

SSN#: 2473-2826

The Research Gap: Social Justice Leadership in Suburban Schools

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Abstract

Social justice leadership that attends not only to equity for marginalized students but also to critical consciousness for all students has been largely ignored in empirical research of suburban schools. The purpose of this paper is to review the literature regarding transformative social justice leadership and assert the need for further studies, specifically as this leadership relates to developing critical consciousness in suburban schools and students there who belong to majority groups. This highlights the relevance of transformative social justice leadership and critical consciousness beyond urban schools to also include implications for the understudied demographic of suburban schools.

Keywords: Social Justice; Transformative Leadership; Suburban Schools; Critical Consciousness

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Woleck, K. (2022). The research gap: Social justice leadership in suburban schools. Journal of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, 6(2).



ISSN#: 2473-2826

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A 2018 report indicated that only 65% of girls in low-income countries completed their years of primary education, compared to 89% globally; only 34.4% of the girls in these low-income countries completed a secondary education (Wodon et al., 2018). Data collected in one night of January 2020, revealed that more than 580,000 people were homeless in the United States (Henry et al., 2021). A study of the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on food insecurity in the United States found that Native Americans were twice as likely to experience food insecurity than White respondents in the study (Fitzpatrick et al., 2021). These examples demonstrate that social justice issues persist in the United States and across the world. Social justice issues are complex with links not only to socioeconomic inequities but also to race, culture, religion, and other individual and group identifiers.

Critical consciousness entails the awareness, sense of agency, and spirit of activism to recognize, question, and address problems or inequities in the world related to such social justice issues (El-Amin et al., 2017; Freire, 1970; Watts et al., 2011). Yet, in high–performing, high socioeconomic suburban schools, students may lack daily life encounters with social justice dilemmas and dialogue that could provide the context for developing critical consciousness both in and out of school (Apple, 1999, 2018; Hagerman, 2018; Kokka, 2020; Nurenberg, 2020; Seider, 2008). Little research has been undertaken to consider how suburban school principals in their leadership roles consider this social justice lens as it relates to deepening awareness for students who belong to majority groups and so mirror the overall community demographics (Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Shields, 2014; Theoharis, 2009).

The purpose of this article is to review the current literature related to social justice leadership in suburban schools and assert the need for further studies of this type of leadership, specifically as it relates to developing critical consciousness for students of majority groups. There is much value in previous research and ongoing work undertaken by principals in schools to meet the needs of marginalized students, to ensure equitable student access to academic opportunities, and to foster a school climate of belonging (Cloninger, 2017; Shields & Hesbol, 2020; Theoharis, 2007, 2009). However, social justice in education not only entails allocating resources to promote equity but also deepening awareness and agency for all students. This is worthy of study given the complexity of an increasingly diverse, global world and the need for all individuals and groups to share responsibility, consider multiple perspectives, and act to address injustices (Choules, 2007; Nurenberg, 2020).

Organization

In the literature review that follows, the demographic of high-performing, high socioeconomic suburban school communities that is the focus of this discussion is first described. Multiple dimensions of social justice are discussed to establish shared understanding of that concept in the context of this social justice leadership discussion. A summary of critical theory and transformative leadership theory then provides a theoretical foundation and rationale for examining this educational issue. A review of empirical research related to social justice pedagogy in schools follows. This research asserts the



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importance of developing critical consciousness as a dimension of social justice education among all students and presents the barriers to this work, specifically in suburban schools, as noted in previous studies. The literature review then turns to a discussion of empirical studies of transformative social justice leadership, including a synthesis of studies that demonstrate an overall focus on marginalized students and a lack of research related to deepening the critical consciousness of students who belong to majority groups. Such a review identifies a gap in the current research, makes the call for further studies, and notes the implications that such research can have for students, school leaders, university instructors, policy makers, and others in the field.

The Context

The descriptors "high-performing" and "high socioeconomic" are used to refer to the specific demographic of suburban schools that is the focus of this paper. These terms can be operationalized through such district and school indicators as annual median household income, graduation rates, and academic achievement measures. In an attempt to be descriptive, this paper also refers explicitly to "students who belong to majority groups" in these schools. This recognizes that within suburban schools there may be some students who are marginalized based on a dimension of identity, but that the discussion here is intended to consider the implications and need for deepening awareness and agency among those students who align with majority groups relative to the demographics of these suburban communities (Diamond & Posey-Maddox, 2020; Lewis & Diamond, 2015). In prior research studies undertaken in such school communities, those who belong to a majority group consist largely, though not exclusively, of White, affluent, heterosexual, English-speaking individuals and their families (Hagerman, 2018; Nurenberg, 2020).

As a point of clarification, in the related research literature and empirical studies examined in this paper, some researchers use the terms "students of privilege" and "communities of privilege", situating this privilege in high-performing, well-funded suburban schools; in this research, these are communities consisting primarily of White, high socioeconomic status families (Hagerman, 2018; Nurenberg, 2020; Seider, 2008; Swalwell, 2011, 2013). The term "privilege" can carry with it negative or even polarizing connotations, which is the downfall of any label. The use of the term "privilege" is not intended to imply disrespect or judgement of these communities in any way, nor is it to suggest that members of these communities do not also have hardships and obstacles in their lives. However, it recognizes that the social category to which they belong may afford advantage (Goodman, 2015; McIntosh, 1988). It is used at times in the pages that follow to align with the terminology found in the specific research literature being discussed (Hagerman, 2018; Nurenberg, 2020; Seider, 2008; Swalwell, 2011, 2013).

Defining Social Justice and Social Justice Leadership

For the purposes of this paper, social justice is defined as the recognition, questioning, and interruption of inequitable or unjust patterns in society (Applebaum, 2009; Choules, 2007; Fraser, 1995). Given the lack of a single definition of social justice in the literature historically and the multiple dimensions of the concept, this author recognizes that social justice issues can present as issues of injustice regarding the distribution of goods and rights, as recognition and relationship injustices, or as inequities of representation and voice (Fraser, 1995; Gewirtz, 2006; North, 2006; Rawls, 2001). Social justice issues can span a broad range of identifiers, including race, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, gender, sexuality, language, immigration status, religion, (dis)ability, and family structure (Theoharis, 2007, 2009). Such a broad lens with regard to social justice is intentional in that it allows for multiple entry points in terms of application of this discussion to schools and educational leadership.



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Given this broad lens of social justice, Theoharis put forth a definition of social justice leadership, widely cited in the research literature, as leadership in which principals keep these issues of race, gender, language, socioeconomic status, religion, sexuality, and other identifiers at the forefront of their vision and actions in their schools (Theoharis, 2009). However, Shields (2013, 2014) argues that transformative social justice leadership has not only this goal of equity for marginalized students, central to Theoharis' definition, but also a goal of raising awareness, agency, and action among all students (Shields, 2013, 2014). With this expansive concept of transformative leadership in mind, social justice leadership is defined here as the mindset, vision, and actions of school principals not only to ensure equity for marginalized students but also to create conditions for all students and staff to grow in their awareness of diverse perspectives, recognition of injustices in society, and understanding of how they can take action in the world (Choules, 2007; Shields, 2013, 2014; Theoharis, 2009).

Theoretical Foundation

Critical theory asserts that there are disparities and power imbalances embedded within the cultural and historical institutions and norms of society that position some groups to be advantaged and others to be marginalized (Apple, 2018; Barbour, 2011; Freire, 1970). The discussion of social justice leadership here takes into consideration the application of critical theory broadly. As noted previously, it is not isolated to race, ethnic, or socioeconomic disparities, but rather it extends to any identifier that leads to privilege for some and not others.

In education, critical theory posits that curriculum, instruction, and assessments reflect the experiences and worldviews of a dominant group but minimize opportunities for other voices and perspectives (Apple, 2018; Freire, 1970). In response, critical pedagogy seeks to deepen critical consciousness, such that all students, both those of the majority group and those who are marginalized, grow in their understanding of multiple perspectives, in their questioning of the status quo, and in their agency and action to address injustices (Freire, 1970; Kellner, 2003; McLaren, 2002).

Transformative leadership theory applies critical theory to leadership and seeks to explicitly address disparities that perpetuate inequities at the individual, organizational, and societal level (Shields, 2010; Weiner, 2003). Transformative leadership in schools has two goals: (1) to ensure equity and inclusion in the educational environment, and (2) to develop the dispositions, knowledge, and skills in all students to question taken-for-granted truths and seek to understand diverse perspectives in an interconnected, global world (Shields, 2014). While the first goal of transformative leadership addresses equity, the second goal calls for fostering critical awareness and agency. This second goal of transformative leadership is most relevant to this literature review. Eight tenets of transformative leadership have been mapped by Shields (2010, 2014). Some of these tenets, such as emancipation, address the first goal of transformative leadership and are explicitly related to equitable access particularly for marginalized students (Shields, 2010, 2014). Other tenets, such as global awareness, align to the second goal of transformative leadership and demonstrate a call to engage all in the school community in challenging the status quo, becoming aware of multiple perspectives, and taking action. Those tenets align with the focus of this paper on the social justice implications for students who belong to majority groups in high–performing, high socioeconomic suburban schools.

Social Justice Education in Schools

While socially—just education considers practices in schools that can provide equitable access and opportunities particularly for students who are marginalized, social justice education seeks to foster



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awareness of multiple perspectives and injustices and the agency to take action among all students (Shields, 2014). Some studies of social justice education have demonstrated the potential for schools to develop critical consciousness in students of diverse backgrounds (Seider & Graves, 2020; Seider et al., 2018). In a longitudinal, mixed methods study, Seider et al. (2018) examined the instructional strategies used by educators in urban schools in their efforts to develop students' critical consciousness related to issues of racism and poverty; that research found that students of diverse or marginalized backgrounds in these schools grew to recognize injustices and take action to advocate for themselves and others in the world. In still further research, this critical consciousness, including social analysis and activism, has been found to foster improved student learning outcomes for Black and Latinx students (Seider & Graves, 2020).

In a study of the development of critical consciousness in students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds, Kokka (2020) documented the use of social justice contexts in mathematics classrooms to deepen the awareness and agency of sixth graders attending a private, social justice-oriented school in a metropolitan city. These students engaged in problem solving tasks and projects that used real-world data and statistics to examine issues of housing instability, cost of living, and income disparities in the community. The study suggested that, with explicit prompting, students would consider actions to address the disparities that they had come to recognize. The small sample of 10 focus students in this classroom case study and the unique context of the school culture limits its generalizability. However, the study is promising in the documented student outcomes. This points to the need for further studies that consider how critical consciousness is fostered in students of more privileged backgrounds.

Multiple studies of social justice pedagogy point to the challenges of developing critical consciousness in suburban schools and with students who belong to majority groups when social justice is approached through a lens of power imbalances and critique. For students of privilege in suburban schools, a lack of daily lived experiences with social justice issues, a lack of dialogue about them, and difficulty understanding problems that do not affect them directly leads to caution and responses to protect their privilege (Beutel, 2018; Seider, 2008). Seider's (2008) study of social studies classes in an affluent suburban high school found that students had difficulty recognizing systemic barriers in society and instead blamed the poor and homeless themselves for their circumstances. This reinforced for students their belief in a just world that is secure for them. Similarly, Nurenberg's (2020) action research as a high school English teacher in a high–performing, high socioeconomic suburban community described how students chose not to engage in class discussions about social justice topics because they found those topics to be irrelevant to their own lives.

Swalwell's (2013) interviews of high school students in suburban and private schools led her to identify four different orientations of citizenship with regard to their perspectives on social justice issues. The Meritocrat student argued that hard work and effort lead to success, regardless of systemic obstacles that some individuals may first need to overcome. Resigned students recognized the depth of the issues at hand, but were so overwhelmed that they assumed a more passive stance and a lack of efficacy. The notion of a Benevolent Benefactor was particularly prevalent among students; these students expressed their care, concern, and desire to provide service, donations, or financial assistance to those in need. However, they failed to acknowledge the institutions in society that led to such needs and disparities. Swalwell (2013) contrasted this to the Activist Ally orientation demonstrated by those students in the study who expressed interest or experience in actively seeking to address inequities and dismantle systems that contributed to injustices.

Challenges can also emerge from members of the school community in suburban schools, including parents and at times even building or district administration. Beutel's (2018) middle school study of



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seventh–grade social studies instruction noted the potential for parental resistance to curricular changes that embed social justice content; parents may label such changes as an indoctrination attempt by the school. In this same study, Beutel (2018) described that administration insisted on rigorous curriculum, inquiry–based methods, and instruction that emphasizes higher–order thinking, yet also cautioned teachers to reconsider specific instances of social justice topics proposed for the curriculum. Such challenges illustrate the broader sociopolitical context in which suburban schools are situated and the tensions that may result.

These tensions and challenges of social justice education in high–performing, high socioeconomic communities demonstrate the importance of school leadership that can influence transformative mindsets, practices, and policies in these schools. Transformative leadership is critical if social justice education in suburban schools is to move beyond individual classrooms, become systemic across the school, and be assured for all students. Principals have the potential to influence staff, students, families, and the larger community through macro–level and micro–level actions. Principals set vision for a school in collaboration with staff, families, and the community. They have the opportunity to shape and implement policy and procedures, deepen the professional learning of staff, foster students' academic achievement, and promote school climate (Khalifa, 2018; Leithwood et al., 2020). With that in mind, this literature review now turns to empirical studies of transformative social justice leadership to consider in what ways and in what demographics it has been studied previously and the findings that have emerged.

Transformative Social Justice Leadership in Empirical Research

Initially, the research discourse regarding transformative leadership and social justice leadership was largely theoretical (Shields, 2010). Empirical studies then began, primarily in urban schools, to move beyond theory to operationalize and examine the effects of transformative and social justice leadership. Emerging from this early empirical research, Theoharis' (2007, 2009) social justice leadership model was grounded in case studies of White principals committed to social justice in urban schools; the model identified actions that improve academic achievement of disadvantaged students, that build connections within the community, and that expand staff perspectives to overcome deficit thinking. Specific actions included eliminating pull-out programs, restructuring school practices to promote inclusion, rigor, and increased achievement accountability for all students, ensuring ongoing conversations about race, language-learners, and equity among staff, and providing opportunities for marginalized families to connect with the school. Theoharis' (2007, 2009) research also identified challenges to these social justice efforts in schools, including limited district-level funding, unwieldy bureaucratic regulations, insufficient administrator preparation, and closed attitudes among some members of the school community.

Theoharis' research established the empirical study of social justice leadership in schools. More recent studies in urban, high-poverty schools affirmed these social justice practices enacted by principals to address staff, student, and community needs and the dilemmas and challenges that social justice leaders encounter as barriers to the work given the sociocultural context of their schools (DeMatthews, 2016; Pounders, 2017). However, while Theoharis' model is grounded mainly in school-based practices, transformative social justice leadership asserts the role of leadership in recognizing and addressing injustices, power, and privilege at broader societal levels as well.

Empirical studies of transformative leadership theory over the past ten years have used tenets of transformative leadership to examine the social justice actions utilized by school leaders to ensure equity across a diverse student population (Barrett, 2012; Shields, 2010; Shields & Hesbol, 2020; Zook, 2017). These qualitative studies assert that transformative leadership actions extend beyond curriculum and school-based practices to also transform broader structures, policies, and most importantly, mindsets



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(Shields, 2010; Shields & Hesbol, 2020; Zook, 2017). Shields & Hesbol (2020) asserted that it is the shift in staff mindsets, particularly the challenging of deficit thinking towards marginalized groups, that is the most significant aspect of transformative leadership with regard to equity for students.

Evident in case studies and in phenomenological studies of leadership, principals are working to deepen their understanding and their staff's understanding of the needs of diverse students, as well as their own privilege, through a focus on professional learning and reflection (Cloninger, 2017; Johnson, 2018; Kaempffe, 2020; Shah, 2018). In studies that span race, socioeconomic status, and sexual orientation, school leaders articulate transformative tenets, but a lack of understanding of their own privilege undermined transformative action (Albritton et al., 2017; Barrett, 2012; Shah, 2018). Qualitative research undertaken by Drago-Severson and Blum-DeStefano (2019) from a constructive–developmental perspective suggests that school leaders bring different orientations to impact their social justice leadership and that these "ways of knowing" can grow over time. This illustrates the ongoing praxis, an iterative cycle of action and reflection, that is central to social justice leadership for principals, aligned with Freire's (1970) conceptual elements of critical theory.

Irby at el. (2019) further argued that the context, needs, and challenges of suburban schools are specific to that demographic of schools, and for that reason it is important to not merely carry forward social justice leadership strategies from urban settings. Rather, it is important to examine social justice leadership specifically in the context of suburban schools. Such social justice leadership studies to date have focused on equity actions of school leaders in response to the changing student and family demographics of the suburbs; attention has been given to fostering student learning and a sense of belonging specifically for those students who are members of a marginalized group in these suburban schools (Arlt, 2020; Cloninger, 2017). Similarly, attention has been given in the research to the need for suburban school leaders to recognize and overcome assumptions and beliefs grounded in deficit thinking, as those assumptions can prevent systems from fostering the growth of students who are not of the majority culture (Preis, 2020). These studies and related research have focused on social justice leadership in terms of addressing the needs of marginalized students in schools and fostering equity; however, building critical consciousness of students belonging to the majority demographic in these suburban schools has not been the focus of study in any of this research.

International Studies of Transformative Social Justice Leadership

Studies conducted internationally provide another source of insights regarding transformative social justice leadership. Norberg et al. (2014) conducted a comparative study of social justice leadership practices in four schools across the United States and Sweden. Commonalities were noted in the practices found across the schools in both countries. Findings demonstrated that principals engage in intentional, proactive decision—making and planning, and they focus on equitable opportunities for marginalized students. In schools in both countries, faculty resistance was an obstacle to overcome, and there was a call for stronger educational leader preparation programs to address social justice leadership. The study acknowledges its limitations in terms of its generalizability and small sample, but nonetheless it suggests that social justice leadership practices and challenges are similar across these countries despite differing national contexts (Norberg et al., 2014).

Transformative social justice leadership research in Canada also illustrates a focus on equity for marginalized students, the role of reflection for principals, and the need for administrator preparation programs and leadership policies to support this work (Kowalchuk, 2019; Wang, 2018). Wang (2018) integrated transformative leadership theory in a study of principals' social justice leadership with diverse



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populations in Ontario schools. The study documents leadership moves focused on equity, reinforcing that lens brought to this work by principals. However, the study also argues for practices that deepen students' own understanding of injustices so that they too can take responsibility for being a change agent, thereby calling for greater attention to the second goal of transformative leadership (Wang, 2018).

Transformative Leadership and Courage

Social justice leadership comes with risk, and in turn the need for courage, given the transformative paradigm of challenging the *status quo*. This is evident in studies from Canada that examine the tension that emerges for educational leaders when they commit to social justice leadership. Given their role as administrators, principals are situated in a hierarchical system that has been created by the dominant culture (Ryan, 2016; Ryan & Tuters, 2017). The very system that has led to a position of leadership and power for a principal has been created by the same dominant culture that transformative social justice leadership seeks to interrogate and critique.

Recognizing that such a hierarchical structure is in place in education, principals may turn to strategic activism as they implement transformative social justice leadership (Ryan, 2016; Ryan & Tuters, 2017). In studies of this leadership, for instance, principals first established credibility and built relationships in their school and district before moving forward with social justice priorities. They took time to understand the sociocultural context in which their leadership was situated in order to be better able to anticipate opposition and determine steps to address those potential obstacles proactively (Ryan & Tuters, 2017). Focusing on smaller actions to move a social justice agenda forward discreetly, slowly, and quietly, also emerged as a leadership strategy, as did working collectively and collaboratively with others in distributed leadership, rather than in isolation as a single leader pushing forward alone (Ryan, 2016).

Current accountability systems grounded primarily in narrowly-constructed academic testing instruments likewise create a context that requires courage on the part of social justice leaders in schools (Horn, 2018; Jong & Jackson, 2016). This is a dilemma that can be especially prominent in high–performing suburban schools. In many instances — spoken and unspoken — principals in these schools are expected to be instructional leaders who focus on maintaining high academic performance. However, these same principals may seek to give their attention to social justice actions that can grow active, critical–thinking citizens in a diverse world (Horn, 2018; Shaked, 2019).

Transformative social justice leadership is thus intentional yet subtle, complex, and not without challenges. The studies reviewed in this paper provide windows into the practices and actions taken by principals. Across these studies, however, the moves are primarily focused on the equity dimension of transformative leadership which focuses on a "socially just" education (Shields, 2013, 2014). This is necessary but arguably not sufficient if transformative social justice leadership is to ensure that all students, including those who belong to majority groups, develop the critical consciousness to integrate multiple perspectives and navigate complex problems in a global world.

Implications for Leadership Preparation and Professional Learning

Insights from this review of research can inform administrator preparation programs for aspiring school leaders as well as professional learning for current principals. Furman's (2012) research of the dimensions of social justice leadership spanning from the personal to the ecological suggest that administrator preparation programs must not attend solely to school-based leadership practices and strategies. Aligned with Shields (2014) transformative leadership theory, school-based leadership is necessary but not sufficient for social justice leadership to be transformative. Rather, aspiring school leaders



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must also be aware of the leadership skills and dispositions that they can employ in the broader systemic and ecological dimensions of leadership (Furman, 2012).

For instance, administrator preparation programs can include coursework that deepens understanding of the dual goals of social justice leadership as defined by Shields (2014), that is, not only the goal of equity and inclusion but also the goal of deepening awareness, agency, and action for all students. Educational leadership programs have grown to include attention to developing the personal mindsets and dispositions of leaders in relation to social justice and equity (Allen et al., 2017; Manaseri & Manaseri, 2017). Also critical, however, is developing a lens for strategic actions that intersect with district policy, Boards of Education, and other such systemic structures. Case studies can be leveraged as a vehicle for discourse in these administrator preparation programs to provide a context for leaders to begin to shape an ethic of critique and a voice that spans across dimensions of leadership (Furman, 2012; Starratt, 1991).

For current school leaders, opportunities to engage in reflection, dialogue, and action with one another in study groups or other professional learning forums in—person or virtually can similarly deepen understanding and build transformative dispositions and skills. Sharing these lived experiences can reveal strategies that have been effective and also shed light on the obstacles that emerge. This in turn can allow school leaders to anticipate and plan proactively for challenges in their social justice leadership.

A Call for Further Studies

While these implications suggest some actions to be taken, there are still many questions and much to be learned. This review reveals the gap in transformative social justice leadership literature in suburban schools and specific to students of majority groups in those schools. This gap is worthy of attention given the importance of social justice discourse and understanding for all students and the challenges of developing this understanding in high–performing, high socioeconomic suburban communities. This asserts the relevance of social justice leadership for principals of suburban schools.

This research gap calls for further studies that examine transformative social justice leadership in high-performing, high socioeconomic suburban schools. Such future studies could examine how principals define social justice leadership and how their understandings of this leadership align – or not – with theoretical tenets of transformative leadership and prior research. Further studies may document the transformative practices undertaken by suburban principals to foster critical consciousness of majority students, the impact of such practices, and the challenges encountered in undertaking the work.

The lived experiences of principals undertaking social justice leadership specifically in suburban schools can serve as a valuable source for future research. Rich, qualitative studies that examine this work across principals of diverse backgrounds can prove valuable in terms of broadening perspectives and revealing potential blind spots in transformative social leadership as it applies to and is enacted in suburban schools. Indeed, there is much to be learned from the lived experiences and voices of these principals in order to fully paint the landscape of this work in terms of leadership actions, challenges, and assets to be leveraged.



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