A Team of Heavy Hitters: Foregrounding Black Community Leadership to Disrupt Anti-Blackness in Educational Systems

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Abstract

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The normativity of anti-Black racism in educational system has led to increasing efforts to disrupt the endemic status quo. Anti-Black racism in educational institutions is racial violence that does not merely disregard the lives of Black youth, guardians, community organizations, and school staff rather their lives are “not even considered”. Scholars suggests reimagining learning space with the Black Community may hold potential to disrupt anti-Blackness. However, there is scant literature that investigates Black community leadership strategies to disrupt anti-Blackness in educational systems. Drawing on the combined theoretical frameworks of Wake Work and Culturally Sustaining Leadership this study analyzes the shared leadership of predominately Black youth, youth workers, community members, and school staff as they disrupt and resist anti-Blackness. Findings illuminate a shared leadership framework that foregrounds Blackened knowledge, shared leadership processes, and caring outcomes that can better serve Black people in educational systems. There is scant literature examining how predominately Black youth, youth workers, school staff engage in shared leadership which provide valuable insights to research and practice to better disrupt anti-Blackness.

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to those we lost along the way Alex, Ram, and Bobby

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Study Introduction

On a mid-August day in the summer of 2015 the predominately Black-led expanded learning organization that would become Future Black Leaders (FBL) hosted its first Community Activism Day as the culminating educational event of their summer program Liberation Camp. The culminating event was a youth organized march resulting in 150 predominantly Black and Brown students trekking 2.5-miles from Blue Lake Public Schools central administrative office to city hall in protest of a restrictive walk zone policy forcing middle and high schoolers living within two miles of the academic building to manage their own transportation. The Community Activism Day was the start of an approximately three-year Black youth led direct action campaign ending in September 2018 when Blue Lake Transit, Blue Lake Public Schools, and the City of Blue Lake partnered to provide mass transit cards for low-income middle and high school students and reduced the walk zone policy to one mile.

FBL is an Expanded Learning Organization (ELO) which are organizations that draw on community resources to provide youth development activities that range from school-community programs, extracurricular learning, experiential learning, civic engagement, leadership development, mentoring, and other wraparound services (Stonehill, Lauver, Donahue, Naftzger, McElvain & Stephanidis, 2011). The purpose of youth development activities is to encourage the "process of growth and increasing competence" between childhood and adulthood (Larson, 2000 p. 170). Although ELOs may occur in formal educational spaces they are most effective at achieving youth development when leaders make their learning activities distinct from traditional schooling experiences (Halpern, 2002; Noam, 2003). Despite scholarship and practical efforts to better serve Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers endemic forms of anti-Blackness remain common in ELO policy and practice (Baldridge, 2019; Baldridge, 2020a).

Sharpe (2016) describes anti-Blackness as disregarding the body and culture of people with Black skin and denying them positions of power. ELO's perpetuate anti-Blackness in various forms from curriculum that ignores Black youth's cultural development, critical consciousness, or provide civic engagement that addresses racist systems (Murray & Milner, 2015). Youth workers often view the culture of Black youth as deficient (Baldridge, 2019). Lastly, Black youth and youth workers commonly have the least voice and agency in ELO leadership (Baldridge, 2014; Baldridge, 2020a). While anti-Blackness is endemic Dumas & ross (2016) suggest disrupting the status quo can occur when learning spaces are reimagined with the Black community. Shared leadership may hold potential to reimagine educational spaces with the Black youth, community, and youth workers as the strategy focuses on equalizing power across actors at multiple levels both within and outside the organization to influence organizational change efforts (Diamond, 2013).

FBL is novel in the context of ELOs because their leadership policies and practices actively center shared leadership that disrupts anti-Blackness. FBL's leaders founded the organization to forestall the closure of the Liberation Camps program which is a common form of anti-Blackness where organizations that serve Black youth, guardians, and community members are constantly under the threat of closure (Baldridge, 2019). What makes FBL's founding and continued leadership policy and practice unique is they actively engage in shared practices where Black youth, community members, and staff work collaboratively to move themselves toward a future that disrupts and resists anti-Blackness. How, then is FBL a predominantly Black-led ELO challenging endemic forms of anti-Blackness to better center the needs of Black youth, community members, and staff through leadership policy and practice which is atypical in ELO organizational change efforts?

In my dissertation study, I centrally analyze how the shared leadership practices of FBL predominately Black youth, community members, and staff disrupt issues of anti-Blackness through the combined lenses of Culturally Sustaining Leadership and Wake Work. Culturally Sustaining Leadership (CSL) offers a lens to investigate how minoritized people engage in shared leadership through their expertise and decision making actively influencing aspects of organizational change (Santamaria & Santamaria, 2016). While CSL's general criticality has utility to discuss shared leadership it provides an insufficient framework to analyze the actions of the predominately Black leaders at FBL. Dumas & ross (2016) suggest general criticality about race cannot conceptualize everyday forms of anti-Blackness because it does not have language attuned to the specificity of Blackness. Thus, I combined CSL with Wake Work because it provides a precise discussion of the ways society and institutions erase, dis/appear, and mis/name Blackness and Black people (Sharpe, 2016).

Across three papers I will utilize Wake Work in conjunction with CSL to build consciousness about how current and past ELO leadership practice contributes to anti-Blackness. In addition, I will describe how FBL's Black youth, community members, and youth workers disrupt anti-Blackness by using their experiences of racism as a lens to recognize and disrupt the status quo. Paper one presents a critical literature review that asks how does existing literature about ELO leadership disrupt anti-Blackness? Paper two is a nine-month critical ethnographic study that analyzes the internal leadership dynamics at FBL to explore how Black youth, community members, and youth workers engage in shared leadership activity to disrupt anti-Blackness? Paper three specifically focuses on a partnership between FBL and Sandy Shores High School to investigate how does a school-ELO partnership disrupt anti-Blackness?

My research methodology looks away from the dominant framing of ELO leadership that centers the "*white gaze"* or the notion that Black lives "have no meaning or no depth without whiteness" (Morrison, 1998). My dissertation instead considers how contemporary Black youth, community members, and staff have a praxis like Stokely Carmichael former head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Carmichael understood how to use "Black power" as a tool to lead by drawing on ideas of young Black people having the right to reclaim their history and identity, on their own terms, defined by themselves, and redefining their relationship to society (Carmichael, 1966). This is a recognition that Black youth, community members, and staff are assets to leadership with the capability to change both educational systems and the world. The shared leadership exhibited by FBL's predominately Black youth, community members, and staff is atypical in the ELO literature which makes this study a valuable contribution to research and practice.

Part I: Spotlight on Anti-Blackness. A Critical Literature Review of Expanded Learning Leadership

Introduction

The normativity of anti-Black racism in expanded learning organizations (ELO) has led to increasing efforts by scholars and practitioners to disrupt the endemic status quo (Baldridge, 2020b; Turner III, 2021). ELO are programs and activities that encourage youth development which is the "process of growth and increasing competence" between childhood and adulthood (Larson, 2000 p. 170). These activities occur in a range of community spaces including schools, museums, community centers, colleges, and e-learning (Bowles & Brand, 2009). Research has shown participation in ELO is a critical lever to bolster youth development outcomes for Black youth (Bouffard, Wimer, Caronongan, Little, Dearing & Simpkins, 2011). Despite scholarship and practical efforts to better serve Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers ELO reproducing anti-Blackness remain common (Baldridge, 2020b).

Anti-Blackness occurs through normalized racial violence that does not disregard the lives of Black communities rather society and institutions do not consider them human (Dumas & ross, 2016; Hartman, 2008). Normalized racial violence against Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers through varied forms of anti-Blackness manifests throughout ELO. Scholars have documented the impact of anti-Blackness on ELOs by discussing how organizational leaders often view the culture of Black youth as deficient (Baldridge, 2014; Nxumalo & ross, 2019), Black youth and Black youth workers (ex. frontline staff and organizational leaders) routinely being ignored as agents of organizational change (Baldridge, 2020a), and there is an overreliance on policies and practices that value increasing funding rather than better serving Black youth and youth workers (Baldridge, 2019).

Despite burgeoning scholarship to understand and disrupt anti-Blackness we know little about how ELO leadership practice foregrounds the strategies of Black: youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers. Broadly, research on anti-Blackness in ELO uses Afropessimist (Hartman, 2008; Sharpe, 2016; & Wilderson, 2010), Blackcrit (Dumas, 2016; Dumas & ross, 2016), and critical race (Bell, 1995; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) theories to examine how youth development work exists within a paradox of enabling and constraining anti-Black racism (Baldridge 2020b). Baldridge (2020b) suggests traditional approaches to youth work often create paradoxical situations where Black youth may have development gains, but learning comes at the expense of psychological harm and an expectation of cultural assimilation.

While Baldridge (2019; 2020a) has begun to examine how leaders of youth work contribute to anti-Blackness her scholarship substantively does not draw on leadership theory which provides philosophy and strategies to create organizational change. Increasingly, scholars have highlighted the potential for leadership to disrupt and resist anti-Blackness by engaging Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers in organizational change efforts (Dumas 2014). Since ELO research on anti-Blackness is at incipient stage there is limited scholarship that examines how ELO leadership touted as “effective”, “normal”, or typical disrupts or contributes to anti-Black racism. Thus, I will conduct a critical literature review on the connection between ELO leadership practice and anti-Blackness to contribute to nascent scholarship. Explicitly, I draw on the theory of Wake Work because my goal is to explicitly collect and retrace how ELO leadership reinforces anti-blackness and track ways this pervasive status quo has been upset (Sharpe, 2016). Specifically, this paper asks: *How does existing literature about ELO leadership disrupt anti-Blackness?*

Theoretical Framework

Wake Work: Spotlighting Anti-Blackness

This study draws on the Wake Work (Sharpe, 2016) a theoretical lens intended to analyze how society and institutions contend with anti-Blackness. Wake Work originates from the field of Black Studies to posit that although the institution of slavery is over, the logics of chattel slavery remain as the use of racial violence against Black Americans has led to the accumulated fungibility of their body, disregarding their culture, and denial from positions of power (Hartman, 1997; Wilderson, 2010). Society and institutions use racial violence in varying forms against Black Americans to maintain the spatial, legal, psychic, material, and other structures of white supremacy (Sharpe, 2016). Hartman (2008) has termed the social conditions "skewed life chances, limited access to health and education, premature death, incarceration, and impoverishment" emanating from racial violence against Black American as the *afterlife of slavery*. The lens of Wake Work seeks to build consciousness about the way society and institutions erase, project, and mis/name Blackness to imperil Black lives (Sharpe, 2016).

While Wake Work has its origins in Black studies, scholars are developing literature to apply the theory analytically in ELO discourse to critique the experience of Black youth and describe Black space (Baldridge, 2019; Nxumalo & ross, 2019). I utilize Wake Work in this study to recognize how the literature on ELO leadership makes the needs of Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers in/visible, known/silenced, and dis/appeared in current discourse (Sharpe, 2016). To understand leadership in the context of this study I draw on Diamond (2013) definition of distributed leadership to view youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers as actors in leading because this view of organizational administration suggests people across multiple levels influence aspects of change efforts on topics of race and racism.

Building on Sharpe's (2016) concept that people's normative action produces anti-Blackness, I plan to describe how ELO leadership defined as normal, typical, or standard can produce anti-Blackness. In addition, I draw on Wake Work to examine ELO leadership studies that specifically foreground the actions of Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers attempts to disrupt anti-Blackness. Sharpe (2016) has articulated that society and institutions can disrupt anti-Blackness by examining the ways Black people have imagined and engaged in forms of resistance to overturn their experiences of racism. By foregrounded elements of the theory Wake Work, I will make "legible the grammar of violence" that produces anti-Blackness (Henry Jr & Powell, 2021) and foreground the ways Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers have redefined their relationship to ELO organizations.

Methods

To answer my research question, I analyzed how ELO leadership literature discusses Black people and anti-Blackness through a systematic literature review to synthesize and gain a new perspective of prior research (Hart, 2018). Scholars have utilized literature reviews to gain a new perspective on several topics of leadership practice. For example, Khalifa, Gooden, and Davis (2016) synthesized across 45 book and journal articles the four common behaviors school principals exhibit to respond to the cultural needs of minoritized youth. This study expands the conception of leadership beyond formal role-based leaders like principals or executive directors to include youth, guardians, and community organizations to recognize the agency of these individuals to provide expertise and decision making that can substantively influence organizational change efforts (Bertrand & Rodela, 2018; Ishimaru, 2014).

To gather and analyze the literature I relied on the Ogawa and Malen literature review method (1996) synthesized into eight steps by Gall, Borg, & Gall (1996). The goal of the Ogawa

and Malen Method is to describe relationships between themes that emerge from literature to get a better understanding about the topic under study (Randolph, 2009). In the rest of the methods section, I describe my usage of the Ogawa and Malen literature review method.

Data Collection

Step: 1: Create an audit trail: The audit trail is a retrievable database with all collected literature and provides analytic notes. Four topics I included in the audit trail includes "steps taken to collect data, the criteria used to select and evaluate data, the coding schemes used to analyze data, the decision rules employed to interpret the data" (p. 283) (Ogawa & Malen, 1991). For this critical literature review, I recorded analytic notes every day I completed work. I tracked daily entries with two column style notes with the date appearing on the left side and any ongoing analytical and methodological insights on the right side. Additionally, I kept track of the reviewed literature by using an excel spread sheet. The spreadsheet included the date I collected the literature, proper citation, location I collected the literature, search terms, document classification, and if the literature focused on topics of race.

Step 2: Define the focus of the review. The goal of Step two is defining the inclusion criteria for data collection. A well-defined inclusion criterion provides a basis for systematic investigation of the narrowly defined topic of interest (Randolph, 2009). The focus of my literature review was to analyze how ELO leadership disrupts anti-Blackness and makes Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers in/visible, known/silenced, and dis/appeared (Sharpe, 2016). I searched for articles on leadership within the realm of ELO because this term is inclusive of several types of organizations that serve Black youth including a) afterschool programs, community-based organizations, out of school time, and youth development organizations (Stonehill, Lauver, Donahue, Naftzger, McElvain & Stephanidis, 2011). To obtain relevant

literature for my area of focus I gathered articles that provided discussion about leadership or the process of organizational change occurring through creating a vision, allocating resources, and setting objectives to reach goals (Kotter, 1990) of expanded learning organizations. I draw on Kotter's (1990) definition because the logics that undergird the framework is often the dominant representation of leading in educational research that guides leadership activity. I focused on collecting literature that pertained to common leadership activity like a) hiring, b) youth workers retention, c) curriculum, d) professional development, e) developing culture, f) defining outcomes for organizational effectiveness, and g) evaluation strategies.

Step 3: Search for relevant literature. When searching for literature Ogawa & Malen (1991) suggest including a diverse set of documents because this helps reflect the broad way that researchers and practitioners make sense of social problems. I included a wide variety of documents that include peer reviewed journal articles, books, non-research reports and ELO leadership competency frameworks. I analyzed collected literature for possible biases as these diverse documents may include and omit important information. The search methodology included the use of non-scholarly search engines like Google, Google Scholar, scholarly search engines including Education Search, ERIC, JSTOR, online educational research journals (ex. Afterschool Matters, New Directions in Youth Development, Journal of Youth Development). Search terms included in singular, combination, and permutated: leadership, minoritized, expanded learning opportunities, marginalization, culturally sustaining, culturally responsive, colorblind, culturally relevant, anti-racist, directorship, race, ethnicity, executive, organizational, multicultural, oppression, oppressive, anti-Blackness, Latino, African American, Indigenous, social justice, invisible, silence, absence, disappearance, appearance, culturally specific, after school program, community based program, out of school time. I included a total of 55 articles in this review.

Publication dates of the articles range from 1994 – 2020. I stopped collecting literature when I reached saturation, which means I no longer discovered new or relevant scholarship related to my research focus (Randolph, 2009).

Data Analysis

Step 4: Classify the documents. Step four requires classifying the literature within predetermined category. My categorization of literature included the following peer reviewed journal articles, books, book chapters, and research reports. Figure 1.1 provides descriptive information about document classification.

Source	*N*	Percent
Journal Article	23	42%
Book	6	11%
Book Chapter	15	27%
Report	11	20%
Total	55	

Figure 1.1: Descriptive Information About Included Studies

Step 5: Create summary databases. The goal of step five is to develop a coding scheme and generate analytic memos to collapse the literature into emerging understandings. Gall, Borg, & Gall (1996) suggest developing a code book iteratively testing the emerging codes and revising as needed. I iteratively used Macqueen, Mclellan-Lemal, Bartholow & Milstein (2008) code book entry method that includes adding a definition, when to use, when not to use, and example for each code (see Appendix A). I utilized a hybrid inductive and deductive coding scheme. I started with a deductive lens because I was specifically interested in the ways the literature disrupts anti-Blackness. Deductively, I started with codes from the concept of Wake-Work including: (a) silent,

(b) exclusion, (c) Black trauma, (d) racial calculus, (e) in/visibility, and (f) re/imagining. Switching to iterative coding during analysis, I collapsed many of the initial codes that were redundant, no longer in use, or relevant to the study. My final list of codes had a parent code of Black Critical with child codes including (a) Black Healing, (b) Black Critical Self-Awareness, (c) Providing tools to disrupt anti-Blackness, (d) Racial Calculus, (c) Radical Healing, and (e) Blackness affirming. While coding deductively and noticing several emerging themes from the literature I began developing deductive codes based on other theories including (a) color-evasion, (b) culturally responsiveness, and (c) technical practice. Additionally, as I was interpreting the data, I utilized an inductive lens to create codes for emerging themes that may not be associated with a theoretical framework including (a) mindset (b) outcomes, (c) youth leadership, and (d) context. Lastly, I utilized Dedoose a qualitative analysis software to help develop the code book and test my interpretations from analytic memos to help me categorize, file, and easily retrieved data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I will discuss the development of analytic memos in step six.

Step 6: Identify constructs and hypothesized causal linkages. Step 6 focuses on identifying themes to create hypotheses across documents not to identify how multiple articles are the same (Randolph, 2009). Ogawa & Malen (1991) suggest not weighing all evidence as equal instead to be systematic discussing how the linkages between articles better highlight the phenomena under study. Concurrent with codebook development, I engaged in analytic memo writing to help track codebook decisions and emerging themes. Thematic analysis of coded data allowed me to determine ideas for deeper investigation (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). As I iteratively coded three themes began to emerge about ELO leadership, which included (a) mindset, (b) common leadership practice, and (c) outcomes pursued. I noted leaders' consideration for race impacted their actions in the three identified areas of leadership including mindset, leadership practice, and

outcomes. This realization led to me group the action of leaders into three categories: (a) color-evasive, (b) culturally responsive, and (c) Blackened. To test my interpretation, I collected several coded segments that had similar meanings and made higher inference claims about my emerging analysis. I tracked these emerging themes across documents in the audit trail.

Step 7: Search for contrary findings and rival interpretations. Step seven requires reexamination of the texts studied explicitly looking for alternative themes. After I completed my initial review of themes and interpretations, I continued iterative coding and explicitly looked for alternative themes.

Step 8: Use colleagues or informants to corroborate findings. The last step of the Ogawa and Malen (1991) literature review method is sharing findings with colleagues. Since this research is part of my larger dissertation work, I am presenting it to my doctoral reading committee to provide feedback about emerging interpretations. In addition, I have presented parts of this critical literature review to the Out of School Time Special Interest Group of the American Educational Research Association and the University Council of Education Administration conferences. These group contains leading researchers and practitioners in the field of ELO and provided invaluable feedback about my themes and interpretations.

Findings

This investigation suggests there are three categories of ELO Leadership that can either enable or constrain anti-Blackness: (1) color-evasive, (2) culturally responsive, and (3) Blackened. For color-evasive ELO leadership the mindset of leaders was having high expectations, common leadership practices included hiring staff; engaging in professional learning, developing curriculum, and fund raising; and outcomes often were neoliberal through a focus on student academic achievement as defined by narrowly defined standardized testing measures. Culturally

responsive ELO leadership has leaders who have critically self-aware mindset's; there leadership practices would potentially resist racist language, engage in cross cultural communication, and develop culturally responsive professional development sessions; and outcomes would promote cultural identity development. Lastly, Blackened ELO leadership would have leaders whose mindset is based substantively an understanding of Blackness and anti-Blackness; there leadership practices would draw on buffering, create Black identity development curriculum, hire youth workers with an asset orientation about Blackness, and offer professional development about Blackness; and outcomes often focused on relationship building or community healing. Figure 1.2 provides a breakdown of the findings by category. While there are common actions across each category of ELO leadership, placement justification was based on the race/ethnicity of the leader engaging in the practice, the race of the youth the practice was supposed to serve, and if the literature reviewed used race explicit language.

In the section that follows I will describe and provide examples of the three categories of ELO leadership that contributes to and disrupts anti-Blackness. Within each category of ELO leadership, I will discuss how the mindset of leaders, common leadership practices, and outcomes justify placement within the classification. After discussing the categories of ELO leadership, I will conclude with implications for future research and practice.

	Color-Evasive	Culturally Responsive	Blackened
Mindset	High Expectations	Critical Self-Awareness	Blackened Self-Awareness

Leadership Practice	Hire Staff, Professional learning, Curriculum Development, Funding Raising	Addressing Racist language, Cross Cultural Communication, developing culturally responsive professional development sessions	Buffering, Black Identity Development Curriculum, Hiring youth workers with an asset orientation about Blackness, Offering Professional development about Blackness
Outcome	Neoliberal (Academic achievement as defined by narrowly defined standardized testing measures)	Cultural Identity Development	Community Healing Relationship Building

Figure 1.2: Findings by categories

Color-Evasive ELO Leadership

Color-evasive leadership is the most common way leaders engaged in organizational administration. I would describe 21 of 55 article reviewed about ELO leadership as "color-evasive" or effectively avoiding discussion about how race impacts decisions, behavior, and learning (Annamma, Jackson & Morrison, 2017). Color-evasive leadership often focuses on the technical aspects of leading like engaging in leadership practices including hiring high quality youth workers or addressing "quantifiable outcomes" like student academic achievement without regard to how race impacts the leader's action (Kwon, 2013; Baldridge, 2019). When the literature did discuss race in the context of color-evasive leadership authors provided limited depth on how to better serve racially diverse youth. For example, in their chapter "The Leadership Imperative"

Folkes and McWhorter (2018) perpetuated color-evasive leadership practices when referencing Simpkins and Riggs, (2014) by stating "increasing racial and ethnic diversity means that out of school time providers may experience population shifts and will need to develop new or improved cultural competence." (p.133). After referencing Simpkins and Riggs, Folkes and McWhorther did not provide a follow up discussion on what leadership policies or practices would better serve racially diverse youth in ELOs.

Additionally, while reviewing the color-evasive ELO leadership literature, I noted limited to no focus on the way minoritized ELO leaders resist, refuse, and revise practices to meet the developmental needs of racially diverse youth. Santamaria & Santamaria (2014) suggest minoritized leaders often recognize and address issues of racial inequity. When leadership is color evasive it enables a logic that all leaders must do is follow predetermined actions and it will lead to positive gains for young people regardless of their race/ethnicity. Carter, Skiba, Arredondo, & Pollock (2017) suggest educational practices must minimally acknowledge the impact of race to address racial inequities. The unintentional nature of these color-evasive leadership practices normalizes racism and anti-Blackness by not intentionally understanding, creating, and taking steps to disrupt the challenges of Black and other racially diverse youth.

Mindset: Strengths Based disconnected from race or racism

The mindset of leaders plays a crucial role in the way they enact leadership practices (Khalifa, Gooden, & Davis, 2016). A leader's mindset is the established set of attitudes and beliefs held by someone about areas including youth, youth workers, community, and programs. In the ELO leadership literature, it was common for the scholarship to suggest leaders should have an asset-orientation mindset or a view that youth can grow and have inherit strengths (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). For example, Birmingham, Pechman, Russell &

Mleke (2005) suggested effective site coordinators that lead high performing after school programs cultivate teams of people that worked from a "strengths-based perspective". This strengths-based mindset allows leaders to see young people as having potential to achieve their goals rather than perceiving young people as deficient (Eccles & Gootman, 2002).

Akin to the strengths-based mindset was leaders having high expectations of youth and youth workers. Leaders having high expectations meant they believed youth will achieve academically, will not engage in delinquent behavior, will participate in aspects of youth leadership, and engage in community social justice (Huang & Dietel, 2011; Jordan, Parker, Donnelly, & Rudo, 2009; Witt, 2018). In addition, leaders held high expectations that youth workers could achieve the mission and vision they set (Jordan, Parker, Donnelly, & Rudo, 2009).

While having an asset orientation or high expectations helps leaders believe youth can achieve or perform at a high level that alone does not provide a mindset that allows for an effective response to the needs of Black youth. Common in the color-evasive literature is an asset orientation or high expectations based in the mindset that minoritized youth can overcome their deficiency and delinquency (Baldridge, 2014 & Kwon, 2013). Prominently absent from strengths-based or high expectations discourse is leaders having a mindset that sees Black youth's culture, lifeways, and history as an asset. The abjection of Black youth's culture, lifeways, and history as an asset allows for leaders to engage in actions that do not consider how society or institutions treat Blackness or Black people as valuable considerations to youth development. For example, Sharpe (2016) highlighted a hospital-based ELO program that had Black youth put stickers on their body and lay in hospital beds to signify bullet wounds in effort to help young people understand they should not engage in gun violence. In effect, the hospital ELO program suggests Black youth should imagine their own death rather than imagine learning or messages that uplift Blackness and

Black people. While the hospital ELO program teaches youth about gun violence it also acts as a form of trauma that leaders could have avoided if they recognized how their mindset contributes to disregard of Black life.

Common Color-Evasive Leadership Practices:

Across the ELO leadership literature, author(s) touted a litany of color-evasive leadership practices for their ability to achieve greater organizational effectiveness and positive youth development. The color-evasive leadership practices touted as "effective" commonly provided no understanding of how the race/ethnicity of the leader or youth impacts the effectiveness of the action. Common leadership practices touted as helping to achieve organizational effectiveness or meet youth development needs included (a) Hiring highly qualified youth workers (Folkes & McWorther, 2018; (Khashu & Dougherty, 2007) Little, 2007; Lowe Vandell & Lao, 2016; Reisner, White, Russell, Birmingham, 2004; Starr, Yoholem, & Gannett, 2009; Yohalem, Pittman, & Edwards, 2010), (b) participating in or leading professional learning sessions (Bouffard & Little, 2004; Folkes & McWorther, 2018; Khashu & Dougherty, 2007; Huang & Dietel, 2011), and (c) program leaders would help youth workers develop curriculum or be involved by reviewing activity plans (Birmingham, Pechman, Russell, Mielke, 2005; Khashu & Dougherty, 2007).

Hiring highly qualified youth workers is a salient example of color-evasive leadership practice. For example, Lowe Vandell & Lao (2016) conducted a meta-analysis of ELO literature to find that program leaders often hired youth workers with "a broad array of skills in sports, music, art, and science" to make curricula more attractive for youth participation. In addition, Jordan, Parker, Donnelly & Rudo, (2009) conducted a five-year report of 53 programs where they propose leaders should hire youth workers that have the "ability to manage groups and individuals well, engage a variety of students in activities, and interact positively with students and adults". While

Birmingham, Pechman, Russell, & Mielke (2005) conducted a two-year study of 10 ELO organizations where they highlighted an effective hiring practice of one program leader as selecting prospective youth workers based on how they walked into the building and if they noticed work on the walls. What is noticeable absent from hiring high quality youth workers in a color-evasive perspective is that these leaders are not hiring youth workers for the knowledge or ability to better serve Black or other racially diverse youth. There is no mention of understanding the worldviews, culture, or lifeways minoritized youth, no discussion about how it might be necessary to communicate with youth, guardians, and community across cross-cultural lines, or adapt actions in ways that might better serve Black and other racially diverse young people.

Outcomes: Neoliberalism

Color-evasive ELO leadership practices often target neoliberal outcomes like academic achievement through improvements in standardized testing (Baldridge, 2014; Kwon, 2013). Neoliberalism asserts market-based reforms, such as privatization, standardization, and accountability measures are the most efficient means of increasing educational outcomes such as student academic performance (Apple, 2004). Often organizational funders and policy makers hold educational leaders accountable to narrowly defined standardized assessments as the chief determinant of organizational effectiveness (Khalifa, Dunbar, & Douglas, 2013). Scholars have documented how the use of narrowly defined academic achievement assessments as the sole accountability measure penalizes Black communities through decreased funding and shifts in leadership priorities (Diem & Welton, 2021; Khalifa & Briscoe, 2015). For example, Gast and Colleagues (2017) conducted an ethnographic study of an ELO program that serves English language learners noting that the program did not focus on culturally specific programming or outcomes because organizational leaders believed it was easier to measure areas of focus including

academic achievement, graduation rates, and college enrollment for funders. Color evasive shifts to neoliberal outcomes and funding priorities are closely coupled as the literature has documented increasing competition among ELO organizations seeking funding (Baldridge, 2020b; Halpern, 2003). An example that is representative of color-evasive ELO leadership practices pursing neoliberal outcomes is a case study conducted by Baldridge (2019) that demonstrates how a white female leader moved away from the program's long-term ethic of radical care for Black youth to narrow the focus of the ELO's curriculum to academic achievement to increase organizational funding.

Culturally Responsive ELO Leadership

I would describe 19 of 55 article reviewed as culturally responsive or ELO leadership involved responding to the cultural and social needs of racially diverse youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers. Simpkins, Riggs, Ngo, Vest Ettekal, & Okamoto (2017) described the literature as "emerging" regarding integrating cultural responsiveness into aspects of ELO organizations like leadership. Many of the articles explicitly utilized Gay's (1994) Culturally Responsive Pedagogy (CRP) framework to analyze how aspects of leadership including mindset, leadership practices, and outcomes integrated tenets of the theory. The subset of culturally responsive ELO leadership literature applied various characteristics of CRP like critical self-awareness, cross cultural communication, and developing culturally responsive curriculum to study aspects of leading. For example, Simpkins and Colleagues (2017) drew on Gay (2010) to outline eight proposed culturally responsive practices including "prompting constructive culturally based conflict resolution among staff and adolescents" and "assisting adolescents in bridging cultural differences" (p.16). The key difference of culturally responsive ELO leadership from

color-evasive is leaders shifted actions to respond to race and racism to develop organizations that advanced greater equitable educational opportunities.

Mindset: Critical Self-Awareness

Several articles in the culturally responsive ELO leadership literature expressed implicitly (Erbstein, 2013; Mclaughlin, Irby, & Langman, 1994) and overtly (Richmond et. al, 2018; Walter & Grant, 2011) the need for leaders to have critical self-awareness. Khalifa, Gooden & Davis (2016) assert critical self-awareness for culturally responsive leadership involves a leader having an "awareness of self and his/her values, beliefs, and/or dispositions when it came to serving poor children of color". Critical self-awareness derives from the concept of critical consciousness which Gay & Kirkland's (2003) formulate as educators knowing themselves, the context served, and questioning your own knowledge and assumptions. Mclaughlin, Irby, & Langman, (1994) implicitly described the critically self-aware mindset of an ELO leader before scholars used the term in scholarship when they conducted a case study of several "effective" leaders working in the "inner city" as having the ability to see "the problem" of racially diverse youth as a failure of social institutions rather than a deficit of the young people. Similarly, Erbstein (2013) described how ELO leaders often needed to take a critical stance toward social systems that served "underrepresented youth" taking the time to understand "broader social, political, and economic forces" to develop supports that can better serve young people.

Explicitly, several articles described building critical self-awareness through professional learning as crucial to ELO leadership. In a case study of an ELO mentoring program Miller (2020) suggested critical self-awareness was a crucial knowledge base two leaders drew on to engage in developing culturally responsive educators and develop a more inclusive culture. Richmond, Braughton, & Borden (2018) conducted a literature review outlining the limited amount of training

offered on developing youth worker's ability to "integrate the cultural assets, beliefs, and values of youth and their families". Additionally, the literature review offered several suggestions to deepen critical self-awareness through professional learning including partnering with culturally focused community organizations to develop curriculum and illuminate the connection between positive youth development and the cultural assets of the people/context served (Richmond, Braughton, & Borden, 2018). Walter & Grant (2011) demonstrated several positive effects on youth workers critical self-awareness when the authors conducted a program evaluation of a professional learning session that helped youth workers member(s) develop their: understanding of their own culture, raised their awareness of privilege and oppression, and established an understanding of the assets young people and the context worked in bring to the program. While becoming critically self-aware can have potential positive impacts on Black youth, leaders lacking a contextualization of Blackness and anti-Blackness prevents administrators from acting in ways that fully address the history, culture, and lifeways of the Black community served. Sharpe (2016) suggests confronting anti-Blackness must substantively rely on Blackened knowledge built from understanding both the past and present position of Blackness in society and institutions. While a general criticality about race and racism can provide some understanding of the needs of the Black community, leaders may need to develop a mindset with a deep understanding of Blackness to challenge anti-Blackness.

Common Culturally Responsive ELO Leadership Practices:

In the subset of culturally responsive ELO leadership practices several actions commonly appeared. I define a leadership practice as culturally responsive when the action substantively engages with the impact of race, racism, or the culture of the person engaging in the act or the context served. Several leadership practices that were common in the literature include (a)

addressing racist and derogatory language (Gutierrez, Larson, Raffaelli, Fernandez, & Guzman, 2017; McGovern, Raffaelli, Moreno Garcia, Larson, 2020), engaging in cross-cultural communication with youth, guardians, and community members (Diversi & Mecham, 2004; Ettekal, Simpkins, Menjivar, & Delgado, 2020; Simpkins, Delgado, Price, Quach, & Starbuck, 2012), and developing culturally responsive professional development sessions (Hill and Vance, 2019; Miller, 2020; Simpkins, Riggs, Ngo, Vest Ettekal, & Okamoto, 2017).

Addressing racist language is a pertinent representation of culturally responsive ELO leadership practice. Several articles outlined ELO leaders addressing racist language about the history, culture, and lifeways of racially diverse people their organization serves. For example, Gutierrez, Larson, Raffaelli, Fernandez, & Guzman (2017) conducted a study of 50 ELO leaders across 27 programs finding responses to racist language typically falls within three categories. (a) Universalist or the leader engages occurrences of racist language through a color-evasive lens often not reporting negative incidents. (b) A second group of leaders report racist incidents, but do not respond in a direct manner because of perceived lack of confidence or skills. (c) The last group of ELO leaders went full-in meaning they directly addressed the racist incident often through group or one on one reflective conversation to analyze the situation. Additionally, a case study by McGovern, Raffaelli, Moreno Garcia, Larson (2020) found that ELO leaders who draw on their own experiences of racism to analyze discriminatory incidents in reflective conversations can build trust and connection between themselves and the people they serve. Lastly, Simpkins, Riggs, Ngo, Vest Ettekal, & Okamoto (2017) suggest the best way to prepare ELO leaders to engage with racist language is providing ongoing training and informal discussion to support youth workers to directly address the situation otherwise they risk perpetuating stereotypes and building cultural divides. Similarly, to a critically self-aware mindset leaders that do not have a deep

contextualization of the discourse surrounding anti-Blackness in society and institutions cannot engage in leadership actions substantively grounded in responding to the needs of the Black community served. At best culturally responsive leadership actions will provide a flattened attempt at disrupting anti-Blackness which reproduces the endemic status quo by obscuring the concerns of Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers.

Outcome: Cultural Identity Development

The culturally responsive ELO leadership literature demonstrates leaders pursing neoliberal outcomes like increasing student academic achievement through narrowly defined standardized assessments like color-evasive scholarship (Halpern, 2003; Gast, Okamoto, & Feldman, 2017). However, the outcomes of culturally responsive ELO leadership differ from color-evasive because it includes an explicit commitment to creating organizational policies and practices that help youth develop their cultural identity. Gay (1994) suggests helping racially diverse young people develop a "secure, clarified self-identity" is an imperative outcome of cultural responsiveness. An example, of ELO leaders engaging in the outcome of helping young people develop their cultural identity comes from a case study by Ngo (2017) where the author examined a Hmong ELO theatre program that had curriculum and leaders who helped youth parse the tensions of dealing with acculturation to build critical consciousness. The literature outlined developing curriculum as only one aspect to obtain the outcome of helping racially diverse youth build positive cultural identity.

Another aspect of leadership that promoted cultural identity development is hiring practices. Butler & Russell (2020) described how recruiting and retaining culturally diverse leaders is paramount because they can recognize the social needs of racially diverse youth, influence the design of culturally appropriate programs, and seek to address racial disparities in opportunity.

Additionally, the literature outlined leaders engaging in culturally responsive professional development as substantively influencing cultural identity development. As ELO leaders build their understanding of cultural diversity, they can better integrate racially diverse youth history, culture, and lifeway into programs which influences cultural identity development (Richmond, Braughton, & Borden, 2018). While leaders developing their understand of culture and integrating those concepts is potentially important to helping racially diverse youth build their cultural identity. The discussion of cultural identity development in the literature did not focus on helping Black youth improving their understanding of Blackness or the history, culture, and lifeways of Black people in the context they live. By not engaging with Black identity development the culturally responsive outcome assumes all racially diverse youth develop their culture in the same way which obscures the cultural developmental needs of Black youth.

Critique of Culturally Responsive Leadership

Collectively, culturally responsive practices represent a methodological shift in ELO leadership literature as analysis of these actions did not become normalized until 2016. Since culturally responsive ELO leadership literature is at an emergent stage several limitations exist in current scholarship as it pertains to disrupting anti-Blackness. Within the culturally responsive ELO leadership literature there was scant examination about how leaders make efforts to understand historically driven structural inequalities like anti-blackness. These historical issues often impact many facets of ELO leadership from the ways in which organizations pursue funding, disrupt internal anti-Black leadership practice, or design curricula that sustains the assets of Black youth. Additionally, since culturally responsive ELO leadership literature often addresses how to serve youth of several backgrounds it provides a flattened understanding of how to meet the needs

of Black Youth. For example, McGovern & Colleagues (2020) conducted a case study about how a white ELO leader served Latinx youth, the authors of the articles stated of this leader:

"Leaders' discussions with youth about what it meant to be Latinx focused primarily on within-group variations. For example, youth and leaders tended to emphasize the differences between the five regions in Mexico from which the youth or their families immigrated. Bill recognized that these distinctions were important to the youth, partly because they were sensitive to the hierarchical divisions between regions in the north and south in Mexico, which he likened to north-south divisions in the United States" (p.15).

The authors comment about Bill provides an important acknowledgement about how leadership can better serve racially diverse youth. However, Bill culturally responsive leadership practices as a white leader are responding to Latinx culture, which cannot properly serve Black culture. Dumas & ross (2016) may suggest the culturally responsive ELO leadership practices of Bill cannot properly conceptualize or respond to everyday forms of anti-Blackness. Culturally responsive ELO leadership practice is valuable but not specifically attuned to the language and challenges of anti-blackness which is a specific form of racism needing different supports than anti-Latinx, anti-Asian, or other forms of racism and racial inequity experienced by other Black youth, guardians, community, and youth workers. To disrupt anti-Blackness ELO leadership may need to become more explicit about addressing the needs of Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers if leaders hope to develop organizations that can create greater educational equity for the Black community.

Blackened ELO Leadership

I would describe 5 of 55 articles reviewed about ELO leadership practice as Blackened or substantively applies language and specificity about Blackness, focused on the ways Black leaders

work with Black youth, and often relies on the knowledge of Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers to analyze how ideology and institutional practice enable and constrain anti-blackness (Sharpe, 2016). Collectively, the Blackened ELO leadership literature avoids the "white gaze" or does not make whiteness central to our understand of Blackness (Morrison, 1988). Baldridge (2020b) suggests theorization about Blackness and anti-Blackness in ELO organizations is at an incipient stage. The scholarship of Baldridge (2014; 2019; 2020a; 2020b) and Ginwright (2010) provide the prevailing discourse within the Blackened ELO leadership category. Important to note about Baldridge and Ginwright's scholarship is they do not utilize leadership theory to analyze their studies. Baldridge draws on Afropessimist, Blackcrit, and critical race frameworks and Ginwright utilizes Freirean (1995) and community psychology (Garbarino, 1995; Prilleltensky, 2008) theories to analyze the actions of ELO leaders. Additionally, not included in my conceptualization of Blackened ELO leadership literature is theories building from community organizing. Turner (2020, 2021) has demonstrated the expertise and decision making of Black youth through community organizing to lead change efforts. However, this study does not take up community organizing as a form of leading because the ELO leadership literature has not substantive integrated the theory.

The descriptions of leadership discussed in the emerging strand of Blackened ELO literature is asset oriented about Blackness, characterize leaders as utilizing their lived experience to understand and address anti-Blackness, and describe how Black youth have the capability and knowledge to address anti-Black challenges. For example, Ginwright (2010) conducted a case study of the radical healing practices of a Black led ELO that serves black youth to help create safe spaces and build healthy identities. This is not saying that ELO's having a Black leader working with Black youth will consistently lead to positive outcomes. Baldridge (2019) points out

that even Black leaders can adhere to neoliberal logics that make them complicit in upholding white supremacist practices and perpetuating anti-Blackness. However, explicit research literature about Black leaders' ideology, stories, and practices to disrupt routine experiences of anti-Blackness in the lives of Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers could potentially upset this pervasive status quo.

Mindset: Blackened Self-Awareness

The ELO leadership literature has not defined the term Blackened self-awareness, but the concept derives from Sharpe (2016) as she suggests resisting and disrupting anti-Blackness requires relying on Black people's knowledge about how society and institutions perpetuate anti-Blackness through "spatial, legal, psychic, material, and other dimensions of Black non/being as well as in Black modes of resistance". I define Blackened self-awareness as leaders having a critical consciousness about Blackness and their values toward Black people. In addition, Black leaders can contextualize the assets and challenges of Blackness in the community they served. Lastly, Black leaders understanding what Blackness means in the local context shapes how leadership occurs. Blackened self-awareness is a common mindset Black leaders drew on to serve Black youth across the five studies.

The literature on Blackened ELO leadership engaged with Blackened self-awareness in multiple ways. For example, several articles described how Black leaders resisted and disrupted anti-Black narratives impacting leadership. In a case study of an ELO with a Black female leader, she described part of the reason she works with the organization is to address deficient narratives about Black youth (Baldridge, 2014). Avoiding anti-Black narratives of deficiency in organizational leadership was crucial in a follow up case study of the ELO named *Educational Excellence* that avoided anti-Black narratives about Black youth being "at risk", "broken", and

needing to be “fixed” by recognize that disproportionate educational opportunity and outcomes occur because learning often happens within structures of white supremacy and institutionalized racism (Baldridge, 2019). In both case studies, leaders recognized that examining anti-Black narratives of deficiency was crucial to developing policies and practices to resist and disrupt the structural harm Black people experience.

A consistent practice Black ELO leaders engaged in throughout the literature is recognizing how the contexts they worked in impacted their leadership. In a study of 15 Black youth workers across several ELO organizations Baldridge (2020a) described how one Black male leader recognized the narrative of him being an example of “Black Excellence” forestalls structural change to employment policy and practice. The Black male leader suggested the narrative of “Black Excellence” prevents Black leaders from moving into advanced leadership roles. Additionally, multiple articles detailed how Black leaders recognized neoliberal funding discourse often produces the condition for anti-Blackness as the pursuit of increased resources leads to a prioritization of academic achievement initiatives as measured by increased standardized test scores rather than Black identity development (Baldridge, 2014; Baldridge, 2019; Baldridge, 2020b). Additionally, Ginwright (2010) suggests Black leaders understanding structural inequities and learning strategies to challenge oppressive social systems creates the condition to better serve the Black community.

Common Blackened Leadership Practice

Several Blackened leadership practices were common in the ELO literature. (a) Buffering or engaging in political resistance against anti-Blackness (Baldridge, 2014; Baldridge, 2019; Baldridge, 2020a). (b) Development of curricula that can foster Black identity development and providing strategies for youth to resist and disrupt anti-Blackness (Baldridge, 2019; Baldridge,

2020a; Baldridge, 2020b; Ginwright, 2010). (c) hiring youth workers that are asset orientated about Blackness (Baldridge, 2014; Baldridge, 2019). (d) Offering professional development opportunities to learn about Blackness and integrate these understandings into curriculum (Baldridge, 2019).

A salient example of Blackened leadership practice is leaders engaging in buffering or engaging in political resistance against anti-Blackness. Baldridge (2020b) suggest ELO operate within a youthwork paradox or these organizations have the chance to "disrupt and reify racism and deficit narratives in education", especially as this concept pertains to anti-Blackness. The literature on Blackened ELO leadership practice demonstrated multiple ways buffering occurred including the use of asset rich language to disrupt anti-Black narratives of deficiency in pursuit of funding (Baldridge, 2014). Additionally, leaders would use the practice of buffering to downplay aspects of curriculum that focused on anti-Blackness and systems of oppression as not to draw the ire of white board members that often considered these topics to "progressive" (Baldridge, 2019). Black leaders at ELO considered buffering necessary because white ELO leaders intentionally prevented discussion of anti-Blackness to prevent themselves from feeling uncomfortable (Baldridge, 2020a)

Outcome: Healing from experiences of anti-Blackness

The Blackened ELO leadership literature like color-evasive and culturally responsive contends with the ways sociopolitical factors often constrain these organization in ways that focus on neoliberal outcomes. Several articles discuss how ELO that serve Black youth often pursue increasing academic achievement through improvement in standardized testing and decreasing youth delinquency to obtain greater funding (Baldridge, 2014; Baldridge, 2019; Baldridge, 2020a; Baldridge, 2020b). Additionally, comparable to the culturally responsive ELO leadership literature

there is a focus on outcomes that can lead to the development of cultural identity in Blackened scholarship (Ginwright, 2010; Baldridge, 2019). What sets the Blackened leadership literature apart from other forms of ELO leadership scholarship is the outcome to heal from experiences of anti-Blackness.

Across the Blackened ELO leadership literature there is the suggestion that healing requires young people to recognize anti-Blackness, process experiences of anti-Blackness, and ultimately disrupt the social systems that are not serving the Black community. Baldridge (2020b) described it as "paramount" ELO leadership create spaces that Black youth can participate in conversation and programs that help them unpack the anti-Black racism they experience in their communities and schools. Understanding anti-Black racism is only one aspect of healing as one program leader in a study that interviewed 15 leaders across several ELO organization suggested his role was to empower youth to confront their frustration in public forum whether that be classrooms or more largely in society (Baldridge, 2020a). Ginwright (2010) describes "radical healing" as both the act of learning about how institutions use their power to affect Black lives and engaging in activism to overturn experiences of racism. Ultimately, the outcome of many Blackened leadership strategies is to make sure young Black people are ready to analyze and challenge authority (Baldridge, 2020b).

Discussion

This critical literature review contributes to research on ELO leadership by outlining categories of leading that enable or constrain anti-Blackness based on extant scholarship. I categorized three types of ELO leadership that enable or constrain anti-Blackness: (1) *color-evasive* or leadership that provides little or no discussion of race or racial matters in organizational change efforts. (2) *Culturally responsive* which often drew on tenets of Culturally Responsive

Pedagogy to analyze how race and culture impacts aspects of ELO leadership. (3) Blackened or an examination of leadership that specifically focuses on the ways Black leaders work with Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers. While I would not describe color-evasive and Blackened ELO leadership as established terms in the literature these categorizations of leading begin to describe how authors discuss race, racism, and culture in extant scholarship.

This critical literature review establishes that color-evasive ELO leadership focuses on how leaders engage in general actions like hiring youth workers, providing professional development, and having high expectation of youth. When leaders do not engage with how race and culture impact leadership their actions have the potential to create and reproduce anti-Blackness. For example, several authors document how color-evasive neoliberal outcomes often focused on increasing student academic achievement through standardized testing and decreasing delinquency reduces the potential for cultural identity development, relies on narratives of deficiency, and disregards the agency of the community served to address the issues impacting themselves (Baldridge, 2014; Gast, Okamoto, & Feldman, 2017; Kwon, 2013). While the color-evasive ELO leadership literature establishes many actions that could potentially lead to organizational effectiveness it is important that ELO leaders move beyond the color-evasive category to integrate how race, racism, and culture impacts leading if they hope to better serve racially diverse youth with a particular attention toward meeting the youth development needs of Black youth.

While ELO leadership literature still produces color-evasive approaches this previously dominant categorization has reduced in prominence since mid-2010 as culturally responsive leadership has gained eminence. Culturally responsive ELO leadership provides a robust discussion about meeting the developmental needs of racially diverse youth because leaders seek to shift their practices in ways that respond to the racial and cultural needs of youth. For example,

several authors documented the need of people in leadership roles to engage in professional learning that can help them analyze how their own culture impacts their ability to incorporate the history, culture, and lifeways of diverse youth in multiple aspects of organizational administration (Walter & Grant, 2011; Richmond, Braughton, & Borden, 2018). Although, culturally responsive ELO leadership provide a robust discussion of how to serve racially diverse youth the theory is insufficient to resist or disrupt anti-Blackness because it does not have language or practices specifically attuned to foregrounding the needs of Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers (Dumas & ross, 2016). Sharpe (2016) suggests resisting and disrupting anti-Blackness requires being able to understand and track the everyday ways Black people "resist, rupture, and disrupt" the ongoing specific racial violence they experience. This means ELO leadership may need to become more specific in its approaches to serving Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers if scholars and ELO leaders want to properly disrupt anti-Blackness.

The subset of ELO leadership research that engages with topics of anti-Blackness does provide a specific discussion about anti-Blackness by engaging with how Black leaders serve Black youth. Blackened ELO leadership has documented mindsets, leadership practices, and sociopolitical dynamics that impact anti-Blackness being enabled and constrained (Ginwright 2010; Baldridge 2019). For example, Ginwright (2010) describes his theories of activism and radical healing that engages Black youth as educational leaders to resist and disrupt oppressive social systems that impact their lives. While there is theorization about anti-Blackness in ELO leadership two prominent scholars (Ginwright 2010; Baldridge 2014, 2019, 2020a, 2020b) have guided the discussion on the topic. Broadly, Baldridge and Ginwright's studies of ELO leadership

draws on Afropessimist, Blackcrit, community psychology, critical race, and Freirean theories to analyze the actions of ELO leaders.

Often receiving limited attention in ELO literature is a robust analysis utilizing the lens of leadership theory. When ELO literature addresses leadership the logic that undergirds the action of leaders is organizational change occurs through creating a vision, allocating resources, and setting objectives to reach goals (Kotter, 1990). Several studies of ELO leadership included in this critical literature review, especially in the color-evasive category tacitly drew on Kotter's logic that leading is functionally engaging in technical actions that achieves the organization vision or goals. For example, several articles suggest engaging in professional learning with no explicit discussion of how this development engages with topic of Blackness and anti-Blackness will lead to a more effective workforce (Bouffard & Little, 2004; Folkes & McWorther, 2018; Khashu & Dougherty, 2007; Huang & Dietel, 2011). Narrowly defining leadership by focusing on the technical actions of positional leaders like creating a vision, allocating resources, and setting objectives to reach goals does not properly recognize the contributions of Black youth, guardians, and community members as creators of educational change and engages in color-evasive action that do not explicitly disrupt anti-Blackness. Understanding anti-Blackness and drawing on the contributions of Black people in leadership activity is crucial as Dumas & ross (2016) suggest that disrupting anti-Blackness minimally requires discussion about anti-Blackness and drawing on the actions of the Black community to disrupt the status quo. Thus, moving beyond Kotter (1990) conceptualization of leadership may be necessary to disrupt anti-Blackness.

I drew on Diamond (2013) conceptualization of distributed leadership because this theorization of leading both discusses race and racism and views leadership within the purview of minoritized youth, guardians, and community both within and outside of formal organizational

roles. Viewing leadership from a distributed perspective may hold potential to better analyze anti-Blackness in ELO leadership. For example, Ishimaru (2018) demonstrated the potential for Black youth and youth workers participating in a partnership with a public school to address discipline disparities for Black students by engaging youth as leaders of school staff professional learning on the topic of restorative justice. Drawing on distributed leadership frameworks in future research has potential to better recognize the contributions of Black people in educational change efforts than Kotter's (1990) narrow analysis of leading. The limited amount of research utilizing distributed leadership frameworks to address anti-Blackness in ELO change efforts leaves considerable terrain to deepen methods and theory to explore how Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers can be engaged in shared leadership processes to disrupt anti-Black racism.

Implications for Future Research and Practice on Blackened ELO Leadership

While this critical literature review has examined many articles about ELO leadership it would be inappropriate to suggest this is an exhaustive review of all the scholarship in the field. The research on anti-blackness in ELO organizations is at an emerging stage and I likely omitted scholarship because of time constraints or imperfect search methodology. The expressions of leadership discussed in this article especially the "Blackened" is at a nascent stage meaning as of now it is undertheorized.

Future research might explore questions including: what historical enactments of Blackened ELO leadership practice can scholars and practitioners learn from to disrupt policy and practices contemporarily? A principle of Wake Work is illuminating Blackness in archives so anti-Blackness can better become visible in discourse (Sharpe, 2016). Black leaders have been serving Black youth in ELO from the creation of these organizations. Researching historical

enactments of Black communities engaging in shared leadership to resist and disrupt anti-Blackness could potentially provide lessons on Blackened self-awareness, leadership processes, and outcomes that better center the needs of the Black community.

A second question to explore is how do we prepare white ELO leaders to engage in Blackened ways? A common form of anti-Blackness is denying Black people positions of power (Sharpe, 2016). There is well established reports and literature that there is a disparity in Black leader's running ELO (Baldridge, 2020a BoardSource, 2017; Russell & Butler, 2020). Scholars have suggested the disparities in Black ELO leadership occurs in part because of racism and bias of white leaders (Baldridge, 2020a; Russell & Butler, 2020). Disrupting the mindsets of white ELO leaders so they do not engage in anti-Black racism and bias will require professional learning to develop their capacity to lead with Blackened self-awareness. Thus, scholars must conduct more research to understand how if at all do white leaders develop Blackened self-awareness.

For practice the categories of ELO leadership provide a pertinent framework to devise professional learning to prepare educational leaders across multiple learning organizations. The ELO leadership literature has described the limited amount of professional learning offered to ELO leaders (Birmingham, Pechman, Russell & Mleke, 2005; Vandell & Lao, 2016). While Richmond, Braughton, & Borden (2018) states there is even less research on professional learning to prepare ELO leaders to engage in culturally responsive ways. Lastly, the search for ELO leadership development trainings to better serve Black youth or disrupt the specificity of anti-Blackness yielded no results. Recent scholarship has resulted in increased recognition for engaging in cultural responsiveness (Miller, 2020; Simpkins, Riggs, Ngo, Vest Ettekal, & Okamoto, 2017) and developing leadership capacity to disrupt the specificity of anti-Blackness

(Baldridge, 2020b). The categories outlined can help devise professional learning sessions to shift practices from color-evasive leadership approaches to become more culturally responsive and disrupt anti-Blackness in organizational change efforts by helping leaders reflect, formulate new theories of action, and shift their practices in ways that better serve racially diverse youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers.

Conclusion

In recent years The ELO field has become increasingly cognizant about the need for organizational leadership to resist and disrupt anti-blackness. However, the ELO leadership literature on anti-Blackness is at formative stage. Since limited research on anti-Blackness in ELO leadership exist this leaves extensive territory to develop new or alternative theories and practices that have the potential to sustain the culture of Black youth. By identifying categories of leadership in the ELO literature this study contributes intentional and specific mindsets, leadership practices, and outcomes that elucidate how to better serve Black and other racially diverse youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers. While this study provides categories of leadership it is important to note that ELO often serve youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers of multiple backgrounds. To properly address the needs of racially diverse youth ELO leaders will need to develop leadership approaches with greater depth and specificity about the history, culture, and lifeways of the community served.

Part II: Disrupting the Status Quo. Analyzing how Black Youth, Community, and Youth Workers Resist Anti Blackness

Introduction

Expanded learning organizations (ELO) leadership policy and practice often reproduces anti-Blackness onto Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers. ELOs draw on community resources to provide youth development activities that range from school-community programs, extracurricular learning, experiential learning, civic engagement, leadership development, mentoring, and other wraparound services (Stonehill, Lauver, Donahue, Naftzger, McElvain & Stephanidis, 2011). ELO leadership policy and practice reproduces anti-Blackness in multiple ways including leaders framing Black youth as deficient (Baldridge, 2019). In addition, ELO leaders often disregard the agency and voice of Black youth, community members, and youth workers in educational change efforts (Baldridge, 2019; Baldridge 2020a). Shared leadership strategies may hold potential to disrupt anti-Blackness in ELOs as Dumas & ross (2016) suggest reimagining educational spaces with the Black community may be able to upset the pervasive status quo. The persistence of ELO leadership reifying anti-Blackness suggests a need to develop shared leadership strategies that can engage Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers in reimagining these organizations

The literature review in paper one of this dissertation outlined that ELO leadership policies and practices touted as effective can perpetuate anti-Blackness because the action of leaders is commonly *color-evasive.* Color-evasive ELO leadership policies and practices effectively avoid discussions about how race impacts decisions, behavior, and learning. Color-evasive ELO leadership often focuses on the technical aspects of leading like engaging in leadership practices including hiring high quality youth workers or providing professional

development without regard to how race impacts that staff member's ability to work with Black youth (Folkes & McWorther, 2018; Huang & Dietel, 2011). Prevailing color-evasive ELO leadership can enable the logic that all leaders must do is follow predetermined steps to obtain positive youth developmental gain for young people regardless of their race. However, Dumas & ross (2016) suggest challenging anti-Blackness requires specific actions, strategies, and language to disrupt the endemic status quo. In addition, ELO leadership often rely on valuing the expertise and decision making made by a subset of positional leader(s), for example an executive director, program manager, or board of trustee member(s) (Miller, 2020). Dumas & ross (2016) propose disrupting anti-Blackness requires the Black community to be active participants in reimaging educational spaces. Thus, ELO may need to engage the expertise and decision making of Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers in shared leadership to overturn anti-Blackness.

Drawing on the conceptual lenses of Wake Work (Sharpe, 2016) and Culturally Sustaining Leadership (Santamaria & Santamaria, 2016) this critical ethnographic study examines how ELO leadership can disrupt anti-Blackness by actively engaging Black youth, community members, and youth workers in organizational change efforts. Specifically, I will analyze the predominantly Black youth worker led Future Black Leaders[1] (FBL) because the organization explicitly tries to disrupt issues of anti-Black racism and inequity experienced by Black youth. FBL's predominately Black leadership intentionally seeks to disrupt traditional color-evasive leadership models that center whiteness and hierarchical leadership structures to better center the expertise and decision making of Black youth, community members, and youth

[1] I have changed all names and locations to pseudonyms

workers. The shared leadership exhibited by FBL's predominately Black leaders is atypical in the ELO leadership field which makes this study a valuable contribution to research and practice.

In the sections that follow I will begin by providing framing literature to explore how ELO literature has analyzed the intersection of leadership and anti-Blackness. Next, I provide my theoretical framework which combines the theories of Culturally Sustaining Leadership and Wake Work. Following, I discuss my methods which draw on tenets of critical ethnography. Lastly, I provide findings and discussion that describes how FBL engages in shared leadership with Black youth, community members, and youth workers. Three key findings this critical ethnography underscore include (1) FBL leaders utilize knowledge substantively guided by Blackness to engage in leadership activity, (2) FBL utilizes tenets of restorative practice to disrupt hierarchical decision-making, and (3) primary outcomes FBL pursues are relationship building and community healing. Together these findings illuminate a shared leadership model that disrupts anti-Blackness by leveling hierarchical decision-making to substantively place Black youth, community members, and youth workers at the center of disrupting anti-Black systems of oppression.

Research at the intersection of ELO leadership and Anti-Blackness

Research studies at the intersection of ELO leadership and anti-Black racism has received limited investigation. Broadly, Baldridge (2014; 2019; 2020a; 2020b) and Ginwright (2010) provide the dominant conceptualization of the way ELO leadership practices disrupts anti-Blackness. Collectively, Baldridge's studies critique how economic, social, and political factors influence organizational and pedagogical practices of youth workers to engage in or disrupt anti-Blackness. Baldridge draws on theories including anti-Black racism (Dumas, 2016; Dumas & ross, 2016) and liberalism (Castagno, 2021) to suggest society and institutions do not disregard

Black Americans lives, rather their lives are “not even considered” (Baldridge, 2019). For example, Baldridge (2020a) analyzed how white ELO leaders denied Black youth workers advancement to progressive leadership positions and exploited their labor due to white discomfort. Additionally, Baldridge studies have focused on an analysis of positional ELO leaders as none of these studies examine the contributions of Black youth, guardians, or community members. While Ginwright has drawn on Freirean (1995) and community psychology (Garbarino, 1995; Prilleltensky, 2008) theories to analyze how Black youth and youth workers create safe spaces in their communities. For example, Ginwright (2010) describes his leadership of a community-based organization that promotes *radical healing* to engender Black youth identity development and a willingness to engage in social action to address community issues.

While Baldridge and Ginwright lay a crucial foundation for discussing ELO leadership and anti-Blackness their discourse leaves many aspects of this intersection undertheorized. First, previous studies at the intersection of ELO leadership and anti-Blackness do not utilize leadership theory. Leadership theory often draws on the logic that educational change occurs through creating a vision, allocating resources, and setting objectives to reach goals (Kotter, 1990). Similarly, previous ELO leadership studies on anti-Blackness do not fully analyze the contributions of Black youth, guardians, and community members as leaders of organizational change efforts (with exception see Ginwright, 2010). Kotter (1990) theorization of leadership overlooks the contribution minoritized youth, guardians, and community members in organizational change efforts which is common in scholarship (Bertrand & Rodela 2018). Dumas & ross (2016) suggest disrupting anti-Blackness in educational organizations must engage in the process of reimaging learning spaces with the Black community. This study draws on Diamond

(2013) conceptualization of distributed leadership because the lens foregrounds the ways actors including minoritized youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers participate in leadership activity across multiple levels to influence aspects of change efforts on topics of race and racism. Specifically, this study aims to analyze how Black youth, community members, and youth workers engage in shared leadership activity to disrupt anti-Blackness. Through a distributed leadership lens, I investigate the mindsets, leadership processes, and outcomes that Black people utilize to create organizational change that resist anti-Blackness. The findings from this study provide new theory on shared ELO leadership that have potential to disrupt anti-Blackness.

Theoretical Framework

Culturally Sustaining Leadership: Collective Action for and with the Community

In this study I draw on Culturally Sustaining Leadership (CSL) as my analytic lens to understand how leadership engages Black youth, community members, and youth workers in the process of organizational change. CSL's theoretical foundation is Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy (CSP) which provides culturally and linguistic diverse youth with learning opportunity to perpetuate and foster linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism (Paris, 2012). CSL recognizes CSP as its foundation, however, focuses on how leadership can engage the expertise and decision making of minoritized youth, guardians, community members, and staff in the process of reimagining educational organizations to perpetuate and foster the linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism of minoritized people (Santamaria & Santamaria, 2016). CSL provides an analytic lens to investigate how the leadership processes of FBL's youth, community members, and youth workers disrupt anti-Blackness thereby creating learning spaces that perpetuate and foster the linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism of the Black people served.

In addition, CSL can help me analyze the critical self-awareness of leaders as they make sense of and act on the anti-Black contexts in which they operate. Critical self-awareness in the context of this study is defined as the ability of Black youth, community members, youth workers to "read the world and act accordingly through lenses that are critically focused on action disrupting inequities based on ethnicity, race, gender and class" (Santamaria & Santamaria, 2016 p.5). This means leaders must be aware of how their own marginalization, privilege, and positionality impact their leadership. For example, FBL's youth workers might discuss how their own experiences of anti-Blackness in the form of denial from positions of power limited their opportunities to address Black community concerns and seeds their desire to serve Black people. The same FBL youth worker might talk about how their understanding of anti-Blackness led them to develop a program that actively builds capacity and provides opportunities for Black youth, community members, and youth workers to lead a process of organizational change impacting the Black community. Thus, CSL examines both the process of shared leadership and how people make sense of why they are engaging in specific practices.

In this study, I am interested in how FBL develops strategies and outcomes that target Black community outcomes rather than serving individuals or the organization. Often leadership processes that engage youth, guardians, and community members focuses on discrete intervention and outcomes (Bertrand & Rodela, 2017; Ishimaru, 2019). CSL provides an analytic framework to analyze the development of community-based goals and outcomes because the theory explores how leadership processes bring "consensus by prioritizing shared goals and establishing common ground throughout decision-making" (Santamaria & Santamaria, 2016 p.4). In the context of FBL's leadership, I examine how the organization navigates the tension of funders holding them accountable to increasing student academic achievement measured by

increases in standardized test scores which is a common neoliberal outcome ELOs perpetuate (Baldridge, 2020b; Gast, Okamoto, & Feldman, 2017). Rather than solely focus on academic achievement, I examine how FBL expands their outcomes to engage Black youth, community members, and youth workers in community healing.

While there are more aspects of CSL than discussed in this theoretical framework, I focus on critical self-awareness, leadership processes, and outcomes to understand how Black people think about and engage in leadership processes that liberate themselves from anti-Blackness. This analytic is crucial because current ELO leadership literature provides scant examinations of the ways Black leaders serve Black youth, guardians, community members, youth workers.

Wake Work: A Way to Understand Anti-Blackness

While CSL is a potentially effective analytical framework to understand shared leadership to resist issues of race and racism it provides an insufficient framework to investigate how to disrupt anti-Blackness because the theory does not provide a specific analysis of Blackness or anti-Blackness. Dumas & ross (2016) suggest theories and strategies that provide a broad critical race perspective on educational issues do not have language attuned to the specificity of Blackness, thus these approaches cannot fully address everyday forms of anti-Blackness. Consequently, I merge my analysis of FBL's culturally sustaining leadership with Wake Work because the theory describes Black American life in the afterlife of slavery. Hartman (2008) describes the social conditions "skewed life chances, limited access to health and education, premature death, incarceration, and impoverishment" emanating from anti-Blackness as *the afterlife of slavery.* Specifically, Wake Work seeks to define and name how society and institutions make Blackness in/visible, known/silenced, and dis/appeared in the afterlife of slavery. In the context of FBL's shared leadership having Wake Work as analytic lens allows me to critique the language and

leadership activity of the organization as it disrupts anti-Blackness and centers Blackness. I discuss how FBL's leadership processes use asset-oriented language about Blackness or assess how initiatives, artifacts, or strategies specifically name disrupting anti-Blackness as a goal of organizational change. Having Wake Work as my analytic lens necessities a shift from universal language like racism and oppression to a more precise of discussion of how FBL seeks to disrupt anti-Blackness and better serve Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers.

Additionally, Wake Work provides a theoretical framework to analyze how Black people specifically disrupt anti-Blackness. Sharpe (2016) suggests that disrupting anti-Blackness must rely on the knowledge of Black people as they "resist, rupture, and disrupt that immanence and imminence aesthetically and materially (p. 13)." Wake Work recognizes the agency and ability of Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers as assets in the process of changing society and institutions rather than seeing these people as deficient. FBL similarly places Black youth, community members, and youth workers at the center of their leadership structures to disrupt issues of anti-Blackness. For example, having Wake Work as my analytic allows for a more precise examination of the way a Black youth led social action campaign disrupts anti-Blackness by investigating how these young people have their leadership capacity built and ultimately engaged to create social change on topics effecting their community.

I combine CSL with Wake Work to provide a targeted shared leadership strategy meant to disrupt anti-Blackness and better meet the needs of Black youth guardians, community members, and youth workers. While my conceptualization provides a salient analytic lens to analyze FBL I also use the to frame select the central research question of the study, the select the ethnographic study site, inform the deductive coding scheme, and categorize the analysis. The next section will

go into further detail about how I use the combined lenses of CSL and Wake Work to make methodological choices.

Methods

Hartman (2008) suggests people normalize anti-Blackness through everyday practices. This means leaders must respond in everyday situations to disrupt anti-Blackness. In accordance with my theoretical framework, I utilized critical ethnographic methods to explore the everyday way FBL's shared leadership responded to anti-Blackness. This study intentionally foregrounds the opinions and critique of FBL's shared leadership as a site of activism and change through critical ethnographic methods by focusing on the language and actions of Black youth, community members, and youth workers (Denzin, 2017). Critical ethnographic methods are suited for this study because the main approach to understanding the site of study is participant observation which allows me to capture how normalized leadership processes make sense of and respond to anti-Blackness (Goffman, 2001). Describing FBL's normalized leadership processes through a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) will explicate the mindset of Black leaders, illustrate the common leadership processes applied, and identify the outcomes that both enables and constrains movement toward disrupting anti-Blackness. "Humanizing" FBL's shared leadership through critical ethnographic methods (Kirkland, 2014) is crucial because previous studies of ELO organizations have shown these programs have the potential to both disrupt and reify anti-Blackness (Baldridge 2019; Baldridge, 2020a). This study elucidates the intricacy of disrupting anti-Blackness in shared ELO leadership contributing new theory and targeted study of Black leadership substantively engaged by Black youth, guardians, and community members.

Study Site: Future Black Leaders (FBL)

In this study, I examine Future Black Leaders (FBL), located in Blue Lake's Sandy Shores Neighborhood. Sandy Shores is home to a large segment of Blue Lake's Black community that has experienced longstanding anti-Blackness including disinvestment in schools and rising property values which is leading to gentrification. FBL formed after the dissolution of City Support an organization that uses Christian principles to address urban poverty in Blue Lake's Valley region. City Support facilitated a six-week summer program called Liberation Camp in the Summer of 2015 from a grant given by the Young Scholars Relief Fund. The Liberation Camp curriculum has five elements which includes culturally infused reading curriculum, intergenerational leadership, supporting student led, community-based solutions for issues in their lives, parent and community engagement, and nutritional and health wellness. In the summer of 2016 City Support decided to cancel Liberation Camp, however several predominately Black City Support employees, youth scholars, and community members rallied together to raise $50,000 to continue running the program. On July 5, 2016 the second Liberation Camp was hosted at Sandy Shores High School and the organization FBL was founded by former youth and youth workers that participated in the City Support program to address systemic racism and impact the school to prison pipeline in Blue Lake's Sandy Shores Neighborhood. After the founding Jack and Laurel became the nominal heads of FBL as many people have engaged in aspects of leading the organizational change efforts.

Since the Summer of 2016, FBL has developed a year-round program that prepares predominately Black youth to participate in social activism on the issues that affect their lives, foster critical literacy, participate in restorative justice programs, and provide after-school tutoring in several Sandy Shores area schools. One aspect of FBL's work that has received plaudits is their youth-led community organizing. FBL's Black youth have led or been part of several community

efforts to disrupt on-going anti-Blackness at Sandy Shores High School and the greater neighborhood. For example, in 2018 Black youth that participated in the Liberation Camp's program held a social activism campaign to address Blue Lake Public School transportation policy that forced youth living within two miles of their school to walk rather than obtain bus transportation to school. The transportation policy was a form of anti-Blackness because it disproportionately impacted Black youth and BLPS administrators ignored several potentially dangerous walking paths that did not have sidewalks or students had to cross busy intersections. Ultimately, the social action campaign led to a change in transportation policy which included local income youth receiving over 1 million dollars in mass transit cards so they could have safe and reliable transportation to school.

In the years 2019, 2020, and 2021 FBL goals and activities have shifted because of the COVID-19 pandemic and racial uprising due to the death of George Floyd. COVID-19 has shifted FBL's ability to provide summer and after school programming so that they will be in line with state mandated social distancing guidelines. During the Summer of 2020 FBL provided their Liberation Camp program online by creating a new curriculum and utilizing twice a week virtual check-ins and phone calls home. While during the school year FBL has partnered with both a high school and elementary school to provide virtual after school tutoring, in class tutoring when requested, and mentoring programs to serve Black youth. In addition, FBL has been involved in a community effort to address housing inequities caused by COVID-19. Furthermore, FBL has created the Valley Food Drive Program to ensure that the students they serve will have access to groceries and regular meals. Regarding the death of George Floyd FBL has been central in a Black youth led effort to get Blue Lake Public Schools (BLPS) to end their association with the Blue Lake Police Department (BLPD). FBL's partnership with Black youth organizers has led to a

suspension in the BLPS/BLPD partnership. Ultimately the work and leadership of FBL cannot be divorced from the moment we are in. Examining how FBL has centered Black voices in leadership roles and partnered with Black youth and Black community organizations can provide a better understanding of shared leadership to disrupt anti-Blackness in educational institutions and society.

FBL provides a promising site of inquiry because the shared leadership of Black youth, community members, and youth workers are disrupting several aspects of anti-Blackness. FBL has several strategies to center the voices of Black youth, community members, and youth workers in leadership. First, one of FBL's core values is collective leadership which recognizes the expertise and decision making all people within the organization to play a role in determining which social justice campaign to pursue, develop Black centered learning experiences, and engaging in organizational administration. Among the 7 people listed as youth workers on FBL website all identify as Black men or woman, except one white woman. In addition, most of the students, community members, youth workers that work with or for the organization identify as Black. Among FBL's youth workers no one officially holds the title Executive Director everyone either is a coordinator or director. Laurel (white woman) has been with the organization since its inception as a focal founding member. Laurel is the only continuous youth worker from the beginning of FBL and sits atop an informal power structure because of her historical knowledge and centrality to FBL's legal and budgeting duties. Everyone at FBL is aware of this informal power structure and seeks to disrupt normative leadership hierarchies by engaging in shared leadership where Black youth, community members, youth workers play a substantive role in determining which social justice campaign to pursue, learning experiences, and organizational administration.

Furthermore, FBL's value of intergenerational leadership has cultivated a pipeline of Black youth and young adults from the local Black community that have taken on leadership roles at FBL and in the Sandy Shores community. Intergenerational leadership provides any youth or staff member practical experiences and training to lead aspects of the organization. Moreover, FBL is explicitly building capacity of Black youth and community members to disrupt issues of anti-Blackness through activities like Liberation Camp and Community Party that help people realize their potential to understand and play a role in upsetting the anti-Blackness that affects their lives.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this study is the leadership activity of FBL's Black youth, community members, and youth workers to disrupt anti-Blackness. Drawing on concepts from CSL and Wake Work I consider how FBL's Black youth, community members, and youth workers critical self-awareness, leadership processes, and outcomes impact anti-Blackness.

Participants

The focal participants of the study were the youth workers that engaged in the daily leadership of FBL throughout data collection (Adam, Jeff, Laurel, Malia, Montana, Tina). FBL has several program area meetings including restorative justice, Black healing circle, and Liberation Camps that a smaller subset of FBL youth workers meets to lead work. The focal participants all played roles in organizational leadership including curriculum development, crafting the budget for their program area, facilitating learning sessions about restorative justice, and engaging in aspects of community organizing. The focal participants all initially gathered for weekly team meetings but shifted the cadence to bi-weekly mid-way during data collection with Laurel, Malila, Montana, and Tina regularly meeting.

As data collection progressed Laurel, Malia, Montana, and Tina took on more substantive organizational administration roles as Adam and Jeff became more focused on facilitating restorative justice work. Additionally, key to note about Malia, Montana, and Tina is they identify as Black women, which played a prominent role in their beliefs and actions as leaders which substantively impacted organizational change efforts. Several scholars document the unique perspective Black women bring to leadership roles that help them bring constructive change to oppressive systems (Alston, 2005; Horsford, 2012). Malia, Montana, Tina, and several other Black women discussed in this section engaged in radical ideas that helped disrupt differing forms of anti-Blackness.

A second set of participants I included in data collection were individuals influencing various aspects of leadership activity at FBL on topics of anti-Blackness. One group of individuals, I included in the study are former and current youth participants in FBL's programs. I reviewed archived artifacts like videos and documents with the Black Women youth leaders of Black and Brown Minds Matter (BBMM) Kerry and Amanda. During the summer of 2020 FBL partnered with BBMM and Food Social Action Team (FSAT) to end Blue Lake Public Schools (BLPS) contracts with the Blue Lake Police Department (BLPD). Reviewing archived artifacts helped to establish the normalized pattern of action and the language FBL youth workers used with Black youth to disrupt anti-Blackness. Additionally, I interviewed Yasmin a Black Woman former youth participant of FBL because of her involvement in several social action campaigns, curriculum development, and activity leadership. I Interviewed Yasmin to determine how FBL partners with Black youth to disrupt anti-Blackness. I asked questions that helped me understand how Yasmin's developed her critical self-awareness if her expertise and decision making was honored in leadership activity, and how when youth worked with FBL youth workers developed outcomes.

Yasmin's interview was a key data source to triangulate and build validity to the way FBL works with Black youth and community members to disrupt issues of anti-Blackness.

The third set of participants important to this study are the leaders of community based and ELO organizations that serve the Sandy Shores community that FBL partners with to disrupt issues of anti-Blackness. I spoke with Amber, Derek, and Gus because they have all partnered with or have knowledge of the work FBL does to foreground Black community concerns. For example, FBL has worked with Gus at Sandy Shores Action Coalition (SSAC) since the inception of FBL on several initiatives to foreground Black community issues. SSAC recently named FBL a community unsung hero for a second time because they met community needs by conducting the Valley Food Drive food distribution program and training young people as community organizers. In my interview with Gus from SSAC he helped me analyze how FBL engages in shared leadership processes with community organizations to disrupt issues of anti-Blackness and empowering youth as leaders to address Black community concerns.

Lastly, I interviewed Ronni a Capacity Building Lead at Blue Lake Valley Non-Profit Support (BLVNPS). BLVNPS helps partner organizations cultivate leaders of color to take on progressive leadership roles. Since Jack a founder of FBL has stepped away from the organization Laurel, a white woman has stepped in. In initial conversations with FBL youth workers they recognized that having a white woman taking on substantive leadership role may not be in accordance with organizational values. Ronni has helped FBL engage in alternative leadership structure that better empower black youth workers as leaders. Interviewing Ronni and engaging in participant-observer observations with her helped to illuminate how FBL must constantly interrogate their own leadership activity because they have the potential to both enable and

constrain anti-Blackness. Figure 2.1 provides descriptive detail about the study participants including their name, race/ethnicity, organization, and position at the time of my study.

Figure 2.1: Descriptive Detail of Study Participants

Name	Race/Ethnicity Identity	Organization – Position
Malia*	Black Womxn	FBL - Programming Manager
Montana*	Black Womxn	FBL - Communications and Development Coordinator
Tina*	Black Woman	FBL - Restorative Justice Coordinator
Jeff	Black Man	FBL - Restorative Justice Coordinator
Adam*	Black Man	FBL - Restorative Justice Liaison
Kerry	Black Woman	FBL - Curriculum Specialist
Laurel*	White Woman	FBL - Operations and Finance Director
Yasmin*	Black Woman	Former FBL - Youth Participant
Ronni*	Indian Woman	Blue Lake Valley Non Profit Support - Capacity Building Lead
Amanda	Black Woman	FBL - Youth Participant
Kerry	Black Woman	FBL - Youth Participant
Amber*	Asian American Woman	Food Social Action Team – Organizing Director
Derek*	Black Man	Neighborhood Safety Council – Founder and Chief Executive Officer
Gus*	Black Man	Sandy Shores Action Coalition – Managing Strategist
Alice	Pacific Islander Woman	Vice Principal – Sandy Shores High School
Rebeka*	White Woman	Vice Principal – Sandy Shores High School
Carla*	White Woman	Social Worker – Sandy Shores High School
Erika	White Woman	Sandy Shores Elementary – Principal
Lauren*	Black Woman	Sandy Shores Elementary - Vice Principal

*Interview Participant

Data Collection

The time bound of data collection was July 2020 until March 2021, which is approximately nine months. Data collection included participant-observer observations triangulated with semi-structured critical narrative interviews, document/artifact analysis, and researcher identity memos to develop validity, build reliability, and counter bias (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Since this study occurred during COVID-19 FBL and other community partners cancelled several meetings due to sickness, unexpected technical problems, and a myriad of personal situations. COVID-19 limited observation opportunities but was an opportunity to understand how FBL responded to unexpected situations.

Participant-Observer Observation

Since everyday practices normalize anti-Blackness (Hartman, 2008), I chose to conduct participant-observer observations because the method helped track the way FBL's Black youth, community members, and youth workers routinely responded to anti-Blackness (Goffman, 2001). Centering the mindsets, processes, and outcomes of FBL's Black youth, community members, and youth workers through participant-observer is crucial because it upholds the voice and agency of Black people as crucial to understand and disrupt anti-Blackness (Brand, 2012; Dumas & Ross, 2016; Sharpe, 2016). I conducted approximately 80 hours of participant-observer observations. All meeting observations occurred via virtual meeting platforms. While I attended several Valley Food drive events in person in a volunteer role. While engaging in observations I regularly record fieldnotes in the audit trail. The fieldnotes of observations attended to several aspects of leadership including what roles participants of meeting attendees play, context of the meeting, setting, processes, enactments of leadership practice, and relational dynamics (See Appendix B Protocol for Participant-Observer Observations). I chose these areas of inquiry because they highlight how

Black youth, community members, and youth workers are involved in leadership activities and the ways in which people work together to disrupt anti-Blackness. I recorded all fieldnotes in the audit trail approximately 48 hours after observation.

My participant-observer observations focused on the leadership activity of FBL with particularly interest to leadership team meetings, program area meetings, and community meetings. Most of my attendance included five leadership team meetings (1 -2 hours each), seven program area meetings (1 hour each), and four community meetings (1 – 3 hours each) was more in the observer role. I selected these meetings because it helped demonstrate how FBL valued the expertise and decision making of youth, community members, and youth workers on topics including organizational administration, curriculum development, and community organizing actions plans. For example, I attended an FBL facilitated meeting on rent justice where they provided housing resources and developed an action plan to foreground Black and greater community concerns. Some dynamics I was able to examine was FBL's attempts at shared leadership because I saw who they recruited to talk, how they engaged community members in the process of shared decision making on the topic of housing insecurity, and how they planned to address the ongoing challenge.

In addition, I attended activities including the Black Healing Circles, staff recruitment events, and Valley Food Drive to better contextualize how FBL executes leadership activities developed in leadership team meetings. The purpose of attending these activities was to establish the "informal logic of actual life" (Greetz, 1973 P. 17) through more fully engaging as a participant. As a participant, I volunteered with FBL to understand the ways collective leadership occurs in daily practice. For example, I volunteered for Valley Food Drive and delivered groceries and lunches to FBL youth and guardians four times. Valley Food Drive is a food insecurity

program where FBL shifted their resources to fill the void of youth not getting lunch left by schools when they shut down because of COVID-19. I was able to meet with FBL youth workers in the office to have informal conversation on topics ranging from personal life, current community issues, and how organizational leadership activities were going. I strategically used my participant-observer observations to confirm and check statements made by participants to see if what they say during interviews held up in practice. An important tension to examine surrounding anti-Blackness in ELOs is the possible contradiction between what leaders say and do (Baldridge, 2019). Participant-observer observations allowed me to probe for possible complementary and contradictory practices to understand if FBL lives the values it espouses (Argyris & Schon, 1974).

Semi-Structured Critical Narrative Interviews:

My theoretical framework validates the expertise and decision making of Black youth, community members, and youth as a site for critique and change of institutions and systems (Santamaria & Santamaria, 2016; Sharpe, 2016). I drew on critical narrative interviews as a method that aligns with my theoretical framework because the method recognizes the power of lived experiences to makes visible silenced concerns and lifeways, which promotes generative learning processes and can lead to community transformation (Benham, 2007). FBL youth, community members, and youth workers engaged in self-narration so I could document their experiences and meaning making about anti-Blackness and serving the Black community across time, place, and situation (Clandinin, 2007).

Interviews lasted approximately 30-60 minutes. The conversations were semi-structured so I could respond to my interviewee's emerging worldviews and new ideas about the topic of Blackness and anti-Blackness (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The interviews focused on how participants make sense of their critical self-awareness, explaining interpretations of FBL values

like collective leadership and intergenerational leadership, and outlining organizational leadership processes (See Appendix C for Interview Protocol). Description of FBL's core values and organizational routines is important because it allowed me to understand how leadership is operationalized to disrupt anti-Blackness. The interviews helped triangulate my participant-observer observations and document analysis to understand if FBL is living the values and routines they espouse to disrupt anti-Blackness (Argyris & Schon, 1974).

Artifact Analysis:

Artifacts which include archived video and documents are rich pieces of data that can help contextualize the leadership of FBL (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I collected artifacts that range from professional development training documents, event calendars, organizational documents, video media, and print media. In one case, I reviewed FBL's event calendar over the course of several weeks to ascertain how the organization is maintaining and shifting their activities to disrupt anti-Blackness and meet other community needs. For example, on October 26th FBL released filers about its rent justice campaign that discussed the organization wanting to plan with the community how they would approach the end of the eviction moratorium and teach the community how to advocate for themselves in this process, along with a survey about what resources do people most think they need. On November 16th FBL posted a new flier that had a date for a community meeting on Dec 1st and described that they had created resources based off the early survey. Artifacts like the event calendar demonstrate a consistent and intentional effort to foreground a community concern where FBL is trying to engage the larger community's expertise and decision making on an issue of anti-Blackness.

Researcher Identity Memos

Critical ethnography is a reflexive act as goal of the research is to discuss not only the change in the site under study, but that of the researcher (Maxwell, 2012). Throughout my data collection and analysis, I documented how my perspectives and worldviews were changing through researcher identity memos. The researcher identity memo is an iterative writing tool that encouraged me to become critically reflexive about my intentions for this research, predicting possible harm, and asking myself if I maintained proper relationality with FBL (Madison, 2005). I formally documented my reflection on my goals, the relevance of those goals to the study, and explore my ongoing assumptions about the FBL several times in my audit trail. My experiences as a Black male who previously served as an ELO youth worker, program administrator, volunteer, board member, and researcher have influenced my understanding of FBL's work to disrupt anti-Blackness. I will further explore how my emerging interpretations were impacted by my identity and understanding of ELO work through a researcher identity memo in the data analysis section.

Data Analysis

I organized the data corpus for my research question via an excel spreadsheet with categorizes that included: (a) Date of Data Collection (b) Type of Data (Interview, Fieldnote, Document/Artifact, Researcher Identity Memo, Feedback Session), (c) Where was the Data Retrieved from, (d) Notes about Data. To analyze the data (interviews, field notes, artifacts) I organized and uploaded all the files in Dedoose research software (DeCuir-Gunby, Marshall, and McCulloch, 2011). I transcribed all interviews and recorded video verbatim. After upload into Dedoose I engaged in iterative data analysis utilizing two strategies: 1) deductive and inductive coding; and 2) writing analytic memos.

I engaged in several rounds of iterative coding to identify themes, test my interpretations, refine the code book, and look for opposing explanations to combat bias (Lofland, Snow,

Anderson, & Lofland, 2006). In initial rounds of coding, I applied deductive codes related to my combined conceptual framework Wake Work and CSL (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I initially engaged in a deductive process because I was specifically interested in the ways Black youth, community members, and youth workers engage together to disrupt anti-Blackness. Wake Work provided a deductive framework to analyze anti-Blackness, so I used codes including (a) Black trauma, (b) racial calculus, (c) exclusion, and (d) re/imagining (e) Black leadership. Additionally, I developed deductive codes using CSL including: (a) critical self-awareness (b) community conversation (d) shared expertise (e) shared decision making. I created a code book based on Macqueen, Mclellan-Lemal, Bartholow & Milstein's (2008) method that includes adding a definition, when to use, when not to use, and example for each code (See Appendix D Critical Ethnography Code Book). I grouped codes that were most representative of data together as themes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011).

Combining Wake Work and CSL as analytic lenses allowed me to explore my data for instances where shared leadership was engaged to disrupt anti-Blackness. For example, several excerpts in the data demonstrated FBL youth workers creating opportunities for Black youth and community members to engage in shared expertise and decision making on issues of anti-Blackness. While coding deductively, I noted instances of data that did not pertain to my combined theoretical framework, so I developed inductive codes for these emerging themes. Inductive codes that were not associated with my theoretical framework include (a) context, (b) tension, and (c) youth leadership. For example, I noted tensions like turnover of staff because of new professional opportunities that were important to track but did not specifically pertain to anti-Blackness. I tested codes by triangulating the data sources (interviews, fieldnotes, artifacts) to illuminate pattern within FBL leadership activity (Hebard, 2016).

Concurrent with coding, I drafted analytic memos during data collection and analysis. Drafting memos helped me make analytic claims and methodical decisions like narrowing the focus of the study and develop higher inference claims (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Since the unit of analysis is the leadership activity of FBL's Black youth, community members, and youth workers to disrupt anti-Blackness I narrowed the focus of my study to analyze the mindset of leaders, their actions, relational interactions, and outcomes pursued. For example, as I analyzed the data, I noted the connection between FBL's leaders relying on their critical self-awareness contextualized to their experiences of Blackness to shift their leadership activity. Noticing the connection between Blackness and critical self-awareness helped me better track how FBL leader's thoughts connected to changes in leadership activity. I recorded analytic memos in the audit trail every day I completed work. I tracked analytic memos entries through two column style notes with the date appearing on the left side and any ongoing analytical and methodological insights on the right side. Lastly, I conducted several members checks to engage research participants in discussion about claims from my analytic memos to understand if my interpretations are cogent with how FBL views their leadership activity (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). During data collection I met with Montana bi-weekly to discuss my ongoing interpretation of FBL's leadership activity. During these bi-weekly meetings Montana suggested several activities, documents, people to interview to further my understanding of WA-BLOC's leadership activity. Additionally, I conducted formal discussion with FBL staff in a leadership team meeting near the end of data collection to check my understanding of FBL leadership activity. Lastly, I conducted a slide deck presentation for FBL with a statement of purpose, grounding literature, and findings with time for discussion after I completed my initial analysis.

Emerging Interpretations from Researcher Identity Memos

As a Black male that has served as an educational leader, I have seen and experienced multiple forms of anti-Black racism throughout my life. I know the silencing effect anti-Blackness has on cultural forms of expression and feelings of self-worth. What pushes me as a scholar and educational leader is to disrupt educational organizations that Baldridge (2019) term "fugitive space" or educational organizations where Black youth have a chance to develop, but the program exists within a structure of anti-Blackness. My scholarship has the intention to recognize like Brand (2010) and Sharpe (2016) the agency, ability, and power of Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers to overturn the pervasive forms of anti-Blackness that affects their lives. By researching about FBL, I consider how a contemporary Black youth, community members, and youth workers led ELO has a praxis like Stokely Carmichael former head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Carmichael understood how to use "Black power" as a tool to lead by drawing on ideas of young Black people having the right to reclaim their history and identity, on their own terms, defined by themselves, and redefining their relationship to society (Carmichael, 1966). This research study is a recognition that Black youth, community members and youth workers are assets to bring change both within their learning and the world.

A vital aspect of critical ethnography is considering whether I as the researcher have maintained proper relationality (Madison, 2005). Throughout my time researching with FBL, I learned what it means to navigate the continuum of relationality. As I started researching with FBL, I had in my head that I wanted to quickly finish the study so I could begin writing and graduate within four years. As, I began engaging in my research activities with FBL wanting to finish my study quickly made me focus on completing the steps of my research project opposed to building and sustaining a reciprocal relationship. Admittedly, my initial actions focused on how I

could conduct the next observation or complete subsequent interviews on my timeline with minimal regard for how my asks and requests was constraining the capacity of FBL staff and partners. My asks were constant, and I could tell after the first two months of asking people for their time and energy to engage with my project during the height of COVID-19 and the ongoing protests surrounding anti-Blackness that a general weariness was growing.

A crucial experience that helped me reflect on my actions was when I received an email from Montana on Dec 7th about an ask to do some interviews and observations that states, "I know the end of the year is really busy for Tina and the school staff so those school observations/interview asks might need to be tabled until January." This statement by Montana was crucial because it helped me make sense of my actions. My actions produced a common form of anti-Blackness by disregarding if FBL youth workers felt comfortable letting me be involved and feeling entitled to their time. This form of anti-blackness is a form of "racial calculus" that in many ways strips FBL's Black youth workers of their personhood to serve my research purpose (Hartman, 2008). Reproducing a normal power dynamic between myself as researcher and the organization as object was a relationship I wanted to disrupt.

After reflecting on Montana's email, I decided to take a different stance for the rest of the project where I would work with FBL staff to determine a mutually agreed upon cadence for me to communicate with youth workers and ask for opportunities to interact with youth workers. I set up a meeting with Montana my main point of contact at FBL to talk about the tensions they were experiencing working with me and what that cadence for talking would like. After this meeting I had a regular bi-weekly meeting with Montana the rest of my time researching with FBL to discuss the ongoing relationship between myself and FBL. This step while small was in service of my goal to become more accountable and relational with FBL rather than dictate my expectations on their

organization which reproduces a form of anti-Blackness. While I did not maintain proper relationality throughout the study, I believe having the willingness to reflect and shift my action was critical to me moving closer to reciprocity with FBL.

Limitations

One limitation that impacted my research was the COVID-19 pandemic pushing FBL to rethink the ways the organization operates. For example, much of FBL operations have shifted online including leadership team meetings and Liberation Camps becoming asynchronous. Multiple people at FBL have discussed how online meetings limits the organization's ability to create the relationality necessary for the program to thrive. However, the limitations of an online environment have led FBL to develop creative strategies to address unexpected challenges. For example, during the Liberation Camps program youth workers have directly called youth twice a week to check in. Along with utilizing the food distribution program to socially distance and check in with youth. From a researcher's perspective there are atypical leadership practices occurring because of the move to an online environment, but FBL is still doing much of the same work that disrupts anti-Blackness.

Findings

Anti-Blackness is endemic to the experience of Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers when they participate in ELOs (Baldridge, 2020a; Baldridge, 2020b). Yet FBL an ELO that serves predominantly Black: youth, community members, and youth workers have found ways to engage in leadership activities that both resist and disrupt experiences of anti-Blackness. I find through a critical ethnographic study the organizational mindsets, leadership processes, and outcomes FBL's Black youth, community members, and youth workers utilized to

disrupt anti-Blackness in the Sandy Shores community. I start by historicizing Sandy Shores as a site of anti-Blackness that necessitate a specific focus on this form of racism. Next, I describe how FBL's leadership activity derives from the mindset of leaders who can recognize and shift their practices in ways that disrupts anti-Blackness. After describing the mindset of FBL's leaders, I analyze how tenets of restorative practice substantively guide organizational processes and outcomes that disrupt anti-Blackness. Collectively, my findings provide insight about how the mindset, processes, and outcomes of FBL's Black youth, community members, and youth workers work in partnership to resist and disrupt experiences of anti-Blackness.

Housing Covenants, Redlining, and Gentrification: Historicizing Anti-Blackness in Sandy Shores

Anti-Blackness through restrictive housing covenants, redlining, and gentrification are integral to the history of the Sandy Shores Community. A restrictive housing covenant is writing into a house deed that racially diverse people could not reside in often predominately white neighborhoods. While redlining occurs when mortgage lenders designate housing tracts as financially risky. Mortgage lenders often deem redlined properties old and obsolete which coincide with home values being less likely to increase. Additionally, mortgage lenders are less likely to finance property in redlined areas, which mean the racially diverse people that typically reside in these areas are less likely to own their homes preventing an opportunity to accumulate generational wealth.

Sandy Shores located in South Blue Lake along with the Midtown were two of the neighborhoods that Blue Lake's Black residents resided in because of restrictive housing covenants common throughout the 1920-1940. Restrictive housing covenants coupled with redlining effectively inhibited Black Americans from living in much of North Blue Lake, West Blue Lake, and parts of South Blue Lake. Demographically, people of Jewish descent were the

main inhabitants of Sandy Shores throughout much of the 1970s. A small population of Black and other racially diverse people began moving to Sandy Shores after World War II because the neighborhood was home to several low-income housing developments. An influx of Black Americans into the Sandy Shores neighborhood began as gentrification started to occur in Midtown.

Although restrictive housing covenants and redlining are problematic these forms of racism and segregation effectively created a Black enclave in Midtown that became a significant bastion of arts, culture, and social action for Blue Lake's Black community. Midtown was home to several music luminaries, a Black performing arts institute that trained many Black Americans in music and theatre, and headquarters of several Black social activism organizations. By the 1970's many of the legally codified practices of redlining had ended in Blue Lake through several protests of the Black community for housing policy change. However, many Black residents of the Midtown did not own their homes and sellers who did own their houses received below market property values. The Midtown quickly became the site of another form of anti-Blackness *gentrification* that led to the displacement of Black Americans from the neighborhood throughout the 1990s – 2000s. Gentrification is the upgrade of properties that often results in the arrival of middle-class people that displace minoritized communities, which was the case for Midtown's Black community. As displacement from Midtown began Black Americans moved to Sandy Shores in search of affordable housing.

Since the 1990's the Sandy Shores community has become the only predominately Black neighborhood in Blue Lake. The influx of Black people has brought widespread anti-Black narratives about Sandy Shores. For example, an article from the Blue Lake Tribune (nationally prominent newspaper) described Sandy Shores as "New Jack City" because the neighborhood was

similar to the popular movie about a Black community that had “run-down” properties, a high poverty rate, and escalating crime. Detractors of Sandy Shores that perpetuate anti-Black narratives about the neighborhood willfully ignore how the institutions that are supposed to serve the community have neglected and divested from the area. For example, Blue Lake Public Schools has not renovated Sandy Shores High School since the building opened in 1962. Blue Lake Transit opened Sandy Shores’s mass transit rail stop in 2010 but has not sold or developed several vacant lots near the location like it has done in other neighborhoods. Sandy Shores is a food insecure community with one grocery store that has limited selection and no other grocery options within in two miles. Lastly, the city of Blue Lake took until 2016 to approve a Black community developed action plan submitted in 1994 to address infrastructure, housing, safety, jobs, childcare, and healthy food. In many ways Blue Lake’s economic and social institutions have ignored Sandy Shores’s Black community, however changes are on the horizon in the neighborhood.

At the time of this study, Sandy Shores is on the precipice of several important economic and land development changes that have put the Black community on notice that a Midtown like gentrification is looming. In the summer of 2022 Sandy Shores High School will start its long-awaited remodel which occurred in part because of youth led organizing supported by FBL. Jack co-founder of FBL and community organizer is skeptical of the change as positive for Sandy Shores’s Black community as he points out in a blog post a similar remodel of Galloway High School in the Midtown was the precursor to the displacement of Black and other culturally diverse people from the neighborhood via gentrification in the 1990s and 2000s. Additionally, the Blue Lake City Council has upzoned 27 locations in the Sandy Shores community meaning property owners can demolish single family homes, build larger housing units, and only must reserve 5 – 11% of new property for low-income people. These new housing units bring higher property values

and housing costs many low-income Black Sandy Shores residents cannot afford. While many see the gentrification of Sandy Shores as a net positive several Black led Sandy Shores community organizations including FBL are working to prevent the displacement of Black people and make sure the greater community understand the ramifications of ongoing anti-Blackness in the neighborhood.

Understanding and Shifting Leadership Activity because of anti-Blackness

Historically and contemporarily the narrative about the neighborhood of Sandy Shores coincides with anti-Blackness. In response to ongoing anti-Blackness in Sandy Shores several Black led community-based organizations like Neighborhood Safety Council, The Committee to End Carceral System Committee, Sandy Shores Action Coalition, and FBL have come into existence and often partner to disrupt differing forms of anti-Blackness including food insecurity, gentrification, and ending the school to prison pipeline. Across these Black led community-based organizations is a critical awareness that the systems and institutions that are supposed to serve Sandy Shores's Black community often reify anti-Black racism. Derek the founder and CEO of Neighborhood Safety Council and long-term community organizer identified various city, county, and non-profit institutions often pitted Black led community-based organizations against each other for funding and other resources. The precarity of funding for Black led community organizations is a well-established form of anti-Black racism ELO must navigate (Baldridge, 2019).

Derek stated many of South Blue Lake Black led community-based organizations were able to start disrupting the anti-black racism they experienced because they "don't believe [in] those systems no more." Many of the Black led community-based organization have begun to operate under the mindset that the best way to disrupt ongoing anti-Blackness is to challenge and

disrupt the systems themselves through Black community-based leadership models. In Derek's eyes he believed South Blue Lake's Black-led community-based organizations having the critical awareness that the "the people closest to the problem are the people that can solve the problem" has helped the Black community operate from a place of "power" to become an epicenter of change.

FBL is another of Sandy Shores's predominately Black led organizations that came into existence because of anti-Black racism. FBL's founding in 2016 occurred to prevent the closure of the Young Scholars Relief Fund (YSRF) Liberation Camp a six-summer program focused on culturally relevant literacy, social action, and positive identity formation. FBL while unique in its focus of being an ELO at the intersection of racial justice and education is a direct descendent and partner in the long-term Black community led efforts to combat anti-Blackness in Sandy Shores. Jack one of FBL co-founders is the son of Gus who is affectionately known as the Mayor of South Blue Lake and serves as the Managing Strategist of Sandy Shores Action Coalition which has been around disrupting issues of anti-Blackness under different names since 1994. While Laurel a founding member of FBL and current Operations and Finance Director reflected on her leadership style as a White Woman by saying coming under the tutelage of the "elders of the neighborhood and always making sure that we're listening to voices that are like most impacted by the issues that we're trying to address" centers her work and that of the organization. Laurel's comments describe a common mindset that FBL's leaders and community partners like Derek and Gus share which is different than typical ELO. FBL leaders and their community partners have a mindset that recognizes the existence of anti-Blackness and utilize Blackness as an asset to change both educational organizations and society.

Throughout my conversations with FBL's Black youth, community members, and youth workers they narrated their mindset in ways that demonstrated a "Blackened Self-Awareness" or being able to contextualize anti-Blackness and understanding their own values toward Blackness within the location of Sandy Shores. In an interview with Montana FBL's Communications and Development Coordinator she recounted one reason she became interested in working with FBL was being "pissed off" seeing the disparities in resources between upper middle-class affluent and Black communities like those the organization serves. Montana's understanding of anti-Blackness helped her recognize structurally anti-Black disparities in the way Sandy Shores is resourced by social institutions. While Montana's intersectional identities as a Black Woman with long term experience living and interacting with the Sandy Shores community is crucial to the ways in which she and her fellow leaders engage in their work. Montana said she spent a lot of time in Sandy Shores as a youth growing up in the town directly South of the community but ran for the neighborhood's track club. Montana stated that her long-term understanding of Sandy Shores helped influence her and other FBL's youth workers approach to leadership when she acknowledged:

"I think, and so what I mean is it's more, it's less about being just a Black person and more about like the proximity that each of us have to the Sandy Shores community". "And I think that sort of helps to inform what I know this community to be like, and like what, what we want to, I guess, kind of maintain, right. Cause there was a baseline gentrification and displacement just happening, I think the historical knowledge of what the community has always felt like and been like is helpful and helps to inform my leadership in that way."

Montana comments make clear being Black is not enough to disrupt anti-Blackness as there are many ways that Black leaders of ELOs reify the system of anti-Black racism (Baldridge,

2020a). It is FBL's intentional commitments toward having Black leaders that understand what it means to live and be Black in the context of Sandy Shores. In addition, FBL's leaders are willing to shift their leadership approaches with their knowledge of Blackness in the context of Sandy Shores that makes the organization's leadership activity different than typical ELOs.

One way FBL's structures their leadership activity around having leaders with a Blackened self-awareness is hiring people that hold the mindset. During FBL's Liberation Camps program they select Life and Leadership Navigators (LLN) to facilitate daily learning activities for youth. Liberation Camp LLN's help young people 1) foster identity and belonging, 2) develop a love of learning and habits of success, 3) boost motivation to learn and, 4) promote community-based social action. On a late November day in 2019, Montana was in the process of recruiting LLN's for the organization's YSRF Liberation Camp program through a panel discussion with four former LLNs (two Black, Khmer, and Indian). In a recent application for the position posted to a social media website the job call indicated some level of Blackened self-awareness would be necessary by stating you should apply for the position if you have a "strong understanding of South Blue Lake community and local issues." During the panel discussion the former LLNs demonstrated their Blackened self-awareness in multiple ways, which would be necessary to be effective at the job.

The four former LLN's discussed how their mindsets when working with Black and Brown youth were shaped by seeing the potential of Black and other youth of color to take on leadership roles, sharing their knowledge and skillset so young Black and Brown folxs can be successful in creating disruptive change, trusting the input, ideas and ability of young Black and Brown people to create change, and engaging in intentional reflection about the challenges Black and Brown people face in South Blue Lake. The Blackened self-awareness of the former LLN's contrast with

traditionally color evasive ELO leadership awareness where the focus of educational change often only values the expertise and decision making of positional leader(s). FBL disrupts traditional leadership dynamics by intentionally recruiting and hiring Black and Brown people that have mindsets attuned to understanding the Black and Brown community served. In addition, to having Black and Brown leaders that can engage in shared leadership by developing young Black and Brown people's capacity to create disruptive change.

The Process of Leading through the lens of Restorative Practice

A prevailing logic of ELO leadership is the positional leader(s) often holds considerable expertise and decision making on topics of organizational change. A newspaper article about FBL establishing a food-access program to impact food-insecure youth provides a poignant example of the positional leader(s) as chief expert and decision maker. FBL started its Valley Food Drive program shortly after Blue Lake Public Schools closed in March 2020 due to COVID-19. The author of the news article writes "With a quick email introduction between Laurel, FBL's Executive Director, and Kelly (Owner) of Sauce Shoppe (Restaurant) the team volunteered to cook, pack, and deliver over 100 lunches." The author positioning FBL's decision making as substantively controlled by Laurel does not fully represent the way the organization operates. First, Laurel (White Woman) does not hold the title Executive Director and secondly FBL intentionally has values to engage in shared leadership substantively guided by Black people. Malia (Black Womxn) FBL's Programming Director speaks to the dissonance in how the news article describes the organization's style of shared leadership by asserting:

"If ever we did, for some reason have one person with that much power, I believe it would be a black woman or non-binary black person I'd hope. So yeah, I think decision-making is always,

usually collective and I mean, we're mostly women anyway, so this is very much woman led, Black women led".

FBL does exist within a space where at times Laurel or other FBL leaders must make decisions without input from others. However, the consistent leadership activity demonstrated by FBL is shared leadership processes that intentionally limit positional authority and uplifting Black women voices to drive change efforts. Rather than utilize a hierarchical leadership structure FBL utilizes a model of shared leadership that intentionally mitigates traditional power dynamics through the peacemaking process native to restorative practice. Montana described how FBL utilizes the peacemaking process in leadership activity when she stated

"I think FBL uses elements, a lot of elements of circle practice to make decisions, but I'm not sure that we necessarily always sit down in a circle to make a decision because that would take forever and there are so many decisions that have to be made on a daily basis that just can't happen. But like for example, the peacemaking principles that are part of circle practice. So like making sure every, like everyone knows that they need to show up authentically. Like we have one mic, you're not interrupting folxs. Like there's that element of collective voice. And like making sure that folxs have like the opportunity, has the opportunity to give feedback."

Montana and several staff members at FBL described the peacemaking process as making sure everyone shows up authentically, one person speaking at a time, not interrupting individuals that are speaking, and everyone having the opportunity to provide feedback. Often shared leadership processes manifests in multiple Black and Brown: youth, community members, and youth workers having substantive ability to have their expertise and decision making valued in efforts to disrupt issues of anti-Black racism. A salient example of FBL utilizing the peacemaking process in shared leadership comes from their collaborative social action campaign for rent justice.

The rent justice campaign was an alliance between FBL, youth, several community partners to address housing insecurity caused by COVID-19 and gentrification within Sandy Shores. Carla a Sandy Shores High School Social Worker and longtime collaborator of FBL (listed as a staff member on FBL's website) stated the campaign really started because Black and Brown students and guardians were asking for rental assistance through a $15,000 fund set up by Blue Lake Public Schools to serve the community. Carla stated she appreciated the $15,000 but FBL and the Black and Brown community served by Blue Lake Public Schools saw the situation as an opportunity to "come together and organize and think about more sustainable solutions" because the money given was insufficient to meet the need of the neighborhood.

FBL started to community organize posting several messages to social media sites galvanizing their neighborhood to attend a virtual meeting to start planning how they could work together to obtain resources that will address housing insecurity. FBL recruited several community partners including a Black school board member of Blue Lake Public Schools, a Latinx Blue Lake City Councilperson, and office members of an Indian City Councilperson, community organizing groups including Blue Lake Tenants Union, Safe Housing Cooperative, Black Community Land Holdings, Safe Homes, and Blue Lake Indian Health Board to engage in the discussion about how the community partners can aid FBL response to housing insecurity. The rent justice meeting scheduled for December 1st helped FBL's Black and Brown community learn their right as renters, provided opportunities to apply for rent assistance, and was an opportunity to build relationships with community-based organization meant to support neighborhood as they navigate multiple issues of racism and anti-Blackness. While FBL staff played a substantive role in setting the agenda and facilitating the conversation, they deprioritized their role by creating a public forum to elicit ideas from their community about what next steps they should take collectively. For example, a

breakout session asked participants to consider questions including: What are your main concerns regarding the eviction moratorium ending? What would Rent Justice solutions look like for your household? What kind of support do you and your family need?

Carla suggested engaging in community conversation like the Rent Justice meeting allows several stakeholders both governmental and non-profit to center community stories in the ways they shift their actions to disrupt an inequitable situation. Additionally, the questions FBL developed are crucial because it allows the community to process the issue and then reimagine together how they will respond to the ongoing issue of housing insecurity in their neighborhood. While the Rent Justice meeting did not solve housing insecurity for Sandy Shores's Black community it was the opening act to FBL staff and community getting involved with 59 other County wide organizations through the larger Secure Housing Alliance campaign that is continuing to put political pressure on the city and county to provide stronger renter protections. Through the Secure Housing Alliance campaign FBL and their community had several opportunities to lobby governmental officials which led to wins for the Black and other minoritized communities including caps on move-in fees, late fees, rental increases, people with fixed incomes can change their rental due dates, and renter protection from eviction or lease termination without "just cause". FBL has help create forums for Sandy Shores's Black community to process their experiences and develop plans to disrupt anti-Black racism. Through joint activity Sandy Shores's Black community has had several opportunities to advocate for themselves on topics including housing insecurity and educational reform which has yielded tangible change to traditionally anti-Black systems. FBL has found success utilizing restorative practices in their leadership processes. In addition, FBL has centered restorative practices in their organizational outcomes, which has led to opportunities for Black community healing in the Sandy Shores neighborhood.

Black Community Healing and Relationship Building

Often ELOs pursue outcomes that adhere to anti-Blackness because funders commonly position organizational effectiveness around neoliberal ideologies that view Blackness as either deficient or deliquent (Baldridge 2020b; Baldridge, 2019). Frequently, ELOs focus their outcomes on activities that demonstrate how they fix the delinquency of Black youth or improve student academic achievement on narrowly defined standardized testing measures because of deficient learning abilities (Baldridge, 2019). Pursuing outcomes that adhere to anti-Blackness in pursuit of funding can have deleterious effects by shifting leadership activities in ways that do not recognize the assets of Black youth or staff. In addition, ELOs are less likely to develop programs around Black identity development or culture because program funders routinely do not recognize these learning outcomes as valuable. FBL leaders recognize the challenges of operating within a funding landscape that values neoliberal outcomes. Laurel emphasized the challenge of navigating FBL's funding landscape and choosing outcomes that best represent the work of their organization by saying:

"Traditionally where a lot of our funding came from or like local government contracts, all of our metrics were given to us. It wasn't something that we got to determine for ourselves. We had to prove ourselves as being an organization that was helping to improve academic outcomes for students, so things like attendance, reading levels, math levels were like the big ones. Those are important to us, but that doesn't necessarily get to like root causes of why young people aren't performing well in school. So, I think specifically through our restorative justice arm, like where's the measure of how safe our young people are feeling in their school settings? Are they experiencing healing? Are they improving their connections to peers or teachers? Those are important metrics to us. "

Laurel's comments recognize FBL engages in a funding landscape that pushes the organization to pursue neoliberal outcomes they do not fully value. Staying in good standing with school based and non-profit funders requires adherence to some level of anti-Blackness because the organization does not control all the outcomes they pursue. Additionally, embedded in Laurel's statement is an acknowledgement that FBL must move beyond a focus on neoliberal outcomes like academics to disrupt the root causes of racism and oppression that FBL's Black youth experience. Instead of narrowly focusing on academic achievement or Black youth delinquency FBL has expanded its outcomes through a lens of restorative practice by incorporating Black healing and relationship building into their organizational outcomes. Tina FBL's Restorative Justice Coordinator asserts the organization's commitment to restorative practice that heal and build relationships by saying "I think that something that's been beautiful about the work this year and even other years, it's just taking time to heal. Those healing circles are another piece of the work that we do creating spaces where people get to know each other, see each other, hear each other. I would say is at the base of a lot of our work." FBL utilizes Healing Circles which originates from restorative practice to engage in healing and relationship building with Black youth, educational staff, and the larger community. One type of healing circle FBL started over the summer of 2020 is an approximately monthly community conversation called Black Healing Circle. Jeff one of FBL's Restorative Justice Coordinator described Black Healing Circle as

"not a space that you come to and everything is okay. And you walk away just healed and remembering how the hard times used to be. The black healing circle is not that, but it is a place that you can come to be in community with people, even if you're not there in the physical. People will listen to you. People will understand you and you will gain tools that can help you make it through the trauma, help you sustain yourself. You will hear stories of other people healing or the

journey that they're on that'll put your own problems in perspective and make it a little easier to keep moving forward."

Sharpe (2016) suggests developing spaces of care is critical to disrupting anti-Blackness. FBL created Black Healing Circle as an opportunity to care for Black people as they process feelings of disconnection from the pandemic and several deaths occurring in Sandy Shores Black community. However, the Black Healing Circle has since tackled other subjects including Black Joy, Kwanaza, and healing through growth. I participated in several Black Healing Circle that utilizes many restorative practices including opening/closing ceremonies, using talking pieces, making peace agreements, having several circle questions, and since the meetings have been virtual FBL staff have encouraged participants to engage in healthy participation (if you need your camera off, use the bathroom, zone out etc.) to do so.

Anti-Blackness is an act of silence as society and institutions normalize gratuitous forms of violence against Black people (Hartman, 2008). FBL expanding their outcomes to include Black community healing and relationship building is an act of care that makes visible and imagines a response to the normalized anti-Black violence FBL's Black youth, community, and youth worker experience. The Black healing circle fosters a caring space of conversation that builds connections and helps the Black community process their experiences of anti-Black violence. Adam FBL Restorative Justice Liaison sees the work of engaging in Black community healing and relationship building through the Black Healing Circle as crucial to creating a "revolution" that topples anti-Black racism. Adam suggests that once there is connection between Black people they can work together to "make our society better".

Discussion

Amid the normativity of anti-Blackness in educational systems scholars have suggested learning spaces may need to be reimaged with the Black community served (Dumas & ross, 2016). The leadership activity of Future Black Leaders (FBL) illustrates an expanded learning organization that prominently positions Black: youth, community members, and youth workers at the center of organizational change efforts to disrupt anti-Blackness. This critical ethnography foregrounds the mindsets, leadership processes, and caring outcomes of FBL as crucial examples of leadership activity that have potential to disrupt anti-Blackness. FBL's leadership activity is atypical from prominent representations of leading in the ELO literature.

Mindset: Blackened Self-Awareness

Commonly, ELO leadership literature characterizes the mindset of leaders as either color-evasive or having critical self-awareness. When leaders have color-evasive mindsets they do not consider how race and racism impacts their ability or actions when leading. While leaders characterized as having critical self-awareness could shift actions based on an understanding of race or racism. Both color-evasive and critical self-awareness are insufficient to disrupt anti-Blackness because scholars suggest people need language and specificity about shifting their practices in ways that better serve Black communities (Dumas & ross, 2016; Sharpe, 2016).

Wake Work theory suggests disrupting anti-Blackness requires having a "Blackened knowledge" or an understanding of Blackness built on personal experiences and a historical understanding of racial violence Black people experience (Sharpe, 2016). FBL's Black youth, community members, and youth workers drew on their knowledge of Blackness, had a deep understanding of Blackness in the Sandy Shores context, and shifted their leadership activity to better serve Black: youth, community member, and youth workers. Throughout the interviews and observations of FBL's leadership activity, youth workers often narrated how their contextual

understanding of Sandy Shores's Black community and larger societal narratives about Blackness guides their praxis to sustain the culture of the Black Community. FBL demonstrated their commitment to having leaders with a Blackened knowledge by specifically hiring and promoting Black people with roots in the community or the ability to become rooted in the community to progressive leadership roles within the organization. In addition, FBL's youth workers partnered purposely with Black: youth and community members to put Blackened knowledge at the center of how the organization thinks about and engages in leadership activity.

Restorative Leadership Processes

Commonly cited ELO leadership processes often focus on the positional leader(s) expertise and decision-making in organizational change efforts (Miller, 2020). Additionally, ELO leadership processes often provide Black youth and youth workers the least agency and decision making (Baldridge, 2019; Baldridge, 2020a). The ELO leadership literature does call for the participation of youth and guardians, but their responsibilities in organizational change efforts often focus on providing feedback about activities. In effect a typical ELO leadership process reifies anti-Blackness because it obscures or makes invisible Blackened knowledge by Black people not contributing their expertise or decision-making to organizational change efforts (Sharpe, 2016). What makes FBL's leadership processes different is the organization utilizes the lens of restorative practice to help the program actively plan for and mitigate hierarchal power dynamics which promotes participation in leadership activity among Black youth, community members, and youth workers.

FBL mitigates hierarchical leadership processes by drawing on the Peacemaking Process from restorative practice which ensures all parties involved in a discussion have their expertise and decision making valued when engaging in leadership activity. FBL staff described the

Peacemaking Process as making sure everyone shows up authentically, one person speaking at a time, not interrupting individuals that are speaking, and everyone having the opportunity to provide feedback. The Peacemaking Process occurred throughout the study, for example the act to decenter Laurel a white woman who holds unique institutional knowledge because of her longevity with the organization, positional authority because of legal and financial roles, and placement atop an informal hierarchy helped FBL's Black staff provide Blackened knowledge on several aspects of leadership activity from how budgets were allocated, which social justice campaigns would be pursued, and the development of curriculum that helped youth develop a Black identity. In addition, when Black youth and community engaged in leadership activity with FBL staff the peacemaking process ensured genuine inclusion of their expertise and decision making. Leadership activities like the rent justice meeting demonstrate how Black youth, community, and youth workers have agency and can create actions plans to disrupt anti-Blackness.

The Peacemaking Process as a shared leadership strategy is not without tensions and complexity. As FBL has hired more youth workers and engage in leadership activity that requires increased participation from youth and community so to grows the number of voices and opinions needed to make decisions. Almost all the youth workers at FBL described the incredible amount of time it takes to genuinely engage in leadership activity that utilize the peacemaking process. For example, FBL sincerely tries to obtain the knowledge and decision making of Sandy Shores's Black community through multiple formats from community conversations, surveying, tabling in prominent community locations, and making phone calls to stakeholders. Obtaining the voices and opinions of the community while highly valuable does slow the down the speed of leadership activity so FBL has begun to discuss what decisions require less Black youth, community, and youth worker input. As FBL determines what topics require and do not require input, the

organization draws closer to engaging in varied forms of anti-Blackness as they begin to make the voices of Black youth, community, and youth workers obscured or invisible by not actively seeking their Blackened knowledge. While the Peacemaking Process may not be the silver bullet to prevent hierarchical power dynamics from devaluing Blackness it is a strategy that can engage Black youth, community, and youth workers more authentically in leadership activity.

Outcomes: Black Community Healing and Relationship Building

The outcomes most ELO pursue in the leadership literature are neoliberal or focus on market-based reforms, such as privatization, standardization, and accountability measures to increase educational outcomes such as student academic achievement on narrowly constructed standardized testing assessment (Baldridge, 2019). Focusing on neoliberal aims in ELO leadership propagates racial calculus because pursing outcomes that affirm Blackness or better serve Black youth, community, and youth workers only matters if the organization receives material benefits. FBL like many ELOs do focus some of their outcomes around neoliberal aims to stay accountable to funders which is a challenge the organization has to navigate.

FBL leaders recognize they are structuring activities and reporting on metrics that do not fully represent the organization's work to receive funding. Baldridge (2019) emphasizes the precarity of funding for ELO organizations that serve the Black community which can make these organization act in ways that reify anti-Blackness. FBL leaders recognize if they do not pursue funding through various nonprofit and governmental grants that have neoliberal aims, they may not be able to continue their programming. The nature of obtaining funding in ELO's calls into question how funders could develop grantmaking strategies that better values Blackness and the needs of Black youth, community, and youth workers. Based on this research study better engaging Blackened knowledge in the process of grantmaking and seeking outcomes that care for the Black

community could have potential to disrupt traditionally anti-Black funding strategies. While the tension of adhering to neoliberal aims remain unresolved FBL has expanded their outcomes around forms of care for Blackness and Black people.

Sharpe (2016) suggests centering care for Blackness and Black people can contribute to rupturing the immanence and imminence of anti-Blackness. Black community healing and relationship building activities hosted by FBL achieves caring outcomes for Blackness through multiple opportunities for connection like community building circles, Black youth mentoring by Black youth workers, and hosting Black youth, community, and youth worker led community conversations on topics impacting Black people in Sandy Shores. For example, FBL has hosted the approximately monthly Black Healing Circle a pertinent community conversation on topics including Black grief, joy, and processing trauma impacting Sandy Shores Black community. By engaging in relationship building and Black healing FBL is disrupting differing forms of anti-Blackness that seek to disconnect Black people from each other. Relationship building has allowed Sandy Shores Black community to act in collective power to resist and disrupt systems of anti-Blackness. For example, FBL has developed several Black youth, community, and youth worker led social actions campaigns that galvanize the community to come together to disrupt issues of anti-Blackness like housing, policing, and transportation policy. Black community healing and relationship building has allowed Sandy Shores Black youth, community members, and youth workers to better process their experiences of anti-Black racism and come up with strategies to disrupt the pervasive status quo.

Conclusion and Implications for Research

This study builds on burgeoning ELO research that examines the intersection of ELO leadership and anti-Blackness. Scholars have made connections between ELO leadership and anti-

Blackness to analyze how social, economic, and political factors contribute to these organizations disrupting and reifying anti-Black racism (Baldridge, 2020a; Baldridge, 2019). While current research provides an important insight about ELO leadership and anti-Blackness the field has largely not applied leadership theory to understand how organizational change efforts can better serve Black youth, community members, and youth worker, which leaves considerable terrain for additional scholarship. In addition, research on ELO leadership often focuses on positional leaders rather than providing an examination of shared leadership strategy (Miller, 2020).

This study contributes to current scholarship by combining the theories of Culturally Sustaining Leadership and Wake Work to analyze how Black youth, community members, and youth workers engage in shared leadership activity to resist and reimagine differing forms of anti-Blackness. Examining how Black youth, community members, and youth workers engage in shared leadership is crucial as Sharpe (2016) suggests rupturing anti-Black racism requires utilizing the knowledge of Black people broadly to disrupt the status quo. This study highlights the mindsets, leadership processes and caring outcomes that helped FBL disrupting differing forms of anti-Blackness. Analyzing the mindsets, leadership processes, and outcomes of Black led ELOs that engage in shared leadership deepens our collective understanding of how we might create organizations that can better center Blackness. This contribution is particularly significant as Bertrand & Rodela (2018) suggest studies of organizational leadership often fail to analyze the contributions of minoritized youth and community members.

Additionally, this study draws on Sharpe's (2016) Black feminist framework Wake Work to elucidate the contributions of shared Black women leadership to disrupt anti-Blackness in educational systems. Previous studies of Black women leadership in educational systems have focused on how the intersectional identities of Black women shift the leadership activity of

positional leaders like superintendents and principals (Alston, 2005; Reed, 2012). This study contributes to previous scholarship by foregrounding Black women developing critical coconsciousness and forms of community care through shared leadership to address anti-Blackness. Several Black women both within FBL through formal roles like Malia, Montana, and Tina along with Black female youth like Amanda, Kennedy, and Yazmin collaborated to develop educational activities and social action campaigns that helped Sandy Shores Black community recognize and engage in actions that disrupted anti-Blackness. Future research could continue to explore the contributions of Black Women engaged in shared leadership to address anti-Blackness as Sharpe (2016) suggests the accumulated erasures perpetuate the silence, absence, and modes of dis/appearance of Blackness and Black people from archives.

While this study contributes knowledge about the mindsets, leadership processes, and outcomes Black youth, community members, and youth workers utilize to disrupt anti-Blackness scholars might analyze other aspects of shared leadership. For example, CSL highlights the need of leaders to develop and maintain an organizational climate of trust (Santamaria & Santamaria, 2016). While not fully examined in this study trust played a critical factor in FBL building and maintaining relationships that helped them engage in shared leadership with Black youth, community, and youth workers. Future studies might investigate how Black youth, community, and youth workers draw on different types of trust to build relationships that disrupt anti-Blackness.

To extend the combined frameworks of CSL and Wake Work into new theoretical territory future studies might integrate community organizing principles. This study did not provide a robust discussion about the ways FBL utilized community organizing as a leadership principle, which is a substantive way organizational change occurred through several social action campaigns during

this research study. Community organizing is a salient principle discussed within ELO literature (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002; Turner III, 2020), however scholars have rarely applied the concept to ELO leadership. Scholars like Ishimaru (2019) have outlined the impact that community organizing principles has on building relationships and the leadership capacity of non-dominant educational leaders like the Black youth, community members, and youth workers discussed at FBL. Future studies could analyze how Black youth, community, and youth workers draw on community organizing principles to actively resist and overturn anti-Black policy and practices.

Lastly, this study focused more broadly on ELO organizational change efforts rather than examining how these programs impact educational institutions like schools. Increasingly scholars have recognized the impact of school and ELO partnership on educational equity (Anthony, 2019). However, there is scant research that analyzes how school and ELO partnerships disrupt anti-Blackness. Given the pervasiveness of anti-Blackness in schooling systems researchers and practitioners should consider developing more scholarship that examines the connection. In response to scant literature paper three of this dissertation study provides a critical ethnographic examination of the ways FBL engaged with several schools in the Sandy Shores neighborhood to disrupt anti-Blackness.

Part III: A Seat at the Table. Examining A Blackened School and Expanded Learning Organization Partnership

Introduction[2]

Educational systems have utilized school-community partnerships as key strategy to address differing forms of inequity and racism (Baquedano-López, Alexander, and Hernandez, 2013; Ishimaru, 2014; Warren, 2005). Scholars have demonstrated the potential for school-community partnerships to increase student academic achievement, drive shifts in inequitable resource allocation, and increase the capacity of minoritized populations to drive educational change efforts (Bertrand & Rodela, 2017; Ishimaru, 2013). However, there is scant research on how school-community partnerships disrupt anti-Black racism.

Anti-Black racism in educational institutions is racial violence that does not merely disregard the lives of Black youth, guardians, community organizations, and school staff rather their lives are "not even considered" (Dumas & ross, 2016; Baldridge, 2020a). Scholars have demonstrated anti-Black educational policy and practice that funnels Black bodies into the carceral system, position Blackness as a deficit, and suggest Black students are uneducable (Coles & Warren, 2020; Coles & Powell, 2020; Dumas, 2016). Despite widespread experiences of anti-Blackness for Black youth, guardians, community organizations, and school staff, school-community partnerships may hold promise to disrupt the status quo as Dumas & ross (2016) suggest resisting and overturning anti-Black racism requires reimaging educational spaces with Black communities.

[2] Pseudonyms have replaced all names and places

A school-expanded learning organization (ELO) partnership may hold potential to disrupt anti-Black racism as scholars and practitioners have recognized the positive impact of these collaborations on educational equity (Anthony, 2019; Bennett, 2015; Durlak & Weissberg, 2007). ELO's draw on community resources to provide youth development activities that range from school-community programs, extracurricular learning, experiential learning, civic engagement, leadership development, mentoring, and other wraparound services (Stonehill, Lauver, Donahue, Naftzger, McElvain & Stephanidis, 2011). School-ELO partnerships have potential to disrupt anti-Blackness because these partnerships can provide greater communication and opportunities to engage in leadership activity for Black youth, community organizations, and school staff. For example, Ishimaru (2018) demonstrated the potential for a Black led school-ELO partnership to disrupt leadership policies and practices that reified deficit-based narratives, provided resources inequitably, and disenfranchised the Black community via top-down decision making by actively engaging Black youth, community organization, and school staff in equity focused change efforts.

Although school-ELO partnerships are politically complicated because the collaborations often have power imbalances between youth, community organizations, and school staff (Anthony, 2019; Ishimaru, 2018), a layered discussion of the shared leadership activity in these relationships can provide insights on how school systems can disrupt anti-Blackness. The shared leadership activity of Black youth, community organizations, and school staff in school-ELO partnerships is a place of reimagining that has potential to equalize power across actors at multiple levels both within and outside the organization to influence change efforts on issues of race (Diamond, 2013) like anti-Blackness. Thus, I draw on the conceptual lenses of Wake Work (Sharpe, 2016) and Culturally Sustaining Leadership (Santamaria & Santamaria, 2016) to conduct a critical ethnographic study that examines how a school-ELO partnership has potential to disrupt anti-

Blackness by actively engaging Black youth, community organizations, and school staff in leadership activity.

Specifically, I will analyze how Sandy Shores High School (SSHS) located in the city of Blue Lake partnered with the predominantly Black youth worker led Future Black Leaders (FBL). Blue Lake was once home to a thriving Black population; however, gentrification has slowly led to the displacement of the community into the southern section of the city. SSHS is in Sandy Shores a southern neighborhood of Blue Lake. Sandy Shores is the last predominately Black neighborhood in Blue Lake. Founded and operating out of SSHS since 2016, FBL has disrupted several issues of anti-Blackness like the school to prison nexus in several schools and the greater community. The school-ELO partnership to disrupt anti-Blackness between SSHS and FBL could provide salient insights about how to disrupt anti-Blackness in k-12 systems.

In the sections that follow I will begin by critiquing the critical consciousness, leadership processes, and outcomes commonly discussed in educational leadership discourse that leaders utilize in school-ELO partnerships. Next, I provide my theoretical framework which combines the theories of Wake Work and Culturally Sustaining Leadership. Following, the methods section I will describe how I applied critical ethnographic methods. Lastly, I provide findings and discussion to describe how SSHS and FBL's partnership actively engaged Black youth, community organizations, and school staff in disrupting anti-Blackness in the school system. Three key findings from this critical ethnography explore the critical consciousness, leadership processes, and outcomes of SSHS and FBL's partnership. This critical ethnography underscores how SSHS and FBL's partnership: (1) increased Black youth and school-based leaders' capacity to utilize Blackened Knowledge, (2) engaged in both authentic and unapologetic leadership processes, (3) and the outcomes cared for Blackness by focusing on relationship building. Together these

findings illuminate a shared leadership model that disrupts anti-Blackness by actively engaging Black youth, community organizations, and school staff in disrupting traditionally anti-Black schooling systems.

Framing Literature

Critical Consciousness

The critical consciousness of an educational leader is their developed knowledge base and beliefs about race and culture that underpins interpretations, practices, and responses to leadership situations (Khalifa, Gooden, & Davis, 2016) Historically, educational leadership literature has promoted *color-evasiveness* or leaders not recognizing the impact of race or racism on organizational change efforts (Lopez, 2003). When leaders act in color-evasive ways they often exacerbate the racial inequities they are seeking to solve (Khalifa, Dunbar & Douglas, 2013). For example, there is a prevalence of color-evasive educational leadership strategies that focus on disrupting the "achievement gap" between Black and white students that pervasively propose that Black students are culturally deficient and would perform better if they became more culturally white (Lewis & Diamond, 2015). Carter, Skiba, Arredondo, & Pollock (2016) propose educational leaders must minimally explore the role race plays in addressing racial disparities in educational system.

Contemporary educational leadership literature has explored the critical consciousness of leaders or their ability to integrate how race and racism impact actions to promote greater equity in school system (Johnson 2006; Khalifa, Gooden, & Davis, 2016). While developing critical consciousness has utility to better serve Black youth, guardians, community members, and school staff in educational systems it is an inadequate approach to disrupt anti-Blackness. Anti-Blackness

is a specific form of racism needing specific language and strategies to disrupt the status quo (Brand, 2010; Hartman, 2008; Wilderson, 2010). Consequently, educational leaders may need to develop critical consciousness about the way society and institutions perpetuate anti-Black racism in the contexts and communities they serve.

Leadership Processes

Educational leadership processes often ignore the contribution of youth and community organizations in racial equity focused change efforts (Bertrand & Rodela, 2018). Typically, school leaders operate in a "top-down" fashion where they hold substantive expertise and decision-making responsibilities (Ogawa & Bossert, 1995). Top-down leadership processes often frame youth and community organizations as deficient or clients who passively receive services (Ishimaru, 2014). When school leaders actively engage youth and community organizations in leadership processes the result – while often filled with tension – can develop shared priorities and greater action in attempts toward racial equity. Ignoring the contributions of youth and community organizations is potentially problematic for disrupting anti-Blackness in educational systems. Dumas & ross (2016) suggest educational organizations have potential to disrupt anti-Blackness when the Black community is actively engaged in the process of reimaging the school. Therefore, this study foregrounds how the partnership fosters the leadership of Black youth and community organizations in a partnership with a public school to examine how the collaboration disruptes anti-Blackness.

Outcomes

Often educational leadership efforts pursue neoliberal outcomes. Neoliberalism asserts market-based reforms, such as privatization, standardization, and accountability measures are the

most efficient means of increasing educational outcomes such as student academic achievement (Apple, 2004). Commonly, narrowly defined standardized tests assess the effectiveness of teaching and educational leadership (Khalifa, Dunbar, & Douglas, 2013). Mills (2008) asserts neoliberal systems like those found in educational outcomes act to deny people of color equal personhood by denying them access to rights and resources. Scholars have documented the outcome of standardized tests driving shifts in educational policy and funding that negatively impact Black communities (Diem & Welton, 2021). For example, Khalifa & Briscoe (2015) documented the linkage between standardized tests results and the disproportionate closure of high schools in Black communities. Although the results of student learning as defined by standardized testing remain an important concern for schools, such a narrowly defined way of assessing teaching and educational leadership can reify anti-Blackness by disregarding the concerns of Black people and making Blackness invisible in schooling processes. Disrupting anti-Blackness may require expanding educational outcomes beyond neoliberal aims to better serve Black communities.

Theoretical Framework

Combining Wake Work and Culturally Sustaining Leadership

Dumas & ross (2016) suggest ant-Blackness is a specific form of racism requiring specificity in the language and strategies to disrupt the endemic status quo. Drawing on the combined analytic lenses of Wake Work (Sharpe, 2016) and Culturally Sustaining Leadership (Santamaria & Santamaria, 2016) (CSL) the aim of this study is to explore how a school-ELO partnership disrupts anti-Blackness by engaging Black youth, community organizations, and school staff in shared leadership. Specifically, I will analyze the critical consciousness, leadership processes, and outcomes of predominately Black youth, community organizations, and school

staff. Combining Wake Work and CSL highlights the agency and ability of Black youth, guardians, community organizations, and school staff to reimagine anti-Black learning spaces.

Blackness is a social construct about the history, culture, and kinships of African Americans that often positions these people as "other than human" (Dumas, 2016 p.13). Wake Work provides a conceptual lens to identify how institutions like schools make Blackness in/visible, known/silenced, dis/appeared, and un/cared for in the afterlife of slavery (Sharpe, 2016). Wake Work draws on Hartman (2008) characterization of Black American life known as the "afterlife of slavery" which suggests persistent racial violence has led to social conditions including "skewed life chances, limited access to health and education, premature death, incarceration, and impoverishment". The logics associated with the afterlife of slavery permeate all institutions including schools as leadership policy and practice often perpetuate anti-Blackness through overly punitive discipline, assimilative curriculum, and underrepresentation of Black staff (Bryan, 2021; Coles & Powell, 2020; Dumas & ross, 2016; Warren & Coles, 2020).

Applying Wake Work as an analytic lens places a clear focus of this study on describing how Blackness is engaged in SSHS and FBL's partnership. Specifically, this study foreground Blackened knowledge which is a willing to engage the expertise and methods of Black people as they resist and disrupt anti-Blackness (Brand, 2010). Sharpe (2016) describes Blackened knowledge as a consciousness built by plotting, mapping, and tracking how society and institutions position Black people and Blackness. Examining how Blackened knowledge is developed and shifts leadership activity is key as scholars have identified being Black or African American is not enough to disrupt varied forms of racism and anti-Blackness. Scholars have identified the complicity of Black leaders in upholding structurally anti-Black systems for Black youth, guardians, community, and staff (Baldridge, 2019; Khalifa, 2015). This study describes how SSHS

and FBL's partnership develops the critical consciousness of Black youth, community organizations, and school staff to incorporate Blackened knowledge and shift their leadership activity.

A second tenet of Wake Work is understanding how society and institutions care for Blackness and Black non/being (Sharpe, 2016). Dumas (2014) suggests schools are sites of suffering for Black people were continual psychic and material assaults; and constant surveillance gives rise to a malaise of not knowing when the trauma will end. While Sharpe (2016) does not provide answers for ending trauma created from varied forms of anti-Blackness she suggests that care in the form of intentionally seeing, imagining responses, findings words, and actions that are attentive to Black trauma have potential to disrupt non-caring forms of normative violence Black people experience. In the context of this study neoliberal outcomes perpetuate not caring about Blackness or Black people. Wake work provides an analytic lens to an examine how SSHS and FBL's partnership produces outcomes that demonstrate care for Black people and Blackness.

While Wake Work is a potentially powerful analytic lens to examine Blackness and the contributions of Black youth, community organizations, and school staff it is not a leadership theory which limits the concept's ability on its own to describe SSHS and FBL's partnership. This study draws on Diamond (2013) conceptualization of distributed leadership because the lens foregrounds the ways actors including minoritized youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers participate in leadership activity across multiple levels to influence aspects of change efforts on topics of race and racism. Consequently, I combine Wake Work with Culturally Sustaining Leadership theory to analyze how SSHS and FBL's Black youth, community organizations, and school staff engaged in a shared leadership process to reimaging anti-Black learning space.

Culturally Sustaining Leadership

Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy (CSP) is the conceptual basis of CSL. Paris (2012) argued that educational programs should be seeking to perpetuate and foster the linguistic, literate, and cultural values of culturally and linguistic diverse youth. Rather than focus on teaching and learning like CSP, CSL seeks to analyze the way leadership perpetuates and fosters cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity. Santamaria & Santamaria (2016) posit several characteristics of CSL when combined with Wake Work that are germane to this study that help analyze how shared leadership disrupts anti-Blackness.

The first characteristic is critical self-awareness which accounts for how and when a leader acts by understanding the socio-political contexts operated in and how one's own marginalization and positionality impact their leadership. Combining CSL and Wake Work can highlight the critical consciousness of Black youth, community member, and school staff as they describe their critical self-awareness, they might explain how anti-Blackness has impacted their life and discuss how they use that knowledge to disrupt the issues affecting Black stakeholders the SSHS-FBL partnership serves.

The second characteristic of CSL is actively involving minoritized youth, guardians, community organizations, and staff by seeking their expertise and decision making in leadership activity. As I analyze the leadership processes enacted between SSHS and FBL, combining the theories of CSL and Wake Work illuminates how Black youth, community organizations, and school staff are non-/present and dis/incentivized to participate at various stages of leadership activity by having their expertise and decision-making actively sought. Lastly, CSL seeks to develop community-based outcomes that impact students. In the context of this study, merging

CSL and Wake Work illuminates how the Black youth, community organizations, and school staff develop outcomes that better serve the SSHS and FBL Black community.

While there are more aspects of CSL than discussed in this theoretical framework, I focus on critical consciousness, leadership processes, and caring outcomes to understand how Black people think about and engage in leadership activity that liberates themselves from anti-Blackness. My analytic of combining CSL and Wake Work is crucial because current school-ELO leadership literature provides scant examinations of the ways Black leaders serve Black youth, guardians, community organizations, and school staff. Lastly, combining CSL and Wake Work helped me select the central research question of the study, the selection of the ethnographic study site, inform the coding scheme, and categorizations of the analysis. The next section will go into further detail about how I use the combined lenses of CSL and Wake Work to make methodological choices.

Methods

Hartman (2008) suggests everyday practices normalize anti-Blackness. I applied critical ethnographic methods because the approach is suited to tracking how SSHS and FBL's Black youth, youth workers, and school staff disrupt anti-Blackness through everyday leadership activity. The main data collection technique in critical ethnographic methods is participant-observer observation which tracks how people engage in normalized pattern of action like leadership activity responding to anti-Blackness (Goffman, 2001). Additionally, by centering the leadership activity of SSHS and FBL's partnership through critical ethnographic methods the opinions and critique of Black youth, community organizations, and school staff become a site of activism and change (Denzin, 2017).

I provided a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of SSHS and FBL's shared leadership activity to elucidate the critical self-awareness of Black youth, community organizations, and school staff, common leadership processes applied, and identify the outcomes that both enables and constrains movement toward disrupting anti-Blackness. Focusing on how the partnership between SSHS and FBL both enables and constrains anti-Blackness is "Humanizing" (Kirkland, 2014). Humanizing SSHS and FBL's partnership illuminates the complexity of disrupting anti-Blackness as scholars have demonstrated the potential for educational organizations to have both positive and negative effects on Black youth, guardians, community organizations, and school staff (Baldridge 2019).

Setting: Sandy Shores High School & Future Black Leaders

Sandy Shores is a racially diverse neighborhood located in South Blue Lake. Since the 1990's the Sandy Shores community has seen an increasing number of Black residents arrive as historically anti-Black housing policies including racial housing covenants, redlining, and gentrification in other parts of Blue Lake have led to an influx of Black people into the neighborhood. With the growing number of Black people in Sandy Shores increasingly anti-Black narratives have spawned about the neighborhood. For example, the Blue Lake Tribune (newspaper) described Sandy Shores as "New Jack City", which is a popular movie where a Black community is characterized by gangs running the neighborhood, "run-down" properties, a high poverty rate, and escalating crime. Critics of the social conditions in Sandy Shores often do not recognize varied forms of anti-Black policy and practice perpetuated by the city government and various social institutions ignoring necessary upgrades to infrastructure like childcare, community safety, education, employment opportunities, healthy food, and housing.

In recent years Sandy Shores has undergone several economic and land development changes that have led to gentrification pushing the Black populace out of the community. The Blue Lake City Council has upzoned 27 locations in the Sandy Shores. Upzoning is land development policy that allows for the demolition of single-family homes so contractors can build larger housing complexes. Typically, in upzoned land tracts property owners must reserve 5 – 11% of new property for low-income people. New houses and apartment complexes lead to increased property values and rental costs that have pushed many of Sandy Shores low-income Black residents out of the neighborhood. The displacement of Black communities because of gentrification is a key topic FBL works to address by engaging in community conversations and social action to disrupt this ongoing form of anti-Blackness.

Sandy Shores High School (SSHS) has served the community in its original building since 1962. SSHS students and alumni view the school as a bastion of community pride because the school has historically been an athletic powerhouse winning state championships in several sports. However, SSHS has faced the threat of closure for low enrollment and declining academics achievement scores. Due to the possibility of school closure SSHS's Black community led a social action campaign to overcome central office top-down decision making to ensure SSHS remained open. For example, in 2008 SSHS Parent Teacher Association and several community organizations rallied to start an international baccalaureate program that has led to increasing academic results and kept the school open. Differing forms of anti-Blackness like the threat of school closure, overly punitive discipline systems, and ignoring needed school renovations are a small list of the varied forms of anti-Blackness occurring within SSHS. The partnership between SSHS and FBL started in 2016 to forestall the closure of the Liberation Camp program which is a

common form of anti-Blackness where organizations that serve Black youth, guardians, and community members are constantly under the threat of closure (Baldridge, 2019).

FBL formed after the dissolution of Community Support an organization that uses Christian principles to address urban poverty in Blue Lake's Valley Region. During the summer of 2015 Community Support cancelled its externally funded Liberation Camp program which has five educational elements including culturally infused reading curriculum, intergenerational leadership, supporting student led, community-based solutions for issues in their lives, parent and community engagement, and nutritional and health wellness. The precarity of funding for programs serving Black people is a well-established form of anti-Black racism ELOs must navigate (Baldridge, 2019). In response to the program ending several Community Support employees, youth scholars, and community organizations raised $50,000 to continue the Freedom School. The next summer Community Support's former youth and youth workers founded FBL to continue hosting the Liberation Camp at Sandy Shores High School. Co-founders of FBL Jack and Laurel characterized the organization as addressing systemic racism and impacting the school to prison pipeline in Blue Lake's Sandy Shores Neighborhood. Since the Summer of 2016, FBL has partnered with Sandy Shores High School administrators to develop year-round programs including restorative justice initiatives, after-school tutoring, critical literacy, and leadership development.

SSHS and FBL's partnership provides a promising site of inquiry because the collaboration engages in several shared leadership strategies where Black youth, community organizations, and school staff disrupt several aspects of anti-Blackness. First, during data collection SSHS and FBL engaged in bi-monthly and then monthly partnership meetings to discuss and action plan for on-going projects and initiatives. Often the purpose of these partnership meetings was addressing

discipline issues, providing mentoring support to Black youth, and staff professional development. Additionally, FBL helped Black youth and community organizations engage in leadership development activity to disrupt school-community issues like transportation and school security policy. Lastly, SSHS's site-based administration integrated FBL into several school leadership teams like the school's race and equity team.

Unit of Analysis

Drawing on tenets from CSL and Wake Work I foreground the Blackened knowledge of Black youth, community organizations, and school staff at SSHS and FBL. The unit of analysis in this study is the critical self-awareness, leadership processes, and outcomes emanating from SSHS and FBL's leadership activity to impact anti-Blackness

Participants

The focal participants of the study were SSHS staff (Alice, Carla, and Rebeka) and FBL youth workers (Adam, Jeff, Laurel, Malia, Montana, and Tina) because they attended most of the leadership meetings I attended while observing the partnership Additionally, I chose these individuals as focal participants because I had regular access to them in interviews and observations. The focal participants held important roles in the partnership's leadership activity including hosting meetings, developing curriculum for Black students, facilitating professional learning sessions, and community organizing. The focal participants initially gathered for bi-weekly partnership meetings but shifted the cadence to monthly during data collection. Additionally, there were several meetings the focal participants engaged in including Carla being a regular attender of FBL's organizational leadership team meeting. Carla played a liaison role

between SSHS and FBL being involved in several programming initiatives and community conversations.

A second set of important participants I included in data collection were former and current Black youth at SSHS and FBL that influenced aspects of leadership activity on topics of anti-Blackness. At the start of data collection FBL was finishing a Black youth lead direct action campaign. I was unable to interview the two Black youth leaders of Black Kids Matter (BKM) Kerry and Amanda that lead the campaign; however, I did review interviews, videos, and documents with the Black youth leaders. Reviewing archived artifacts helped to establish the normalized pattern of action and the language used to disrupt anti-Blackness. Although, I did not interview Kerry and Amanda I talked with Yasmin a former youth participant of SSHS and FBL because of her involvement in several social action campaigns, curriculum development, and leadership activity. My interview with Yasmin helped to establish how SSHS and FBL partners with Black youth to disrupt anti-Blackness, which builds validity and triangulates my other data sources.

The third set of participants in this study are the leaders of community based and ELO organizations not part of FBL that serve the Sandy Shores to disrupt issues of racism and anti-Blackness. I spoke with Amber, Derek, and Gus because they have all partnered with or have knowledge of the work FBL does to foreground Black community concerns. For example, I interviewed Amber at the Nutrition Social Action Team (NSAT) because of her organization's integral role in partnering with both SSHS and FBL on issues effecting Sandy Shores's Black community. My interview with Amber helped illuminate how FBL partners with Black youth and community organizations to disrupt anti-Black policy and practice occurring at BLPS. Figure 3.1

provides descriptive detail about the study participants including their name, race/ethnicity, organization, and position at the time of my study.

Figure 3.1: Descriptive Detail of Study Participants

Name	Race/Ethnicity/gender Identity	Organization – Position
Malia*	Black Womxn[3]	FBL - Programming Manager
Montana*	Black Womxn	FBL - Communications and Development Coordinator
Tina*	Black Woman	FBL - Restorative Justice Coordinator
Jeff	Black Man	FBL - Restorative Justice Coordinator
Adam*	Bi-racial (Black and White) Man	FBL - Restorative Justice Liaison
Kerry	Black Womxn	FBL - Curriculum Specialist
Laurel*	White Womxn	FBL - Operations and Finance Director
Yasmin*	Black Woman	Former FBL - Youth Participant
Rochelle*	Indian Woman	Sandy Shores Non-Profit Support Team - Capacity Building Lead
Amanda	Black Woman	FBL - Youth Participant
Kerry	Black Woman	FBL - Youth Participant

[3] Individuals with x's identify their gender in this way

Amber*	Asian American Woman	Nutrition Social Action Team – Organizing Director
Derek*	Black Man	Neighborhood Safety Council – Founder and Chief Executive Officer
Gus*	Black Man	Sandy Shores Action Coalition – Managing Strategist
Alice	Pacific Islander Woman	Assistant Principal – Sandy Shores High School
Rebeka*	White Woman	Assistant Principal – Sandy Shores High School
Carla*	White Woman	Social Worker – Sandy Shores High School
Glenda	White Woman	Educator – Sandy Shores High School
Lois	Asian Woman	Social Work Intern – Sandy Shores High School
Sam	Black Man	Social Work Intern – Sandy Shores High School
Doug	Black Man	Former Principal (2011 - 2015) – Sandy Shores High School

Kevin	Black Man	Former Principal (2016 - 2020) – Sandy Shores High School
Erika	White Woman	Sandy Shores Elementary – Principal
Lauren*	Black Woman	Sandy Shores Elementary – Assistant Principal

*Interview Participant

Data Collection

The time bound of data collection was July 2020 until April 2021, which is approximately nine months. Data collection included participant-observer observations triangulated with semi-structured critical narrative interviews, and document/artifact analysis to develop validity, build reliability, and counter bias (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Since this study occurred during COVID-19 SSHS and FBL cancelled several meetings due to sickness, unexpected technical problems, and a myriad of personal situations. COVID-19 limited observation opportunities but was a chance to understand how SSHS and FBL responded to unexpected situations.

Participant-Observer Observation

Since everyday practices normalize anti-Blackness (Hartman, 2008), I chose to conduct participant-observer observations because the method helped track the way SSHS and FBL's Black youth, community organizations, and school staff collaborated to respond to anti-Blackness (Goffman, 2001). I conducted approximately 80 hours of participant-observer observations. I recorded fieldnotes approximately within 48 hours of observations to track my emerging understanding of SSHS and FBL's partnership. The fieldnotes of observations attended to several

aspects of leadership including what roles participants of meeting attendees play, context of the meeting, setting, processes, enactments of leadership practice, and relational dynamics (See Appendix B Protocol for Participant-Observer Observations). Reviewing these areas of leadership activity highlighted how Black youth, community organizations, and school staff collaborated to disrupt anti-Blackness

My participant-observer observations focused on the leadership activity of SSHS and FBL with particularly interest to leadership team meetings, leadership development sessions, and community meetings. I attended eight leadership team meetings (1 -2 hours each), seven program area meetings (1 hour each), and four community meetings (1 – 3 hours each) in an observer role. I selected these meeting to understand how SSHS and FBL's partnership engaged Black youth, community organizations, and school staff in aspects of organizational administration, curriculum development, and community organizing actions plans. For example, I attended several SSHS and FBL admin meetings where their groups addressed school discipline issues. SSHS administrators actively sought FBL youth workers expertise to address the discipline issues with restorative practices affirming their knowledge as important on the topic.

In addition, I attended activities including the Rent Justice Campaign meetings, Restorative Justice 101, and Feed the Shore in a participatory role to better contextualize SSHS and FBL "informal logic of actual life" (Greetz, 1973 P. 17 as the organizations executed their leadership activities. I volunteered to see SSHS and FBL's normalized practice as they disrupt differing forms of anti-Blackness. Engaging with SSHS and FBL's leadership activity through participant-observer observations help me triangulate data including interviews and documents espousing the organizations values.

Semi-Structured Critical Narrative Interviews:

My theoretical framework values Black youth, community organizations, and school staff as having valuable knowledge to critique and disrupt anti-Blackness in educational systems. Critical narrative interviews align with my theorical framework because as Benham (2007) suggests the technique recognizes the power of lived experiences to makes visible silenced concerns and lifeways. SSHS and FBL's Black youth, community organizations, and school staff discussed how Sandy Shores's Black community navigated anti-Blackness across time, place, and situation (Clandinin, 2007).

I conducted 14 interviews that lasted approximately 30-60 minutes. The conversations were semi-structured so I could respond to my interviewee's emerging worldviews and new ideas about the topic of Blackness and anti-Blackness (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The interviews focused on how participants make sense of their critical self-awareness, enactment of leadership processes, and development of outcomes. Critical narrative interviews triangulated my participant-observer observations and document analysis to help build a cogent description the of values and routines enacted in SSHS and FBL's partnership.

Artifact Analysis:

Artifacts including archived video and documents help contextualize the partnership between SSHS and FBL. I collected artifacts that range from professional development training documents, event calendars, organizational documents, video media, and print media. In one case, I reviewed several videos made by SSHS and FBL to promote several aspects of restorative practices the partnership was utilizing. Artifacts like the videos uploaded to online video and social media sites demonstrate a multi-year effort to disrupt varied forms of anti-Blackness.

Data Analysis

I utilized an Excel spreadsheet to organize the data corpus. The Excel spreadsheet had several categories including: (a) Date of Data Collection (b) Type of Data (Interview, Fieldnote, Document/Artifact, and Feedback Sessions), (c) Where was the Data Retrieved from, (d) Notes about Data. I uploaded all data into Dedoose (research software) to organize and analyze the interviews, field notes, and artifacts (DeCuir-Gunby, Marshall, and McCulloch, 2011). I utilized Temi transcription services to obtain verbatim interviews and video transcripts. After organization of data in Dedoose I iteratively analyzed data with two strategies: 1) deductive and inductive coding; and 2) writing analytic memos.

I identified themes, tested my interpretations, refined the code book, and looked for opposing explanations to combat bias through iterative coding across several rounds (Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006). I derived from my initial codes from the combined theoretical lenses Wake Work and CSL (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I grouped codes representative of the data together as themes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). Several codes I developed from Wake Work include: (a) Black trauma, (b) racial calculus, (c) exclusion, and (d) re/imagining (e) Black leadership. While I drew CSL to create codes including: (a) critical self-awareness (b) community conversation (d) shared expertise (e) shared decision making. I started with deductive coding because I was specifically interested in the way Black youth, community organizations, and school staff engage in shared leadership to disrupt anti-Black educational systems. Across initial rounds of coding, I developed a code book based on Macqueen, Mclellan-Lemal, Bartholow & Milstein's (2008) method that includes adding a definition, when to use, when not to use, and example for each code (See Appendix D. Critical Ethnography Code Book).

During iterative coding I realized that several segments of data did not relate to either Wake or CSL. Thus, I created inductive codes to better categorize emerging themes. Inductive codes

included: (a) context, (b) tension, and (c) youth leadership. For example, I applied the context code to encompass salient demographic or statistical data. I triangulated the themes by grouping multiple data sources (interviews, fieldnotes, artifacts) to demonstrate patterns of leadership activity (Hebard, 2016).

During data collection and analysis, I drafted analytic memos alongside coding. I developed higher inference claims by writing memos that tracked analytic claims and methodical decisions which helped me narrow the study's focus (Miles and Huberman, 1994). I narrowed the focus of my study to analyze the critical consciousness of leaders, their actions, relational interactions, and outcomes pursued because these activities correspond to tenets of Wake Work and CSL. I often found that my inductively developed codes like tension and youth leadership corresponded to my iteratively developed codes. For example, I saw several tensions in the relational interactions and actions of leaders that impacted FBL and SSHS partnership to disrupt anti-Blackness. The tensions I noticed in FBL and SSHS leadership processes lead me to discuss how the partnership both authentically engage each other to disrupt anti-Blackness, but also tensions from relational interactions help to reify the status quo. Analytic memos appear in the audit trail via two column notes with the date appearing on the left side and any ongoing analytical and methodological insights on the right side. Lastly, I conducted members checks with focal participants at FBL to recognize if my analyses properly represented the shared leadership activity (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Limitations

One limitation that impacted my research was the COVID-19 pandemic which forced both SSHS and FBL into new territory of having to lead their organizations during a time of unprecedented and unpredictable shifts in educational and health policy. Almost all my

observations and interviews occurred online because BLPS, FBL, and University of Washington Institutional Review Board regulations called for social distancing measures to prevent the spread of the virus. Since all my observations and interviews occurred online there was limited opportunities for informal socializing with SSHS and FBL staff, which Goffman (2001) suggest is key to gaining a deep familiarity as people deal with unanticipated events. To build in some informal time I attended several FBL events including their Feed the Shore event as a volunteer because it gave me access to more informal interactions as we worked to distribute food to the community. Additionally, I set up a regular one on one bi-weekly meeting with Montana where we did talk about my dissertation project, but the conversations often acted as occasion to discuss more informal topics including how life was going for both of us and matters occurring in the Sandy Shores community. A second limitation was the number of youths I was able to interact with. Since the pandemic was going on FBL was unable to run their typical after school program, which limited the number of students they subsequently worked with, and I interacted with. Additionally, most of the meetings SSHS and FBL conducted were during the typical school day when students were in class. I did talk to several former youth participants to triangulate and build validity on interview data.

Positionality

As a Black male researcher and educational leader, I am navigating my positionality as an "outsider within" both academia and the organizations I am researching with (Collins, 1986). As a Black male that has navigated educational spaces as both researcher and leader, I notice the differing forms of anti-Blackness these systems produce. For example, my experiences have shown me the ways scholars engage in extractive and oppressive research on Black communities. In addition, as a leader I have noted the way educational leadership policy and practice suggests

Blackness is a deficit and silences Black cultural forms of expression and feelings of self-worth. My goal in this project is disrupting "research as recipe" or dutiful engage in research as a process without considering the relational and cultural implications of my actions. I selected critical ethnographic methods because it pushes me to become self-introspective about many of the unexamined assumptions of qualitive research by questioning my "purpose, intentions, and frames of analysis, predicting possible harm", and asking myself how I plan to maintain dialogue with the communities I researched with (Madison, 2005).

Ultimately, the purpose of this research is understanding how the thoughts and actions of Black people are a site of activism and change that can disrupt and reimaging anti-Black educational systems (Denzin, 2017). I believe like Carmichael (1966) that Black people have the right to reclaim their history and identity, on their own terms, defined by themselves, and redefining their relationship to society. I upheld my purpose by selecting a study site that is predominately Black and are in the process of disrupting differing forms of anti-Blackness. While the site did not always discuss how they were disrupting anti-Blackness with explicit language their thoughts and actions foregrounded Blackened knowledge and care for Black people and Blackness that I view as atypical in educational systems. Additionally, throughout this study I wrote researcher identity memos to engage in self-interrogation to make clear my values and desires during this dissertation study and illuminate how I am making sense of SSHS and FBL's partnership (Maxwell, 2012). For a deeper explanation of how I used researcher identity memos to predict possible harm and maintain proper relationality (See section emerging interpretations from researcher identity memos p. 66 – 68 in paper 2).

Findings

School systems in the United States have been complicit in perpetuating anti-Blackness since the inception of the institution. While anti-Blackness remains common at SSHS their partnership with FBL has helped the school disrupt the racial violence that has become commonplace in the lives of Black youth, guardians, community members, and staff. Through a critical ethnographic study, I describe the critical consciousness, leadership processes, and caring outcomes that helped SSHS and FBL disrupt anti-Blackness in the schooling experience of Black youth and school staff. I start by describing how FBL has helped both Black youth and SSHS staff develop their critical consciousness to understand and act on issues of anti-Blackness. Next, I describe how SSHS has authentically engaged FBL in multiple areas of school leadership. In addition, I describe how FBL asserts its agency to disrupt anti-Blackness when SSHS prevents the ELO from engaging in leadership activity. The last finding describes how SSHS and FBL's partnership have centered caring outcomes by focusing on relationship building. The paper concludes with discussion and implications for research.

Room 265: Developing Black Youth Knowledge on Blackness and anti-Blackness

Walking into the front door of Sandy Shores High School you move past the distinctive blue façade with orange pillars which let you know you're in Dolphin (School mascot) country. FBL is one of several ELO organizations that operate at SSHS. SSHS's administrators provided FBL with Room 265 to facilitate their programs. While FBL's programs did not physically occur in Room 265 during data collection because of social distancing caused by COVID-19 the opportunities for learning and disruption on topics of Blackness and anti-Blackness within in that space persists through a shift to online telecommunications platforms.

FBL's youth and youth workers who engaged in the physical space before COVID-19 have described Room 265 in SSHS as a big old room not dissimilar from your typical classroom. While

white walled, I view room 265 unmistakably as Black space where Black youth, youth workers, and school staff have opportunities to build their critical consciousness about Blackness and anti-Blackness. Yasmin affectionally known as Yaz a former Black woman youth participant of FBL described her learning in room 265 as helping her understand the experiences of Black people living in Blue Lake's south end as not normal. Yaz reflected

"Overall we do not have the same resources and were not given the same, I guess not given the same knowledge on certain issues. I never knew that we dealt with gentrification. I never knew we had a food desert. I never knew our school was being treated a certain way than other high schools. I was unaware of these things. I just thought this was normal. I guess growing up in the South end, everything that goes on just seems normal."

Yaz comments describe the normality of anti-Blackness that she and other Black people in Sandy Shores experience. By not realizing differing forms of anti-Blackness affect her life Yaz does not see the need to disrupt the matter. Room 265 is a Black space where occupants can engage in conversations on topics impacting Sandy Shores, read books by Black authors about Blackness, participate in restorative circles, create varied forms of visual and musical art that center Blackness, and engage in other learning activities that help Black people realize their experiences of anti-Blackness are not normal. The learning that emanates from room 265 not only helps Black youth see their experiences of anti-Blackness as not normal it can help them develop their self-identity and take social action. Yaz shared

"And so being able to work with FBL it gives a safer environment to talk about those things. Like those things aren't okay, or these, this is a problem that we need to fix, I guess my beliefs in my environment kind of shaped what I do because it [learning in room 265] gives me this safe environment to talk about and be who I'm going to be."

Yaz's comments signal the growth in her personal Black identity because she is engaging in learning within room 265. Additionally, Yaz believes that she must take action to disrupt differing forms of anti-Blackness because she recognizes the impact these issues are having on Sandy Shores's Black community. While FBL had room 265 to help Black youth learn about their identity and actions that could disrupt anti-Blackness they have shifted outside of the physical space because the current realities of COVID-19. Through their summer program Black Liberation Camp Black youth had the ability to engage in virtual curriculum that helps them reflect on how they can make a difference in themselves, family, and community. For example, the curriculum for I can make a difference in my community includes learning vocabulary words like prosperous, flourish, prominent, and insurrection. Black youth engaged in reading and videos to learn about the 1921 Greenwood and Tulsa Race riots. As part of watching the video and articles Black youth were supposed to "write a brief reflection about what you learned and how it connects to recent events within your community." The connection from the past to now is that the George Floyd protests were occurring during this Black Liberation camp programming so there were many parallels that youth could draw on or other Black community concerns. Additionally, the youth read a short news article about BIPOC owned business in Southeastern Blue Lake. The goal of reading the article listed on the curriculum is "to identify more BIPOC businesses in the neighborhood that community members can learn about and support to strengthen the local economy and keep the black/brown dollar within the community for a longer period of time". FBL's programming has created numerous opportunities to engage Black youth in learning about the history of anti-Blackness and connecting this knowledge to their community. In addition, Black youth learned tangible strategies about how they might shift their actions to support Black owned

businesses in their community so Blackness can flourish. FBL has created opportunities for learning beyond engaging Black youth as adults have engaged in professional learning.

Professional Learning: Developing Adult Knowledge on Blackness and anti-Blackness

FBL has worked with SSHS administrators and educators in professional learning sessions to help them develop their understanding about Blackness and anti-Blackness. For example, SSHS and FBL have partnered for many years on developing the critical consciousness of school administrators and educators. One strategy the partnership has used is having school staff participate in affinity groups. Affinity groups occurring at SSHS often happened during different staff and standalone meetings where people sharing a common identity discuss a topic of mutual interest on race/ethnicity. Rebecka an Assistant Principal at SSHS reflected on how FBL has helped administrators and educators by leading affinity groups. Rebecka stated

“They [FBL] initially did a lot of work initially it was a lot about words, what does it mean to be racist? What is white supremacy? The Black Lives Matter movement came out during that time and kind of coalesced. Looking at some of their objectives, how do those align with what the work we need to do here [Sandy Shore High Schools]? There's this big series a movement away from that initial more teaching everybody how to keep circle and community building circles. That was starting to unpack much harder work in those groups. Sometimes they'd be at that point affinity circles so black affinity, Latinx, white women, white men, [and] black men I mean however they chose to divide it where you take what you initially learned and take it back. Then there'd be a, you break it up and then go deeper in the circle and then you come back together. So, they [FBL] definitely played some really critical work in our school in doing that.”

Rebecka's comments are poignant as she describes how FBL help's SSHS staff deepen their critical consciousness by unpacking issues of whiteness and contextualizing what the Black Lives Matter Movement means in the context of Sandy Shore High School. SSHS and FBL having opportunities to unpack topics of anti-Blackness can to tangible changes in leadership policy and practice. For example, Covid-19 forced many schools to conduct learning online, which created the possibility for school staff to see different situations occurring in the home of students on video communications platforms. In a partnership meeting between SSHS and FBL on March 4th, 2021, Alice (SSHS Assistant Principal) was working with Carla, FBL, and Rebecka to develop a professional learning session for staff around the way whiteness impacts educator perceptions of safety concerns in the homes of Black families.

During the partnership meeting Carla brought the topic of safety concerns in Black homes to the group's attention based on a recent discussion with social workers at a local school where the issue occurred. During the conversation that followed SSHS staff Alice, Carla, Rebecka and FBL staff Adam, Jim, and Tina developed a discussion plan with school employees that touched on how whiteness impacts identification of safety concerns for Black families. The group present wanted school staff to truly understand what happens if I (school staff) do not call child protective services (CPS). What happens if I (school staff) calls CPS. During the meeting Alice suggested the group learn more about CPS policy to make sure SSHS protocol would be in line with state expectations. Alice did take a substantive role in setting the agenda for what the professional learning might entail, but FBL brought a restorative lens and their viewpoints about issues Black families are navigating in their homes. Ultimately, the partnership meeting led to better clarification about policies that impact Black families and the framework for a professional learning discussion with staff about identifying safety concerns in Black homes.

The partnership between SSHS and FBL has brought considerable opportunities for Black youth, youth workers, and SSHS's educators and administrators to develop their critical consciousness on topics of Blackness and anti-Blackness. Through SSHS and FBL's partnership Black youth could engage in curriculum that affirms their Black identity, helps them see the connection between historical forms of anti-Blackness and what occurs contemporarily to Black communities, and learn strategies to disrupt anti-Blackness. While SSHS staff can consider how parts of their identity value Blackness and discuss how whiteness impacts their thinking on issues impacting Black families. In addition, SSHS administrator and educators can use their developed critical consciousness to impact leadership policy and practice on topics of Blackness and anti-Blackness. While SSHS and FBL's partnership has not developed the panacea for disrupting anti-Blackness they are providing tangible opportunities for youth and staff to develop their critical consciousness on the topic of Blackness which has impacted other areas of leadership including processes that effect organizational change.

Unapologetically Disrupting Anti-Black Policy and Practice

A key element cited for effective school and ELO partnership is unification in areas including sharing of resources, communication, and goal setting (Noam, Biancarosa, & Dechausay, 2003). However, tensions arising in partnerships between school and ELOs is a common element of these collaborations (Ishimaru, 2018). SSHS and FBL's partnership similarly have relational and positional authority tensions that the organizations must navigate to disrupt differing forms of anti-Blackness. At SSHS the school principal holds considerable power to determine how and if FBL is involved in leadership policy and practice. Since 2015 SSHS has had three different Black male principals. Each of SSHS Black male principals held differing perspectives on partnering with FBL, which impacted the opportunities to disrupt anti-Blackness

at SSHS. Laurel reflected on the challenges in partnering with SSHS's different principals. Laurel stated

"I think in general partnering, like school community partnerships are so incredibly challenging in so many ways. Particularly with Blue Lake Public Schools I don't think there's good systems and policies in place that foster authentic collaboration that I think community organizations and schools want. I think one of the challenges it really depends on the school because it's very decentralized. So a school principal really gets to decide who they want in their school, what type of partnerships they have, what kind of funding they get, there the decision maker which I understand. Principals are very busy they have a lot on their plate, so they are not necessarily thinking about community partners all the time. It really depends on how that individual leader sees their neighborhood. how much they know, what's going on with community organizations, and their whole perspective around collaboration. At Sandy Shores, we've had a lot of transitions well, several transitions in the principal position and we've experienced very different relationships with each of those. That has greatly impacted the type of work that we've been able to do at the school. Their last administration it was really challenging to build and foster trust."

Laurel's comments incisively demonstrate the ability to foreground Black school-community concerns through partnership relies a lot on the critical consciousness of school-based leaders like principals understanding the context they work in and what a school leader's view on collaborating with the community is. SSHS has had three Black male principals that have engaged in practices that have potential to disrupt anti-Blackness and reified the status quo. For example, a Black male Principal Doug from 2011 – 2015 partnered with several community organization including FBL to institute restorative practices to disrupt disproportionate discipline and collaborated to obtain an international baccalaureate program as a strategy to increase enrollment

and Black student academic achievement. While a different Black male Principal Kevin from 2016 – 2020 when data collection occurred had an antagonistic relationship with FBL sought to roll back many of the established restorative practices to utilize more punitive discipline procedures. As scholarship suggests having a Black male principal alone does not mean the leader will disrupt differing forms of anti-Blackness (Khalifa, 2014). Malia FBL's Programming Manager provides a perspective on how FBL navigates disrupting anti-Blackness when SSHS Black leaders engage in processes that do not value sharing power with the Black community. Malia asserts

"There's been lots and lots of tension between us and that (SSHS) admin. I think there is something to be said about high school administrations versus younger aged administrations. There's a whole lot more power at stake. There's so much more at stake that makes the relationship full of tension for some reason. There's a lot of power there and so I feel like SSHS admin in the past we tried to like move on our own be an organization and do what we said we came there to do. They (SSHS admin) would often come in and be like, Hey, you can't do this. You can't do that. You have to tell me that. You understand this is supposed to be a partnership but then they would turn into them telling us what to do, which is like, no, we're our own organization. We have agency. We don't take orders from them (SSHS admin). We don't even work for you."

FBL's actions to disrupt anti-Blackness often occurred in a tense relational environment between SSHS and the ELO. Malia's statement acknowledges that SSHS Black school leaders like Kevin often wielded their positional authority to prevent efforts to better serve Black youth. To disrupt Black community concerns FBL leaders realized they may not get the approval of school leaders like SSHS's Black principals. Malia suggests FBL had to asserts its own agency to act regardless of being in lockstep with SSHS's administration. By asserting their agency FBL's Black youth and youth workers executed differing forms of community accountability. For example,

FBL's Black youth lead a multi-year social activism campaign from August 2015 through September 2018 that included community conversations, school walkouts, and a march to city hall to protest a policy that students living within 2.5 miles of their school had to walk. Ultimately, the campaign was successful, and the city provided 1 million dollars in mass transit cards to mostly low-income Black and Brown students so they can have safe and reliable transportation to school. Yaz reflected on the agency FBL asserted in interactions with SSHS when she stated

"How high school was for me having FBL there was like having a parent you like and a parent you do not like. The school district was the parents who we don't like, and FBL was the parents we do like. Anytime we had a problem we would run to FBL and be like, this is not right. I remember one time and its crazy cause this came up the other day. I'm taking a health policy class and I'm learning about all that government stuff. One time we didn't like our school lunches and so FBL got us we talked to one of the legislators in our district. FBL drove, they got us a bus and we drove all the way down to the state capital where I am at now and we talked to one of them (legislators) about our school lunches. Like I said the parent we like and the parent we don't like. If Blue Lake School District wasn't doing anything about it we go to FBL and we're like, this is an issue. I'm not saying they (SSHS) don't care, but they don't do nothing about it. They (SSHS) don't do nothing about it and were going to FBL and FBL like were finna do something about it. And so, oh my God there are so many stories."

Yaz comments illuminate several salient points about why it is important FBL be willing to assert their agency in their partnership with SSHS. First, even if the school believes there might be an issue, they may not do anything or sufficiently disrupt the problem. By asserting their agency FBL forces an action by SSHS or the school district on the topic that can lead to important changes for Black youth. Secondly, the goal of school administrators is to act in what it believes to be its

best interest which may or may not coincide with that of the Black community served. FBL asserting their agency by helping Black youth coordinate activities that draw attention to their concerns beyond the school elevates the problem to the point where Black community concerns become a relevant topic that the school must act on or face media scrutiny possibly harming administrative legitimacy at both the school and district level. Carla corroborates the idea that school and district administrator are seeking to limit FBL ability to foreground Black community concerns out of fears of protecting their legitimacy. Carla declares

"I think admin has always been a little afraid of FBL because they're so bold and unapologetic and not easily controllable, um, that it's like they were appreciative of them and they do recognize that the work that they do is great, but because they're still kind of invested in their own place in the system, um, they also kind of know that like the people above them are expecting them to keep FBL in check."

Carla's view illustrates why FBL must be unapologetic with the school system because even in cases where there is Black leaders like a Black male principal present, they may uphold anti-Blackness to maintain the power and legitimacy of the system rather than do what is right for the Black youth it serves. Changes to anti-Black systems historically and contemporarily occur because the Black community outside formal leadership structures have a willingness to both resist and reimage the system in ways that can better serve themselves. What makes the partnership between SSHS and FBL particularly effective is the ELO's willingness to unapologetically challenge anti-Black school policy and practice. While tensions are the norm in SSHS and FBL's partnership there have been several opportunities to genuine effect anti-Black leadership policy and practices because the two side have collaborated in authentically.

Collaboration on Multiple Levels in School Leadership Processes

Often partnerships in educational leadership between schools and community organizations like ELO is not about sharing expertise and decision making (Bertrand & Rodela, 2018). School educators and administrators regularly deny ELO's meaningful responsibilities in leadership processes (Anthony, 2019). While relational challenges and positional authority have caused tensions within SSHS and FBL's partnership there have been tangible changes to issues of anti-Blackness because of the collaboration. SSHS administrators have given FBL multiple responsibilities in leadership processes by involving them on race and equity team, helping to support the implementation of restorative justice at the school, and the ELO has had multiple opportunities to lead staff professional learning. The collective impact of immersion in multiple areas of school leadership has led to important shifts in disrupting traditionally anti-Black school leadership activities. For example, FBL has partnered with SSHS since 2015 to redevelop the school's discipline policy and practices by instituting Restorative Justice. Laurel stated when FBL first started working at SSHS on restorative justice much of their funding came from school contracts.

SSHS for many years disproportionally suspended and identified Black students for punitive discipline. From a policy perspective the partnership is targeting a movement away from punitive sanctioning toward a more relational approach through implementing restorative practices. Carla described part of the policy change when she discussed the codification of the "restorative intervention form" developed in partnership between SSHS and FBL. Carla indicated

"There's a form called the restorative intervention form that they're (school staff) supposed to fill out any time there's a conflict in class. If a student is asked to leave class for any reason, there is supposed to be a restorative intervention. That form existed for like two years and the principal (Kevin) who didn't like us very much would never really approve it or enact it. This year it did get

approved and enacted, but it was like in this weird virtual setting where there's not a ton of conflict really happening. So it hasn't like fully gotten off the ground, but yes, they can like request interventions through the restorative team."

While Kevin's relationship with FBL impacted the partnership's ability to fully engage in restorative practices to address school discipline the collaboration eventually was able to enact a policy that disrupted an issue of anti-Blackness. The restorative intervention form is important because it shifts the conflict from a confrontation that can lead to negative sanctioning like time related detention or removal from class to repairing the relationship between parties or trying to learn the root causes of a student's disruptive behavior. Scholars have shown the ineffectiveness of policy changes without professional learning to support changes in the practice of educators and administrators.

SSHS and FBL partnership's support policy change by developing meaningful opportunities to shift educator and administrator practice through professional learning. Adam (FBL Restorative Justice Liaison) described his goal as a leader of professional learning for SSHS's staff on restorative justice as helping educators reflect on discipline situations and providing tools to navigate the conflict. Adam reflected about his approach when working as helping staff ask themselves "Do I ostracize this child and keep educating? Do I sit here and just let whole thing be disrupted? Most people can't work their way around that. We try to give them tools like restorative dialogue to deal with some of that stuff."

SSHS in conjunction with FBL has hosted several professional learning sessions in staff meetings and cohorts of educators and administrators have trained to utilize restorative practice. For example, SSHS and FBL hosted a two-day circle training with a cohort of 15 staff that focused on the processes of conducting a circle, restorative dialogue, and conducted simulated circles to

practice the approach. Since 2015 policy change and shifts in practice to establish restorative justice while deterred during Kevin's principalship has become a viable school discipline framework because of SSHS and FBL's partnership.

The push to support SSHS administrators and educators restorative justice practice change was apparent during a partnership meeting between SSHS and FBL on March 4th, 2021. Blue Lake Public Schools was planning to resume in person instruction in early May after virtual learning for approximately a year because of COVID-19. During this meeting Alice and Rebeka wanted to prepare their staff for the return to in person learning by engaging in restorative justice training on conflict circles. Conflict circles help restorative justice practitioners disrupt hurtful behavior in the community by engaging in conversation about what happened and developing a plan to repair the harm. Alice stated her belief in FBL and the other school administrators present that they could come up with something helpful for SSHS school staff. During the partnership meeting Tina FBL's Restorative Justice Coordinator stated she wanted to help staff build a strong foundation by making restorative practices a proactive piece of practice. The group discussed that school staff need to be cognizant about their tone and body language cues. Ultimately, the group decided on doing simulated conflict circles through virtual role play. Lastly, the group decided on the timing for the conflict circle training, which Alice suggested could happen in April, May, and June.

While SSHS staff and FBL's youth workers are playing an important role in leading shifts in school discipline they are also finding a way to provide youth with chances to lead as circle-keepers who train staff and facilitate restorative circles. The Circle Keeper's Academy training partially funded by SSHS lead to sixteen students training in restorative practices and receiving $1000 to lead the work at the school. In a partnership meeting on March 4th, 2021 between SSHS

and FBL the discussion had a focus on FBL receiving time during the school day so they could train students during their advisory period to get the youth circle keeper program running.

While the usage of punitive sanctioning has not ended at SSHS and relational tensions from Kevin the past principal have prevented wider implementation of restorative justice, SSHS and FBL's partnership has found traction to codify policy and shift educator practice on the disproportionate discipline of Black students. SSHS and FBL's partnership have navigated rough waters to disrupt issues of anti-Blackness by engaging Black youth and youth workers in school leadership process. Another area that SSHS and FBL's partnership has found success is expanding their outcomes in a way that demonstrate care for the Black community served.

Caring Outcomes: Cultivating Relationships

School systems often focus on neoliberal outcomes like increasing student academic achievement through narrowly defined standardized tests which disregards Black people and makes Blackness invisible. The push to hold schools accountable for student academic achievement on high stakes testing has reproduced multiple forms of anti-black racism from narrowing curriculum that does not focus on the cultural needs of Black students (Coles, 2020) to the disproportionate closing of schools in Black communities that do not perform at "state standards" (Khalifa & Briscoe, 2015). SSHS similarly was under the threat of school closure because of underperformance on their state's high stakes testing. SSHS was able to stay open in part by doubling down on improving student academic achievement by launching an International Baccalaureate program in 2010.

While student academic achievement remains a focus of SSHS administrators the partnership with FBL has targeted the caring outcome of building relationship for Black school

staff and students. At the crux of the partnership between SSHS and FBL is instituting restorative practices that both disrupts student behavior concerns as earlier discussed, but more importantly the goal is to create a positive school climate where both Black staff and students have supportive relationships. Adam (FBL Restorative Justice Liaison) describes why relationship building is a crucial piece of the partnership especially as he considers retaining Black educators.

"We had circles with the students, and we asked them what's wrong with your school? What's going on? A lot of Black teachers will come to a school like Sandy Shores, get their chops and go someplace else. The kids know that they have a revolving door of teachers. You think it's because it's a rough school, but no the teachers get paid well at SSHS, it's the culture that needed to be changed. I guarantee you if somebody did the research, they've had less staff turnover the last three years then they've had in the last three. If you make a place where people feel appreciated, they feel heard, there's a good way to deal with stress, y'all are doing family building events as it goes on a lot there. You create a good work environment people don't want to leave. That's what those kids need."

Adam is describing the connection between Black educator retention and developing a positive school climate. Adam's belief is when Black staff feel appreciated, retention is more probable, and educators are more likely to have positive impacts on Black students. Since 2016 the partnership has engaged in multiple activities to build relationships amongst school staff. From engaging in restorative practices like conflict circles to address disputes amongst staff, to more informal activities as Adam states he has in the past "made the teachers go out every month for drinks". One activity that occurred during my time observing the partnership was an appreciation event held on April 6th, 2020, the first day school staff returned to SSHS to prepare to resume in person instruction because of COVID-19. Adam and Carla sat outside the front doors of SSHS on

this day passing out coffee mugs with the message “I can make a difference” and other affirmation like “Your sacrifices do not go unnoticed” on sheets of paper inside the cups”. The actions emanating from SSHS and FBL’s partnership is caring outcomes that ensure school staff, especially Black people have messages of appreciation and opportunities to build positive relationships. Additionally, SSHS and FBL’s partnership has targeted caring outcomes from developing more positive relationships between Black students and school staff.

SSHS and FBL have been intentional to ensure staff use circle practice for more than student conflict. When SSHS and FBL train staff how to conduct restorative circles, they learn how the strategy can build relationships with students. Adam believes even if circles happen once a year it’s a great opportunity to “ask who you are uh, why are you here? What do you need? And here's a great if I was a teacher. What do you need to feel supported moving forward” Glenda an educator at SSHS described how using circles is having a positive impact on building relationships with students. Glenda explains,

“I am a very passionate practitioner of circles. FBL taught me circle practice my first year at SSHS a couple of years ago. I've been using them in my classes ever since very consistently. I think that they (circles) are incredibly powerful tools ranging from classroom cultural building circles to if we're dealing with conflict. I find that circle practice is probably the biggest thing that I do in my class that lets us build a safe and productive space and a place of joy. I think circles can have an opportunity to really share and connect and bring joy. I will do [circle] at least once a month in our classroom culture building circles.”

Glenda comments illustrate the potential to show care for Blackness by making it visible in discussion through classroom culture building circle practice because there are increased opportunities to share, connect, and really learn about each. While circle practice is one strategy

to build relationships it is not the only strategy as FBL runs several mentoring programs like Don't Judge Me (DJM) for Black males identifying students and Black Girl Magic for female identifying students. Both programs focus on Black identity development, navigating salient teen concerns, and give Black students the chance to ask pertinent questions to community elders. Both mentoring programs connect with school staff for example during a partnership meeting on January 15th, 2021 the group discussed a plan for Black male students to be connected with more Black male school staff in a series of conversations about masculinity and consent.

During the partnership meeting Alice stated that she had a strong feeling about having male mentors in the school that look like the students. Jim suggested that the group could reach out to some of the sports coaches at SSHS to obtain more Black male voices in the DJM mentoring space. Alice planned to contact the SSHS's football and basketball coaches many of whom are Black because she recognized this group of individuals have strong influences on school culture. Adam and Jim's role after this discussion was to structure this ongoing discussion series. Additionally, during this session Alice was willing to ensure the conversation happened during the school day so she offered Adam and Jim the opportunity to conduct the DJM discussion during SSHS's advisory period. Also, Alice suggested she would be willing to sponsor an off-site event for FBL using SSHS funds so DJM could continue the conversations series. Alice took a lead in the setting a vision and used her positional power to shift resources including funds and staffing to implement a program that demonstrates care by discussing topic relevant to Black youth and Blackness. Adam and Jim played a substantive role in both shaping the program's vision by providing their expertise and developing learning sessions that integrated relationship building with Black staff and discussed Blackness. This interaction demonstrates the potential to explicit center care for Blackness and Black people by structuring educational leadership activities toward this end.

A mantra in education is what gets measure is what matters. SSHS has a focus on neoliberal outcomes like increasing student academic achievement through standardized testing. While not always measured formally SSHS and FBL's partnership has helped the school expand its outcomes to focus on building stronger relationships with their Black students, guardians, community, and staff. SSHS and FBL's partnership demonstrates the potential for care through building healthier relationships with Black youth and school staff. In addition, SSHS and FBL's partnership has better centered Blackness through caring outcomes. Showing level of care through relationship building is crucial in Adam's mind as he discusses the use of restorative practices at SSHS. Adam reflected,

"That's the restorative process in play as those are the types of things that we see that are really hard to quantify, but they exist within building community and building relationships, you know? So that's what we have. We have a bunch of people at Sandy Shores High School. Who've been part of this process, for like four or five years, you know?"

Adam comments are poignant that while we cannot always measure the impact of stronger relationships in school through assessments, the action of building a healthier community can have positive effects on all aspect of the school. When educators genuinely care about each other and have individuals they can talk to teachers can more effectively educate or for students more productively learn.

Discussion

Partnering to Disrupt anti-Blackness

Amid endemic experience of anti-Blackness for Black youth, guardians, community organizations, and staff Dumas & ross (2016) have suggested partnering with the Black

community may hold potential to affect this pervasive status quo in educational systems. The partnership between Sandy Shores High School (SSHS) and Future Black Leaders (FBL) illuminates a school-ELO partnership that prominently positions Black: youth, community organizations, and school staff at the center of organizational change efforts to disrupt anti-Blackness. This critical ethnography provides examples of leadership activity that have potential to disrupt anti-Blackness by foregrounding the critical consciousness, leadership processes, and caring outcomes of SSHS and FBL's partnership.

Critical consciousness: Blackened knowledge

The prominent representation of school-ELO partnerships in the literature contrasts with the collaboration between SSHS and FBL's because the critical consciousness, leadership processes, and outcomes of Black youth and school staff substantively guide efforts to disrupt anti-Blackness. Commonly, the school-ELO literature characterizes the critical consciousness of leaders as either color-evasive or critically self-aware. A leader with a color-evasive consciousness has no, or limited recognition of the way race or racism affects their leadership. While a leader having critical self-awareness means they can understand and shift their leadership because of the influence of race and racism. Both a color evasive and critically self-aware consciousness proves insufficient to disrupt anti-Blackness because neither has language or specificity about shifting school policy and practice in ways that better serve Black communities or disrupt anti-Blackness (Dumas & ross, 2016; Sharpe, 2016).

Wake Work theory suggests disrupting anti-Blackness requires having a "Blackened knowledge" or an understanding of Blackness built on firsthand experiences and a historical understanding of racial violence Black people experience (Sharpe, 2016). SSHS and FBL's partnership demonstrates how Black youth, youth workers and school staff develop a *Blackened*

knowledge or understand Blackness and anti-Blackness contextualized within the Sandy Shores's community. These leaders then use their Blackened knowledge to guide their leadership activity. The interviews and observations of SSHS and FBL's partnership demonstrate Black youth, youth workers and school staff engaging in learning activities from reading books by Black authors about Blackness, having discussions of Black Sandy Shores community issues, and engaging in racial caucusing to deepen their own Black identity and understand the issues impacting the neighborhood. Once Black youth and youth workers, and school staff develop their understanding of Blackness and anti-Blackness within the context of Sandy Shores's Black community, they use this expertise to impact different anti-Black school policy and practice like punitive school discipline policy.

Leadership Processes: Unapologetic and Collaborative Leadership Processes

Educational leadership processes often do not position Black youth and community organizations as drivers of educational change efforts (Bertrand & Rodela, 2018; Ishimaru, 2018 Khalifa, Jennings, Briscoe, Olezweski, & Abdi 2014; Welton & Freelon, 2017). Youth and community organizations regularly have limited responsibility and school-based leaders frequently restrict their knowledge in leadership processes (Anthony, 2019; Ishimaru, 2014). Ishimaru (2018) suggests tensions like those mentioned earlier arising in school-community partnerships is common and the focus rather should be how is systemic transformation realized in face of these pressures. SSHS and FBL's partnership similarly had to navigate several tensions for the school system to make systemic changes on issues of anti-Blackness.

Two tensions that arose in the partnership were relational and positional authority exercised by various principals at SSHS. From 2016 – 2020 SSHS's Principal Kevin a Black male often upheld anti-Black punitive discipline policies and would not implement many of FBL's

suggestions to better serve the school's Black community. Scholars suggests hiring Black leaders is paramount to disrupt racist schooling system. However, Khalifa (2015) indicates hiring Black leaders does little to resist oppressive schooling systems if they have not developed the necessary critical consciousness and ability to shift their leadership in ways that disrupt the status quo.

In the face of the relational tensions and position authority exercised by Kevin to prevent FBL from disrupting issues of anti-Blackness the ELO recognized it would have to assert its agency rather than always being in lock step with school administrators. FBL was willing to assert its agency by engaging Black youth led social action campaigns to disrupt differing forms of anti-Blackness that arose in areas including food justice, school wide discipline strategy, school safety, and transportation policy. It is FBL's willingness to assert agency in their partnership with SSHS that has led to some of the most impactful disruptions on anti-Blackness in the school system.

When the SSHS and FBL partnership was able to engage in more collaborative leadership activity on topics of anti-Blackness there was a greater flow of expertise and decision making between the organizations. FBL had prominent responsibilities as an expert on topics including restorative justice, professional learning on topics of race and identity, and served in decision-making roles on several building leadership teams. A common feature of SSHS and FBL engaging in a more collaborative fashion was the two organizations having regular meetings to make sure all parties have similar knowledge and decision making when executing their leadership activity to disrupt anti-Blackness. Even when the partnership was able to engage in more genuine collaboration tensions still arose because of relational tensions and positional authority exercised by SSHS leaders like Kevin. For example, Kevin preventing the implementation of the restorative intervention form for two years. In the face of these tensions there were still important opportunities to impact anti-Blackness in the school system.

Caring Outcomes: Relationship Building

School systems often pursue increasing student academic achievement as an outcome of school-ELO partnerships (Bennett, 2015). Focusing on student academic achievement as the sole measure of academic success can reproduce anti-Blackness because it upholds neoliberal logics that deny people of color equal personhood by denying them access to rights and resources (Mills, 2008). SSHS and FBL partnership does have outcomes that target academic achievement; however, the collaborators have developed caring outcomes. Caring outcomes seek to make Black people and Blackness visible by intentionally disrupting Black trauma, imaging responses that better serve Black communities, and engage in action that impact the status quo (Sharpe, 2016). Developing caring outcomes has led to tangible shifts in the relationship among Black students and school staff.

The partners developed a healthier community by utilizing restorative practices like circles to address community conflict and engage in culture building among staff and students. Additionally, SSHS and FBL have done mentoring programs to increase the opportunity for staff and student to connect learning more about each other and engaging in discussion relevant to SSHS's Black teens. Lastly, the partnership has offered informal relationship building activities like after hours social gathering and appreciation events for staff. By engaging in relationship building SSHS and FBL are developing caring outcomes that has helped Black staff and students become more connected, appreciated, and have other people to talk with and process their experiences of Black identity and anti-Blackness.

Conclusion and Implications for Research

This study builds a critical link between literature targeting school-community collaboration and research on disrupting anti-Blackness in k-12 schools. SSHS and FBL's partnership offers a salient example of Black youth, community organizations, and school staff collaborating to engage in leadership activity that disrupts traditionally anti-Black schooling policies and practices. While the contour of anti-Blackness is ever changing in both society and institutions like schools, the critical consciousness, leadership processes, and caring outcomes illuminated in this critical ethnography provide valuable leadership strategies to disrupt the endemic status quo. As more school district create departments to serve Black students and respond to anti-Blackness the leaders of these projects will need leadership approaches grounded in a specific and contextual understanding of Blackness to successfully meet the needs of the Black community served.

While there is literature in the school-community collaboration field that has focused on the actions of Black youth and community organizations to promote racial equity (see Ishimaru 2018; Welton & Freelon 2017) the field has largely not applied afro-pessimism and Blackcrit theories to analysis (with exception see Turner III, 2021). Dumas & ross (2016) poignantly asks scholars to consider what does a BlackCrit [theory] in education do for us? Conceptually, afro-pessimism and Blackcrit provides a specific and contextual understanding about Blackness and anti-Blackness rather than a general discussion of racism that essentializes the needs and concerns of Black people. A potential contribution of this study is it provides a specific and contextual understanding of the ways school-community partnership have potential to impact anti-Blackness rather than racism by both foregrounding the knowledge and actions of Black youth, community organizations, and school staff.

While this study deepens our collective consciousness about the potential of school-community partnerships to disrupt anti-Blackness this topic needs more research. Specifically, this study did not apply community organizing as a leadership principle, which is a substantive way the school-community collaboration field discusses organizational change efforts (Bertrand & Rodela, 2017; Ishimaru, 2013 Warren, 2005). Scholars like Ishimaru (2018) have outlined the impact that community organizing principles has on building relationships and the leadership capacity of Black educational leaders like those discussed at FBL. Additionally, while this study focused on the critical consciousness, leadership processes, and caring outcomes that contribute to disrupting anti-Blackness there are other aspects of leadership activity that impact disrupting anti-Black racism. For example, several scholars highlight the importance of Black community healing (Ginwright, 2010), engaging in fugitivity meaning not participating in anti-Black educational systems instead building a learning structure that centers Blackness (Woodson, 2021), and engaging in Afrofuturistic imaginings (Dumas & ross, 2016; Carey, 2021) all have utility to overturn anti-Blackness. Given the pervasiveness of anti-Blackness in schooling systems researchers and practitioners should continue researching new an alternative leadership activity to that deepens our collective understanding of policies and practices that may disrupt anti-Blackness.

Dissertation Conclusion

““How do we make students feel comfortable — especially Black and Brown students — when there are cops on television killing people who look like them right outside the gates of their school?” Kerry Black Student Sandy Shores High School/Co-Leader Black Kids Matter

This quote by Kerry highlights the threat of anti-Black violence in institutions like schools and society. As I started my dissertation study, Black Kids Matter (BKM) in partnership with Future Black Leaders (FBL) and Nutrition Social Action Team (NSAT) were engaged in the late stages of a Black student led direct action campaign. The partnership between BKM, FBL, and NSAT led to Blue Lake Public School (BLPS) indefinitely suspending its association with the city police department after months of contentious Black community social action and policy debate. Ultimately, the actions of several Black community leaders from BKM, FBL, and NSAT demonstrate the advancement of social justice for Black people is rarely without a fight from individuals who occupy positions of power. In addition, the social action campaign demonstrates the agency of Black youth and community organizations to navigate the complexities of disrupting anti-Blackness in both educational systems and society.

As I conclude my dissertation, I recognize this study harmonizes with Afropessimist and Blackcrit scholars (Baldridge, 2020a; Dumas & ross, 2016; Turner III, 2021) that believe actively engaging Black people and Blackness in leadership efforts is empowering and disruptive to educational systems. Specifically, this study investigated how an expanded learning organization Future Black Leaders engages in shared leadership activity to disrupt anti-Blackness. My research questions included:

1. *How does existing ELO leadership literature disrupt anti-Blackness*

2. *How does Black youth, community members, and youth workers engage in shared leadership activity to disrupt anti-Blackness*

3. *How does a school-ELO partnership disrupt anti-Blackness?*

This three-paper dissertation drew on a combined theoretical framework of Wake Work and Culturally Sustaining Leadership to investigate the research questions. Wake Work as a conceptual lens analyzes and defines how literature, discourses, and archives make Black people and Blackness silent, absent, and dis/appeared (Sharpe, 2016). While Culturally Sustaining Leadership is an approach to suited to studying the way shared leadership actively engages the expertise and decision making of minoritized people in educational change efforts (Santamaria & Santamaria, 2016). Combining Wake Work and Culturally Sustaining Leadership provides a theoretical framework to investigate how shared leadership engages Black people in the process of disrupting anti-Black educational systems. Across the three papers this study highlights Black community leadership approaches substantively grounded in the Blackened Knowledge, shared leadership processes, and caring outcomes develop by Black youth, community organizations, and school staff to reimagine traditionally anti-Black educational systems. Additionally, across the three papers this dissertation highlights how anti-blackness is both enabled and constrained in educational systems when leadership activity is not explicit about better serving Black youth, guardians, community members, and school staff. Revisiting the findings and implications from each paper in this dissertation study provides insight into the intricacy of disrupting anti-Blackness in educational systems.

Paper one provides a critical literature review to synthesize and gain a new perspective of how prior ELO leadership research discusses Black people and anti-Blackness. Paper one found that ELO leadership literature has historically promoted leaders utilizing a *color-evasive* critical

consciousness and leadership practices. A leader having a color evasive critical consciousness or engaging in leadership practices would be the person not considering the impact of race or racism on their actions (Annamma, Jackson & Morrison, 2017). It is problematic for ELO leaders to engage in color evasiveness as Carter and Colleagues (2018) suggest administrators must explicitly explore the role of race to disrupt racism in in educational system. Additionally, ELO leadership literature has supported leaders pursuing neoliberal outcomes, which often exacerbate racial inequities by suggesting minoritized people are deficient and limits their agency to participate in educational change efforts (Khalifa, Dunbar, & Douglas, 2013; Lewis & Diamond, 2015).

Additionally, the ELO leadership literature provides limited explicit discourse about Blackness or anti-Blackness. The scholar at the vanguard of ELO leadership literature about anti-Blackness, Baldridge (2019, 2020a) discusses the economic, social, and political factors that influence organizational leaders to act in paradoxical ways that enable and constrain anti-Black racism. While Baldridge discussion of ELO leadership and anti-Blackness is valuable it does not draw on shared leadership theory to analyze organizational change efforts. Baldridge's omission leaves considerable terrain to analyze the shared leadership activity of Black youth, guardians, community members, and youth workers, which is a valuable contribution to ELO leadership research as Dumas & ross (2016) suggest disrupting anti-Blackness in educational systems requires the Black community helping to reimagine learning spaces. Paper two and three of this dissertation study elucidates the gap in the literature by providing a critical ethnographic investigation of Future Black Leaders. Paper two explores FBL's shared leadership approaches and paper three analyzes the partnership between Sandy Shore High School and FBL to describe how collaboration with the Black community has potential disrupt to anti-Blackness in educational systems.

Paper two builds off paper one to analyze how FBL engages in shared leadership with Black youth and community organizations to disrupt differing forms of anti-Blackness. The critical ethnography revealed three findings about FBL's shared leadership practice: (1) FBL leaders had a critical consciousness guided by a "Blackened Self-Awareness" or being able to contextualize anti-Blackness and understanding their own values toward Blackness within the location of Sandy Shores. FBL leaders would use their Blackened Self-Awareness to shift their actions and guide their leadership activity, (2) FBL utilizes tenets of restorative practice to disrupt hierarchical decision-making, and (3) the primary outcomes FBL pursued was building stronger relationship within their community and prioritizing Black healing which demonstrate care. FBL's outcomes contrasts with traditional neoliberal ELO goals that reify anti-Blackness. The implication from these findings is a shared leadership model that center Black youth and community organizations agency to level hierarchical decision-making to substantively disrupt anti-Black systems.

Paper three is an analysis of SSHS and FBL's partnership to disrupt anti-Blackness in the school system by engaging Black youth, community organizations, and school staff in shared leadership activity. Through critical ethnographic methods I was able to identify three findings about the critical consciousness, leadership processes, and caring outcomes of SSHS and FBL's partnership that helped disrupt anti-Blackness. (1) the partnership between SSHS and FBL helped leaders increase their capacity to utilize Blackened knowledge, which guided the leadership activity in the partnership. (2) SSHS engaged FBL at multiple levels by integrating the ELO into several school leadership teams, facilitators of professional learning, and implementors of restorative justice. Additionally, when SSHS administrators denied FBL opportunities to participate in leadership activity to disrupt anti-Blackness the ELO was willing to assert agency by unapologetically engaging in change efforts. (3) The outcomes of the partnership between

SSHS and FBL expanded beyond neoliberal aims to including caring outcomes like relationship building amongst Black students and staff. The implications from these findings demonstrate the potential for Black youth, community organizations, and school staff to engage in shared leadership to disrupt traditionally anti-Black schooling systems.

Based on the collective findings from the three papers, I propose an emergent framework for disrupting anti-Blackness in educational systems that I am calling Blackness Sustaining Leadership by engaging Black youth and community organizations in shared leadership. Blackness Sustaining Leadership recognizes that Blackened knowledge of Black youth, community organizations, and school staff as an asset to disrupting anti-Blackness. Second, leadership must engage youth and community members who have Blackened self-awareness or have a locally contextualized understanding of Blackness and anti-Blackness. Black leaders who have Blackened self-awareness are more likely to shift their practices in ways that can help sustain Black culture, history, and lifeway rather than engaging in anti-Black leadership policy and practice. Third, the shared leadership process must actively try to break down hierarchical leadership structures that often prevent Black people from providing their expertise and decision making in educational change efforts. Lastly, Black youth, community organizations, and school staff should develop caring outcomes in collaboration. Additionally, the outcomes of the partnership should expand beyond narrowly defined measures of academic achievement to include Black community-based views on educational success. While at an emergent stage this framework offers an expanded lens to understand how engaging Black youth and ELOs in leadership has potential to disrupt anti-Blackness in educational systems.

Paris & Alim (2014) poignantly ask what are seeking to sustain through Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy? Drawing from the foundation of Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy I ask what

Blackness are we seeking to sustain through Blackness Sustaining Leadership? In this study at least two types of Blackness exist. One form of Blackness is rooted in deficiency and deviance as we consider the normative discourse about Black people in Blue Lake that suggest Sandy Shores Black community resembles New Jack City a fictional neighborhood of "run-down" properties, with a high poverty rate, and escalating crime. Furthermore, the actions of a Black male leader like Kevin the Principal at SSHS upholds Blackness as deviant by institute punitive discipline practices that disproportionately impacted Black students and wielding his positional authority as a tool to uphold anti-Black policy. Often overlooked in the normative deficient and deviant discourse about Blackness within Sandy Shores Black community is the context that Blue Lake's city government and public school system have divested from the neighborhood. The divestment has led to escalating forms of gentrification that is displacing Sandy Shores Black Community from the neighborhood. The divestment and gentrification occur while the city government and school system ignore Black community action plans to disrupt and resist the normative discourse about Blackness.

The second form of Blackness present in this study that FBL seeks to sustain is a community connected justice centered self-love. Integral to FBL's vision of Blackness is sustaining what Blackness means in the context of Sandy Shores. FBL helps Black youth and community engage in learning activities that build their critical consciousness to recognize what Blackness historically and contemporarily means both in the context of Sandy Shores and the world. FBL having Black youth engage in activities like learning about the 1921 Tulsa race massacre and conceptualizing what that bloodshed means today during the riots after George Floyd's murder are meaningful educational activities that deepens young people's understanding about Blackness. FBL pairs critical consciousness building about Blackness for Black youth and

community with justice seeking activities like Black youth and community driven social action to disrupt policy and practices that causes trauma to Blackness.

Blackness Sustaining Leadership sustains Blackness in many ways including FBL actively hiring and retaining youth workers that have a critical consciousness or an understanding of oneself and values toward Blackness. In addition, to being able to contextualize the assets and challenges of Blackness within the environment of the Sandy Shores neighborhood. This deepened understanding of Blackness within the Sandy Shores community, shapes how FBL's youth workers approaches fulfilling their leadership duties which in part seeks to sustaining the culture of Sandy Shores Black community. The difference between the two forms of Blackness in this study normative and community connected justice centered self-love is the presence of the white gaze or the notion that people of color's lives "have no meaning or no depth without whiteness" (Morrison, 1998). The normative view of Blackness is rooted in whiteness while community connected justice centered self-love focuses on how the Black community views themselves and seeks to sustain what it means to be Black in a specific community. For example, SSHS developing professional learning in conjunction with FBL to disrupt normative views ungirded by whiteness that suggest Black homes are unsafe demonstrates a movement toward community connected justice centered self-love.

Since Blackness Sustaining Leadership is at an emergent framework the theory offers several suggestions and strategies for disrupting anti-Blackness that would be strengthened by additional research. For example, future studies might use the combined theoretical framework of Wake Work and Culturally Sustaining leadership to investigate historical enactments of Black communities engaging in shared leadership to disrupt anti-Blackness in educational systems. A tenet of Wake Work is elucidating silences and absences of Blackness and anti-Blackness in

discourses and archives (Sharpe, 2016). By researching historical enactments of Black communities engaging in shared leadership to disrupt anti-Blackness in educational systems scholars can make these absences visible. In addition, to better recognizing the ways that Black communities have engaged in leadership activity to have their culture, histories, and lifeways sustained in educational organizations.

Additionally, the three papers in this study did not draw on community organizing as a leadership principle. Scholars often utilize community organizing frameworks to discuss how minoritized communities assert power against inequitable educational systems (Bertrand & Rodela, 2017; Ishimaru, 2013 Warren, 2005). In the context of this dissertation study the omission is important to consider because a substantial way FBL partnered with Black youth and other ELOs was community organizing and social action. In addition, Black communities have a long history of needing to assert their agency through community organizing to disrupt anti-Blackness. Future studies might integrate community organizing principles into the combined theoretical framework of Wake Work and CSL to ask how Black communities engage in social action to disrupt anti-Blackness in educational systems.

Collins (1990) suggests the suppression of Black feminist thought is a deliberate attempt to keep Black women in subordinate roles by making their knowledge invisible. While research has begun to connect Black feminist theory to the leadership activity of Black women in positional roles like principal and superintendent (Alston, 2005; Horsford, 2012; Reed, 2012) scant research examines how Black women in engage in shared leadership activity to address anti-Blackness. This paper contributes to the disruption of anti-Blackness in educational leadership scholarship through the usage of the Black Feminist framework Wake Work to elucidate the absences, silences, and modes of dis/appearance of Black women in the literature (Sharpe, 2016). Across paper two

and three Black women shared leadership is integral to educational changes efforts both within FBL and in the partnership with SSHS. The Black women engaging in shared leadership put their Blackened knowledge at the center of many changes efforts to help their community develop an understanding of Blackness in the Sandy Shores context, develop action campaigns that address anti-Black policy, and challenge the anti-Black actions of SSHS Black male Principal Kevin. The actions of the Black women in this study built on Black feminist definitions of community that include connections, care, and personal accountability (Collins, 1990). While this study does not fully examine how Black women build community through shared leadership activity future research might investigate the topic by drawing on the combined framework of CSL and Wake Work. CSL analyzes how minoritized people build trust which is vital to developing a functioning community (Santamaria & Santamaria, 2016). Examining how Black women build community in shared leadership could become a potential lever to better engaging Black people in the process of reimagining educational systems.

In educational system that historically and contemporarily reproduced anti-Blackness it would behoove these organization to consider how they can develop leadership practices and policies that better serve the Black community. Sharpe (2016) describes anti-Blackness as a climate that is ever changing. While anti-Blackness will continue to shift having the Black youth and ELOs participate in leadership activity to disrupt the pervasive status quo offers potential to create plans that help educational organizations prepare for the oppressive storms.

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Appendix A
Literature Review Sample Code Book

CODE: Parent Orange Child Blue	Definition	When to use	When not to use	Example
Black Critical	A focus on Blackness or specifically addressing Black youth, gurdians, and community	When a practice is service to Blackness or Black people broadly	When a practice serves a group other than Black peple or Blackness	examples of white leaders in the city who acknowledged the lack of Black leadership in youth organizations across the city. Sam also mentioned that he has friends who pushed for Black youth workers in positions of power in CBES and many were 'completely cut off or cut out – even fired from organizations [for]talking about [it].' The 'it' being race and challenging organizations to have staff members that reflect the racial
Black Critical Self Awareness	Critical self-awareness about the ways Blackness/anti-Blackness impacts themselves and the black community served	When a self-awareness focuses on Blackness or Black people broadly	When self-awareness focuses on any group other than Black people or Blackness	recently retired professor at a local public university, coordinated a number of afterschool youth groups as part ofthe university's engaged arm with Pleasant Ridge. Echoing Sam's sentiments about his supervisors' discomfort with certain issues, Lawrence shared, 'There's lots of ways [that]white liberal progressive people just avoid situations that would force them to confront their discomfort. I mean, you know racism.' Avoiding conversations, denying promotions, shutting down conversations that prove to be too 'stressful' triggers specic emotional responses that can
Black Identitiy Development	A focus on building connection to Black or African (American) culture, lifeways, and traditions.	When identity development is explictly foucused on Blackness	When identitiy development is foucused on any culture, lifeways, or tradtions that does not center Blackness	youth means that being rooted in African culture is a starting point for identitiy development, but not the end point. Understandgni of culture and identitiy development must be viewed as a pathway to justice and freedom. First, this requries acknowledment that African cultural identiity is perhaps the most effective weapon to fight white supremacy. For Black youth who interanalize negative images of BLack people without knowing why, culture is a powerful vehicle to uncover their hidden shame of being

Appendix B
Protocol for Participant-Observer Observations

Observation Preparation

- Review observation goals, and research questions.
- Familiarization with the meeting or site

Setting

- Where is the meeting happening? Describe the physical space, possibly with a diagram (e.g., details of a room, the layout of space/room arrangements, objects/resources/technologies in the setting…)
- Is the space accessible? Are there ways the space facilitates or inhibits interactions?
- Time of day? (is it accessible to the community, such as parents or students?) Time of year? Day of week?
- Who is present? Who isn't? How many people? What are their roles? Who do they represent?
- What are the relevant characteristics of the participants? (e.g. gender, race, ethnicity, language spoken, age, social positionality…)

Meeting Processes

- Reasons/goals for meeting? What does the meeting protocol/agenda look like and how is it shared? Who sets agenda?
- What routines or routine practices are enacted?
- Group rules/norms/values? Explicit and implicit.
- How are decisions made about the work of the group?

Relational Dynamics

- Who is talking? How much? Is the designated leader (if there is one) leading the discussion? Roles?
- What are the visible relationships among participants? Familiarity? Clustering? Tensions? Power dynamics?
- Are there silences or non-verbal behaviors that add meaning to the interactions? Facial expressions? Gestures? Word choice?
- When an idea gets put on the table, how do people respond? Do responses differ depending on who put the idea out? How is discourse happening between multiple people?
- How does the group negotiate conflict?
- Who is considered to be "expert" or "knowledgeable" in discussions of race/equity/diversity work? Who isn't?

Leadership Practices

- How does the group talk about the broader goals of their work? Do they have a common vision?
- How does the group identify the problem? What solutions do they propose?
- How explicitly do they discuss sustaining the culture of their youth?
- Are different people participating in discussions about sustaining the culture of their youth in visibly different ways, such as comfort level or knowledge of the topic?

Researcher-Observers

- How are the researchers viewed/treated by the participants? How are they interacting with participants?
- Do any meeting proceedings seem influenced by an "outsider's" presence
- What is the researcher's reflection of the meeting?

Appendix C
Interview Protocol

FBL Partnership Interview

Interview Protocol[1]

Preamble: *As you know, I am a doctoral student at the UW. I have an interest in the process by which culturally sustaining leadership is occurring at FBL. Basically, this means how are multiple people executive leadership, staff, volunteers, youth, families, and communities involved in decision making, program administration, recruitment, and retainment of staff/youth. I would like to interview you because your roles and experiences provide an understanding to the aforementioned topics. This interview should last approximately 45-60 minutes. I will start by asking if we can record the interview (And, at any point, if you'd like me to turn off the recorder, just let me know), next I will provide an informed consent letter that you will need to provide your verbal consent to participate in the study. Lastly, if you have any questions before we begin, please let me know (We can stop at any time if you have additional questions).*

INTRODUCTION – This first section will help me better understand who you are as a person. I am specifically intersted in your past experiences and personal beliefs.

1. Tell me about your current role at FBL and how long you have been assoicated with FBL

2. What experiences, beliefs, or cultural values shape your personal interest in serving Black and Brown youth

WA-BLOC

3. How did the partnership between FSAT, BKM, and FBL develop to address ending Blue Lake School Public Schools association with the Blue Lake Police Department?

4. FSAT, BKM, and FBL develop place a high value on youth leadership, how were young people taking on leadership roles in pursuit of ending Blue Lake Public School's association with the Blue Lake Police Department?

    a. How did FBL, FSAT, and BKM navigate decision making when it came time to pick a direction or execute an action?

5. From your perspective how is FBL viewed in the community?

6. Are there plans to collaborate with FBL in the future

Wrap Up

7. What question did I not ask that would be important?

8. Anything Else

Appendix D
Critical Ethnography Code Book

CODE: Parent Orange Child Blue	Definition	When to use	When not to use	Example
Shared Expertise	Valuing the knowledge that each member brings to the community	When mulitple people have their knowledge/experience engaged in leadership processes	When an indidvual is seen as the aritbitor or knowledge	M (25:56): I'll say, um, I think, I think there's like a little bit of a distinction here that maybe has to be made. I don't, I think FBL uses elements, a lot of elements of circle practice to make the decisions, but I'm not sure that we necessarily always sit down in a circle to make a decision because that would take forever and there are so many decisions that have to be made on a daily basis that just like can like that just can't a circle just can't happen. But like for example, the peacemaking principles, um, that are, um, that are part of like, uh, peacekeeping principles that are part of on circle practice. So like making sure every, like everyone knows that they need to show up authentically. Like we have one mic, you're not interrupting folxs. Like there's that element of collective voice. And, um, and like making sure that folxs have like the opportunity to get everyone has the opportunity to give feedback. M (24:40): But like when it comes to, uh, like, like, um, with the term extension grant, like
Shared Responsibility	Multiple people engaging in leadership activities	When multiple engage together on the same leadership actiity	When an individual is tasked with an activity	This meeting was a good example of collective leadership because all the people present utilized their knowledge and decision making about how they should proceed. In addition, comments from Montana like happy to follow up and talk more about how the conversation should go are important markers of the shared responsibility in their work to communicate personnel decisions. The decision is not unilateral only in the hands of Laurel as the Operations Director everyone had a say and stake in how they wanted to move forward with Jim's position.