) Consultants, consultancy and consultocracy in education policymaking in England. *Journal of Education Policy*. 30 (4), 518-539.

> **Selection criteria:** Reports research from ESRC and BA funded research, and demonstrates my contribution to CEP regarding the state.

Journal Status: 2018 Impact Factor 2.684, Ranking 29/243 Education and Educational Research.
Citation Data: 71 citations (Google Scholar).

Output 16

Chapter 12 from: Gunter, H.M., Grimaldi, E., Hall, D. and Serpieri, R. (2016) NPM and the dynamics of education policy and practice in Europe. In: Gunter, H.M., Grimaldi, E., Hall, D. and Serpieri, R. (Eds.) *New Public Management and the Reform of Education: European Lessons for Policy and Practice*. London: Routledge. 173-185.

Selection criteria: Reports on research from the LE@Ds network seminars across Europe, with ten chapters reporting on NPM in different states.
Journal Status: not applicable. Routledge is an internationally renowned publisher.
Citation Data: 88 citations (Google Scholar).

APPENDIX 2

DIAGRAM 3 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Introduction

I am presenting a short account in support of the use of the quotation in Diagram 3. The Green Paper entitled *teachers: meeting the challenge of change* (DfEE 1998) is in four parts:

DfEE (1998a) *teachers: meeting the challenge of change*. Cm4164. London: The Stationery Office.

DfEE (1998b) *teachers: meeting the challenge of change. Technical consultation document on pay and performance management*. London: The Stationery Office.

DfEE (1998c) *teachers: meeting the challenge of change. Summary*. London: The Stationery Office.

DfEE (1998d) *teachers: meeting the challenge of change. Response form*. London: The Stationery Office.

Each of these parts has a specific purpose:

DfEE (1998a) is the Green Paper itself and lays out a "modernisation imperative" with the strategies needed to deliver: improvement in leadership, teaching and teaching support based on recruitment, pay, performance, development, and the training of teachers, and of aspiring and in post heads through national qualifications and a new National College for School Leadership.

DfEE (1998b) is a technical annexe to the Green Paper and it covers the details of the proposed model for performance management for teachers and the members of the "Leadership Group": data collection, standards, threshold assessment, training, and pay awards/bonuses.

DfEE (1998c) is a summary the key features of DfEE (1998a,b) and presented in a leaflet to be distributed to teachers. It covers rewards, leadership, skills and support.

DfEE (1998d) is a questionnaire designed to secure consultation about DfEE (1998a,b) by 31st March 1999. The questionnaire has five questions that include responding to specific sub-questions from agree to disagree, with space for additional comments. The five questions cover the change imperative, leadership, better rewards for teaching, better training, better support. In addition, the questionnaire allows for final comments, and the space to provide specific details about the person filling in the questionnaire.

The Green Paper package is important for the development of the EPKP because it connects with the overarching project outlined in Part 1, and in regard to the specific focus on the reforms made to the role, practice and identity of educational professionals during the time of New Labour (1997-2010). Based on a range of funded projects, but specifically the *Knowledge Production in Educational Leadership* (KPEL) project (see Appendix 3), where the major investment in school leadership has been investigated.

The specific quotation in Diagram 3 has been selected because it illuminates the wider claims made in the field of school effectiveness and school improvement, whereby the focus was on the importance of leadership in regard to change and reform delivery (e.g. Sammons et al. 1995; Teddlie and Reynolds 2000). Members of these networks entered government in senior positions (e.g. Michael Barber as Head of the Standard and Effectiveness Unit, and author of the Green Paper), planned to use SESI knowledge production to frame and secure policy changes (e.g. Barber 1996; Reynolds et al. 1996) and were contracted to deliver on commissioned projects (e.g. Hopkins 2001; Leithwood et al. 2006).

APPENDIX 3

FUNDED RESEARCH PROJECTS

Start/End Date	Project Title	Funder
2019 onwards CoPI	*Genetics and Personalisation (GaP) project*	Unfunded.
2015-2018 CoI	*The new private educational sector in Chile: entrepreneurialism and competition.*	ESRC (Newton Fund) ES/N000676/1
2017 PI	*Knowledgeable polities and the politics of public education*	Professorial Enhanced Research Leave (PERL), Faculty of Humanities, University of Manchester
2014-2017 PI	*Arendt and the politics of public education reform*	Sarah Fielden Professor of Education, The Manchester Institute of Education, University of Manchester
2011-2014 PI	*Investigating school leadership at a time of system diversity, competition and flux*	Dr Steve Courtney ESRC Studentship ES/J500094/1
2013-2014 PI	*Consultancy and Knowledge Production in Education Project.*	British Academy/Leverhulme SG121698.
2010-2013 PI	*Modernisation through personalized public services: an investigation into localized school policymaking.*	Dr Ruth McGinity ESRC CASE Studentship ES/GO39860/1.
2009-2010 CoI	*Distributed leadership and the social practices of school organisation in England.*	ESRC RES-000-22-3610
2008-2009 CoI	*BME leadership and careers in schools.*	NASUWT and NCSL
2008-2009 Mentor	Dr Diane Harris ESRC Post-Doctoral Fellowship	ESRC
2008-2009 CoI	*Women Teachers' Careers: Phase 2: Gender in Leadership*	NASUWT
2007-2008 CoI	*Entrepreneurialism, leadership and organisational reform in the public sector: the case of an independent state school in the inner city.*	British Academy
2007-2008 CoI	*New Leadership Models Project.*	NCSL
2006-2007	Dr Alexandra Petridou ESRC Post-Doctoral Fellowship	ESRC
2006-2007 CoI	*Women Teachers' Careers: Phase 1.*	NASUWT
2005-2006 PI	*Developing an archive of the UFA*	UFA/DfES
2005-2006 CoI	*Education and Poverty: conceptualising the evidence base.*	Joseph Rowntree Foundation
2005 CoPI	*Leaders of Learning: Effective Middle Leadership in Schools in New Zealand and England.*	NCSL
2004 CoPI	*Evaluation of the Innovation Project at Knutsford High School, Knutsford, Cheshire.*	DfES, Innovation Unit
2002-2004 PI	*Evaluation of the National University of the First Age*	UFA/DfES
2002-2003 CoI	*Challenging the Orthodoxy of School Leadership: Towards New Theoretical Perspectives.*	ESRC Seminar Series
2002 CoPI	*ICT Test Bed Baseline Project.*	DfES
2002-2003 CoPI	*Evaluation of the Transforming School Workforce Pathfinder Project.*	DfES
2001-2002 PI	*Evaluation of the National University of the First Age.*	UFA/DfES
2001 PI	*Evaluation of the Education Development Plan, Priority 4, Children at Risk of Underachieving.*	Birmingham LEA
1993-1996 PI	*TALK Project (Teacher Appraisal at Le(Eds. and Keele) Research into Teacher Appraisal in the North of England.*	Nuffield Foundation
1995-1996 CoI	*Evaluation of the implementation of Successmaker at Her Majesty's Prison, Stocken.*	Millwharf Educational Services

APPENDIX 4

RESEARCH COLLABORATIONS

A summary of key collaborations:

Critical Education Policy (CEP) research group at the University of Manchester, UK.
I set CEP up in 2005 and this was originally Critical Education Policy and Leadership (CEPaLs), and the change to CEP took place in 2019. Membership includes:

Professor Mike Apple (Wisconsin Madison) (Visiting Professor)
Dr Paul Armstrong (Lecturer)
Dr Steven J Courtney (Senior Lecturer and convenor of CEP from 2019)
Dr Miriam Firth (Senior Lecturer)
Dr Gillian Forrester (Research Assistant, and now Staffordshire University)
Dr Alexander Gardner-McTaggart (Lecturer)
Professor David Hall (now Exeter University) (Visiting Professor)
Bob Hindle (Lecturer)
Dr Bee Hughes (Senior Tutor)
Professor Steve Jones (Professor of Higher Education)
Dr Miguel Lim (Lecturer)
Dr Sylvie Lomer (Lecturer)
Dr Eric Lybeck (Lecturer)
Dr Tamsin McCaldin (Lecturer)
Colin Mills (Lecturer)
Dr Jenna Mittelmeier (Lecturer)
Dr Lisa Murtagh (Senior Lecturer)
Dr Stephen Rayner (Lecturer)
Dr Dorothy Smith (La Trobe) (Honorary Research Fellow)

CEP is networked with the British Educational Leadership Management and Administration Society (BELMAS) through the national and international research group: Critical Education Policy and Leadership.
https://www.belmas.org.uk/Rig-CEPLS/Overview

Appendix 3 provides a list of projects that includes networks within and external to the University of Manchester.

Bids for Simon and Hallsworth funding to appoint the following people as visiting professors in CEP:

2016	PI	Professor Jill Blackmore (Deakin, Australia) Simon Visiting Professor
2015	PI	Professor Gary Anderson (New York, USA) Simon Visiting Professor
2013	Col	Professor Ann Leiberman (Stanford, USA) Simon Visiting Professor
2012	PI	Professor Michael Apple (Wisconsin-Madison, USA) Hallsworth Visiting Professor
2011	Col	Professor Lefj Moos (Copenhagen, Denmark) Simon Visiting Professor
2008	PI	Professor John Smyth (Ballarat, Australia) Simon Visiting Professor

Doctoral supervisions

Award	Student Name	Title
2020	Luyao Huang	*Social capital, education and entrepreneurial development.*
2020	Bee Hughes	*An investigation into the Chief Executive Officer of a Multi Academy Trust in England.* 2018: awarded BELMAS Student Bursary.
2019	Omar Kaissi	*Researching corporeality in education: an investigation of knowledge production in gender and education on boys and masculinities.*
2019	Dr Lee Webster	*An investigation into informed learning and postgraduate study: the SPIDER case study.*
2019	Becky Lunson Southall	*Peer Wellbeing Champions in Secondary Schools. Towards an understanding of online-peer-mentoring and wellbeing.*
2019	Lewis Entwistle	*An investigation into building democratic values and practices through young people's experiences of knowledge and learning in a sixth form college.*
2018	Caroline Leah	*Approved Mental Health Professionals: negotiating dialogic identities as hybrid professionals.*
2017	Liz Gregory	*Towards a collective identity: a study of learners self-perception in the FE environment.*
2017	Wazerah Bawazeer	*Women in leadership in higher education in KSA.*
2017	Stephen Rayner	*Values and policy enactment: the interrelationship between decision-making processes, values and professional practice in an English secondary school.* 2019: Awarded the British Educational Leadership Management and Administration Society (BELMAS) award for the best early career researcher article published in *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*. 2018: awarded the British Educational Leadership Management and Administration Society (BELMAS) runner up Thesis Award 2018.
2017	Andy Graham	*A study of the perceptions of academic staff of workload and performance management models.*
2017	Jennifer Silverthorne	*An investigation into pharmacist professional formation.*
2016	Michael Burnitt	*Primary Headteachers: Perceptions on Standards, Accountability and School Context.*
2016	Aleksander Jedrosz	*Science teaching spaces: their impact on teaching.*
2016	Rachel Chard	*A study of current teacher professionals and their attitudes towards promotion and careers.*
2015	Steven J Courtney	*Investigating school leadership at a time of system diversity, competition and flux.* 2016 received three awards: the British Educational Research Association (BERA) Doctoral Dissertation Award for 2016; the British Educational Leadership Management and Administration Society (BELMAS) Thesis Award 2016; the American Education Research Association (AERA) Division A: 2016 Outstanding Dissertation Award.
2015	Tony Fort	*Constituting the Managerial Subject: an investigation into middle management in FE.*
2015	Victoria Ruth Johnson	*Policy, practice and assessment: revealing the relationship between the GCSE English assessment and educational reproduction.*
2014	Ruth McGinity	*An investigation into localised policymaking at a time of rapid educational reform in England.* 2012: awarded BELMAS Student Bursary and AERA Travel Honorarium.
2014	Julian Skyrme	*Contextual admissions and social justice in selective English higher education institutions.*
2013	Olga Campbell-Thomson	*Exploring the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling in The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.*
2013	Patricia Davies	*Student leadership of ICT for learning in a high school. .*
2013	Ana-Cristina Popescu	*Headteachers and the Decentralisation of Public Education in Post-Communist Romania.* 2012: awarded BELMAS Student Bursary.
2013	Christiana Karousiou	*An Exploratory Study into Primary Teachers' Professional Identity at a Time of Educational Reform in Cyprus.*
2012	Dr Adrian Lythgoe	*A study of the professional identities of senior school leaders in areas of economic hardship.*
2012 PhD	Stephen Rogers	*An investigation into New Labour Education Policy: personalisation, young people, schools and modernity.* 2013: awarded the British Educational Research Association (BERA), Doctoral Dissertation Award for 2013.
2012	Diane Whalley	*Policy and practice for children with complex needs.*
2011	Maureen Cain	*Inside the Primary School Leadership Team: an investigation into Primary school leadership practice and development as an integrated process.*
2010	Joe O'Connell	*Towards an understanding of the factors that influence teacher engagement in continuing professional development.*
2009	Craig Blyth	*Disabled gay men and Manchester's gay village: the socially and spatially constructed gay body.*
2008	Charlotte Woods	*Investigating Emotion in the Higher Education Workplace Using Q Methodology.*
2008	Wei Zhang	*An Investigation of the Professional Learning of School Leaders in English Schools.*
2007	Anne Lance	*An investigation of policy and practice in the primary school.*
2006	Alison Taysum	*The EdD and the learning journies of leaders in education.*
2006	Lin MacKenzie	*An investigation into adult learners and learning: powerful learners and learning in three sites of adult education.*
2004	Lynn Bradbury	*A study of women who are headteachers and mothers.*
2004	Robert Smith	*Work, identity and the quasi-market: the FE experience.*

In addition, I have supervised 2 MPhil theses – Martin Lea 2012, Stuart Dunne 2019. I have supervised over 50 MA dissertations at Manchester, and over 200 MA/MBA dissertations at Keele and Birmingham.

Visiting Roles

2017: RFA Transforming Human Societies Visiting Research Fellowship Grant Programme. La Trobe University, Melbourne. Australia.

2015-2017: Adjunct Professor II, Oslo University, Norway. Two year extension to contract.

2012-2015: Adjunct Professor II, Oslo University, Norway. Three year contract.

2015: Visiting Professor, Monash University, Australia, August 2015.

2010: Visiting Professor, University of Ballarat, Australia, February 2010.

2009: Visiting Professor, University of Oslo, Norway, January 2009.

2007: Visiting Professor, University of Oslo, Norway, September 2007.

2007: Visiting Professor: University of Tromsϕ, Norway, September 2007.

2006: Visiting Scholar, Padagogische Hochschule, Dep. Weiterbildung und Nachdipoloastudien, Stampfenbaschstr. 115, CH-8021, Zurich. Switzerland, February 2006.

2005: Visiting Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa.

2002: Adjunct Professor of Educational Management. Unitec, Te Akoranga Matauranga, School of Education, Mount Albert, Auckland, New Zealand.

Adjunct Professor II at the University of Oslo, Norway was for five years (2012-2017) and included public lectures, seminars, research bids, co-writing, peer review and feedback on draft research outputs for staff and students, workshops with staff and students.

Networked events:

Critical Education Policy and Leadership (CEPaLs) Research Interest Group, British Education Leadership Management and Administration Society (BELMAS). Founding convenor of this network. From 2008 there have been a series of events and publications.

LE@DS - Leading Education and Democratic Schools, European Network Seminars. Founding convenor of this network. From 2011 onwards there have been a series of events in Manchester, Naples, Strasbourg. The network includes: Professor Jean-Louis Derouet (Lyon); Dr Marta Curran (Barcelona); Professor Emiliano Grimaldi (Naples);

Professor David Hall (Manchester/Exeter); Dr Anna Imri (Budapest); Dr Jan Kohouteck (Prague); Professor Jorunn Møller (Oslo); Professor Romuald Normand (Strasbourg); Professor Roberto Serpieri (Naples); Professor Guri Skedsmo (Zug); Professor Antoni Verger (Barcelona).

Hannah Arendt and Education Network. Founding convenor. From 2014 onwards there have been two seminar events in Manchester. The network includes: Dr Jo-Anne Dillabough (Cambridge); Professor Donald Gillies (West of Scotland); Professor Jon Nixon (Hong Kong); Dr Sharon Jessop (Strathclyde); Dr Wayne Veck (Winchester).

Editorial Boards:
I was executive editor of the *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 2007-2017 with Professor Tanya Fitzgerald. We edited Volumes 40-49. This include UK and international networking regarding the Editorial Board, authors, and peer reviewers. See Appendix 5 for details. See webpage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cjeh20

I have been a member of a number of editorial boards, and importantly I have been a member of the *Educational Management Administration and Leadership* board since 2000.

APPENDIX 5

PUBLISHED RESEARCH OUTPUTS

Authored Books

Fitzgerald, T., White, J., and Gunter, H.M. (2012) *Hard labour? Academic Work and The Changing Landscape of Higher Education.* Bingley: Emerald**.** 204 pages.

Gunter, H.M. (2018) *The Politics of Public Education: Reform Ideas and Issues*. Bristol: Policy Press. 223 pages.

Gunter, H.M. (2016) *An Intellectual History of School Leadership Practice and Research.* London: Bloomsbury Press. 231 pages.

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Gunter, H.M. (2012) *Leadership and the Reform of Education*. Bristol: The Policy Press. 200 pages.

Gunter, H.M. (2005) *Leading Teachers* London: Continuum. 129 Pages.

Gunter, H.M. (2001) *Leaders and Leadership in Education* London: Paul Chapman. 192 pages.

Gunter, H.M. (1997) *Rethinking Education: The Consequences of Jurassic Management* London: Cassell. 129 pages.

Gunter, H.M. and Mills, C. (2017) *Consultants and Consultancy: the Case of Education*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer. 160 pages.

van den Berg, C., Howlett, M., Gunter, H.M. Howard, M., Migone, A., Pemer, F. (2020) *Policy Consultancy in Comparative Perspective: Patterns, Nuances and Implications for the Contractor State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 315 pages.

Edited Books

Butt, G. and Gunter, H.M. (Eds.) (2007) *Modernizing Schools: People, Learning and Organizations*. London: Continuum. 276 pages.

Chapman, C. and Gunter, H.M. (Eds.) (2009) *Radical Reforms: Public Policy and a Decade of Educational Reform*. London: Routledge. 256 pages.

Cole, B. and Gunter, H.M. (Eds.) (2010) *Changing Lives: Women, Inclusion and the PhD*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books. 165 pages.

Courtney, S.J., McGinity, R. and Gunter, H.M. (Eds.) (2018) *Educational Leadership: Theorising Professional Practice in Neoliberal Times.* Abingdon: Routledge. 165 pages.

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Raffo, C., Dyson, A., Gunter, H.M, Hall, D., Jones, L. and Kalambouka, A. (Eds.) (2010) *Education and Poverty in Affluent Countries*. London: Routledge. 253 pages.

Tomlinson, H., Gunter, H.M. and Smith, P. (Eds.) (1999) *Living Headship: Voices, Values and Vision* Paul Chapman/Sage in association with the British Educational Management and Administration Society. 170 pages.

Veck, W. and Gunter, H.M. (Eds.) (2020) *Hannah Arendt on Educational Thinking and Practice in Dark Times: Education for a World in Crisis*. London: Bloomsbury. 180 pages.

Translation of books
India edition: Gunter, H.M., Hall, D. and Mills, C. (Eds.) (2014) *Education policy research: design and practice at a time of rapid reform*. London: Bloomsbury.

Japan edition: Gunter, H.M. (2014) *Educational Leadership and Hannah Arendt*. Abingdon: Routledge. 146 pages.

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Courtney, S.J., Gunter, H.M., Niesche, R. and Trujillo, T. (Eds.) (2020) *Understanding educational leadership: critical perspectives and approaches*. London: Bloomsbury. In press.

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Jones, S., Courtney, S.J. and Gunter, H.M. (2020) Global structural reform and educational leadership. In: Courtney, S.J., Gunter, H.M., Niesche, R. and Trujillo, T. (Eds.) *Understanding educational leadership: critical perspectives and approaches*. London: Bloomsbury.

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Bawazeer, W. and Gunter, H.M. (2016) Using the Curriculum Vitae in leadership research *Management in Education*. 30 (2), 74-78.

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Gunter, H.M. (2016) *Consulting and the Public Sector*. Henry Stewart Talks.
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Gunter, H.M. and Fitzgerald, T. (2010) *Expert Interview as Editors of Journal of Educational Administration and History*.
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Rayner, S.M. and Gunter, H.M. (2019) *Interview with Stephen Rayner, recipient of the best ECR article award 2019 in Educational Management Administration and Leadership*. Sage Publishers.
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Editorships: Academic Journals
2007-2017: Executive editor of *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, Routledge Taylor and Francis. Co-editor, Professor Tanya Fitzgerald, La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia. Editing of ten volumes (40-49):

Generic Issues: 16 issues with 82 research articles.
Themed Issues: 14 issues with 14 Editorials (see below) and 68 research articles.
Guest Issues: 10 issues with 70 research articles.

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Fitzgerald, T. and Gunter, H.M. (2017) Debating the agenda: the incremental uberisation of the field *Journal of Educational Administration and History*. 49 (4), 257-263.

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Gunter, H.M. and Fitzgerald, T. (2009) Editorial: critical historical perspectives on educational administration. *Journal of Educational Administration and History*. 41 (4), 307-310.

Gunter, H.M. and Fitzgerald, T. (2008) Editorial. Fortieth Anniversary Celebration Issue. *Journal of Educational Administration and History*. 40 (1), 1-4.

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Journal Guest Edited Issues:
Butt, G. W. and Gunter, H.M. (2005) *The Challenges of Modernization in Education,* Guest Editor Issue of *Educational Review* 57 (2).

Gunter, H.M. (2003) *The Challenge of Distributed Leadership*. Special issue of *School Leadership and Management* 23 (2). Contains editorial and papers from the ESRC funded seminar held at the University of Birmingham, February, 2003. This includes the editorial: Gunter, H.M. (2003) The challenge of distributed leadership: introduction to the special edition. *School Leadership and Management*, 23 (3), 261-265.

Gunter, H.M. and Fitzgerald, T. (2007) Work in progress: the contribution of researching professionals to field development. Guest Editor Issue of *Journal of Educational Administration and History*. 39 (1).

APPENDIX 6

OUTPUT DATA AND REVIEWS

Citations data (correct as of 2nd June 2020):

Total citations: 8029
h-index: 52
i10 index: 144

Top Ten Google Scholar Citations:

2001: Book: *Leaders and Leadership in Education*   702 citations
2012a: Book: *Leadership and the Reform of Education* 241 citations
2006: Article: From Consulting Pupils… with Thomson 211 citations
1997: Book: *Rethinking Education…*   187 citations
2005: Book: *Leading Teachers*   174 citations

Book reviews:
Please note that not all books have been reviewed.

Butt, G. and Gunter, H.M. (Eds.) (2007) *Modernizing Schools: People, Learning and Organizations*. London: Continuum. 276 pages.

Extracts from Reviews:
Throughout this stimulating and challenging book, the reader is aware of the power that those articulating the prevailing educational discourses possess when downgrading university led educational research. *Modernizing Schools* reminds us of how essential evidence based critical research should be in the development, implementation and assessment of educational policy. (Maloney, Kings College London, UK, *Journal of Education Policy*, 2008 p198).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02680930801924870

Gunter and Butt's concluding summary, 'Whither modernization', convincingly brings together the book's disparate elements and addresses its core questions. It also highlights some of the inequalities inherent in existing notions of modernization, picking up elements such as Tanya Fitzgerald's identification of the lack of attention paid to the voice of students in the chapter on New Zealand, and concludes by emphasizing the shortcomings of a transformational agenda founded on an essentially technicist view of education. (Jopling, Wolverhampton University, UK, *British Educational Research Journal*, 2008, p408).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01411920802031351

Chapman, C. and Gunter, H.M. (Eds.) (2009) *Radical Reforms: Public Policy and a Decade of Educational Reform*. London: Routledge. 256 pages.

Extracts from Reviews:

Edited collections are often a mixed bag, only loosely cohering around their theme. Certainly while Chris Chapman and Helen Gunter bookend this collection well with thought-provoking introductory and concluding chapters, they do warn about the diversity of the research undertaken at the University of Manchester from which the collection originates. Nevertheless reading it from an insider/outsider perspective (as someone who lived and worked under New Labour for six years, now resident in New Zealand), I thought it a very useful book. The contributions provide a wealth of insights about the background to, and nature of, New Labour's reforms, the political justifications that have accompanied them and what is known about the impact of the reforms. (Thrupp, University of Waikato, NZ, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*. 2009 p499).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01425690902954661

Chapman and Gunter have edited an insightful and interesting examination of New Labour educational policies grounded in sound engagement with relevant literature and research evidence. The contributions should provide enough to appeal to all those seeking to understand and reflect upon educational change in England over the last decade. Moreover, the contributions are likely to help to stimulate and frame readers' own thinking about these radical reforms. (Peterson, Canterbury Christ Church University, 2010, *British Journal of Educational Studies* p 466-467).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2010.528669

Cole, B. and Gunter, H.M. (Eds.) (2010) *Changing Lives: Women, Inclusion and the PhD*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books. 165 pages.

Extracts from Reviews:

I found the book impossible to put down and read it as if it were a gripping novel, a true testimony to these authors' success in writing their own lives. But it is far more than just an exciting read: it is an excellent analysis of the interwoven character of personal and professional learning lives. (David, University of London, UK, *Educational Review*, 2011 p380).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2011.596011

In the final chapter of this collection, Cole and Gunter reflect back on these 'little stories' of women doing doctorates and being doctoral students. They point to the dilemmas of knowledge production and the ways in which lived identities shape and construct the experiences of women doctoral students. They talk of Higher Education as 'a man's world', 'a classed, raced and aged world,' where the 'PhD serves as the entry ticket to career development' (2010, 143). As the PhD does act as a legitimation for access into the academy, there is the need to explore more lived accounts of the policy-processes that shape this experience – particularly for those who have been traditionally excluded from higher education.

Thus, while this rich collection contains much food for thought for policy-makers and practitioners, simultaneously it powerfully illustrates the ways in which the policy context and the social context bear down in sometimes troubling ways on the lives of women doctoral students. (Maguire, Kings College London, and Hoskins, Roehampton University, UK. *Journal of Education Policy*, 2012, p152).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2011.599598

Gunter and Cole in the final chapter pertinently consider what kinds of knowledge (and, by extension, writing) are legitimate. They remind readers of the original intention of the book, namely, to give these writers platforms to examine the circumstances and accomplishments of their doctoral studies in ways they found personally legitimate as well as professionally rewarding. They inquire what it means to have a doctorate (pp. 143-7) and what comes next (pp. 147-8), concluding that while the achievements recorded in the book could be evidence of privilege, these writers are, in fact, ordinary people trying to make a difference by telling how academic careers for women like themselves are constructed. Importantly, in this book, the writers have made a beginning which can be helpful for many women. (Burton, University of South Australia, *Studies in Continuing Education*, 2012, p228).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0158037X.2012.695125

Gunter, H.M. (2016) *An Intellectual History of School Leadership Practice and Research.* London: Bloomsbury Press. 231 pages.

Extract from review:
Seeing the bigger picture in the field of school leadership is quite a challenge for both novice practitioners and seasoned researchers. The field has developed over time, and there are regional varieties across the globe. It is a subdiscipline of leadership per se, it draws insights from multiple disciplines, and perspectives diverge within it. It is therefore highly commendable that Professor Helen Gunter undertook the daunting task of writing An Intellectual History of School Leadership Practice and Research. It takes a researcher of enormous knowledge, not to mention grit, to finish a book like this, and I am impressed by the sheer amount of literature referred to, the scholarship, and the grasp of the field that the book demonstrates. (Murre, Driestar Christian University, The Netherlands. *International Journal of Christianity and Education*, 2018, p81).
DOI: 10.1177/2056997117743945

Gunter, H.M. (2014) *Educational Leadership and Hannah Arendt*. Abingdon: Routledge. 146 pages.

Extracts from Reviews:
As part of a series, Critical Studies in Educational Leadership Management and Administration, Educational Leadership and Hannah Arendt challenges the Transnational Leadership Package (TLP) or the leadership industry's readiness to provide and impose policy and

professional solutions regardless of the context and circumstances of schools or the values of their populations. In that challenge, it makes a significant contribution to our thinking about ELMA. I strongly recommend this book to scholars and professionals engaged in the study and practice of educational policy and leadership (Fuller, University of Nottingham, UK, *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 2015 p667). http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1741143214539077

Gunter's reading and application of Arendt is what makes her critique both challenging and intellectually exciting. Her use of Arendt to thematize problems in the management of education should open the mind of many a reader to the subtle ways in which education is shaped, in ways both seen and unseen, through hegemonic systems of administration that trickle all the way down to the individual classroom (Morehouse, Viterbo University, USA, *Analytic Teaching and Philosophical Praxis*, 2014 p92). No DOI.

Having spent time reading many of Hannah Arendt's articles, chapters and books and thinking about her work in relation to educational leadership, I found Gunter's work, Educational leadership and Hannah Arendt, an insightful, accessible and deeply engaging provocation for thought and leadership in education. It is also a significant contribution to the more general literature which attempts to think 'with and against' Arendt, since Gunter employs Arendt's oeuvre in a way which respects Arendt's intention in her writing 'to understand', not to tell others how to think. As Gunter initially outlined, her intent was to prompt actual engagement with Arendt's ideas in the context of events in education that we are immersed in. And as the series editors argue, the capacity to do this is a significant resource for leaders, one almost eliminated by the current tendency in policy to prescribe what leaders can do. (Rogers, Flinders University, Australia. *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 2016, p193). http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00220620.2015.1034983

Gunter, H.M. (2012) *Leadership and the Reform of Education*. Bristol: The Policy Press. 200 pages.

Extracts from Reviews:
Gunter makes an important contribution in offering a window onto the role of the proliferating range of delegated governance institutions that were a major feature of the attempt to remodel the education policy landscape under New Labour. This is all the more necessary since the dominant marketisation/neoliberal thesis is uninterested in attempting to explain or understand the role of agencies, non-departmental public bodies and quangos. This failure to disaggregate the state is the analytical root of the tendency to overstate the extent of privatisation or marketisation in education. (Goodwin, University of Cambridge, UK, *Political Studies Review*, 2014 p6). http://dx.doi.org:10.1111/1478-9302.12054

While Gunter's research is specifically targeted on the National College and England, however, for those of us in regions like Australia, there are significant lessons to be learned, and the implications are profound for other education systems and contexts adopting similar approaches to education reform…The sorts of approaches that have currency are closely linked to similar names that are so influential in England, Canada, and the USA…Gunter's book is a sobering exploration of the development of a leadership industry at work in the education reform process. The role of educational leaders has been shifted into a business and corporate culture that is becoming far removed from the day-to-day work and lives of educational leaders themselves. (Niesche, University of New South Wales, Australia, *Discourse* 2013 p148).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2013.805018

This book is a welcomed consideration of the field of education leadership and management. Gunter provides a compelling analysis of policy made all the more powerful by her use of Bourdieu. It is concisely written with each point being carefully argued and supported by reference to existing research and scholarship. Perhaps the book's most important contribution is its reminder to the reader that there are alternatives to the 'leadership of schools game' which are both 'educational and educative' (p. 129). (Thorpe, Roehampton University, UK. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 2012, p2).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2012.682416

Throughout the book, Gunter argues that 'leadership is in its proper place as a dynamic process that enables productive pedagogies and assessment, and is underpinned by a commitment to social justice' (126). However, she argues that leadership 'is dying in England because of the obsession with hierarchy, and supplying governments with evidence about how a particular type of leader, leading and leadership can work better' (128–129). By questioning current thinking and setting out alternatives to the Government-sponsored 'Leadership industry', Gunter has made a major contribution to the study of Leadership and more broadly, education policy. Too often, writing on Leadership is not supported by sufficient theory or relevant research. In this book, Gunter makes excellent use of a wide range of research evidence, and her use of Bourdieu provides a strong analytical framework. It is difficult to disagree with her claim that 'the book will be simultaneously applauded and loathed' (14). She has set out to write a book that questions accepted orthodoxy and provokes debate. Gunter has fully succeeded in these aims and the book is a strong reminder that there are alternatives to current leadership practice. She accepts that this book 'has only begun to make a contribution and this needs ongoing research and theorising' (149). However, hopefully, this book will lead to further debate amongst researchers, policy-makers and practitioners and lead to further questioning of education policy. (Abbott, Warwick University, UK. *Journal of Education Policy*, 2014, p2).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2012.761385

In contrast to the evolving government regimes of practice, the academics' PRR seems unchanging, applauded by Gunter for its 'vibrancy' because of its 'reflexivity regarding the politics of the purposes and practices of knowledge production' (146). The PRR are the ones wearing the white hats, but in the repeated policy gunfights at the OK Corral the PRR are sitting on the fence, watching and critiquing the others' aim and technique. They may have a superior interpretation of the world, but the point is to change it. Helen Gunter has given us an analysis that takes us several steps along the road to even better understanding of why 'they' do that, why 'they' think that, and why 'they' have chosen some parts of the policy research, and not others. She closes by acknowledging that she too is inevitably a player in the game, acknowledging Richardson (1997) on academic life and describing it as a 'battleground … minefield … war zone' (150). Despite her claims for analysis rather advocacy, Gunter's book is more than a subscription to membership of the PRR; it is a powerful shot in the policy battle, and a guide for marginalised members of the PRR, to help them understand how and why they might more effectively engage in the policy battles. (Cuthbert, University of West of England, UK. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 2013, p2).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2012.761385

Gunter's invitation to debate and further research in this area should be appreciated. As highlighted in the book, her explicit intention is to challenge knowledge producers, as field members in public institutions, to reflect upon how they are being positioned and how they seek to position themselves. The author aims to engage with a broad audience. At the same time, it is important to remind ourselves that the relationship between research and policy will always be tenuous. The use of research is almost constantly conditioned by other political factors, and research will not displace or replace politics, despite the fact that research seems to be of growing importance in every field of public policy. In sum, I enjoyed reading this thought-provoking text. Its well-written, engaging chapters make this timely and important book well worth the read. (Møller University of Oslo, Norway. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 2013, p289)
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2012.761385

I stress this argument here because of the way in which this book represents a strong tendency in research and scholarship in education in England to reflect methodological nationalist and methodological educationist assumptions. This is not simply a reiteration of my earlier point about failure to locate England within wider global developments, but is much more concerned with drawing attention to the importance of identifying and discussing the specific, historically embedded conditions, combined with the global mobility of ideas, that enabled 'leadership' to be deployed in relation to reform in particular ways in this particular context. Such a perspective also illuminates ways in which the agency of the 'followers' was and is framed by national institutional trajectories, and by the varied and complex forms of knowledge on which professionalising

projects and the symbolic politics of claiming professionalism can be constructed. (Ozga, 2013, p293)
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2012.761385

Gunter, H.M. (Ed.) (2011) *The State and Education Policy: the Academies Programme*. London: Continuum. 296 pages.

Extracts from Reviews:
This volume of robust research evidence is a considerable achievement in the face of academies aversion, as Denis Gleeson reveals, to freedom of information and to external research. The volume provides the evidence to demonstrate that, as time has passed, it is the political rather than the educational project that has become clearer. That project, as Helen Gunter in her fine contributions to this volume clarifies, has been the neo-liberal one of dismantling democratically accountable local government with its commitment to comprehensive education for all, in favour of corporately owned chains of schools that will lead through market competition to a selective hierarchy of educational opportunity. (Ranson, University of Warwick, UK, *Journal of Education Policy*, 2002 p2).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2012.666053

One of the tensions surrounding the book is Gunter's concern with what she describes as the civic position. Here learning is about individual and social development, 'the enculturation of learners with core values regarding how their agency is in ongoing negotiation with wider structural responsibilities regarding their role as citizens' (p. 215). Such a stance can easily lead to a return to a version of social democracy. Indeed, Gunter rightly cites Wilkinson and Pickett's book *The Spirit Level* to argue that in more egalitarian societies educational as well as health outcomes are far superior to those found in societies marked by polarities in income and wealth. However, I fear such a politics can only take us so far as it leaves in place the broader capitalist framework in which education is set. Nevertheless, this is a valuable book that deserves to be read widely by those interested in the state and education policy. It would be of interest to researchers, postgraduate and undergraduate students as well as a more general readership. (Avis, University of Huddersfield, UK, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 2013 p2).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2013.816065

How is knowledge being controlled by the state and Academy sponsor(s) and how democratic are Academy consultation processes? Not very as some of the evidence presented in this book highlights. Gunter underlines the need for further research in how Academies are working in relation not only to student performance but to how communities are being represented, or not being represented, on governing boards of new Academies. Who in the Academy will get the opportunity to carry out research remains a mute point. Will the state or other bodies, or Academy sponsors for that matter, fund research into Academy development and evolution? Is the state interested politically in Academy education research? Whether it is or not, Gunter's book highlights issues relating to:

democracy; parental choice; equity; citizenship; local authority and community involvement, which have been marginalised by sponsors and business interest. Gunter should be praised for bringing these varied and balanced chapters together, which skilfully highlight the issues which continue to happen around us, that helpfully increase understandings of contemporary state processes in shaping current education policy on Academy schools. (Race, Roehampton University, UK, *British Educational Research Journal,* 2012, p533-534).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01411926.2011.645522

Gunter, H.M. (2005) *Leading Teachers* London: Continuum. 129 Pages.

Extract from Review:
Education research should produce, not control, ideas. Therefore, the objective is to open up new ways of knowing in education leadership concerning issues teachers are attempting to cope with in their daily practice. Gunter provides several spaces for education voices through postgraduate work to analyse education leadership in different environments. Conceptually, Gunter argues that Wenger's (1987, 1998; Lave and Wenger, 1991) 'communities of practice' lacks a rigorous theory of power (p. 82). Where does power position itself within social and educational communities? The relationship between education academics and practitioners is raised. The practical relevance of education research is perennially important – in Gunter's words: 'What is useful and useless knowledge?' (p. 91) Teachers as well as leaders must be included in this debate. Training, through the NCSL and CPD programmes are current methods used to develop practice but methodologies must remain reflective rather than prescriptive. Teachers need to ask testing questions that develop practice and improve school environments. Ultimately to produce leading teachers, education leaders have to involve staff through an inclusive politics of practice to increase knowledge and knowing. (Race, Roehampton University, UK, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 2000 p501).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8527.2006.360_8.x

Gunter, H.M. (2001) *Leaders and Leadership in Education* London: Paul Chapman. 192 pages.

Extracts from Reviews:
Finally, the target audience should be both policy-makers and policy implementers. Ignore Bourdieu's advice not to abandon the 'rigour of the technical vocabulary' in favour of 'easy and readable style' (p. 151). His advice may work if the audience is fellow academics who understand exclusionary language, but not terribly useful if the purpose is to advance the cause of more democratic leadership in real schools. This book should be written in a way that people in Whitehall, County Hall and the village school can understand, share and learn (Fink, 2001). I will look forward to reading this next book because, like *Leaders and Leadership in Education* and Dr Gunter's previous efforts, it will make me think, question, reassess and understand educational leadership more deeply. Her incredible grasp

of the field and undeniable passion for the topic will I am sure make it a 'must-read' for educational leaders. (Fink, University of Toronto, *Educational Management Administration and Leadership* 2002 p331). http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0263211X020303006

In the conclusion to her book Gunter discusses the concept of 'radical professionality' where teachers' voices are heard and represented, where they have their perspectives and work recognized. She views teachers and students as critical intellectuals in the generation of knowledge about leadership and, in her opinion, 'radical professionalism' requires radical collegiality, a form of learning community. As Wheatley (1992) suggests, 'we need a different pattern one in which we fully engage, evoking multiple meanings'. This simple but profound observation is at the heart of Gunter's book and points towards the urgent need to redefine leadership research and radically reconceptualize leadership practice. For this alone, Helen Gunter's book should be recognized and celebrated. (Harris, Warwick University, UK *Educational Management Administration and Leadership* 2002 p336). http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0263211X020303006

Like Bourdieu, she is concerned to encourage and facilitate participants to be heard in their own voices, a new form of politics as well as an alternative mode for 'professionals' as they attempt to redefine roles amid the whirlwind of a rapidly technicizing and individualizing society. It is from this position that she calls for those involved in leadership studies 'to shift the emphasis away from the current policy imperative for *what works* to *what is it like to work* in education' (p. 151). I hope I have adequately shown that this book should be widely and thoughtfully read. (Strain, University of Ulster, UK, *Educational Management Administration and Leadership* 2002 p340). http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0263211X020303006

Helen Gunter's latest book is an important and timely contribution. Its clarity, breadth and rigour make it imperative core reading for all master's- and doctoral-level students not only in educational management but also in educational studies. For Gunter also delineates and critiques the different contributions made by education management, school effectiveness and school improvement and, crucially, underscores the need to theorize about the interplay between structure and agency. It is timely because we are now witnessing an unrelenting intensification of managerialism in education, and important because of its balanced and insightful critique of site-based performance management and associated conceptions of leadership. (Willmott, University of Bath, *Educational Management Administration and Leadership* 2002 p341). http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0263211X020303006

Gunter, H.M. (1997) *Rethinking Education: The Consequences of Jurassic Management* London: Cassell. 129 pages.

Extract from Reviews:
The value of Gunter's contribution to the debate about the future of education management is in the seductiveness of her invitation to join her in the theme park and risk the dangers of high-flying introspection for the thrills and discoveries that can accompany it. Her own criterion of a valuable book is that it makes you stop and think. This she succeeds in doing. She is also a very accomplished writer and the book, as well as providing an excellent survey of the educational management field, models perfectly the transformation of reflection and reflexivity into a persuasive argument. At the risk of rousing her ire by being celebratory, I consider it should be essential reading for all concerned about the role of educational management, whether as practitioners, students, teachers or researchers.
(Hall, Bristol University, UK, *Educational Management Administration and Leadership* 1999 p120).
http://ema.sagepub.com/content/27/1/119.full.pdf

While this may not be a book for the faint hearted, nor a book that wins its author lots of accolades from people in high places, it is clearly an important book because of the kind of conversations and questions it opens-up for discussion, if schools are not to end up like versions of Jurassic Park (Smyth, Flinders University, Australia, *International Journal of Leadership in Education* 2000 p88).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/136031200292894

Gunter, H.M. and Mills, C. (2017) *Consultants and Consultancy: the Case of Education*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer. 160 pages.

Extract from Review:
A limitation of the book, however, is that the work of these theorists is not systematically used to present new insights about the marketization of public education. For example, Bernstein has written about the emergence of new middle class factions engaged in processes of symbolic control (see Robertson and Sorenson 2017; Singh 2015, 2017). The book needed to provide more detail about the ways in which factions within the middle class positioned in the fields of symbolic control and economic production are struggling over the pedagogic device of knowledge about public education. The authors provide a deterministic account around the production of new knowledge regimes, and what is thinkable, doable within these regimes. However, as Bernstein (2000) clearly indicated the pedagogic device is a site of ongoing struggle because the stakes are high. Ultimately the pedagogic device governs modes of consciousness and conscience – what is knowable, doable, and thinkable in terms of public education. This book constitutes one of the sites of struggle over the pedagogic device of public education. Consequently, the book and this review are actors in ongoing struggles

over ideas about the re/form of public education. (Ginsberg and Singh, 2018, pp1-2).
http://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2017.1420310

Gunter, H.M., Grimaldi, E., Hall, D. and Serpieri, R. (Eds.) (2016) *New Public Management and the Reform of Education: European Lessons for Policy and Practice*. London: Routledge. 212 pages.

Extract from Reviews:
In each chapter dedicated to a specific country, authors meticulously support their personal account with references to official documents, interviews, reform laws, reports, ad hoc researches. This makes each chapter a particularly interesting read, since it contains a complete re-enactment of phenomena of changes and continuities. This documentation makes the book of interest to a great variety of readers, such as academics, educators, experts and policy makers, since each of them can follow up their own interests in the historical, political and socio-cultural plot. The references to many paralleled researches on the field make the book definitely interesting for the readers. The whole book speaks out and is a must-read for any reader with a concern for comparative education, sociology of education, policies in education, European studies, criticism of neoliberalism. It reminds all of us not to take neoliberalism and NPM reforms neither as inevitable and monolithic phenomena, nor as a mere demiurgic choice to be easily tacked back. (Salmieri, University of Rome, *Scuola Democratica*, 2018, p225)
DOI: 10.12828/89612

Gunter, H.M., Hall, D. and Apple, M. (Eds.) (2017) *Corporate Elites and the Reform of Public Education*. Bristol: Policy Press. 294 pages.

Like most collections this book seeks to hold together a diverse set of papers around its theme and there are various degrees of slippage from the primary focus, but the opening and concluding chapters do useful work in pulling together the issues that cut across the different contributions. The idea of a "corporate elite" is interpreted differently across the volume: some papers emphasise the role of corporations in education delivery and policy, while others concern themselves with the reproduction of elites of various sorts. There are also inherent conceptual problems involved in distinguishing "the elite" from other relatively advantaged groups, and in identifying the commonalities and differences between elites of different kinds. Nonetheless, this collection offers a range of insightful perspectives on contemporary trends in education policy that are coherent and pressing. (Ball, UCL, UK. *Journal of Education Policy*, 2017, p2).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2017.1375808

The corporate elites examined in Gunter, Hall, and Apple's *Corporate Elites* 'can locate across national boundaries in ways that disconnect their lives from the realities of those who support, access and rely on public services' (p. 1). There is clearly something very interesting, here, about how they exercise flexible citizenship (whilst also interfering in 'domestic'

education systems). (Waters, University of Oxford, UK. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 2018, p6).
http://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2018.1424104

Gunter, H.M., Hall, D. and Mills, C. (Eds.) (2014) *Education policy research: design and practice at a time of rapid reform*. London: Bloomsbury. 194 pages.

Extracts from Reviews:
This book represents a worthy endeavour in presenting the research interests of a range of practitioners and theorists. It is valuable not only for the insight it gives into the research journey of the 11 authors whose research is presented here, but it also offers concrete and research informed evidence of the changing educational landscape and the impact of policy iterations on the professional lives of those who work in the field of education. It should be a text that graces all university library shelves and one identified as compulsory reading for all Ph.D. and Ed Doctoral students as they plan their research design. I would also go so far as to say that it sets the standard for high-quality student research. Gunter and her fellow editors have produced a book that clearly delineates the quality and rigour that all universities should expect from doctoral-level research. They have set the standard to which all researchers should aspire when they start on their doctoral journey. (Browne, Oxford Brookes University, UK, *British Journal of Educational Studies* 2015, p2).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2015.1006967

Reading this edited volume, it becomes evident that education research, as presented here, is both critical and political. This standpoint is very understandable in the context of the UK, where the underlying neoliberal assumptions have never been challenged; consequently, the rapid reforms in education have furthered the implementation of the neoliberal education agenda. In addition, this volume highlights how the neoliberal education agenda is promoted through different policy means, Ofsted physically visiting the schools to the more abstract policy initiatives such as the *personalized learning* promoted by the New Labour government as part of their attempt to personalize public services. Thus, it is not a surprise that Gunter, Hall and Mills state in their conclusion that educational research is about scholarly activisms and voicing values. This sense, *Education Policy Research: Design and Practice at a Time of Rapid Reform* has achieved its goal. It offers powerful accounts of the impacts of policy reforms on education research. (Jonsas, Roehampton University, UK. *Journal of Education Policy*, 2015, pp240-241).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2015.1087661

Raffo, C., Dyson, A., Gunter, H.M, Hall, D., Jones, L. and Kalambouka, A. (Eds.) (2010) *Education and Poverty in Affluent Countries*. London: Routledge. 253 pages.

Extract from Review:
Education and Poverty in Affluent Countries is therefore, for me, a brilliant and ground-breaking study of great potential value for politicians, policy-makers, researchers and community activists. It inaugurates a new paradigm for facing problems in the field and it encourages all those working in the field to be sustained by 'complex hope' for the possibility of change. (Grace, Institute of Education, University of London, UK, *Journal of Education Policy*, 2011, p855).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2011.589139

Tomlinson, H., Gunter, H.M. and Smith, P. (Eds.) (1999) *Living Headship: Voices, Values and Vision* Paul Chapman/Sage in association with the British Educational Management and Administration Society. 170 pages.

Extract from Review:
A consistent theme in the school improvement literature is the significance of headteachers in the processes of improvement. This book, in which we hear 'the authentic voices of heads determined to ensure that their leadership enhances the performance of their schools', adds a valuable contribution to this literature. The emphasis, in their accounts, on their values and visions adds a distinctive dimension often lacking in other books in this area. The stories we read tell the professional journeys of a wide variety of headteachers in the primary and secondary phases. Some have been in post for many years and have been able to implement and sustain and reconsider their visions. Others have moved into schools with difficulties andbrought them out of special measures. All demonstrate a commitment to the education of children and a determination of finding ways to take their schools forward. (Ritchie, Bath Spa University College, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 2000, p333).
http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-8527.t01-1-00150

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