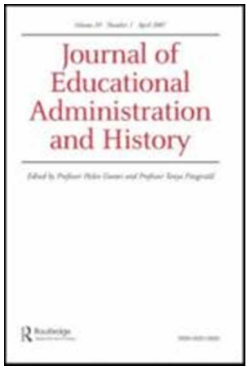

The administration of feminism in education: revisiting gender equity and identity narratives

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The administration of feminism in education: revisiting narratives of gender equity and identity

My first encounters with the field of educational administration were mediated through feminist critiques of its shortcomings (Blackmore and Kenway, 1993). As a graduate student, my understanding of the scope of its concerns and priorities was shaped by what feminist scholars identified as gaps and silences and by calls to expand what might be considered under the rubric of educational administration – to take gender relations, women's leadership and the gendered nature of organisations into account. These memories have been on my mind as I responded to the invitation from the current editors of the *Journal of Educational Administration and History* to reflect on future directions of this research field, in light of the work of the journal. In looking back over the editorials written and articles published by Tanya Fitzgerald and Helen Gunter during their tenure as editors of *JEAH*, the intersection of feminism and educational administration is a strong and guiding theme. Engaging with and inspired by these concerns, in the following discussion I broach this intersection from a related yet slightly different angle, and explore the administration of feminism in education, taking 1970s reforms and initiatives as my focus. In part, this is an attempt to flip the focus from primarily bringing feminist concerns into the administration of education to seeing feminism itself as an administrative project, an argument that I elaborate below.

Feminism was an influential movement in education in the 1970s, with – in the case of Australia and elsewhere – formal state-based policies developed on equal opportunity and non-sexist education as well as substantial school-based and grass-roots activity (Author A; Yates 1998). Within teacher unions and curriculum associations, there was an upswell of publications, dedicated committees and high profile activism. The impact of this work was felt across curriculum and school programs and in heightened attention to 'gender and education' as a category of policy, pedagogical and scholarly attention. This encompassed sustained attention to the sex role, sexuality education and new constructions of the personal, evident, for example, in curriculum strategies that engaged 'values clarification' exercises in which the personal became not only political but also pedagogical. Of note here is the desire to remake identities in the name of anti-sexism and an avowed encouragement for students and teachers to become non-sexist and non-traditional. My interest in this remarkable moment of reform is two-fold. First, it is in how such feminist endeavours became part of the policy landscape and a visible even if contested aspect of the administration of schools during the 1970s and 80s. The second interest is in how feminist activities and agendas can be examined as themselves sites for managing the conduct of teachers and students and for regulating new forms of identity and social relations.

I thus approach feminism in education not only as a radical politics of social critique and emancipation but also as a set of diverse ideas and practices that had disciplining and administrative dimensions. In the following, two aspects of 'administration' are highlighted. The first refers to the ways in which feminist and equal opportunity initiatives became part of the policy and program management in departments of education, representing a wide range of strategies and activities. The

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second use of 'administration' borrows from the Foucauldian concept of governmentality and its attention to the 'conduct of conduct'. In a Foucauldian analysis, 'government' denotes not so much the public administration of the state. Rather, for Foucault government refers more broadly to the 'way in which the conduct of individuals or groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick… *To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others* '[my emphasis] Foucault 1983, p.221). Techniques of government thus refer to the specific ways and means by which the conduct of individuals and groups is regulated, for example, through particular educational or in this case feminist practices. It is in this way that I characterise the paradox of feminism as both a site politics and policy reform and a set of practices for the administration of freedom and government of conduct. Before developing this argument, I first turn to the ways in which questions of gender and feminism have figured prominently in the journal under the editorship of Tanya Fitzgerald and Helen Gunter. This provides a context and counter point for my analysis of the challenges associated in writing the history of second-wave feminist policy reforms in education.

At the commencement of their time as editors in 2008, Tanya and Helen wrote two extended editorial essays reflecting on the field of educational administration and their distinctive perspective on how they wanted to work with journal as a site for expansive and critical scholarship (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008, Fitzgerald and Gunter 2008). They characterised educational administration as a 'field of study and practice' (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008, p. 12) that was concerned with 'at a fundamental level, about how decisions are made'. Adopting a commitment to a 'productive pluralism', they understood educational administration to embrace 'matters of policy, leadership and management' (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008, p. 6). Feminism infuses the spirit of the editorial approach, evident especially in the attention given to power dynamics and researcher reflexivity. They declared that their 'interest is in the exercise of power: who does it, when, where, why and to what effect' (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008, p. 7). Questions of exclusions, socio-structural asymmetries, class, gender and race were given prominence. So too was the significance of the geo-political spaces from which we write and work, including the ongoing effects of (post)colonial legacies upon educational policy, practice and discourse. As the editors observed, such contexts also inform how educational administration has been enacted, contested, dreamed up and debated (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008, p. 9).

The significance of gender relations, the place and position of women within educational administration and the affordances of feminist theories were not simply sequestered into special issues but were topics integrated across the journal volumes. This is especially notable in the many articles advancing intersectional accounts of gender and women's diverse roles in educational administration and leadership. Kay Matthews' (Matthews 2009) historical account of early women principals working in native schools and primary and secondary schools in New Zealand, and Maxine Stephenson's (Stephenson 2009) historical study of Maori women teachers drew out salient intersections of place, colonialism, race and gender. A recent article by Martha Kamara (Kamara

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2017) underscores the pressing need for greater scholarly and policy attention to the perspectives of Indigenous women educational leaders, while Joyce Goodman's (Goodman 2014) study of internationalism and feminism in the interwar Pacific explores the intersections of colonialism, gender and education. The intersecting effects of religion and spirituality with gender are brought to the surface in Witherspoon and Taylor's account of the experience of black women principals in the US (Witherspoon and Taylor 2010) as well as in Jenny Collins' (Collins 2014) examination of Catholic sisters as principals during a time when the principal class was elsewhere dominated by men.

While a strong theme has been the valuable work of women as leaders, such as their roles during wartime (Rousmaniere 2016, Whitehead 2016), the everyday worlds of women and teaching and the administrative challenges they faced have also been brought into the picture. Helen Proctor and Ashleigh Driscoll's (Proctor and Driscoll 2017) study of the marriage bar for Australian women teachers, for example, reveals the classed and hetero-normative assumptions that regulated women's teaching labour. Appropriately, attention to gender and educational work has encompassed studies of masculinity (Fuller 2010, Whitehead 2009), with Kay Fuller calling for the deconstruction of polarised gendered attributes of leadership and a more relational account of masculinity and femininity (Fuller 2010). The journal's direction has thus been creatively shaped by the political, ethical and epistemological concerns of feminism, including calls to challenge power, to recast the relationship between private and public domains and therefore to trouble the locus and reach of educational administration. This is particularly striking in articles advancing feminist critiques of dominant discourses, such as Jill Blackmore's (Blackmore 2011) critical analysis of notions of emotional intelligence in the field of educational administration. These have drawn heavily from psychological models that elevate individuals, she argues, whereas feminist analysis reveals that the 'emotional labour of teaching and leading cannot be individualised because emotion is both relational and contextual' (Blackmore 2011, p.207). Other articles engaging with feminist and social theory have looked beyond key players in the field of educational administration to help understand and extend its reach. This is the case with Maria Tamboukou's (Tamboukou 2010) discussion of the contribution of Hannah Arendt for approaching life history and what this in turn offers for the writing of biographical research in the history of gender and education.

As this sketch of themes suggests, a strong historical thread runs through the journal, and this is not simply in terms of fulfilling the journal's formal remit to include articles addressing historical topics. Importantly, it is evident too in the selection and commissioning of articles and curation of special issues that have an historicising orientation, embracing discussions that reflect backwards and forwards on the aims of the journal and on the purposes of field itself, bringing the concerns of educational administration into critical dialogue with feminist and social theoretical debates. From the beginning, then, and throughout the editors' term, contributors and readers have been invited to re-imagine what might be possible under the sign of 'educational administration'. Indeed, the range

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of articles published during their tenure remind us of the broad remit of feminist agendas across many domains of educational work.

The articles noted above and many others have served to unsettle common senses and to bring feminist critique centre stage, not simply as a means to consider the position of women but also in order to open up avenues for reframing and rethinking the field of educational administration. Taking a cue from these intellectual and political orientations, I outline some challenges for writing about the recent history of feminist reforms in education. I tease out the paradoxical features of these reforms as being concerned with freedom and new possibilities while also enacting their own normative codes of conduct, of how to be a non-sexist teacher or pupil, for example. The initial prompt is feminism and gender equity reforms in Australian schools since the 1970s, the form of their initial aspirations and organisational practices and how those earlier interventions are now remembered, represented and forgotten, across policy and collective narratives.

I argue that critical attention to the role of cultural and collective memory is crucial in approaching how feminist traditions are recalled and (re)animated in the present. This, in turn, is key to understanding the legacies of feminist reforms – as theoretical, political and policy interventions.. Memory also plays an important role, I propose, in understanding educational administration more broadly and the inherited and novel effects over time of processes of decision-making across policy, leadership and practice. With this as background, I develop two related lines of discussion. First, I briefly consider debates in feminist and gender history and their echoes and parallel discussions in the history of education. This includes the pervasiveness of 'rise and fall' narratives in accounts of the history of feminism (Hemmings 2011) and their relevance to representations of feminist reforms in education, Second, I turn to equal opportunity and gender equity reforms in schooling, and consider developments in the 1970s in the Australian state of Victoria, noting the breadth of concerns and scope of ambitions. Finally, drawing from these two lines of discussions, I make a case for unsettling the received histories of feminism and education, including giving greater recognition to processes of memory and policy memory (and forgetting) and to the complex and everyday ways in which feminism was both administered and was itself a site for the administration of conduct.

Revising and revisiting

Women's and gender history was vital to the intellectual and political project of second-wave feminism and was at the forefront in developing an institutional presence for feminist scholarship. It has also been influential in (re)defining what counts as matters of concern within the history of education and in reinvigorating theoretical and methodological debates. Numerous reviews of the 'gendered politics of historical writing in history of education' (Spencer 2010, Martin and Goodman 2011) have documented the various stages, predominant themes and questions as well as lacunae and tensions within this field. Building on Ruth Watts' assessment of gender and the

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history of education (Watts 2005), Joyce Goodman recently observed that 'since Watts' overview, scholarship on working class women, minorities and masculinities continues to remain sparse; but visual, spatial, material and transnational methodologies are being adopted by researchers with an interest in gender' (Goodman 2012). Not surprisingly, these twists and turns parallel those taken in gender and feminist history more broadly. Interest in transnational, sensual, material and spatial approaches is similarly evident across the history of education, even when gender is not an overt category of concern (Burke 2010, Grosvenor 2012, Sobe 2012, Dussel 2013, Bagchi, Fuchs, and Rousmanière 2014). In terms of education as a field of practice, and specifically educational administration, a complementary strand is the historical study of the influence of second-wave feminism itself on the organisation and activities of schooling or education systems, as manifest in policy reforms, professional aspirations, curriculum and so forth. To date, this aspect has received less attention in the history of education, in part perhaps because of the relatively recent time frame. I also wonder whether it could be because it is difficult to navigate writing about the recent history of feminism and schooling in a way that is neither simply nostalgic for earlier times of possibility nor pessimistically focussed on past or anticipated future losses and injustices. The US feminist political theorist Wendy Brown, for example, has written eloquently about the dangers of feminism's narratives of its own history, in which there is an attachment to injuries of the past that then are perversely defended as they provide the basis for identities and a rationale for feminist politics in the present (Brown 1995, 2005).

A significant thread in feminist history has been its revision of received stories and the recovery or generation of alternative narratives about the past, which in turn have also expressed something about the character of contemporaneous concerns. Reflections on the direction of feminist history, following the earlier recovery history and the more recent discursive and performative turns (Roper 2010, Morgan 2009, Bennett 2008), convey not only shifting political and theoretical agendas but also concerns with evaluating the pre-occupations and legacies of feminist enquiry. Such work represents a kind of conceptual and methodological stock-take of where feminist history has been, what it has achieved and where it is heading. An autobiographical thread is also woven into some of this revisiting and revising activity, as is evident in Joan Scott's reflections – discussed further below – in her *The Fantasy of Feminist History* (2011). These various retrospective views are likely to be an artefact, at least in part, of generational and demographic movement, as influential scholars seek to make sense of their intellectual journeys and impact, and newer scholars seek to position themselves and their agendas into longer narratives. A major concern of the early women's history accompanying second-wave feminism was to repudiate and unsettle older, established narratives: and now that interrogative and historicizing impulse is arguably being turned upon its own endeavours.

A special issue of *JEAH* in 2010, guest edited by Stephanie Spencer (2010), took as its organising theme 'Educational administration, history and '"gender as an useful category of historical analysis"', inspired by Joan Scott's influential contribution to feminist history. Spencer (2010, p.

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106) argued that Scott's analysis of 'the significance of gender as a theoretical framework [has] enabled a gendered approach which has brought new perspectives to areas on the borders of the discipline, such as history of education'. The spirit of Scott's analysis, Spencer (2010, p.105) argued, is consistent with the aims of *JEAH*, in that the journal also created an opening to surface '"critical questions concerning the shape of knowledge, how this knowledge was produced and by whom and the underpinning construction of this knowledge for the field"' (Spencer 2010, p.105, citing Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008, p. 81).

Scott's insights into gender as a category of historical analysis were both of the time, part of the zeitgeist of late 80s feminism, yet also powerfully crystalised an analytic and political moment. Embodying the revisiting mood of the present, Scott (2011, p. 3) has more recently questioned the basic assumptions underpinning her earlier work, seeing her approach to 'gender' as a social category, as having 'little to do with unconscious processes' and of her then (1980s) still operating within dualistic conceptions of public/private and reductive accounts of 'cultural construction'. She reflects (Scott 2011, p.6) that 'If I had to summarize the change in my thinking as it relates to theorizing gender, I would say that the path is from sex as the known of physical bodies and so the referent for gender, to sexual difference as a permanent quandary – because ultimately unknowable – for modern subjects, and so, again, the impossible referent for gender'. For historians of gender, this can be an unsettling experience, Scott (2011, p. 6) observes, as it 'deprives her of certainty of the categories of analysis and leaves her searching for only the right questions to ask.'

Scott's reflections revive important discussions about psychoanalysis and history, which demand a more sustained critical engagement than it is possible to entertain here. For the purposes of this discussion, however, my interest is in the parallel questions they open up for reconsidering narratives about feminism in education, including the prominence given to 'identity' as a site of conceptual, political and educational work. According to Scott (2011, p. 19), from the perspective of psychoanalysis, 'feminist movements are not the inevitable expression of the socially constructed category of women, but the means for achieving that identity'. This argument has bearing on how feminist interventions in education ambivalently constructed, projected and deconstructed gender identities. So too does Scott's (2011, p. 51) proposition that 'the history of feminism, when told as a continuous, progressive story of women's quest for emancipation, effaces the discontinuity, conflict, and difference that might undermine the politically desired stability of the categories termed "women" and "feminist"'. Turning to memories of reform is one way of trying to understand what is 'effaced' and with what effects in histories of feminism and education.

Twenty-five years ago, the feminist historian Antoinette Burton (1992, p. 26) observed that 'Historical narratives of feminist movements cannot be taken at face value. The narrativization of our history – how we end up with the stories about historical feminism upon which we rely – needs to be continuously revealed as the historical process it is'. Feminist critics, she argued, had been attuned to how 'the co-operations of gender, race and class systems' show history to be a '*cultural*

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production' (p.26). Yet, she continued, 'the idea that history is equally an historical production needs the same kind of foregrounding, so that what we "know" about the feminist movements of the past is understood as knowledge that has been produced during discrete historical moments' (p.26). Borrowing from Donna Haraway's (1988) phrase, Burton (1992, p. 28), declared that 'Histories of the past are… ultimately *historically* "situated knowledges as well"'.

These observations remain pertinent for how the history of feminism in education is approached and written. Further, I am arguing that the role of what can be called 'policy memory' in the present demands more critical attention in educational history, and particularly in the history of radical reform movements. Petra Hendry has called for practices of curriculum history that give greater attention to non-linear temporalities and the place of memory in such enquiry. She proposes that: 'Re-membering is not only about what gets remembered, by whom, how, and when, but also about the very limits of representation and resistance to remembering certain events…. Memory work thus becomes an interactive, dialogic process between past and present and future' (Hendry, 2011, p. 5). These observations are pertinent to exploring how narratives of the feminist (educational) past circulate in the present. They underline how memories and traces of earlier administrative and policy reform efforts shape actions and attitudes in the present; they also provide an impetus to or a counter point for imagining feminist educational futures.

Narrative repetitions

Encouraged by a revisiting mood among feminist and gender historians – and a sense of personal and collective frustration with received story telling – I am trying to look afresh at the received accounts of feminism, gender and education, a field of scholarly enquiry and professional practice in which I have worked on and off for many years.[1] Elements of this historical work are underway, addressing both international (Skelton and Francis 2009, Tinkler and Allan 2015) and Australian developments (Gannon 2016). Numerous overviews of policy trends have been written about this earlier period of policy reform, many from close to the time and from the perspective of policy sociology, and often providing a stock take of then current concerns and future directions (Kenway 1997, Yates 1992). There are indeed many stories to tell about the recent history of feminism in Australian education, but a dominant one can be characterised as following a 'rise and fall' narrative. This is a policy and school reform story which typically begins with the second-wave of feminism in the 1970s, and the development of equal opportunities and non-sexist programs in schools that sought not to distinguish students on the basis of gender difference; the aim instead was to challenge sex-role stereotypes. The flourishing of feminist and non-sexist agendas in the 1970s is commonly identified as a high point of policy energy, despite acknowledged conceptual limitations regarding understandings of subjectivity. Pedagogical and curriculum reforms were underpinned by notions of the sex role and a faith in the power of clear and rational knowledge to change sex-typed behaviours. This was then followed in the 1980s by attention to essential gender differences and

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how these played out in pedagogy and learning styles – giving rise to approaches to gender inclusive curriculum. Shifts in emphasis from 1970s non-traditional roles and equality to 1980s cultural difference paralleled wider shifts in feminist theorizing. This continued into the 1990s, with a focus on identity and on gender as a social construction, paralleling the rise of encounters between feminism and poststructuralism (Kenway 1997, Yates 1992, Yates 1998, Author a, Author b).

The constitution of identity (sociologically, historically, discursively etc) has thus been a major focus of feminist action and scholarship. While in the 1970s the problem of subjectivity was most often articulated (and resolved) through the language of the sex role and socialisation, since the 1990s identity has been represented in a poststructuralist-inspired language as a 'construction', a discursive and social category that is 'made' and open to change. This was evident in the rationale and recommendations of the *National Action Plan for the Education of Girls* (Australian Education Council, 1993) and the national *Gender Equity; A Framework for Australian Schools* (MCEETYA, 1997). Along with numerous commissioned reports, these policy texts identified schools as crucial sites for identity construction, and advised schools, teachers and educational systems to promote pedagogical practices that enabled pupils and teachers to examine the process and effects of that construction. One of the purposes of this examination was to de-construct the prevailing normative ideals of masculinity and femininity. This strategy, it was advised, would help young people to see the many possible ways in which they could be male and female, thereby helping to break down constricting gender identities. The rise of the 'boy's education' movement and backlash politics at (conservative) government levels and more popularly (e.g. Lingard and Douglas 1999, Epstein *et al.* 1998, Collins *et al*. 2000) took the wind out of feminist sails. Gender equity reforms have been patchy since, losing fire as a site of official policy attention and without the same kind of grassroots and teacher-led mobilisations that was a feature of earlier feminist work in schools. Importantly, however, there has been a notable upsurge of activity in the last few years, largely in relation to sexualities and sexuality education, respectful relationships curriculum and school strategies to counter gender-based violence (Ollis and Harrison 2016, Sundaram and Sauntson 2016). And this has prompted informal discussions about what can be learnt from earlier feminist activities in education.

This is, of course, a necessarily selective sketch of a complex field of reform. Its purpose is to distil some key movements in policy and to indicate the broad ways in which gender equity agendas in education are currently mapped and remembered. Why do these received accounts matter in relation to feminism and educational administration? They matter first because memories of earlier reform efforts can serve not only to sediment and authorise particular historical understandings but also to animate or circumscribe present-day actions. Second, they matter because such accounts can side step or obscure from view the complex and mundane ways in which feminist reforms were also concerned with the organization and administration of education. Consequently, feminist reforms risk being recalled and represented as primarily a story about identity and not also as a story of struggles over feminism's wide-ranging, complex and at times contradictory agenda. I will illustrate

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this latter point by taking the example of the establishment of equal opportunity as a policy priority and administrative domain within the Victorian Department of Education during the 1970s. But first, I turn to consider Clare Hemmings' (2011) analysis of the 'political grammar of feminist theory' because it offers a route into understanding the rise and fall narrative outlined above within a wider context.

Hemmings seeks to 'identify the techniques through which dominant stories are secured, through which their status as "common sense" is reproduced' and in doing so to 'offer a rigorous point of intervention through which Western feminist stories might be transformed' (Hemmings 2011, p. 20). She argues that the history of feminist theory can be characterized according to narratives of 'Progress' 'Loss' and 'Return' (p. 132). The 'progress' narrative tells a story of the move from essentialism to difference, of a shift away from thinking of the unified subject of feminism to a celebration of difference and diversity, evident in the rise of identity politics and epistemologies and methodologies framed as postmodern. The 'loss' narrative depicts the end of the feminist political project, fragmented by the postmodern proliferation of difference, uncertainty and abstraction. It signals the loss of the radical political promise of feminism and a turning away from naming and reforming inequalities. The 'return' narrative represents an acknowledgement that feminism might have lost its way, but a new path forward is identified that offers of kind of resolution, a compromise that sees elements combined from the 'difference' turn and a return to questions about the body and social-structural relations. This analysis of narrative repetition has parallels with the account I offered above regarding the received stories of feminism and schooling, although with much less sense of there being a clear 'return' narrative for gender equity, feminism and schooling.

According to Hemmings, these different narratives share a focus on 'Generational claims of progress or loss [that] allow for the deflection of personal hopes and regrets onto collectivities or general trends' (p.6): for example, the default belief that previous generations make understandable mistakes that the next generation corrects. In this analysis, the overall narrative impulse is one of progress, of regrettable misconceptions, or diversions, but nevertheless a pathway forward. Hemmings argues that:

> Theoretical and political resolution in return narratives… requires mediation of the twinned affects of hope and despair that characterize progress and loss narratives respectively. … the affective manifestations of this historiographic investment are a shared sense of loss of feminism's demise and a shared hope that a re-invigorated feminism may be possible in the future (2011, p. 192,).

In many respects, Hemmings' account is a remarkably introspective one – feminist theorist examining the tics and nuances of high feminist theory, plotting tropes and typologies in a very particular meaning system. Yet, it nevertheless alerts us to the rhetorical patterns and emotional investments of (generational) memory that can structure how feminism is told and why that matters in the present. I have suggested that a strong story line in the received accounts of feminist reform

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in education is structured according to a rise and fall narrative. Further, this narrative tends to pivot on and foreground questions of identity and in doing so risks blocking out from historical view the broad range and scope of activities that were part of these transformative aspirations. This not only helps to sediment thin narratives about the feminist past, but it can also serve to constrain or foreclose action and imagined possibilities now and into the future.

With these various debates about memory and revisiting feminist narratives as backdrop, I now turn to discuss a period in the early history of equal opportunity and feminist reforms in education in order to show the extent of its ambitions and its double-edged role in the administration of education. By this I mean the ways in which feminist politics became part of bureaucratic and policy structures as a result of deliberate initiatives from feminists to work from within the state, not only to critique it. This phenomenon was captured by the Australian neologism 'femocrats' which described feminist working in the heart of government and state bureaucracies to achieve reformist ends (Yeatman 1990). I also use the term to signal the ways in which feminism itself sought to administer its own normative agenda for change by putting in place strategies and pedagogical practices to foster and regulate new types of teachers and students. It is this somewhat paradoxical and double-sided nature of feminism as administration that is of interest here. On the hand, it is arguably a sensible feature of reform movements and on the other a feature not always acknowledged in historical accounts and memories of feminism as a politics of emancipation and opposition to strictures. I am thus approaching the history of feminism in education in terms of how it was administered in formal education and through bureaucratic and comparatively mundane and technical ways. This is not to deny the liberatory and at times utopian aspirations and rhetoric accompanying these practices. Rather, it is also to focus attention on the translation of such feminist ideals into administrative and educational strategies and techniques that were to be put to work in schools and classrooms.

Administering feminism in education

In 1977, Lindsay Thompson, then Victorian Minister for Education, declared that the appointment of a special co-ordinator for equal opportunity would herald 'the removal of the last vestiges of sexism in schools'. So confident was he that this goal would be met, and in response to some 'complaints of the male sex', he predicted that 'it may be necessary to establish an organization to protect the interests of the male sex because they feel they are being victimized in certain areas'.[2] In the early stages of their development, the bureaucracies established by the Victorian (and other states) Department of Education and Teachers' unions to 'eliminate sexism' emphasised the importance of 'raising awareness' about sexism and the roles people, often unwittingly, played in endorsing sex-stereotyped behaviour and attitudes. Despite the documentation of girls' educational disadvantage, there was enormous official optimism that schools could and should do something to ameliorate these inequalities. Departments of Education, schools and teachers' organisations

[2] Lindsay Thompson, Legislative Assembly, Victoria, *Debates*, 20 October 1977, vol.334, p.10598.

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responded to for such ambitious changes through a range of officially sanctioned strategies and recommendations for implementing non-sexist schooling within a state education bureaucracy. The 1975 Commonwealth Schools Commission report, *Girls, School and Society* (Schools Commission, 1975, pp.159-60) recommended that states establish their own committees to investigate the status of girls' education and to develop appropriate policies. A Victorian Committee on Equal Opportunity in Schools was established in November 1975; it met regularly and received submissions from the public throughout 1976.[3]

Its terms of reference addressed the topics of careers, curriculum choice, eliminating sex-role stereotypes and teaching practices that distinguished between the sexes, and these remained a focus of subsequent policies and programs throughout the 1970s and early 1980s in Victoria [4] and in other states,[5] supported by either Education Departments, the teachers' unions or other educational funding bodies. Central to these various projects and reports was a determination to erase any kind of sex-based differentiation between pupils. Teachers were regularly alerted to the dangers of sex-role stereotyping, and reminded that qualities and ambitions once thought of as sex-specific were now to be understood as potentially common to both sexes. For instance, *Girls, School and Society* (1975, p.157 [para 14.4]) advised that: 'to the extent that schools operate on unexamined assumptions about differences between the sexes or fail to confront with analysis sex stereotypes through the media, they limit the options of both boys and girls and assist the processes through which messages of dependence are passed to girls because they are female.

The Victorian Committee reviewed research and policies on equal opportunity and the education of

[3] The terms of reference for the Victorian Committee included investigations of 'the extent and effect of': (a) language and imagery in books conveying arbitrary stereotypes of men and women; (b) differing sets of rules, rewards and punishments applied to boys and girls(c) the segregation of desks, classes and activities; (d) different standards of conduct and dress; (e) absence of female role models in positions of seniority and high status; (f) time tabling arrangements and psychological pressures which effectively deny or inhibit participation in areas in which members of a particular sex have not traditionally participated. In particular, the Committee was asked to make recommendations on: i) What positive measures could be implemented to encourage girls to study a wider range of subjects and aspire to a wider range of occupations, to higher education, and to positions of authority; ii) Whether vocational guidance is biased, and how such guidance can be given so that the whole range of opportunities is presented to members of both sexes without assumptions as to what is suitable for either sex; iii) What alterations could be made to the structure of education to keep career options open for as long as possible'. Victorian Equal Opportunity Resource Centre, Administrative Records, Victorian Department of Education, Melbourne.

[4] For interviews with the Project Officers involved with early school and community based projects see, *Ms. Muffet*, no. 3, August, 1979, pp. 10-13. *Ms Muffet* (1979-1992) was the magazine of the three Victorian Teacher Unions' (VSTA, TTAV (later the TTUV), VTU) Joint Women's and Anti-Sexism committee.

[5] For examples of reports and projects from other states see, Judy Hebblethwaite and Sue Edmonds, 'Improving Education for Girls', Second Report to the Schools Commission, Curriculum Centre, Education Department of Tasmania, October, 1978; Sylvia J. Innes, 'Sexism and Schooling', A Report from the Queensland Teachers Union Women's Action Programme in the Schools, compiled by the Co-ordinator, December 1976; Patricia Arbib, 'Contemporary Issues, Number 15: Sexism and Schools', New South Wales Department of Education, April 1978; Rosemary Richards, 'Sexism in Education', A Report to the ACT Schools Authority, prepared by the Co-ordinator for the Elimination of Sexism in Education, October 1979; 'Sexism in Education', Report of a Conference at Wattle Park Teachers Centre, Education Department of South Australia, September 15-19, 1975; 'Elimination of Sexism in Education', 1980 Seminar Papers, Australian Teachers' Federation, ACT, April 1980. Victorian Teachers Union (now the Federated Teachers Union of Victoria), Series 17/11/4, Box 1, File 1975-1977; Series 17/11/4, Box 1, File 1978-1980; Series 2/300/3, Box 1, File 1979-1980. See also the administrative files of the Victorian Equal Opportunity Resource Centre, 1980-1994, Victorian Department of Education, Melbourne – records since dispersed.

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girls and conducted some small-scale research projects of its own, notably a survey of primary and secondary schools – 'Is there equality of opportunity for girls and boys in Victorian schools?' and ' A study of sex-role attitudes of students in male principal and female principal high schools in Victoria'.[6] The Committee found sex-role stereotyping in curriculum materials, subject choice and school practices, poor career counselling for both sexes, but especially for girls, and inadequate Health and Human Relations education, to be common features of schooling in Victoria in the mid 1970s.[7] Its forty recommendations aimed to eliminate or to reduce the effect of these factors. Key recommendations included: the adoption of non-sexism as a criterion for selecting curriculum resources (Recs. 1-2); the appointment of full-time, trained teachers in all post-primary schools and TAFE institutions (Rec. 5); a review of employment patterns of and procedures for promotion of women teachers (Recs. 10-13); the inclusion of courses on Health and Human Relations, career education and equal opportunity and girls' education in teacher education and in-service programs (Rec. 19-24); and greater attention in the curriculum to mathematics and Health and Human Relations (Recs. 27-32).

The Committee also recommended '[a] professional appointment ... at the highest possible level to advise the Assistant Director General (Curriculum) on procedures to be taken for the elimination of sexist bias in curriculum materials' (Rec.15). The Victorian Department of Education appointed a Co-ordinator (Ms. Deborah Towns) for Equal Opportunity in 1977, and in the following year established an Equal Opportunity Resource Centre in metropolitan Melbourne, jointly funded by the Commonwealth Schools Commission. Much of the work of the Unit and the Resource Centre was concerned with visiting school and community groups, 'raising teacher awareness' about the education of girls and encouraging them to adopt non-sexist teaching practices and to employ non-sexist curriculum materials. Promoting the work of the Equal Opportunity Staff, Deborah Towns advised teachers that we 'can also provide practical strategies for eliminating sexist assumptions, developing non-sexist curricula, developing women's studies and non-traditional vocational orientation' (Towns and Sutherland 1978, p.11). In addition to this advisory and consultative work, staff at the Unit and the Resource Centre – and other advocates of equal opportunity – worked with the bureaucracy of the Education department to ensure that equal opportunity was established as a serious and legitimate area for educational policy making (Fowler, 1975a, Fowler, 1975b, Towns and Sutherland 1978; Munro 1979).

The Victorian Department of Education released a policy on Equal Opportunity and Elimination of Sexism in July 1980 (Fanebust, 1982). Given the scope and concerns of the 1977 Victorian Report on Equal Opportunity, there were few surprises in this policy statement.[8] The problem and strategies for resolving equal opportunity and sexism were classified into seven main categories:

[6] Victorian Committee on Equal Opportunity in Schools, 1977, *Victorian committee on equal opportunity in schools: report to the Premier*. Melbourne, respectively Appendix I and II.
[7] *Ibid,* pp.1-6, pp.7-25.
[8] Education Department of Victoria, 1980, *Equal opportunity and the elimination of sexism, a policy statement of the Education Department of Victoria*. Melbourne.

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Curriculum Materials and Curriculum Development; Career Education/Counselling; Administration of Education; Co-education; Health and Human Relations; Teacher Education; and Work Experience. The overall themes were the removal of sexism from every aspect of teaching and schooling practice, special interventions into the key curriculum areas of Careers Education and Health and Human Relations and programs to raise teachers' awareness of the effects of their 'sex-role expectations on the performance of female pupils'.

In this brief and partial example, I have drawn on department of education policies and memoranda, the activities of administrative units dedicated to promoting equal opportunity and anti-sexism, advice literature for teachers, such as the development of elaborate checklists and teaching strategies designed to improve teaching and help teachers expose and eliminate sexism in their day-to day classroom conduct and in the hidden and overt attitudes of their pupils. I suggest that feminism in education understood and represented itself as liberatory— setting people free— and that it also had disciplining effects on the conduct of teachers and pupils. That is, feminism was, in the Foucauldian sense (Author a, Popkewitz 1998), a governmental project, concerned with managing and regulating the conduct of individuals even as it invoked the language of liberation and gender freedom. In the case of feminism in education, this is evident in specifying and monitoring the correct non-sexist conduct for teachers and students, and in a concern with redefining sex roles and gender identity. Feminist education instituted new norms for the ideal non-sexist teacher and developed pedagogies that privileged the remaking of the self, encouraging teachers to constantly monitor and evaluate their professional and ethical conduct in line with feminist ambitions. This is not to suggest that feminism was completely entrenched or that all teachers were non-sexist. However my aim has been to show some of the complicated and messy administrative history of feminism in education, how it was bureaucratically embedded, had a wide vision of sexism beyond the school walls and was not only focussed on issues of individual identity, or of setting people free from rigid sex roles. Feminism too had its own 'technologies of the self' (Foucault 1989), its preferred techniques ways of being, and normative forms of self-regulation governed though administrative spaces dedicated to improving and scrutinising teachers' and pupils' conduct.

Concluding comments

This essay opened with reflections on the aims and scope of *JEAH* under the editorship of Tanya Fitzgerald and Helen Gunter, drawing out the strong feminist orientation in their editorial philosophy and reflected in the range of articles commissioned and published under their editorial eye. They have actively promoted and made possible a critical and expensive conception of the kind of work that can be done under the sign of educational administration. In particular the journal has showcased the breadth and complexity of scholarship, policy reform and educational work that has taken place either because of or under the influence of feminism. This view on to the field of educational administration prompted to me to revisit some of my earlier work on feminism and schooling, looking at it in light of how feminist perspectives both challenged and changed the organisation, administration and work of schooling. I considered this in light of current received

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stories about the recent history of (second-wave onwards) feminism in general and feminism and education in particular. On the one hand, there has been a striking forgetting of the scope of feminist agendas – epistemologically, pedagogically and ethically – and on the other an oscillating soft nostalgia for a lost utopianism and attachment to the injuries of lost causes. The historical narrative of feminism in education seems stuck on a rewind of narratives gains and losses, of progress and backlash. I have been tried to unsettle these sedimenting narratives in order to open up possibilities for different story lines about how feminism might be remembered and how it might be a site for action in the present. To do this here I have looked at 'revisiting' debates in gender history and feminist discussions of memory and narrative grammar.

In parallel with this, I have argued that it is crucial to address some of the ordinary and administrative ways in which feminism was put to work and to examine how feminism itself was a scene for the administration of teachers' and pupils' conduct. Looked at from this angle is also helpful for opening up other ways of understanding feminist struggles over identity, as also called for by Joan Scott (2011). In the case of education, this involves exploring how feminism was at one time instituted into the administration of schooling and itself part of the project of administrating a particular type of gender identity. This might allow for a more multi-dimensional account of feminism, not simply as a rise and fall movement, nor a progress narrative from naive to sophisticated, but as a messy combination of practical and technical strategies, aspirational politics and normative positions contesting power and the common-senses of everyday action. I have suggested that discounting the paradoxes of feminism has repercussions not only for the quality and complexity of the history we tell and remember but also for the ways in which we might work with and from these histories to chart the present and anticipate action towards the future.

I conclude this essay with a replayed observation from Clare Hemmings (2011). Reflecting on the history of feminist politics, she argues 'that the twinned effects of keen loss and muted hope that underwrite this history are set on textual replay, lest other perceptions of the past and present suggest a different future' (Hemmings 2011, p.192). It is precisely trying to work out a different way of telling those stories, and to imagine and work towards feminist futures in education which is the problem I have raised here. This in turn seeks to open up directions for exploring feminism - and other radial reform movements – as paradoxically embedded in the history of educational administration and in tandem to give more sustained attention to the movements and effects of policy memory and forgetting.

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The administration of feminism in education: revisiting narratives of gender equity and identity

My first encounters with the field of educational administration were mediated through feminist critiques of its shortcomings (Blackmore and Kenway, 1993). As a graduate student, my understanding of the scope of its concerns and priorities was shaped by what feminist scholars identified as gaps and silences and by calls to expand what might be considered under the rubric of educational administration – to take gender relations, women's leadership and the gendered nature of organisations into account. These memories have been on my mind as I responded to the invitation from the current editors of the *Journal of Educational Administration and History* to reflect on future directions of this research field, in light of the work of the journal. In looking back over the editorials written and articles published by Tanya Fitzgerald and Helen Gunter during their tenure as editors of *JEAH*, the intersection of feminism and educational administration is a strong and guiding theme. Engaging with and inspired by these concerns, in the following discussion I broach this intersection from a related yet slightly different angle, and explore the administration of feminism in education, taking 1970s reforms and initiatives as my focus. In part, this is an attempt to flip the focus from primarily bringing feminist concerns into the administration of education to seeing feminism itself as an administrative project, an argument that I elaborate below.

Feminism was an influential movement in education in the 1970s, with – in the case of Australia and elsewhere – formal state-based policies developed on equal opportunity and non-sexist education as well as substantial school-based and grass-roots activity (Author A; Yates 1998). Within teacher unions and curriculum associations, there was an upswell of publications, dedicated committees and high profile activism. The impact of this work was felt across curriculum and school programs and in heightened attention to 'gender and education' as a category of policy, pedagogical and scholarly attention. This encompassed sustained attention to the sex role, sexuality education and new constructions of the personal, evident, for example, in curriculum strategies that engaged 'values clarification' exercises in which the personal became not only political but also pedagogical. Of note here is the desire to remake identities in the name of anti-sexism and an avowed encouragement for students and teachers to become non-sexist and non-traditional. My interest in this remarkable moment of reform is two-fold. First, it is in how such feminist endeavours became part of the policy landscape and a visible even if contested aspect of the administration of schools during the 1970s and 80s. The second interest is in how feminist activities and agendas can be examined as themselves sites for managing the conduct of teachers and students and for regulating new forms of identity and social relations.

I thus approach feminism in education not only as a radical politics of social critique and emancipation but also as a set of diverse ideas and practices that had disciplining and administrative dimensions. In the following, two aspects of 'administration' are highlighted. The first refers to the ways in which feminist and equal opportunity initiatives became part of the policy and program management in departments of education, representing a wide range of strategies and activities. The

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second use of 'administration' borrows from the Foucauldian concept of governmentality and its attention to the 'conduct of conduct'. In a Foucauldian analysis, 'government' denotes not so much the public administration of the state. Rather, for Foucault government refers more broadly to the 'way in which the conduct of individuals or groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick… *To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others* '[my emphasis] Foucault 1983, p.221). Techniques of government thus refer to the specific ways and means by which the conduct of individuals and groups is regulated, for example, through particular educational or in this case feminist practices. It is in this way that I characterise the paradox of feminism as both a site politics and policy reform and a set of practices for the administration of freedom and government of conduct. Before developing this argument, I first turn to the ways in which questions of gender and feminism have figured prominently in the journal under the editorship of Tanya Fitzgerald and Helen Gunter. This provides a context and counter point for my analysis of the challenges associated in writing the history of second-wave feminist policy reforms in education.

At the commencement of their time as editors in 2008, Tanya and Helen wrote two extended editorial essays reflecting on the field of educational administration and their distinctive perspective on how they wanted to work with journal as a site for expansive and critical scholarship (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008, Fitzgerald and Gunter 2008). They characterised educational administration as a 'field of study and practice' (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008, p. 12) that was concerned with 'at a fundamental level, about how decisions are made'. Adopting a commitment to a 'productive pluralism', they understood educational administration to embrace 'matters of policy, leadership and management' (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008, p. 6). Feminism infuses the spirit of the editorial approach, evident especially in the attention given to power dynamics and researcher reflexivity. They declared that their 'interest is in the exercise of power: who does it, when, where, why and to what effect' (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008, p. 7). Questions of exclusions, socio-structural asymmetries, class, gender and race were given prominence. So too was the significance of the geo-political spaces from which we write and work, including the ongoing effects of (post)colonial legacies upon educational policy, practice and discourse . As the editors observed, such contexts also inform how educational administration has been enacted, contested, dreamed up and debated (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008, p. 9).

The significance of gender relations, the place and position of women within educational administration and the affordances of feminist theories were not simply sequestered into special issues but were topics integrated across the journal volumes. This is especially notable in the many articles advancing intersectional accounts of gender and women's diverse roles in educational administration and leadership. Kay Matthews' (Matthews 2009) historical account of early women principals working in native schools and primary and secondary schools in New Zealand, and Maxine Stephenson's (Stephenson 2009) historical study of Maori women teachers drew out salient intersections of place, colonialism, race and gender. A recent article by Martha Kamara (Kamara

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2017) underscores the pressing need for greater scholarly and policy attention to the perspectives of Indigenous women educational leaders, while Joyce Goodman's (Goodman 2014) study of internationalism and feminism in the interwar Pacific explores the intersections of colonialism, gender and education. The intersecting effects of religion and spirituality with gender are brought to the surface in Witherspoon and Taylor's account of the experience of black women principals in the US (Witherspoon and Taylor 2010) as well as in Jenny Collins' (Collins 2014) examination of Catholic sisters as principals during a time when the principal class was elsewhere dominated by men.

While a strong theme has been the valuable work of women as leaders, such as their roles during wartime (Rousmaniere 2016, Whitehead 2016), the everyday worlds of women and teaching and the administrative challenges they faced have also been brought into the picture. Helen Proctor and Ashleigh Driscoll's (Proctor and Driscoll 2017) study of the marriage bar for Australian women teachers, for example, reveals the classed and hetero-normative assumptions that regulated women's teaching labour. Appropriately, attention to gender and educational work has encompassed studies of masculinity (Fuller 2010, Whitehead 2009), with Kay Fuller calling for the deconstruction of polarised gendered attributes of leadership and a more relational account of masculinity and femininity (Fuller 2010). The journal's direction has thus been creatively shaped by the political, ethical and epistemological concerns of feminism, including calls to challenge power, to recast the relationship between private and public domains and therefore to trouble the locus and reach of educational administration. This is particularly striking in articles advancing feminist critiques of dominant discourses, such as Jill Blackmore's (Blackmore 2011) critical analysis of notions of emotional intelligence in the field of educational administration. These have drawn heavily from psychological models that elevate individuals, she argues, whereas feminist analysis reveals that the 'emotional labour of teaching and leading cannot be individualised because emotion is both relational and contextual' (Blackmore 2011, p.207). Other articles engaging with feminist and social theory have looked beyond key players in the field of educational administration to help understand and extend its reach. This is the case with Maria Tamboukou's (Tamboukou 2010) discussion of the contribution of Hannah Arendt for approaching life history and what this in turn offers for the writing of biographical research in the history of gender and education.

As this sketch of themes suggests, a strong historical thread runs through the journal, and this is not simply in terms of fulfilling the journal's formal remit to include articles addressing historical topics. Importantly, it is evident too in the selection and commissioning of articles and curation of special issues that have an historicising orientation, embracing discussions that reflect backwards and forwards on the aims of the journal and on the purposes of field itself, bringing the concerns of educational administration into critical dialogue with feminist and social theoretical debates. From the beginning, then, and throughout the editors' term, contributors and readers have been invited to re-imagine what might be possible under the sign of 'educational administration'. Indeed, the range

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of articles published during their tenure remind us of the broad remit of feminist agendas across many domains of educational work.

The articles noted above and many others have served to unsettle common senses and to bring feminist critique centre stage, not simply as a means to consider the position of women but also in order to open up avenues for reframing and rethinking the field of educational administration. Taking a cue from these intellectual and political orientations, I outline some challenges for writing about the recent history of feminist reforms in education. I tease out the paradoxical features of these reforms as being concerned with freedom and new possibilities while also enacting their own normative codes of conduct, of how to be a non-sexist teacher or pupil, for example. The initial prompt is feminism and gender equity reforms in Australian schools since the 1970s, the form of their initial aspirations and organisational practices and how those earlier interventions are now remembered, represented and forgotten, across policy and collective narratives.

I argue that critical attention to the role of cultural and collective memory is crucial in approaching how feminist traditions are recalled and (re)animated in the present. This, in turn, is key to understanding the legacies of feminist reforms – as theoretical, political and policy interventions.. Memory also plays an important role, I propose, in understanding educational administration more broadly and the inherited and novel effects over time of processes of decision-making across policy, leadership and practice. With this as background, I develop two related lines of discussion. First, I briefly consider debates in feminist and gender history and their echoes and parallel discussions in the history of education. This includes the pervasiveness of 'rise and fall' narratives in accounts of the history of feminism (Hemmings 2011) and their relevance to representations of feminist reforms in education, Second, I turn to equal opportunity and gender equity reforms in schooling, and consider developments in the 1970s in the Australian state of Victoria, noting the breadth of concerns and scope of ambitions. Finally, drawing from these two lines of discussions, I make a case for unsettling the received histories of feminism and education, including giving greater recognition to processes of memory and policy memory (and forgetting) and to the complex and everyday ways in which feminism was both administered and was itself a site for the administration of conduct.

Revising and revisiting

Women's and gender history was vital to the intellectual and political project of second-wave feminism and was at the forefront in developing an institutional presence for feminist scholarship. It has also been influential in (re)defining what counts as matters of concern within the history of education and in reinvigorating theoretical and methodological debates. Numerous reviews of the 'gendered politics of historical writing in history of education' (Spencer 2010, Martin and Goodman 2011) have documented the various stages, predominant themes and questions as well as lacunae and tensions within this field. Building on Ruth Watts' assessment of gender and the

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history of education (Watts 2005), Joyce Goodman recently observed that 'since Watts' overview, scholarship on working class women, minorities and masculinities continues to remain sparse; but visual, spatial, material and transnational methodologies are being adopted by researchers with an interest in gender' (Goodman 2012). Not surprisingly, these twists and turns parallel those taken in gender and feminist history more broadly. Interest in transnational, sensual, material and spatial approaches is similarly evident across the history of education, even when gender is not an overt category of concern (Burke 2010, Grosvenor 2012, Sobe 2012, Dussel 2013, Bagchi, Fuchs, and Rousmanière 2014). In terms of education as a field of practice, and specifically educational administration, a complementary strand is the historical study of the influence of second-wave feminism itself on the organisation and activities of schooling or education systems, as manifest in policy reforms, professional aspirations, curriculum and so forth. To date, this aspect has received less attention in the history of education, in part perhaps because of the relatively recent time frame. I also wonder whether it could be because it is difficult to navigate writing about the recent history of feminism and schooling in a way that is neither simply nostalgic for earlier times of possibility nor pessimistically focussed on past or anticipated future losses and injustices. The US feminist political theorist Wendy Brown, for example, has written eloquently about the dangers of feminism's narratives of its own history, in which there is an attachment to injuries of the past that then are perversely defended as they provide the basis for identities and a rationale for feminist politics in the present (Brown 1995, 2005).

A significant thread in feminist history has been its revision of received stories and the recovery or generation of alternative narratives about the past, which in turn have also expressed something about the character of contemporaneous concerns. Reflections on the direction of feminist history, following the earlier recovery history and the more recent discursive and performative turns (Roper 2010, Morgan 2009, Bennett 2008), convey not only shifting political and theoretical agendas but also concerns with evaluating the pre-occupations and legacies of feminist enquiry. Such work represents a kind of conceptual and methodological stock-take of where feminist history has been, what it has achieved and where it is heading. An autobiographical thread is also woven into some of this revisiting and revising activity, as is evident in Joan Scott's reflections – discussed further below – in her *The Fantasy of Feminist History* (2011). These various retrospective views are likely to be an artefact, at least in part, of generational and demographic movement, as influential scholars seek to make sense of their intellectual journeys and impact, and newer scholars seek to position themselves and their agendas into longer narratives. A major concern of the early women's history accompanying second-wave feminism was to repudiate and unsettle older, established narratives: and now that interrogative and historicizing impulse is arguably being turned upon its own endeavours.

A special issue of *JEAH* in 2010, guest edited by Stephanie Spencer (2010), took as its organising theme 'Educational administration, history and '"gender as an useful category of historical analysis"', inspired by Joan Scott's influential contribution to feminist history. Spencer (2010, p.

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106) argued that Scott's analysis of 'the significance of gender as a theoretical framework [has] enabled a gendered approach which has brought new perspectives to areas on the borders of the discipline, such as history of education'. The spirit of Scott's analysis, Spencer (2010, p.105) argued, is consistent with the aims of *JEAH*, in that the journal also created an opening to surface '"critical questions concerning the shape of knowledge, how this knowledge was produced and by whom and the underpinning construction of this knowledge for the field'" (Spencer 2010, p.105, citing Gunter and Fitzgerald 2008, p. 81).

Scott's insights into gender as a category of historical analysis were both of the time, part of the zeitgeist of late 80s feminism, yet also powerfully crystalised an analytic and political moment. Embodying the revisiting mood of the present, Scott (2011, p. 3) has more recently questioned the basic assumptions underpinning her earlier work, seeing her approach to 'gender' as a social category, as having 'little to do with unconscious processes' and of her then (1980s) still operating within dualistic conceptions of public/private and reductive accounts of 'cultural construction'. She reflects (Scott 2011, p.6) that 'If I had to summarize the change in my thinking as it relates to theorizing gender, I would say that the path is from sex as the known of physical bodies and so the referent for gender, to sexual difference as a permanent quandary – because ultimately unknowable – for modern subjects, and so, again, the impossible referent for gender'. For historians of gender, this can be an unsettling experience, Scott (2011, p. 6) observes, as it 'deprives her of certainty of the categories of analysis and leaves her searching for only the right questions to ask.'

Scott's reflections revive important discussions about psychoanalysis and history, which demand a more sustained critical engagement than it is possible to entertain here. For the purposes of this discussion, however, my interest is in the parallel questions they open up for reconsidering narratives about feminism in education, including the prominence given to 'identity' as a site of conceptual, political and educational work. According to Scott (2011, p. 19), from the perspective of psychoanalysis, 'feminist movements are not the inevitable expression of the socially constructed category of women, but the means for achieving that identity'. This argument has bearing on how feminist interventions in education ambivalently constructed, projected and deconstructed gender identities. So too does Scott's (2011, p. 51) proposition that 'the history of feminism, when told as a continuous, progressive story of women's quest for emancipation, effaces the discontinuity, conflict, and difference that might undermine the politically desired stability of the categories termed "women" and "feminist"'. Turning to memories of reform is one way of trying to understand what is 'effaced' and with what effects in histories of feminism and education.

Twenty-five years ago, the feminist historian Antoinette Burton (1992, p. 26) observed that 'Historical narratives of feminist movements cannot be taken at face value. The narrativization of our history – how we end up with the stories about historical feminism upon which we rely – needs to be continuously revealed as the historical process it is'. Feminist critics, she argued, had been attuned to how 'the co-operations of gender, race and class systems' show history to be a '*cultural*

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production' (p.26). Yet, she continued, 'the idea that history is equally an historical production needs the same kind of foregrounding, so that what we "know" about the feminist movements of the past is understood as knowledge that has been produced during discrete historical moments' (p.26). Borrowing from Donna Haraway's (1988) phrase, Burton (1992, p. 28), declared that 'Histories of the past are… ultimately *historically* "situated knowledges as well"'.

These observations remain pertinent for how the history of feminism in education is approached and written. Further, I am arguing that the role of what can be called 'policy memory' in the present demands more critical attention in educational history, and particularly in the history of radical reform movements. Petra Hendry has called for practices of curriculum history that give greater attention to non-linear temporalities and the place of memory in such enquiry. She proposes that: 'Re-membering is not only about what gets remembered, by whom, how, and when, but also about the very limits of representation and resistance to remembering certain events…. Memory work thus becomes an interactive, dialogic process between past and present and future' (Hendry, 2011, p. 5). These observations are pertinent to exploring how narratives of the feminist (educational) past circulate in the present. They underline how memories and traces of earlier administrative and policy reform efforts shape actions and attitudes in the present; they also provide an impetus to or a counter point for imagining feminist educational futures.

Narrative repetitions

Encouraged by a revisiting mood among feminist and gender historians – and a sense of personal and collective frustration with received story telling – I am trying to look afresh at the received accounts of feminism, gender and education, a field of scholarly enquiry and professional practice in which I have worked on and off for many years.[1] Elements of this historical work are underway, addressing both international (Skelton and Francis 2009, Tinkler and Allan 2015) and Australian developments (Gannon 2016). Numerous overviews of policy trends have been written about this earlier period of policy reform, many from close to the time and from the perspective of policy sociology, and often providing a stock take of then current concerns and future directions (Kenway 1997, Yates 1992). There are indeed many stories to tell about the recent history of feminism in Australian education, but a dominant one can be characterised as following a 'rise and fall' narrative. This is a policy and school reform story which typically begins with the second-wave of feminism in the 1970s, and the development of equal opportunities and non-sexist programs in schools that sought not to distinguish students on the basis of gender difference; the aim instead was to challenge sex-role stereotypes. The flourishing of feminist and non-sexist agendas in the 1970s is commonly identified as a high point of policy energy, despite acknowledged conceptual limitations regarding understandings of subjectivity. Pedagogical and curriculum reforms were underpinned by notions of the sex role and a faith in the power of clear and rational knowledge to change sex-typed behaviours. This was then followed in the 1980s by attention to essential gender differences and

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how these played out in pedagogy and learning styles – giving rise to approaches to gender inclusive curriculum. Shifts in emphasis from 1970s non-traditional roles and equality to 1980s cultural difference paralleled wider shifts in feminist theorizing. This continued into the 1990s, with a focus on identity and on gender as a social construction, paralleling the rise of encounters between feminism and poststructuralism (Kenway 1997, Yates 1992, Yates 1998, Author a, Author b).

The constitution of identity (sociologically, historically, discursively etc) has thus been a major focus of feminist action and scholarship. While in the 1970s the problem of subjectivity was most often articulated (and resolved) through the language of the sex role and socialisation, since the 1990s identity has been represented in a poststructuralist-inspired language as a 'construction', a discursive and social category that is 'made' and open to change. This was evident in the rationale and recommendations of the *National Action Plan for the Education of Girls* (Australian Education Council, 1993) and the national *Gender Equity; A Framework for Australian Schools* (MCEETYA, 1997). Along with numerous commissioned reports, these policy texts identified schools as crucial sites for identity construction, and advised schools, teachers and educational systems to promote pedagogical practices that enabled pupils and teachers to examine the process and effects of that construction. One of the purposes of this examination was to de-construct the prevailing normative ideals of masculinity and femininity. This strategy, it was advised, would help young people to see the many possible ways in which they could be male and female, thereby helping to break down constricting gender identities. The rise of the 'boy's education' movement and backlash politics at (conservative) government levels and more popularly (e.g. Lingard and Douglas 1999, Epstein *et al.* 1998, Collins *et al*. 2000) took the wind out of feminist sails. Gender equity reforms have been patchy since, losing fire as a site of official policy attention and without the same kind of grassroots and teacher-led mobilisations that was a feature of earlier feminist work in schools. Importantly, however, there has been a notable upsurge of activity in the last few years, largely in relation to sexualities and sexuality education, respectful relationships curriculum and school strategies to counter gender-based violence (Ollis and Harrison 2016, Sundaram and Sauntson 2016). And this has prompted informal discussions about what can be learnt from earlier feminist activities in education.

This is, of course, a necessarily selective sketch of a complex field of reform. Its purpose is to distil some key movements in policy and to indicate the broad ways in which gender equity agendas in education are currently mapped and remembered. Why do these received accounts matter in relation to feminism and educational administration? They matter first because memories of earlier reform efforts can serve not only to sediment and authorise particular historical understandings but also to animate or circumscribe present-day actions. Second, they matter because such accounts can side step or obscure from view the complex and mundane ways in which feminist reforms were also concerned with the organization and administration of education. Consequently, feminist reforms risk being recalled and represented as primarily a story about identity and not also as a story of struggles over feminism's wide-ranging, complex and at times contradictory agenda. I will illustrate

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this latter point by taking the example of the establishment of equal opportunity as a policy priority and administrative domain within the Victorian Department of Education during the 1970s. But first, I turn to consider Clare Hemmings' (2011) analysis of the 'political grammar of feminist theory' because it offers a route into understanding the rise and fall narrative outlined above within a wider context.

Hemmings seeks to 'identify the techniques through which dominant stories are secured, through which their status as "common sense" is reproduced' and in doing so to 'offer a rigorous point of intervention through which Western feminist stories might be transformed' (Hemmings 2011, p. 20). She argues that the history of feminist theory can be characterized according to narratives of 'Progress' 'Loss' and 'Return' (p. 132). The 'progress' narrative tells a story of the move from essentialism to difference, of a shift away from thinking of the unified subject of feminism to a celebration of difference and diversity, evident in the rise of identity politics and epistemologies and methodologies framed as postmodern. The 'loss' narrative depicts the end of the feminist political project, fragmented by the postmodern proliferation of difference, uncertainty and abstraction. It signals the loss of the radical political promise of feminism and a turning away from naming and reforming inequalities. The 'return' narrative represents an acknowledgement that feminism might have lost its way, but a new path forward is identified that offers of kind of resolution, a compromise that sees elements combined from the 'difference' turn and a return to questions about the body and social-structural relations. This analysis of narrative repetition has parallels with the account I offered above regarding the received stories of feminism and schooling, although with much less sense of there being a clear 'return' narrative for gender equity, feminism and schooling.

According to Hemmings, these different narratives share a focus on 'Generational claims of progress or loss [that] allow for the deflection of personal hopes and regrets onto collectivities or general trends' (p.6): for example, the default belief that previous generations make understandable mistakes that the next generation corrects. In this analysis, the overall narrative impulse is one of progress, of regrettable misconceptions, or diversions, but nevertheless a pathway forward. Hemmings argues that:

> Theoretical and political resolution in return narratives… requires mediation of the twinned affects of hope and despair that characterize progress and loss narratives respectively. … the affective manifestations of this historiographic investment are a shared sense of loss of feminism's demise and a shared hope that a re-invigorated feminism may be possible in the future (2011, p. 192,).

In many respects, Hemmings' account is a remarkably introspective one – feminist theorist examining the tics and nuances of high feminist theory, plotting tropes and typologies in a very particular meaning system. Yet, it nevertheless alerts us to the rhetorical patterns and emotional investments of (generational) memory that can structure how feminism is told and why that matters in the present. I have suggested that a strong story line in the received accounts of feminist reform

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in education is structured according to a rise and fall narrative. Further, this narrative tends to pivot on and foreground questions of identity and in doing so risks blocking out from historical view the broad range and scope of activities that were part of these transformative aspirations. This not only helps to sediment thin narratives about the feminist past, but it can also serve to constrain or foreclose action and imagined possibilities now and into the future.

With these various debates about memory and revisiting feminist narratives as backdrop, I now turn to discuss a period in the early history of equal opportunity and feminist reforms in education in order to show the extent of its ambitions and its double-edged role in the administration of education. By this I mean the ways in which feminist politics became part of bureaucratic and policy structures as a result of deliberate initiatives from feminists to work from within the state, not only to critique it. This phenomenon was captured by the Australian neologism 'femocrats' which described feminist working in the heart of government and state bureaucracies to achieve reformist ends (Yeatman 1990). I also use the term to signal the ways in which feminism itself sought to administer its own normative agenda for change by putting in place strategies and pedagogical practices to foster and regulate new types of teachers and students. It is this somewhat paradoxical and double-sided nature of feminism as administration that is of interest here. On the hand, it is arguably a sensible feature of reform movements and on the other a feature not always acknowledged in historical accounts and memories of feminism as a politics of emancipation and opposition to strictures. I am thus approaching the history of feminism in education in terms of how it was administered in formal education and through bureaucratic and comparatively mundane and technical ways. This is not to deny the liberatory and at times utopian aspirations and rhetoric accompanying these practices. Rather, it is also to focus attention on the translation of such feminist ideals into administrative and educational strategies and techniques that were to be put to work in schools and classrooms.

Administering feminism in education

In 1977, Lindsay Thompson, then Victorian Minister for Education, declared that the appointment of a special co-ordinator for equal opportunity would herald 'the removal of the last vestiges of sexism in schools'. So confident was he that this goal would be met, and in response to some 'complaints of the male sex', he predicted that 'it may be necessary to establish an organization to protect the interests of the male sex because they feel they are being victimized in certain areas'.[2] In the early stages of their development, the bureaucracies established by the Victorian (and other states) Department of Education and Teachers' unions to 'eliminate sexism' emphasised the importance of 'raising awareness' about sexism and the roles people, often unwittingly, played in endorsing sex-stereotyped behaviour and attitudes. Despite the documentation of girls' educational disadvantage, there was enormous official optimism that schools could and should do something to ameliorate these inequalities. Departments of Education, schools and teachers' organisations

[2] Lindsay Thompson, Legislative Assembly, Victoria, *Debates*, 20 October 1977, vol.334, p.10598.

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responded to for such ambitious changes through a range of officially sanctioned strategies and recommendations for implementing non-sexist schooling within a state education bureaucracy. The 1975 Commonwealth Schools Commission report, *Girls, School and Society* (Schools Commission, 1975, pp.159-60) recommended that states establish their own committees to investigate the status of girls' education and to develop appropriate policies. A Victorian Committee on Equal Opportunity in Schools was established in November 1975; it met regularly and received submissions from the public throughout 1976.[3]

Its terms of reference addressed the topics of careers, curriculum choice, eliminating sex-role stereotypes and teaching practices that distinguished between the sexes, and these remained a focus of subsequent policies and programs throughout the 1970s and early 1980s in Victoria[4] and in other states,[5] supported by either Education Departments, the teachers' unions or other educational funding bodies. Central to these various projects and reports was a determination to erase any kind of sex-based differentiation between pupils. Teachers were regularly alerted to the dangers of sex-role stereotyping, and reminded that qualities and ambitions once thought of as sex-specific were now to be understood as potentially common to both sexes. For instance, *Girls, School and Society* (1975, p.157 [para 14.4]) advised that: 'to the extent that schools operate on unexamined assumptions about differences between the sexes or fail to confront with analysis sex stereotypes through the media, they limit the options of both boys and girls and assist the processes through which messages of dependence are passed to girls because they are female.

The Victorian Committee reviewed research and policies on equal opportunity and the education of

[3] The terms of reference for the Victorian Committee included investigations of 'the extent and effect of': (a) language and imagery in books conveying arbitrary stereotypes of men and women; (b) differing sets of rules, rewards and punishments applied to boys and girls(c) the segregation of desks, classes and activities; (d) different standards of conduct and dress; (e) absence of female role models in positions of seniority and high status; (f) time tabling arrangements and psychological pressures which effectively deny or inhibit participation in areas in which members of a particular sex have not traditionally participated. In particular, the Committee was asked to make recommendations on: i) What positive measures could be implemented to encourage girls to study a wider range of subjects and aspire to a wider range of occupations, to higher education, and to positions of authority; ii) Whether vocational guidance is biased, and how such guidance can be given so that the whole range of opportunities is presented to members of both sexes without assumptions as to what is suitable for either sex; iii) What alterations could be made to the structure of education to keep career options open for as long as possible'. Victorian Equal Opportunity Resource Centre, Administrative Records, Victorian Department of Education, Melbourne.

[4] For interviews with the Project Officers involved with early school and community based projects see, *Ms. Muffet*, no. 3, August, 1979, pp. 10-13. *Ms Muffet* (1979-1992) was the magazine of the three Victorian Teacher Unions' (VSTA, TTAV (later the TTUV), VTU) Joint Women's and Anti-Sexism committee.

[5] For examples of reports and projects from other states see, Judy Hebblethwaite and Sue Edmonds, 'Improving Education for Girls', Second Report to the Schools Commission, Curriculum Centre, Education Department of Tasmania, October, 1978; Sylvia J. Innes, 'Sexism and Schooling', A Report from the Queensland Teachers Union Women's Action Programme in the Schools, compiled by the Co-ordinator, December 1976; Patricia Arbib, 'Contemporary Issues, Number 15: Sexism and Schools', New South Wales Department of Education, April 1978; Rosemary Richards, 'Sexism in Education', A Report to the ACT Schools Authority, prepared by the Co-ordinator for the Elimination of Sexism in Education, October 1979; 'Sexism in Education', Report of a Conference at Wattle Park Teachers Centre, Education Department of South Australia, September 15-19, 1975; 'Elimination of Sexism in Education', 1980 Seminar Papers, Australian Teachers' Federation, ACT, April 1980. Victorian Teachers Union (now the Federated Teachers Union of Victoria), Series 17/11/4, Box 1, File 1975-1977; Series 17/11/4, Box 1, File 1978-1980; Series 2/300/3, Box 1, File 1979-1980. See also the administrative files of the Victorian Equal Opportunity Resource Centre, 1980-1994, Victorian Department of Education, Melbourne – records since dispersed.

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girls and conducted some small-scale research projects of its own, notably a survey of primary and secondary schools – 'Is there equality of opportunity for girls and boys in Victorian schools?' and ' A study of sex-role attitudes of students in male principal and female principal high schools in Victoria'.[6] The Committee found sex-role stereotyping in curriculum materials, subject choice and school practices, poor career counselling for both sexes, but especially for girls, and inadequate Health and Human Relations education, to be common features of schooling in Victoria in the mid 1970s.[7] Its forty recommendations aimed to eliminate or to reduce the effect of these factors. Key recommendations included: the adoption of non-sexism as a criterion for selecting curriculum resources (Recs. 1-2); the appointment of full-time, trained teachers in all post-primary schools and TAFE institutions (Rec. 5); a review of employment patterns of and procedures for promotion of women teachers (Recs. 10-13); the inclusion of courses on Health and Human Relations, career education and equal opportunity and girls' education in teacher education and in-service programs (Rec. 19-24); and greater attention in the curriculum to mathematics and Health and Human Relations (Recs. 27-32).

The Committee also recommended '[a] professional appointment ... at the highest possible level to advise the Assistant Director General (Curriculum) on procedures to be taken for the elimination of sexist bias in curriculum materials' (Rec.15). The Victorian Department of Education appointed a Co-ordinator (Ms. Deborah Towns) for Equal Opportunity in 1977, and in the following year established an Equal Opportunity Resource Centre in metropolitan Melbourne, jointly funded by the Commonwealth Schools Commission. Much of the work of the Unit and the Resource Centre was concerned with visiting school and community groups, 'raising teacher awareness' about the education of girls and encouraging them to adopt non-sexist teaching practices and to employ non-sexist curriculum materials. Promoting the work of the Equal Opportunity Staff, Deborah Towns advised teachers that we 'can also provide practical strategies for eliminating sexist assumptions, developing non-sexist curricula, developing women's studies and non-traditional vocational orientation' (Towns and Sutherland 1978, p.11). In addition to this advisory and consultative work, staff at the Unit and the Resource Centre – and other advocates of equal opportunity – worked with the bureaucracy of the Education department to ensure that equal opportunity was established as a serious and legitimate area for educational policy making (Fowler, 1975a, Fowler, 1975b, Towns and Sutherland 1978; Munro 1979).

The Victorian Department of Education released a policy on Equal Opportunity and Elimination of Sexism in July 1980 (Fanebust, 1982). Given the scope and concerns of the 1977 Victorian Report on Equal Opportunity, there were few surprises in this policy statement.[8] The problem and strategies for resolving equal opportunity and sexism were classified into seven main categories:

[6] Victorian Committee on Equal Opportunity in Schools, 1977, *Victorian committee on equal opportunity in schools: report to the Premier*. Melbourne, respectively Appendix I and II.
[7] *Ibid,* pp.1-6, pp.7-25.
[8] Education Department of Victoria, 1980, *Equal opportunity and the elimination of sexism, a policy statement of the Education Department of Victoria*. Melbourne.

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Curriculum Materials and Curriculum Development; Career Education/Counselling; Administration of Education; Co-education; Health and Human Relations; Teacher Education; and Work Experience. The overall themes were the removal of sexism from every aspect of teaching and schooling practice, special interventions into the key curriculum areas of Careers Education and Health and Human Relations and programs to raise teachers' awareness of the effects of their 'sex-role expectations on the performance of female pupils'.

In this brief and partial example, I have drawn on department of education policies and memoranda, the activities of administrative units dedicated to promoting equal opportunity and anti-sexism, advice literature for teachers, such as the development of elaborate checklists and teaching strategies designed to improve teaching and help teachers expose and eliminate sexism in their day-to day classroom conduct and in the hidden and overt attitudes of their pupils. I suggest that feminism in education understood and represented itself as liberatory— setting people free— and that it also had disciplining effects on the conduct of teachers and pupils. That is, feminism was, in the Foucauldian sense (Author a, Popkewitz 1998), a governmental project, concerned with managing and regulating the conduct of individuals even as it invoked the language of liberation and gender freedom. In the case of feminism in education, this is evident in specifying and monitoring the correct non-sexist conduct for teachers and students, and in a concern with redefining sex roles and gender identity. Feminist education instituted new norms for the ideal non-sexist teacher and developed pedagogies that privileged the remaking of the self, encouraging teachers to constantly monitor and evaluate their professional and ethical conduct in line with feminist ambitions. This is not to suggest that feminism was completely entrenched or that all teachers were non-sexist. However my aim has been to show some of the complicated and messy administrative history of feminism in education, how it was bureaucratically embedded, had a wide vision of sexism beyond the school walls and was not only focussed on issues of individual identity, or of setting people free from rigid sex roles. Feminism too had its own 'technologies of the self' (Foucault 1989), its preferred techniques ways of being, and normative forms of self-regulation governed though administrative spaces dedicated to improving and scrutinising teachers' and pupils' conduct.

Concluding comments; add comments on the overview of articles

This essay opened with reflections on the aims and scope of *JEAH* under the editorship of Tanya Fitzgerald and Helen Gunter, drawing out the strong feminist orientation in their editorial philosophy and reflected in the range of articles commissioned and published under their editorial eye. They have actively promoted and made possible a critical and expensive conception of the kind of work that can be done under the sign of educational administration. In particular the journal has showcased the breadth and complexity of scholarship, policy reform and educational work that has taken place either because of or under the influence of feminism. This view on to the field of educational administration prompted to me to revisit some of my earlier work on feminism and schooling, looking at it in light of how feminist perspectives both challenged and changed the

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organisation, administration and work of schooling. I considered this in light of current received stories about the recent history of (second-wave onwards) feminism in general and feminism and education in particular. On the one hand, there has been a striking forgetting of the scope of feminist agendas – epistemologically, pedagogically and ethically – and on the other an oscillating soft nostalgia for a lost utopianism and attachment to the injuries of lost causes. The historical narrative of feminism in education seems stuck on a rewind of narratives gains and losses, of progress and backlash. I have been tried to unsettle these sedimenting narratives in order to open up possibilities for different story lines about how feminism might be remembered and how it might be a site for action in the present. To do this here I have looked at 'revisiting' debates in gender history and feminist discussions of memory and narrative grammar.

In parallel with this, I have argued that it is crucial to address some of the ordinary and administrative ways in which feminism was put to work and to examine how feminism itself was a scene for the administration of teachers' and pupils' conduct. Looked at from this angle is also helpful for opening up other ways of understanding feminist struggles over identity, as also called for by Joan Scott (2011). In the case of education, this involves exploring how feminism was at one time instituted into the administration of schooling and itself part of the project of administrating a particular type of gender identity. This might allow for a more multi-dimensional account of feminism, not simply as a rise and fall movement, nor a progress narrative from naive to sophisticated, but as a messy combination of practical and technical strategies, aspirational politics and normative positions contesting power and the common-senses of everyday action. I have suggested that discounting the paradoxes of feminism has repercussions not only for the quality and complexity of the history we tell and remember but also for the ways in which we might work with and from these histories to chart the present and anticipate action towards the future.

I conclude this essay with a replayed observation from Clare Hemmings (2011). Reflecting on the history of feminist politics, she argues 'that the twinned effects of keen loss and muted hope that underwrite this history are set on textual replay, lest other perceptions of the past and present suggest a different future' (Hemmings 2011, p.192). It is precisely trying to work out a different way of telling those stories, and to imagine and work towards feminist futures in education which is the problem I have raised here. This in turn seeks to open up directions for exploring feminism - and other radial reform movements – as paradoxically embedded in the history of educational administration and in tandem to give more sustained attention to the movements and effects of policy memory and forgetting.

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Summary of changes in response to reviewers' comments
Key points and recommendations from each reviewer

I have uploaded a 'clean copy' of the revised paper, plus a 'track change' version which shows the main changes undertaken (except for references which involved a comprehensive re-do).

Referee: 1

Make sure the reader understands links between the journal that you refer to and the key focus of the paper. For example, the first paragraph of the article is unnecessary. The key point appears in the final sentence, and it needs to be explained and expanded upon.

Response:

I have rewritten the introductory paragraphs and omitted parts as suggested. I have tried to spell out the overall argument and aims more explicitly and succinctly. I have added in substantially new discussion/review of relevant articles in the journal with a view to situating the discussion more closely to the themes raised in the journal during the editors' tenure, see track changes on pp.1-4

Define terms rather than assuming readers understand. For example, what do you mean by 'feminism' in your paper, and more specifically, what is meant by 'the administration of feminism'? This would seem to be key to your discussion, but it isn't clarified.

Response

See above. I have rewritten the opening paragraphs and included a definition of what I mean by the administration of feminism, in the beginning and throughout

The second paragraph is also peripheral to your discussion and again the main point only appears in the final sentence. More discussion about the context might be of interest to an international audience.

Response

I have completely replaced the second paragraph and in the opening pages tried to more explictly link the argument I am king to the concerns and challenges raised by the journal. I am conscious of the issue of context and can see that more could be written about the specific Australian context; yet I am conscious of word limits. I hope that by focussing the discussion more sharply that the key points emerge more clearly.

You make some reference to Foucault but I'm not sure it adds a lot to your discussion. I think it would be helpful to explain what you mean by 'the government of freedom and possibility and of regulation and normalisation', rather than assume readers' knowledge of Foucault. Alternatively omit reference to Foucault and write the discussion in simpler terms.

Response

I have defined the key Foucauldian terms early on in the article and tried to explain by example than by assertion. In doing so, I have tired to simplify the language. I find it useful to retain the reference to Foucault but hope that my deployment of the key concept of governmentality is now clearer and more purposeful.

There are some interesting discussions of various issues within the piece but it lacks an overall narrative. What is your key message? A re-write with this in mind might produce a more coherent paper.

Response

As above, I have been more consistent in articulating the core argument/narrative and have included more links between sections and sign posting.

In terms of form, at times the language is a little jargon heavy. Use simpler language where possible and cut long, multi-clause sentences down into 2 or 3 sentences. You could make much better use of sub-headings to signpost the argument - at moment the subheadings do little to structure the piece.

I have closely reviewed the language and made editorial cuts and fine tuned/simplified the language. I

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fully agree that some of the sentences were rambling and there was too much wordiness without saying much! I have not added to the section headings, hoping that the additional sign posting in the text is sufficient. I am happy to be guided on this.

Referee: 2

I would have liked more focus on feminism in JEAH during the editors[1] tenure as per the remit, stated as the invitation from the current editors of the Journal of Educational Administration and History to reflect on future directions of this research field, in light of the work of the journal[1]. Of course there is reference to editorial material and to the SI edited by Stephanie Spencer. But there has been more than this including work in that SI, for example, on Black women[1]s leadership, for example, that could prompt reflections on the future of the field. I expected to see clearer links between this article and the variety of voices the editors have amplified during their tenure and where they might lead.

Response

I completely agree with this assessment and recommendation. I have added much more on this matter and systematically identified relevant articles published in the journal during the editors' tenure. I have, I hope, more clearly articulated how my discussion builds on themes addressed in the journal and in the course of the discussion piints to some fruitful directions for the field

There are a number of technical issues that need addressing as follows: typos throughout such as though/through p11 l45; misuse of homophones; there/their p1 l53; missed or repeated words (see p4 for two occurrences); unfinished sentence p4 l16; and misuse of punctuation ;/: p6 l25.

The referencing is currently a mixture of Chicago and Harvard so needs sorting out (I have just realised the text contains apologies for this). There are missed page numbers for quotations and a particularly long quotation on p7-8 that probably needs permission to be reprinted. There are works cited that are not listed such as: Brown 1995, 2005, Roper 2010, Morgan 2009, Bennett 2008, Burton 1992, Haraway ?, Hendry 2011, Lingard and Douglas 1999, Epstein et al 1998, Collins et al 2001, Lindsay Thompson ?. There is a citation for Scott (2012) and (2011) but only one work is listed. Sobe (2012) is cited twice in the same point in the text. Francis is misspelled as Frances. There needs to be an editorial decision about the listing of policy documents in the list of references at the end or in footnotes.

Response

The references have all been updated in line with the journal guidelines and missing references added. The text has been proved and irritating typoes removed….

I have sorted out the references in footnotes (more archival), with the bulk of references now in text format and in the standard reference list. I have integrated policy documents into the reference list, but will take editorial guidance on this

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