The Deep Roots of Inequity: Coloniality, Racial Capitalism, Educational Leadership, and Reform

James Wright[1]

Abstract

Purpose: This article is a critical analysis of educational leadership and administration's historically privileged Eurocentric epistemologies, research methodologies, and intellectual norms, shaping the field through conceptions of *coloniality*. The purpose of this article is toward decolonizing educational leadership. **Problem:** Dominant, Eurocentric knowledge systems are epistemically imposing. Racialized and ethnic critiques of Eurocentric epistemologies and educational leadership norms are relatively new in dominant knowledge production institutions such as University Council of Educational Administration and peer-review journals such as *Education Administration Quarterly*. **Questions:** Why are BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and People of Color) epistemologies a critical issue in educational leadership, research, practice, and leadership preparation? In what ways have educational leadership research, practice, and training represented BIPOC epistemologies? **Conceptual Framework:** This article refines and advances theories of coloniality by a concept that I coined Coloniality Racial-Capitalism and Modernity. Coloniality, the darker side of modernity, is highlighted in educational leadership practices and *reform* for perpetuating epistemicide in the service of *racial capitalism*. **Contributions to the Field:** This article reconnects the struggles of Blackamericans to a global

[1]San Diego State University, San Diego, CA, USA

Corresponding Author:
James Wright, College of Education, Department of Educational Leadership, San Diego State University, 5500 Campanile Drive, San Diego, CA 92182-1154, USA.
Email: jwright6@sdsu.edu

struggle, such as the progenitors in the Blackamerican struggle understood. Furthermore, placing coloniality in conversation with other critical work in educational leadership around coloniality's articulations of racism and inequity is useful for BIPOC and their *allies* in fights for educational justice for BIPOC children.

Educational leadership, specifically but not limited to principal leadership, plays the broadest and most fundamental role in a school's success, including school improvement and student achievement. Furthermore, research has demonstrated that school leadership is most impactful in instances where needs are most acute (Gates et al., 2019; Leithwood et al., 2004; Wang et al., 2018; Young et al., 2017). Scholars and researchers have noted that educational leadership affects every aspect of school and is second only to teaching as the most significant factor in student learning (Leithwood et al., 2004; Young et al., 2017). The most recent federal legislation on school reform, the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) 2015, elevated educational leadership's significance in achieving federal educational goals (Gates et al., 2019; Wang et al., 2018). ESSA 2015 is a reauthorization of Elementary Secondary Education Act (ESEA) 1965, which was the largest educational legislation in U.S. history (Stein, 2004). Given the importance of leadership in education and its newfound role in the federal government (ESSA 2015)—due in part to a rapidly diversifying student population, as well as rapid regression of minoritized student performance and engagement—in this article, I take an alternative epistemological standpoint to assess educational leadership and its new reform agenda in light of an underrepresented historiography (Dillard, 1995; Lomotey, 1995; Méndez-Morse, 2004; Murtadha & Watts, 2005; Tate, 1995).

In this article, I use the term "BIPOC" to identify Black, Indigenous, and People of Color to convey instances of shared histories, experiences, and grievances against White supremacy, as cited historically and in educational research. Although much overlap exists among BIPOC, I neither conflate nor essentialize their unique histories and educational experiences. I use the term in general when there are shared experiences amongst BIPOC. However, settler colonialism, anti-Blackness, racism, nativism, English

language proficiency, and immigration status vary and are not always mutually applicable among BIPOC group members. When I am referring to experiences specific to Black people in the United States, for example, I specify Blackamericans and not BIPOC. Also, I refer to Black people from the United States as Blackamericans, as Lincoln (1967) discussed as a protest-group. Jackson (2005) advanced Lincoln's protest-group discourse in regards to the term African American, noting that "the force of American history has essentially transformed these erstwhile Africans into a new people" (p. 17), while wholly realizing and celebrating their African origin.

Goals and Purpose of this Article

My goal is to introduce and define coloniality and connect its concepts to the historiography of critiques in the field of educational administration and leadership toward heightening awareness for decolonizing the field. The purpose of this article is to critically analyze historically privileged Eurocentric epistemologies, research methodologies, and intellectual norms, which have shaped the field of educational leadership and administration through conceptions of coloniality. Understanding coloniality matters as we contextualize why and how Eurocentric norms and values dominate the field of educational administration and leadership. Racialized and ethnic critiques of Eurocentric epistemologies and norms in educational leadership are relatively new in dominant knowledge production institutions, such as the University Council of Educational Administration (UCEA) and peer-reviewed journals, such as *Education Administration Quarterly (*EAQ). Despite an official recognition and call for action on the need to expand the knowledge base in the field as far back as 1979 (Campbell, 1979, 1981), critiques of the field and divergent epistemological approaches from BIPOC—specifically Blackamericans—that began in 1994 (Dillard, 1995; Lomotey, 1995; Tate, 1995) had stalled and then resumed around 2003 (Capper, 2015; López, 2003). As opposed to focusing on how knowledge production institutions have misrepresented and ignored BIPOC epistemologies, this article engages with BIPOC epistemologies' significance as central to the canon of educational leadership, namely research, practice, and leadership preparation. In turn, I juxtapose two complementary historical themes, which have contributed to the marginalization of the significance of BIPOC epistemologies: (a) in the literature review, I historicize the genealogy of critiques in educational leadership and administration; and (b) I examine the historicity of two critical components of coloniality: White supremacy and epistemicide.

Racialized Constructs, Black Protest, and Unintended Consequences

In this brief literature review, I identify trends in educational leadership critiques in order to clarify coloniality's historicity in educational leadership. This article is framed by a concept that I call Coloniality Racial-Capitalism and Modernity (CRCM). Coloniality's genealogy is deeply rooted in Robinson's (2000) Racial Capitalism treatise from his broader Black Radical Tradition thesis (Grosfoguel, 2018; Kelley, 2017). Racial capitalism identifies the historical fusion of domination based on racial and economic injustice (Kelley, 2017; Marable, 2015; Robinson, 2000; Rodney, 1981). Coloniality is the representation of White supremacy, which includes hierarchal and hegemonic systems of knowledge and culture inherent to modern educational systems, organizations, and institutions. Coloniality is the unarticulated, darker side of modernity and is central to educational leadership practices and reform that perpetuate epistemicide in the service of racial capitalism (de Sousa Santos, 2014; Mignolo, 2011; Robinson, 2000). According to de Sousa Santos (2014), epistemicide is the death of knowledge through unequal exchanges and imposition of culture, which causes the destruction and loss of social practices and norms. Coloniality is the legacy of colonization's violence; including continuously ignoring and marginalizing BIPOC epistemologies and lived experiences (Battiste, 2013; Khalifa et al., 2018; Mackey, 2017; Patel, 2015). Thus, problematizing the legacy of Eurocentric epistemologies begins with the pivotal U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education Topeka* (1954), which launched the most significant educational reforms in U.S. history (ESEA 1965). *Brown v. Board of Education* is pivotal toward understanding the roots of historical inequities in the U.S. educational system and its reform efforts (Irons, 2004; Kluger, 2004; López & Burciaga, 2014; Martin, 1998; Stein, 2004). For the first six decades post-*Brown*, Eurocentric epistemologies and norms dominated all school leadership aspects, leading to mostly regressive experiences for generations of Black and other BIPOC children.

Coloniality: White Supremacy and Epistemicide

Resistance to and struggle against White supremacy and epistemicide exemplify the Blackamerican experience, before and after *Brown*. Eurocentric systems and the people operating and reinventing these systems fought and still fight valiantly to keep BIPOC epistemologies on the margins and ignored as Eurocentric epistemologies continue to dominate all aspects of school

leadership (Battiste, 2013; Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Khalifa et al., 2018; Mackey, 2017; Patel, 2015). White supremacy and epistemicide are central to coloniality, thus identifying, naming, and critiquing these constructs are paramount. Brooks (2020) defines White supremacy broadly as "the entire system of legal, social, cultural, and economic advantage that has benefitted white lives at the expense of black and brown ones" (pp. 2–3). Horne (2018) explains that the enslavement of Africans was essential to the rise of capitalism and that the escalation of the so-called Slave Trade coincided with the construction of a new racial identity, Whiteness, and its subsequent ideology, White supremacy. Furthermore, he acknowledges many reasons why the United States supplanted Great Britain as the reigning global superpower. However, Horne (2018) derided any explanation that elided White supremacy— "slavery, colonialism, and the shards of an emerging capitalism . . . [as] deficient in explanatory power" (p. 7). Among the manifestations of these shards are the Trail of Tears, the genocidal removal of the Cherokee in the 1830s, "whereby Indians from the South East were displaced west of the Mississippi to make way for the development of the slave-plantation economy in the Deep South" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 391). In the United States, modernity is the manifestation of Westernized capitalism's outgrowth from the interconnectedness between settler colonialism and enslavement (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Horne, 2018; Marable, 2015; Wolfe, 2006). Wolfe (2006) proclaims that "settler colonialism was foundational to modernity" (p. 394). Horne (2018) decries that the euphemism known as modernity is stained indelibly with what he terms "the Three Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Slavery, White Supremacy, and Capitalism" (p. 9).

Blackamerican epistemologies and various other critical perspectives remain connected to the Black Radical Tradition, which birthed the U.S. Civil Rights Movement (Grosfoguel, 2018; Kelley, 2017; Robinson, 2000). Despite all of the promise of the Civil Rights Movement, though, Blackamericans suffered devastating unintended consequences. For example, one of the clearest examples of White supremacy and epistemicide influencing Black education is evident in how *Brown v. Board of Education* dismantled a 100-year-old Black institution led by caring and understanding Black women and men educating Black children. Ture and Hamilton (2011) explicitly identify the enactment of White supremacy in education through White school boards controlling Black community schools and "the absence of meaningful curriculum" that deliberately ignore "the historical achievements of black people" (pp. 9–10). In the following sections, I expound on this *Brown v. Board of Education* perspective with examples of White supremacy and epistemicide in education.

White Supremacy: BIPOC and Historical Inequities in U.S. Education

In 1954, *Brown v. Board of Education* sought to remedy 400 years of systemic/legalized terror enacted against Blackamericans. Rather, a 10-year standoff ensued as White elected officials and educational leaders throughout the United States resisted Brown's enactment (Anderson, 2016; Bell, 2005; Kendi, 2017; Stein, 2004). This standoff ended under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the ESEA of 1965. However, additional rancor ensued as White elected officials resisted the Civil Rights Act of 1964, evidenced by a 57-day filibuster, the longest in the history of the U.S. Senate (Kendi, 2017). ESEA launched Title I, which made billions of dollars in federal funds available to public schools on the condition that they integrate their schools.

Notwithstanding, with billions of Title I funds readily available, many of the most staunchly resistant White legislators and school leaders welcomed integration. However, many White parents and community members vehemently disagreed with and fought against the position on integration taken up by their elected officials and school leaders, even as the U.S. National Guard ushered Black children into formerly all-White schools (Bell, 2005; Zirkel & Cantor, 2004). This educational policy history is vital because the current educational policy elevating educational leadership ESSA 2015 is a reauthorization of ESEA 1965, which influences the research and practices of institutions such as UCEA and *EAQ*.

The White Head Start: Equity and Achievement Gaps

> Thus, as much as the Civil Rights Act served to erect a dam against Jim Crow policies, it also opened the floodgates for new racist ideas to pour in, including the most racist idea to date: it was an idea that ignored the white head start, presumed that discrimination had been eliminated, presumed that equal opportunity had taken over, and figured that since Blacks were still losing the race, the racial disparities and their continued losses must be their fault. (Kendi, 2017, p. 385)

Researchers demonstrate that much of the inequities and achievement disparities faced by BIPOC students evolve around gaps in providing equity in opportunities for teachers, administrators, and curriculum aligned with BIPOC and their epistemologies, which are rooted in BIPOC cultural and lived experiences (Bass, 2019; Galloway & Ishimaru, 2015; Green, 2017; Irby, 2018; Khalifa, 2018; Rivera-McCutchen, 2021; Rodela & Rodriguez-Mojica, 2019; Sampson, 2018; Wright & Kim, 2020). Scholars have highlighted the resilience and perseverance of Black school leaders during the era

of segregated schools, especially Black principals who created caring environments where children thrived (Anderson, 1988; Bass, 2019; Walker, 1996, 2009). Pre-*Brown*, both Black women and men principals were equally "committed to the education of Black children, worked with other Black leaders to establish schools for these children, and worked in all-Black schools, usually in substandard conditions" (Tillman, 2004, p. 101). This duly underdeveloped literature becomes even more glaring for several reasons: (a) the crucial role of Black male principals pre-*Brown*; (b) the stark fact that there are fewer Black male principals post-*Brown*; and (c) the prevalence of deficit frames about Black men and boys depicted in society (Bass, 2019; Curry, 2017; Smith et al., 2007; Tillman, 2004; Walker, 1996).

Historicizing Epistemicide in Education

In the United States, we must contextualize epistemicide in education in part from the perspectives of Blackamericans, whose ancestors endured several 100 years of enslavement/terror immediately followed by more than 100 years of systemic and discriminatory laws and practices (e.g., Reconstruction, The Black Codes, and Jim Crow from 1865 to 1965; Horsford, 2016; López & Burciaga, 2014; Morel, 2018). Similarly, epistemicide has forced Latinx community members to struggle to overcome decades of policies rooted in deficit thinking, systemic and institutionalized practices, and language and raciolinguistic ideologies (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Santiago, 2013; Stein et al., 2018; Valencia, 2002, 2010). Furthermore, since the first days of colonization by European settlers, Native American/Indigenous community members have faced historical tensions against the colonial and eventual U.S. federal government around control over Native students' education and the preservation of Native cultures and languages (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Mackey, 2017).

CRCM contextualizes the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s as BIPOC resistance to White supremacy and epistemicide in the United States and its institutions. It is important to note the coalition behind UCEA—in 1954, a collective of fifteen universities convened at Columbia University to plan how to advance the profession of education administration. In 1965, UCEA established *EAQ* to publish research on the advancement of the field. The period between the 1950s and the mid-1960s coincides with global revolutions—led by various BIPOC communities worldwide—to uproot colonization, White supremacy, and epistemicide (Roberts & Foulcher, 2016; Wright, 2008). Furthermore, pivotal educational legislation passed during these years, including *Brown* in 1954 and ESEA and Title I in 1964. Nonetheless, it took four decades for UCEA and three decades for *EAQ*, respectively, for these

organizations to consider BIPOC epistemologies and perspectives as part of their knowledge production.

Despite the monumental efforts of reform and systemic change, the educational outcomes of BIPOC students in the United States continue to worsen, while contentious parental and community relationships exacerbate (Ishimaru, 2013; Khalifa, 2018; Mackey, 2017; Morel, 2018; Trujillo et al., 2014; Wright et al., 2018; Wright & Kim, 2020).

Linking to Educational Administration: A Critique of EAQ

Authoritative educational administration scholars have offered critiques aligned with coloniality, albeit not articulated and likely not intended. In 1979, the editor of *EAQ*, the field's most prominent journal, asked Roald F. Campbell, Educational Administration Professor at Ohio State University, to analyze the journal's publications and the field of educational leadership at large. Campbell (1979) launched a systematic critique of *EAQ* publications from 1965 to 1979, which led to his assessment that privileged methods, narrow and constraining theories, and systems of analysis guided the field (Campbell, 1979, 1981). Furthermore, Campbell (1981) concluded that *EAQ*, and the field at large, had work to do in several areas, including "extending knowledge and improving practice" (p. 7).

In 2007, with Campbell's (1979, 1981) critique of the journal and the field in mind, *EAQ* published a special issue reflecting upon Campbell's findings from nearly 30 years prior. In the *Editor's Commentary* of the special issue, authors offer "postmodern critiques" of the Eurocentric and narrow traditions that had shaped the field (Pounder & Johnson, 2007). The special issue authors analyzed Campbell's critique from various perspectives and found some improvements, but once again concluded that work remained toward undoing the field's narrow constructs and extending its knowledge base (Haas et al., 2007; Murphy et al., 2007; Pounder & Johnson, 2007).

Highlights from the special issue. The special issue authors investigated 570 *EAQ* publications from 1979 to 2007 and questioned the rigid and uncritical adherence to established theoretical and methodological norms. They found notable but sporadic improvements and argued that school leadership's positivist epistemological foundations created tensions that inhibited new research approaches (Haas et al., 2007; Murphy et al., 2007; Pounder & Johnson, 2007). Positivism/postpositivism are epistemological standpoints, respectively linked to early racist biological assumptions and later explicitly connecting knowledge to politics in education (Donmoyer, 1991; Fendler & Muzaffar, 2008; Scheurich & Young, 1997). These applications

in educational research established a precedent for various levels of inequity, racism, and political corruption that permeate school systems today (Donmoyer, 1991). Although analysis by Campbell (1979, 1981) and the *EAQ* special issue in 2007 resonates and aligns with my arguments and the questions raised in this article, I am not suggesting that they had BIPOC scholars and communities in mind. These scholars' analysis implies BIPOC epistemologies and perspectives, though not explicitly mentioned.

Expanding the scope of educational administration: BIPOC epistemologies. Nonetheless, before the 2007 *EAQ* special issue, BIPOC scholars had already begun critiquing, analyzing, and making recommendations to the field (Brown, 2005; Dantley, 2005; Dillard, 1995; Lomotey, 1995; López, 2003; Murtadha & Watts, 2005; Tate, 1995; Tillman, 2005). Critical Race Theory (CRT) resonated loudest and left the most lasting impression on the field. CRT is a theory of race sprung from the Black Radical Tradition and two of its intellectual giants from the 1930s—Carter G. Woodson and his critical exposition of the educational system that he dubbed "miseducation" for Blackamericans, and W.E.B. Du Bois, Pan-Africanist, activist and the author of *The Philadelphia Negro* in 1899, the first such social-science study ever published in the United States, which laid the groundwork for the discipline of sociology in the United States (Dumas & Ross, 2016; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Morris, 2015).

CRT first emerged in legal scholarship in the 1970s as a critical counter to the positivist and liberal legal discourses framing civil rights and White critical scholars who argued that class was much more important than race (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). By 1995, tenets of CRT found their way into education (Capper, 2015; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; López, 2003). Dumas and Ross (2016) argue that CRT is a theory of race/racism, "based on analysis of the curious administration of laws and policies intended to subjugate Black people in the United States" (p. 416). CRT, as well as some of its offshoots such as LatCrit and TribalCrit, remain unparalleled in their ability to critique White supremacy and the limits of the liberal multicultural apparatus guiding educational policy, practice, and research (Dumas & Ross, 2016). CRT functions as a critique of racism and anti-Blackness in education policy, administration, and practice. However, CRT neither historicizes nor identifies Blackness in a world and in an era replete with anti-Blackness (Dumas & Ross, 2016).

Nonetheless, by 1995, the paradigm shift had already gained momentum. In 1994, 1 year before the entry of CRT in education, The UCEA compiled a knowledge base in education led by Kofi Lomotey, a self-described African-centered educational leadership scholar and educator. UCEA's goal was to

determine educational leadership's role in the social and cultural influences of schooling (Lomotey, 1995; Merchant, 1995). The authors concluded that undemocratic forms of exclusion and disenfranchisement permeated the knowledge base of educational administration and leadership. Leadership and teacher training programs needed to become better equipped to deal with a rapidly diversifying student population (Lomotey, 1995). However, between 1995 and the pivotal year of 2003, only four BIPOC-centered studies were published in *EAQ*, including three in 1995. Lomotey's (1995) overview of findings from the UCEA knowledge base project complemented the work of Tate (1995), who used CRT to call attention to inequity and the appropriateness of high-stakes, standardized assessments in mathematics. Additionally, Dillard (1995) used a Black feminist lens to renegotiate "historically grounded" (p. 540) and scientific school leadership tools in light of a diversifying student population. There is a troubling gap in publications in *EAQ* from 1995 until Ortiz's (2001) use of social capital theory to contextualize the experiences of three Latina superintendents.

The CRT push. CRT's reemergence into the field of educational leadership in 2003 proved to be a significant entry point for BIPOC epistemologies to enter the field (Capper, 2015; López, 2003). Although Tate (1995) first published in *EAQ* using CRT to analyze inequities in high-stakes assessments, López's (2003) study was significant and the first to "explicitly identify the implications of CRT for leadership practice" (Capper, 2015, p. 791). CRT's reemergence in educational leadership helped advance more critical, racialized, gendered, cultural, and other ethnic and identity-based analyses soon gain momentum (Alston, 2005; Brown, 2005; Dantley, 2005; Khalifa et al., 2018; Mackey, 2017; Murtadha & Watts, 2005; Santamaría, 2014; Smith et al., 2007; Tillman, 2005). In 2007, *EAQ* published a three-article special issue using CRT frameworks and tenets to analyze a 2007 school desegregation case, diversity discourses in educational policy, and misandry tropes of Black males on college campuses (Iverson, 2007; Parker & Villalpando, 2007; Smith et al., 2007).

A paradigm shift. Thus, BIPOC and some of their allies shifted the paradigm, indicative of ethnic and cultural studies, Black feminist, critical race theories and methodologies, and other identity and social movement-based analyses throughout the most prominent journals and across the field (Capper, 2015; Cooper, 2009; Foster & Tillman, 2009; Khalifa et al., 2018; Mensah, 2019; Milner, 2007; Payne & Smith, 2018; Tillman, 2002, 2004; Tillman & Scheurich, 2013). My goal is to highlight and introduce a genealogy of critiques within the journal *Educational Administration Quarterly* (*EAQ*) and
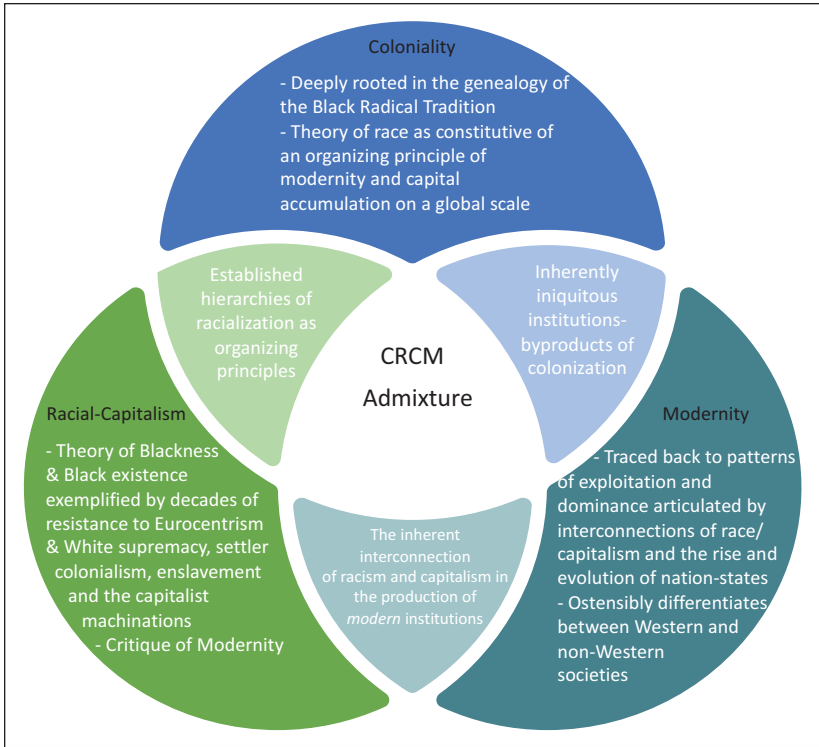
Figure 1. Coloniality racial-capitalism and modernity (CRCM).

the field in general, as well as make a case for coloniality not to replace, but to contribute to the shifting paradigm and toward decolonizing the field and practice. Having defined coloniality in the introduction, this brief litera-ture review synthesized examples grounded in educational leadership theory, research, and practice in order to provide historicity of White supremacy and epistemicide, and establish coloniality's relationship to White supremacy and epistemicide.

Coloniality Racial-Capitalism and Modernity

The purpose of this section is to expand and refine concepts of coloniality with a new conceptualization, coined CRCM (see Figure 1). Thus, I further unpack coloniality and unearth its deeply rooted genealogy in the Black Radical Tradition (Grosfoguel, 2018; Robinson, 2000). Latin American

philosopher Quijano (2000) popularized the term "coloniality" in 1999,[1] and today it is used throughout the Caribbean, Latin America, Canada, the United States, Southern Europe, South Africa, and beyond. There are three forms of coloniality: coloniality of power, coloniality of knowledge, and coloniality of nature (Figueroa Helland & Lindgren, 2016). While coloniality of nature is outside of the scope of this article, I discuss aspects of coloniality of knowledge and power, and highlight their relationship to educational leadership and administration. Critical concepts of coloniality of knowledge and power are curated by Cedric Robinson's concept Racial Capitalism, part of a long Black Radical Tradition and a critique of Modernity (Grosfoguel, 2018; Kelley, 2017; Robinson, 2000). Modernity is traced back to patterns of exploitation and dominance articulated by interconnections of race/capitalism and the rise and evolution of nation-states (Grosfoguel, 2018). Modernity ostensibly differentiates between Western and non-Western societies and cultures based on ideas that Europe's theoretical and cultural achievements are necessary for people and societies to progress and exemplified by technological advancements and developments (Maldonado-Torres, 2004). The other side of modernity and its technological revolution is a history of violence and domination generated by an exploitative admixture of race/capitalism (Grosfoguel, 2018; Marable, 2015; Rodney, 1981). What Robinson called Racial Capitalism in *Black Marxism* speaks to a theory of Blackness and Black existence exemplified by decades of resistance to Eurocentrism and White supremacy, settler colonialism, enslavement, and the capitalist machinations that triggered their development and expansion throughout the Americas, the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia (Grosfoguel, 2018; Kelley, 2017; Marable, 2015; Roberts & Foulcher, 2016; Robinson, 2000; Rodney, 1981; Wright, 2008).

Modernity/Coloniality: A Black Radical Entanglement

The collective struggle against Eurocentrism and White supremacy, culminates with Robinson's meticulous and exhaustive genealogical evaluation of the Black Radical Tradition informing the Black radical movement of the 1960s as resistance to coloniality. Grosfoguel (2018) emphasized that "Cedric J. Robinson formulated the idea of 'coloniality' without using the term since the early 1980s under the concept of 'racial capitalism'" (p. 14). Robinson (2000) argued that with "each historical moment, however, the rationale and cultural mechanisms of domination became more transparent. Race was its epistemology, its ordering principle, its organizing structure, its moral authority, its economy of justice, commerce, and power" (xxxi). Capitalism and racism merged and produced a modern world system based upon genocide,

enslavement, and various other forms of violence (Kelley, 2017; Marable, 2015; Robinson, 2000; Rodney, 1981). Racial capitalism recognizes capitalism as exaggerating differences particularly along racial lines.

The Black Radical Tradition and their movements throughout the 1960s mobilized, in varying degrees, resistance to White supremacy and epistemicide. This diverse collective of Black radicals comprised a prominent group of Blackamericans (including Civil Rights Movement activists) and Black-Caribbean intellectuals and freedom fighters, among others, who informed and inspired generations seeking liberation across the diaspora—Africa, the Americas, and the Caribbean (Grosfoguel, 2018; Robinson, 2000). Robinson (2000) identified their predecessors, the architects of the Black Radical Tradition, as "Africans by origins, predominantly recruited from the same cultural matrices, subjected to similar and interrelated systems of servitude and oppression, and mobilized by identical impulses to recover their dignity" (xxxi). Synthesizing this scholarship and placing it in conversation with other critical work in educational leadership around racism and inequity is useful for BIPOC and their allies as we fight for educational liberation for BIPOC children.

The Archetype of Coloniality

Given this history, in this article I situate coloniality in the earliest Black scholarship from many Black scholars that used their writings to critique the racialized forms of capitalism that deeply oppress Black people and various other BIPOC worldwide. Through their work and efforts, these Black people gave birth to much of the contemporary thoughts motivating Black scholars and various others seeking to define Blackness and reclaim their dignity, all while resisting White supremacy (Kelley, 2017). These early scholars are the predecessors to the Black Radical Tradition of the 1960s including, among others: Frederick Douglass (the 1850s to the 1860s) abolitionist; Ana Cooper (the 1920s to the 1930s) sociologist and educator, among the earliest contributors to Black studies and Black women studies; Ida B. Wells (1920s) co-founder of the NAACP, researcher, and antilynching activist (Hubbard, 2009; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008); Woodson (1933) and his critiques of the educational system in the United States; Du Bois (1935) and his global decolonial efforts, antilynching campaign, and his concept the "colored caste"; C.L.R. James (1938) and Richard Wright (2008), during his expatriate years (the 1940s and 1950s), and their respective anticolonialism and decolonization campaigns; Eric Williams's (1944/1994) groundbreaking *Capitalism and Slavery*, a historical account of how slavery financed the Industrial Revolution and laid the economic groundwork for Modernity; Oliver Cox's (1948/2018)

genealogical analysis of racism's interconnectedness to social and economic systems that breed inequality; and Frantz Fanon's (1952/2005) analysis of the hierarchical colonial-racialized system. Also, with exception of Douglas, pre-dating all of the aforementioned authors were the critical ideas of Marcus Garvey, even though critics often dismissed Garvey's Black Nationalist Movement in the 1920s, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Perhaps ahead of its time, the "Garvey movement" centered on group economics and a modified version of capitalism to mobilize and develop the Black diaspora (Robinson, 2000), which heavily influenced the Nation of Islam in the 1930s.

Additionally, space constraints do not allow me to fully outline Robinson's (2000) work initially published in 1983, which lays out in immense detail the fight against the establishment of White supremacy, from the very moment of European expansion and throughout their campaign of genocide and enslavement to modernity. The misappropriation of coloniality's genealogical origins in the Black Radical Tradition is part of a larger anti-Black ideological practice—a permanent and fundamental part of academia—as well as part of the psychological damage attributed to internalized forms of colonization and racism. What is most important here is the breadth of this conceptualization of coloniality, specifically its historical impact, and theoretical and practical capacity before and after Anibal Quijano coined the term in 1999.

Discussion and Conclusion

Coloniality has become an effective method throughout the global south but is seldom engaged with in the United States, specifically among Blackamericans. The Black radical tradition's progenitors were allies of oppressed people worldwide fighting and resisting fascism, oppression, colonization, and racism. As I discuss in this article, coloniality helps with this realignment. I am aligning the Blackamerican struggles in the United States to a global struggle premised on discourses and practices of decoloniality occurring in the global south. Understanding coloniality's relation to educational leadership and decolonizing the field should be among the highest concern for people situated across the global south.

Positionality Statement

I am the great-great-grandson of formerly enslaved Blacks in the United States. I am the grandson and son of former sharecroppers born during the Jim Crow Era in North Carolina. During my mother's elementary school-age years, my maternal family (mother and 12 siblings) migrated from the Jim

Crow South in the early 1960s to the Northeast, where my mother eventually met my father. Later, I would be born in the Northeast, raised in underrepresented and divested Black and Latinx communities, and educated in *failing* K-12 schools. As a child, it never dawned on me that my family was anything other than dignified people of integrity, despite their close and personal relationship to Jim Crow and enslavement; it never occurred to me and was never offered up as an excuse. As I came of age, moreover, I realized that basic history, public policies, societal norms, and school systems and practices helped shape how Blackamericans are perceived and helped shape our conditions in the United States. Notwithstanding, with all of my imperfections and shortcomings in tow, I would be remiss and in violation if I failed to acknowledge that I am the living testimony of my ancestors' prayers, hopes, and dreams. As such, it is incumbent on me to tell my truths, share my academic perspectives, concepts, and experiences, even the ones that may potentially ostracize me from my colleagues and stagnate my academic career.[2]

Coloniality: Contributing to a Shifting Paradigm

The conceptual framework of *CRCM* identifies coloniality as historically privileged Eurocentric epistemologies, research methodologies, and intellectual norms, shaping educational leadership and administration. This article introduces and defines coloniality and its concepts to the relatively short historiography of critiques in the field of educational administration and leadership. The advent of BIPOC epistemological-based research and practices into the field helped incite a paradigm shift, which CRCM contributes to and expands upon in dynamic and historical ways. CRCM reconnects racism and capitalism as an ideology identifiable by educational structures, institutions, and systems that purveyed oppression and injustice through various doctrines of White supremacy and practices of epistemicide, impaling BIPOC communities and children. CRCM helps contextualize why and how Eurocentric norms and values dominate the field of educational administration and leadership. Thus, identifying racial capitalism—the admix of racial and economic injustice—as fundamental to school leadership and norms can be a comprehensive analysis tool for future educational administration studies. Additionally, racial capitalism was central to the epistemologies fueling the Black radical tradition and contributed immensely to the various calls within our field to welcome critique and expand its knowledge base.

Coloniality—or in this instance, CRCM—contributes to and amplifies the various BIPOC critiques of the field by highlighting two essential themes across the diverse BIPOC communities: the effects of White supremacy, and epistemicide. White supremacy and epistemicide, although not always

explicitly named, constitute two pillars of BIPOC critiques in educational administration and leadership, much of which is found in CRT and its various offshoots, LatCrit and TribalCrit. Although CRT in education is firmly entrenched in the legal scholarship that launched it, CRCM contributes to connecting CRT to the Black radical tradition, specifically Carter G. Woodson's critique of the educational system in miseducating Blackamericans. CRCM offers historical theories of Blackness, Black-identity, anti-Blackness, and Black resistance that far exceed critiquing White supremacy and epistemicide as educational policy and practice. This contribution is significant because of the multitude of anti-Blackness that is on display among Indigenous and other People of Color and even within Blackness itself. Furthermore, CRCM resituates Black critique as part of a long durée, a Black radical tradition that began with the institution of settler colonialism, Al-Andalus, modern-day Spain, which predates settler colonialism of the Americas, and enslavement, the back-brace of modernity (Grosfoguel, 2013, 2018; Kelley, 2017; Roberts & Foulcher, 2016; Robinson, 2000; Wright, 2008).

CRCM and Historical Reinterpretations

CRCM renews and amplifies calls for a reinterpretation of the standoff between White elected officials and school leaders' protest of *Brown* (Bell, 2005; Kendi, 2017; Zirkel & Cantor, 2004). Given that the most recent federal government's stake in educational reform targets educational leadership as mentioned in ESSA (2015), a closer examination of this historical context is significant, as ESSA (2015) is a reauthorization of ESEA (1965; Gates et al., 2019; Leithwood et al., 2004; Wang et al., 2018; Young et al., 2017).

The Campbell (1979) critique of the field and the special issue follow-up of his critique is noteworthy, although BIPOC are not mentioned nor included in the special issue (Haas et al., 2007; Murphy et al., 2007; Pounder & Johnson, 2007). However, as allies in BIPOC struggles, White researchers can continue to help identify and amplify the ways in which the knowledge base and the positivist and postpositivist methodological approaches and practices driving the field are deleterious to the field's expansion. For BIPOC, however, particularly Blackamericans, the need for expansion is not the result of any new findings. This need for expansion is omnipresent and fundamental to Black and many other BIPOC members who find themselves in predominantly White and Eurocentric organizations, institutions, and fields. Consequently, CRCM allows us to recognize, identify, and reinterpret these unwelcoming spaces as undeniably racial capitalist institutions that founded the modern U.S. school system, which is in constant flux and need of reform.

CRCM Future Studies and Educational Leadership Practice

Future studies should implement CRCM tenets in a comparative critical discourse analysis of ESEA 1965 and ESSA 2015. By drawing upon CRCM, scholars can analyze the relationship of Title I funding and the "change of heart" among staunchly resistant elected officials and educators. Additionally, researchers can apply a framework of CRCM to assess school funding trends, spending strategies per district, and the ways in which funds are distributed and allocated. Given the federal government's latest engagement with reform (ESSA 2015), and the central role of leadership, future studies can employ a CRCM framework that shows the value of amplifying BIPOC epistemologies as central to all leadership in educating BIPOC children. Using this framework, future studies should encourage leadership preparation programs and graduate programs to center ethnic and culturally responsive studies— BIPOC stories and voices must shift from the margins of electives and into the core of educational leadership programs.

As a Matter of Practice: What Can Leaders Do?

Resistance to *decoloniality* is anticipated, and educational leaders are encouraged to not be discouraged. The resistance that is anticipated is indicative of the indifference to contemporary liberatory approaches to schools such as same-sex schools for Black boys in Los Angeles and Chicago, Afrocentric schools across the United States and Canada, Mexican American Studies in Tucson, and the success stories coming from these and countless other epistemologically diverse school leadership, pedagogy, and curriculum approaches. Educational leaders should embrace such approaches and work toward decolonizing school funding practices that personify the racial capitalism that consequently drives the racist/inequitable distribution of resources and funding. Decolonizing leadership and teaching credentialing systems and practices are paramount because presently constituted credentialing systems act as barriers to otherwise competent and caring BIPOC educators. The system that normalizes a predominantly White pool of educators is both ineffective and violent. In contrast, principal and teacher preparation programs must radically redress themselves by incorporating decolonial and CRSL methods in every subject across their programs' curriculum. Many ethnic studies and other epistemologically diverse scholars across the disciplines throughout the academy could and should be called on to contribute to principal and teacher preparation.

Educational leaders need to be less hierarchical and prioritize developing programs that bring in ethnic studies and epistemologically diverse educators and curriculums. Principals should not only operationalize practices and

pedagogies grounded in BIPOC epistemological and cultural frameworks but also empathize with BIPOC parents/communities, their identities, and experiences. School leaders can invest financially into hiring teachers who are not only racially and ethnically diverse but also epistemologically diverse and grounded in decolonial and culturally responsive practices. Leaders should make decolonial and culturally responsive practices part of their schools' mission and curriculum and a fiscal priority by supporting continual professional development and training. Furthermore, hiring BIPOC teachers who are pedagogically grounded in BIPOC epistemological and cultural frameworks that prioritize BIPOC identities can diffuse a long history of deficit models that have become violent educational norms.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

Funding

Notes

1. The development of CRCM began with a conversation between Dr. Ramon Grosfoguel and me on the origins of coloniality. Dr. Grosfoguel recommended that I read his article published in Spanish in *Tabula Rasa* in 2018 called, "*¿Negros marxistas o marxismos negros? una mirada descolonial*," translated as "*Black Marxists or Black Marxism: A Decolonial View*." Using the translation software DeepL, I translated the article into English. We resumed our conversation after reading the article, and Grosfoguel established his arguments that coloniality's most essential themes comprised the concepts in Robinson's (2000) text *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. Among these concepts was Cedric Robinson's racial capitalism, the argument that the modern world-system was built on and evolved from racism and capitalism—dependent on genocide, enslavement, dispossession, and imperialism. Racial capitalism culminated from those labeled part of the Black Radical Tradition—Black scholars and others who took up and expanded their work—resistant against various forms of White supremacy. Grosfoguel highlighted that the fundamental principles of coloniality, namely that *race is constitutive of an organizing principle of modernity and capital accumulation on a global scale*, was fundamental to the arguments put forth by Robinson's crystallization of the Black Radical Tradition thesis. Robinson's thesis began to emerge from 1973 to 1978, during his years as a SUNY Binghamton professor where Aníbal Quijano would later arrive as a visiting lecturer in the early 1980s. According to Grosfoguel, Quijano's earliest work reflected libertarian Marxist principles—wherein questions of race are not

central. However, during his tenure at Binghamton, Quijano's position changed as he became aware of the Black Radical Tradition's work and because many of Robinson's students and much of his thinking remained prevalent among Binghamton's faculty and students.

Furthermore, Immanuel Wallerstein was also a professor at Binghamton, whose tenure overlapped with Robinson and Quijano. Wallerstein was the founder of the Fernand Braudel Center at Binghamton from 1976 to 1991, an interdisciplinary, world-systems analysis center dedicated to studying economies, historical systems, and civilizations. According to Grosfoguel, Wallerstein acknowledged the Black Radical Traditions that influence in his work (e.g., Oliver Cox and Frantz Fanon), and although Quijano's work evolved after his years at Binghamton, he never acknowledged the impact of the Black Radical Tradition on the evolution of his work. Grosfoguel stated that at Binghamton, Quijano became aware of intellectuals and thinkers connected to and influenced by the Black Radical Tradition, Puerto Ricans, and other Caribbeans analyzing Puerto Rico's sociopolitical relationship with the United States during the so-called postcolonial period. Additionally, Grosfoguel admits that early in his career, he believed that coloniality was an original thesis belonging to Quijano. However, during Grosfoguel's tenure as a postdoc and faculty member at Binghamton from 1993 to 1998, he learned that the Black Radical Tradition's origins in coloniality were concealed.

2. Indicative of the recent travesty and glaring precedent to deny Dr. Cornel West tenure by Harvard University in 2021.

References

Alston, J. A. (2005). Tempered radicals and servant leaders: Black females persevering in the superintendency. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *41*(4), 675–688. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X04274275

Anderson, C. (2016). *White rage: The unspoken truth of our racial divide*. Bloomsbury.

Anderson, J. (1988). *The education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935*. University of North Carolina Press.

Bass, L. R. (2019). Black male leaders care too: An introduction to Black masculine caring in educational leadership. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *56*(3), 353–395. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X19840402

Battiste, M. (2013). *Decolonizing education: Nourishing the learning spirit*. Purich Publishing.

Bell, D. (2005). *Silent covenants: Brown v. Board of Education and the unfulfilled hopes for racial reform*. Oxford University Press.

Brooks, J. (2020). *Mormonism and White supremacy: American religion and the problem of racial innocence*. Oxford University Press.

Brown, F. (2005). African Americans and school leadership: An introduction. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *41*(4), 585–590. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X04274270

Campbell, R. F. (1979). A critique of the Educational Administration Quarterly. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *15*(3), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013131X7901500303

Campbell, R. F. (1981). The professorship in educational administration—A personal view. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *17*(1), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X8101700102

Capper, C. A. (2015). The 20th-year anniversary of critical race theory in education: Implications for leading to eliminate racism. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *51*(5), 791–833. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X15607616

Cooper, C. W. (2009). Performing cultural work in demographically changing schools: Implications for expanding transformative leadership frameworks. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *45*(5), 694–724. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X09341639

Cox, O. C. (2018). *Caste, class, and race: A study in social dynamics*. Forgotten Books.

Curry, T. J. (2017). *The man-not: Race, class, genre, and the dilemmas of black manhood*. Temple University Press.

Dantley, M. E. (2005). African American spirituality and Cornel West's notions of prophetic pragmatism: Restructuring educational leadership in American urban schools. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *41*(4), 651–674. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X04274274

de Sousa Santos, B. (2014). *Epistemologies of the South: Justice against epistemicide*. Routledge.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2012). *Critical race theory: An introduction* (2nd ed.). New York University Press.

Dillard, C. B. (1995). Leading with her life: An African American feminist (re)interpretation of leadership for an urban high school principal. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *31*(4), 539–563. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X9503100403

Donmoyer, R. (1991). Postpositivist evaluation: Give me a for instance. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *27*(3), 265–296. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X91027003003

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1935). Inter-racial implications of the Ethiopian crisis: A Negro view. *Foreign Affairs*, *14*(1), 82–92. https://doi.org/10.2307/20030704

Dumas, M. J., & Ross, K. M. (2016). "Be real Black for me": Imagining BlackCrit in education. *Urban Education*, *51*(4), 415–442. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085916628611

Dunbar-Ortiz, R. (2014). *An indigenous peoples' history of the United States*. Beacon Press.

Fanon, F. (1952/2005). *The wretched of the earth* (R. Philcox, Trans.; Reprint ed.). Grove Press.

Fendler, L., & Muzaffar, I. (2008). The history of the Bell Curve: Sorting and the idea of normal. *Educational Theory*, *58*(1), 63–82. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-5446.2007.0276.x

Figueroa Helland, L. E., & Lindgren, T. (2016). *What goes around comes around: From the coloniality of power to the crisis of civilization* (SSRN Scholarly Paper ID 3358065). Social Science Research Network. https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3358065

Flores, N., & Rosa, J. (2015). Undoing appropriateness: Raciolinguistic ideologies and language diversity in education. *Harvard Educational Review*, *85*(2), 149–171. https://doi.org/10.17763/0017-8055.85.2.149

Foster, L. & Tillman, L. C. (Eds.). (2009). *African American perspectives on leadership in schools: Building a culture of empowerment*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Galloway, M. K., & Ishimaru, A. M. (2015). Radical recentering: Equity in educational leadership standards. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *51*(3), 372–408. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X15590658

Gates, S. M., Baird, M. D., Master, B. K., & Chavez-Herrerias, E. (2019). *Principal pipelines: A feasible, affordable, and effective way for districts to improve schools*. Rand.

Green, T. L. (2017). Community-based equity audits: A practical approach for educational leaders to support equitable community-school improvements. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *53*(1), 3–39. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013 161X16672513

Grosfoguel, R. (2013). The structure of knowledge in Westernized universities: Epistemic racism/sexism and the four genocides. *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge*, *11*(1), 23–46. https://scholarworks.umb.edu/humanarchitecture/vol11/iss1/8

Grosfoguel, R. (2016). What is racism? *Journal of World-Systems Research*, *22*(1), 9–15. https://doi.org/10.5195/jwsr.2016.609

Grosfoguel, R. (2018). ¿Negros marxistas o marxismos negros? Una mirada descolonial. *Tabula Rasa*, *28*, 11–22. https://doi.org/10.25058/20112742.n28.1

Haas, E., Wilson, G. Y., Cobb, C. D., Hyle, A. E., Jordan, K., & Kearney, K. S. (2007). Assessing influence on the field: An analysis of citations to *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 1979–2003. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *43*(4), 494–512. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X07299437

Horne, G. (2018). *The apocalypse of settler colonialism: The roots of slavery, White supremacy, and capitalism in 17th century North America and the Caribbean*. Monthly Review Press.

Horsford, S. D. (2016). Social justice for the advantaged: Freedom from racial equality post-"Milliken." *Teachers College Record*, *118*(3), 1–18.

Hubbard, L. C. (2009). When and where I enter: Anna Julia Cooper, Afrocentric theory, and Africana studies. *Journal of Black Studies*, *40*(2), 283–295. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934707311939

Irby, D. J. (2018). Mo' data, mo' problems: Making sense of racial discipline disparities in a large diversifying suburban high school. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *54*(5), 693–722. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X18769051

Irons, P. (2004). *Jim Crow's children: The broken promise of the Brown decision* (Reprint ed.). Penguin Books.

Ishimaru, A. (2013). From heroes to organizers: Principals and education organizing in urban school reform. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *49*(1), 3–51. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X12448250

Iverson, S. V. (2007). Camouflaging power and privilege: A critical race analysis of university diversity policies. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *43*(5), 586–611. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X07307794

Jackson, S. A. (2005). *Islam and the Blackamerican: Looking toward the third resurrection*. Oxford University Press.

James, C. L. R. (1938). *The Black Jacobins* (1st ed.). Dial Press. https://www.abe-books.com/book-search/isbn/9781912302659/first-edition/

Kelley, R. D. G. (2017). What did Cedric Robinson mean by racial capitalism? *Boston Review*, January 12. http://bostonreview.net/race/robin-d-g-kelley-what-did-cedric-robinson-mean-racial-capitalism

Kendi, I. X. (2017). *Stamped from the beginning: The definitive history of racist ideas in America* (Reprint ed.). Bold Type Books.

Khalifa, M. A. (2018). *Culturally responsive school leadership*. Harvard Education Press. http://hepg.org/hep-home/books/culturally-responsive-school-leadership

Khalifa, M. A., Khalil, D., Marsh, T. E. J., & Halloran, C. (2018). Toward an indigenous, decolonizing school leadership: A literature review. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *55*(4), 571–614. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X18809348

Kluger, R. (2004). *Simple justice: The history of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's struggle for equality*. Vintage.

Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record*, *97*(1), 47–68.

Leithwood, K., Seashore Louis, K., Anderson, S., & Wahlstrom, K. (2004). *Review of research how leadership influences student learning*. The Wallace Foundation.

Lincoln, C. E. (1967). Color and group identity in the United States. *Daedalus*, *96*(2), 527–541. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20027051

Lomotey, K. (1995). Social and cultural influences on schooling: A commentary on the UCEA Knowledge Base Project, Domain I. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *31*(2), 294–303. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X95031002007

López, G. R. (2003). The (racially neutral) politics of education: A critical race theory perspective. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *39*(1), 68–94. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X02239761

López, G. R., & Burciaga, R. (2014). The troublesome legacy of *Brown v. Board of Education*. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *50*(5), 796–811. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X14551410

Mackey, H. J. (2017). The ESSA in Indian country: Problematizing self-determination through the relationships between federal, state, and tribal governments. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *53*(5), 782–808. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X17735870

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2004). The topology of being and the geopolitics of knowledge. *City*, *8*(1), 29–56. https://doi.org/10.1080/1360481042000199787

Marable, M. (2015). *How capitalism underdeveloped Black America: Problems in race, political economy, and society*. Haymarket Books.

Martin, W. E. (1998). *Brown v. Board of Education: A brief history with documents*. Bedford/St. Martin's.

Méndez-Morse, S. (2004). Constructing mentors: Latina educational leaders' role models and mentors. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *40*(4), 561–590. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X04267112

Mensah, F. M. (2019). Finding voice and passion: Critical race theory methodology in science Teacher education. *American Educational Research Journal*, *56*(4), 1412–1456. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831218818093

Merchant, B. (1995). A reaction to Lomotey's article: "Social and cultural influences on schooling: A commentary on the UCEA Knowledge Base Project, Domain I." *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *31*(2), 304–312. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X95031002008

Mignolo, W. (2011). *The darker side of western modernity: Global futures, decolonial options*. Duke University Press.

Milner, H. R. (2007). Race, culture, and researcher positionality: Working through dangers seen, unseen, and unforeseen. *Educational Researcher*, *36*(7), 388–400. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X07309471

Morel, D. (2018). *Takeover: Race, education, and American democracy*. Oxford University Press.

Morris, A. (2015). *The scholar denied: W.E.B. Du Bois and the birth of modern sociology*. University of California Press.

Murphy, J., Vriesenga, M., & Storey, V. (2007). Educational Administration Quarterly, 1979–2003: An analysis of types of work, methods of investigation, and influences. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *43*(5), 612–628. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X07307796

Murtadha, K., & Watts, D. M. (2005). Linking the struggle for education and social justice: Historical perspectives of African American leadership in schools. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *41*(4), 591–608. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X04274271

Ortiz, F. I. (2001). Using social capital in interpreting the careers of three Latina superintendents. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *37*(1), 58–85. https://doi.org/10.1177/00131610121969244

Parker, L., & Villalpando, O. (2007). A race(cialized) perspective on education leadership: Critical race theory in educational administration. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *43*(5), 519–524. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X07307795

Patel, L. (2015). *Decolonizing educational research: From ownership to answerability*. Routledge.

Payne, E. C., & Smith, M. J. (2018). Refusing relevance: School administrator resistance to offering professional development addressing LGBTQ issues in schools. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *54*(2), 183–215. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X17723426

Pounder, D. G., & Johnson, B. L. (2007). Reflections on EAQ's past, present, and future. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *43*(2), 259–272. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X06298593

Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International Sociology*, *15*(2), 215–232. https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580900015002005

Rivera-McCutchen, R. L. (2021). "We don't got time for grumbling": Toward an ethic of radical care in urban school leadership. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *57*(2), 257–289. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X20925892

Roberts, B. R. & Foulcher, K. (Eds.). (2016). *Indonesian notebook: A sourcebook on Richard Wright and the Bandung Conference*. Duke University Press.

Robinson, C. J. (2000). *Black Marxism: The making of the Black radical tradition* (2nd ed.). University of North Carolina Press.

Rodela, K. C., & Rodriguez-Mojica, C. (2019). Equity leadership informed by community cultural wealth: Counterstories of Latinx school administrators. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *56*(2), 289–320. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X19847513

Rodney, W. (1981). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa* (Revised ed.). Howard University Press.

Sampson, C. (2018). (Im)possibilities of Latinx school board members' educational leadership toward equity. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *55*(2), 296–327. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X18799482

Santamaría, L. J. (2014). Critical change for the greater good: Multicultural perceptions in educational leadership toward social justice and equity. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *50*(3), 347–391. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X13505287

Santiago, M. (2013). *Mendez v. Westminster, 1947*: Teaching a new chapter of history. *The Phi Delta Kappan*, *94*(6), 35–38. https://doi.org/10.1177/003172171309400609

Scheurich, J. J., & Young, M. D. (1997). Coloring epistemologies: Are our research epistemologies racially biased? *Educational Researcher*, *26*(4), 4–16. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X026004004

Smith, W. A., Yosso, T. J., & Solórzano, D. G. (2007). Racial primes and Black misandry on historically White campuses: Toward critical race accountability in educational administration. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *43*(5), 559–585. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X07307793

Stein, K. C., Wright, J., Gil, E., Miness, A., & Ginanto, D. (2018). Examining Latina/o students' experiences of injustice: LatCrit insights from a Texas high school. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, *17*(2), 103–120. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348431.2017.1282367

Stein, S. J. (2004). *The culture of education policy*. Teachers College Press.

Tate, W. F. (1995). School mathematics and African American students: Thinking seriously about opportunity-to-learn standards. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *31*(3), 424–448. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X95031003006

Tillman, L. C. (2002). Culturally sensitive research approaches: An African-American perspective. *Educational Researcher*, *31*(9), 3–12. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X031009003

Tillman, L. C. (2004). African American principals and the legacy of *Brown*. *Review of Research in Education*, *28*(1), 101–146. https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X028001101

Tillman, L. C. (2005). Mentoring new teachers: Implications for leadership practice in an urban school. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *41*(4), 609–629. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X04274272

Tillman, L. C. & Scheurich, J. J. (Eds.). (2013). *Handbook of research on educational leadership for equity and diversity*. Routledge.

Trujillo, T. M., Hernández, L. E., Jarrell, T., & Kissell, R. (2014). Community schools as urban district reform: Analyzing Oakland's policy landscape through oral histories. *Urban Education*, *49*(8), 895–929. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085914557644

Ture, K., & Hamilton, C. V. (2011). *Black power: Politics of liberation in America*. Vintage.

Valencia, R. R. (Ed.). (2002). *Chicano school failure and success: Past, present, and future*. Psychology Press.

Valencia, R. R. (2010). *Dismantling contemporary deficit thinking: Educational thought and practice*. Routledge.

Walker, V. S. (1996). *Their highest potential: An African American school community in the segregated South*. The University of North Carolina Press.

Walker, V. S. (2009). *Hello professor: A Black principal and professional leadership in the segregated South*. The University of North Carolina Press.

Wang, E. L., Gates, S., Herman, R., Mean, M., Perera, R., Tsai, T., Whipkey, K., & Andrew, A. (2018). *Launching a redesign of university principal preparation programs: Partners collaborate for change*. Rand.

Williams, E. (1994). *Capitalism and slavery* (1st ed.). University of North Carolina Press.

Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research*, *8*(4), 387–409. https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240

Woodson, C. G. (1933). *The mis-education of the Negro*. Tribeca Books.

Wright, J., Whitaker, R. W., Khalifa, M., & Briscoe, F. (2018). The color of neoliberal reform: A critical race policy analysis of school district takeovers in Michigan. *Urban Education*, *55*(3), 424–447. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085918806943

Wright, J. S., & Kim, T. (2020). Reframing community (dis)engagement: The discursive connection between undemocratic policy enactment, minoritized communities and resistance. *Journal of Education Policy*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2020.1777467

Wright, R. (2008). *Black power: Three books from exile: Black power; The color curtain; and White man, listen!* Harper Perennial Modern Classics.

Young, M. D., Winn, K. M., & Reedy, M. A. (2017). The Every Student Succeeds Act: Strengthening the focus on educational leadership. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *53*(5), 705–726. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X17735871

Zirkel, S., & Cantor, N. (2004). 50 years after *Brown v. Board of Education*: The promise and challenge of multicultural education. *Journal of Social Issues*, *60*(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-4537.2004.00096.x

Zuberi, T., & Bonilla-Silva, E. (Eds.). (2008). *White logic, white methods: Racism and methodology*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Author Biography

James Wright is an assistant professor in the department of educational leadership at San Diego State University (SDSU).