The Personal and Professional Challenges Encountered by ‘Global Majority’ Individuals Experiencing and Practicing Leadership in the UK.

A thesis submitted to the Open University in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Word Count 97,746/100,000

AUGUST 2022
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Abstract

This PhD study explores leadership and identity as socially constructed phenomena within UK society and organisations. Extant organisation, leadership and identity literature offers some insight into the barriers to career progression and the lack of homophilous ties to critical leadership networks for marginalised groups. However, it does not account for the lived experience of global majority individuals or offer an in-depth explanation of the occluded reasons underpinning structural inequalities or social and material consequences. I interrogate such lived experiences and intrinsic reasons from a critical race perspective. Narrative and genre analysis are used to examine the semi-structured interviews of thirty-five global majority individuals. These interviews are assembled in an evocative narrative of leadership co-constructed by research participants and autoethnographic reflections from the author, with the author in the role of a native autoethnographer. The study finds that even though global majority leaders can thrive by drawing on cultural capital and relational leadership enactments, they still face profound barriers in their experience and practice of leadership. Consistent with Yiannis Gabriel’s work on genres in narratives, dominant genres of tragedy, comedy and epic drama feature highly in the analysis of participants’ leadership and identity construction. In addition, horror emerges as a prevailing genre signalling something quite unique to leadership experienced by global majority individuals within UK-based organisations, such as rootlessness and unbelonging. I present four themes linked to the experience of leadership and one concerning the practice of global majority individuals in response. The thesis's contribution focuses on how the perspectives of global majority people in the UK are often downplayed or ignored in the broader organisation, leadership, and identity literature. It urges future research that draws out this group's rich, challenging, and diverse experiences to build towards a more emancipatory view of the potential for leadership theory and practice.

Keywords: Leadership, Identity, construction, global majority, marginalised gendered, critical race, colonial constraint, societal and organisation milieus.
Acknowledgements

To Him (My Heavenly Father), who has kept me through it all, goes the first acknowledgement in presenting and completing this academic work. Next, my thoughts go to my greatest cheerleaders and precious diamonds, my children Jabez, Isaac, Keturah, Asa, and Kezia, without whom this would have been a futile waste of energy. Mum loves you all, and I am so proud of each of you. Thank you for every gift and life lesson you bring to my life and for your patience. You have all been my most outstanding teachers.

To the many friends and family who have invested in me, from support to stern talks, laughter, and much-needed wine! I want to thank you all, but that would be a whole thesis in itself. So, to name a few, to my most awesome brother Roy for believing and investing in me. Again, this would not have been possible without you. My Sister-Friends, Paulette B, Elaine, Deborah, Shirley, Nikki S, Catherine P, Dr Lana Burroughs, Claude, Angie, Nicole, Hilde, and my beautiful nieces, of course. To the Bethel Family and especially Nathan, Clovette, Mother Simmonds and Bishop in his absence. Thank you for providing a spiritual home for me to discover my purpose. To my Cuz Kairen and Lascelles, you have been there from day one. I love you all like ‘cook food.’ Furthermore, you inspired me. To Fitz, who sadly is with us no more. Thank you.

To the work colleagues who could see beyond the colour of my skin to the content of my mind, I want to thank you for reminding me that life is like a box of chocolates. So, thank you, Jean, Fiona, Tania, Anita, Paula, Marisa, and David; you guys' rock!

To my supervisors, Professor Siv Vangen and Dr Owain Smolović-Jones, thank you for your patience, encouragement, honesty, perseverance, and investment. Dr Sarah-Jane Mukherjee, and Dr John Woolham, I could not have done this without you. Thanks to Tracey, Lin, Dr Dimitris Sotiropoulos, and Yesha. To Rosemary Campbell-Stephens for my identity lightbulb moment of affirmation that I am part of the ‘Global Majority’ family. Thank you for this empowerment and for speaking our truth. You are a phenomenal woman!

Love and appreciation to the three people that have had a significant impact on this experience: To the woman who shaped me, gave birth to me, loved me, scolded me, encouraged me, drove me mad at times, but whose care for me was beyond measure until she no longer could, this is for you Mum. Second, to RM, you restored my faith in human love and kindness with one brave step. Last but not least, to Gus, my White ally and hero of retreat. Thank you for the challenging and courageous conversations and for sticking with me until this work was complete! You have my heart.

Finally, to all the research participants for their time and for trusting me with your, although sometimes painful, but inspiring stories and for all of you who continue to bring hope that someday change will come!
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1. Chapter One:

This chapter introduces the study's research context, aims, and objectives about the experience and practice of leadership identities in a UK sector context and the underlying assumptions on which this thesis is based, much of which have come from my experiences in work and leadership. Such attention is paid to the lived experiences of leadership about race and its broader influence on organisational practice. I outline that which allows both belonging and rootlessness as experiences connected to identity to be explored through an understanding as an autoethnographer—connecting the experiences of research participants with my own, together opening for the reader as they engage with and in leadership. Addressing the research questions and aims requires an explanation of key terminology and some of the main obstacles and challenges faced by global majority individuals. Using themes of philosophy (exploring the societal context and way of life, including broader attitudes and beliefs): The theme of experience (to explore the lived experience of participants within organisations): The practice of leadership (to examine how participants enact leadership); and the response analysing how participants behave when faced with these perceived barriers, as flagged in the literature, introduces those issues and offers some explanations of the key concepts - leadership, identity, identity construction and marginalisation.

1.1 Thesis introduction

The Office for National Statistics (ONS) found that out of 445,480 civil servant roles in Britain, 87% were from the White ethnic group, mainly men, compared to 12% from other ethnic groups. The report, Is Britain Fairer? The state of equality and human rights (Commission, 2018) evidenced that Black people (41.5%) were more likely to be in lower-paid occupations and that this was reflective of all sectors across Britain. For example, in education, whilst women are more likely to perform better in higher education than men, White British people are less likely to have a degree than other ethnic groups. Nonetheless, they are more likely to be awarded a first-class degree or 2.1 than ethnic minority students (2019:18). In addition, a report from the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2019) found that ethnic minorities had the highest rates of poverty in the North East and North West of England. This included living in poorer and overcrowded housing (Commission, 2019:7), and those from
Pakistan and Bangladesh ethnic backgrounds were more likely to be unemployed and in lower-paid jobs and less likely to be in secure employment or higher-earning occupations (2019:7).

The McGregor-Smith review, ‘Race in the Workplace,’ published in 2017, highlighted the case for action in addressing the negative impact of the lack of representation of global majority (Johnson & Campbell-Stevens, 2010, 2013) individuals in the workplace. The report specified that although 1 in 8 of the working population was from a BME background, they only made up 10% of the workforce in the UK and only 6% of top management positions (2017:6). The report further pointed out similar statistics as that above. For example, there was a gap of 12%, with only 62% of BME individuals employed compared to 75.5% of their White counterparts, and this employment gap was worse for those from a Pakistani or Bangladeshi background. In addition, the report highlighted that those from BME backgrounds had an unemployment rate of 15% compared to White workers, even though they would like to work longer than they did. The report also showed that whilst BME workers were more likely to be overqualified than White ethnic groups, they were less likely to be promoted over White colleagues (McGregor-Smith, 2017). The report also showed that only 6% of MPs and House of Lords members have BME backgrounds, meaning that over 14% of the UK population remains unrepresented.

Research into leadership across the third sector also found that only 12% of chief executives and only 6% of senior managers, and 8% of trustees were from non-White backgrounds (McGregor-Smith, 2017:52). There has been extant research outlining the number of challenges that global majority individuals have experienced over the years. However, whilst the statistics above give a flavour of knowledge in the field and the structural inequality and severe material consequences for global majority individuals: there is still very little known as to the underlying reasons this continues to be the case heard from the unique insight of individuals belonging to the group in the UK across broad occupational sectors.

From the premise that organisations are accepted as a central space for contested identities, there are compelling discourses of leadership which can be found in the everyday narratives of those in senior leadership positions (Foldy, 2002), which may affirm their power over an intimate relationship with the ‘Other’ (hooks, 2006). Discourse has a controlling as well as emancipatory potential. Fairclough (2003) asserts that discourse represents dominant discourse - how things are - and points us to the creative power of discourse and how it helps
shape how things can be – what Fairclough terms the ‘imaginaries’ (2003:207). Therefore, this research is essential because whilst much has been written about leadership and identity from a dominant group perspective, much remains unknown and unexplored about how global majority individuals conceptualise, experience, and practise leadership within the postcolonial constraint of the UK. Critical scholars further ask whether leadership exists as the property of any individual, preferring to interpret it as a discourse collectively articulated, which holds material effects (Levy & Scully, 2007; Harding, 2014). Some suggest that ‘leadership can exist without leaders’ (Sutherland et al., 2014:764) and inheres only within practice. My ontological positioning indicates an understanding of leadership as a powerful societal discourse brought into practice through interaction and processes (Alvesson and Sveningsson, 2003) that shape and influence organisations’ meaning (Grint, 2000). A hierarchical position often means a greater capacity to offer meaningful direction and shape meaning; therefore, leadership in this study acknowledges this tendency. For this thesis, leadership is taken to be a socially constructed phenomenon created through language and communication (Auvinen, Linsi, Sintonen, and Takala, 2013:2) which creates meaning and influences the practice of followers. Although also recognised in this study is the significance of having a legitimised leadership identity, such as traits, characteristics, and position linked to having a recognised leadership prototype. However, for global majority individuals, this includes being defined as being racialised due to differences in physical appearance, group identification, and gendered in the case of marginalised groups.

1.2 Research context and key terminology

This study acknowledges the complexities associated with identity construction for Global Majority (GM) individuals as a term that intersects with gender, class, culture, sexual orientation, nationality, religious preferences, and race, which has also been used to marginalise global-majority individuals or non-White groups. The term global majority incorporates race-ethnicity and ‘Black,’ which marginalised groups have used to build solidarity or a shared political consciousness (Solomos, 2003) to highlight their collective struggles and experiences around their visible difference. Therefore, the research will review studies that focus on cultural identity and leadership rather than looking at studies that focus solely on isolating race or ‘epidermalization’ (Fanon, 1957: xiii), which Fanon asserts is discrimination based on skin colour alone. Race is viewed as a contested term as it is often used interchangeably with
ethnicity but categorises an individual's physical characteristics rather than the customs, traditions, and values passed down through the narratives of ancestors (Ospina and Foldy, 2009:877). Nevertheless, race and identity can be reliable sources for conceptualising the relationship between having a problematic identity 1 (made or taken to mean having a problem that needs a solution) and factors leading to an identity threat. Identity threat here means being devalued, marginalised, and discriminated against because of racial differences (Steele et al., 2002). In addition, an identity threat happens in environments that implicitly and explicitly reproduce structures or patterns that give power to one group over another, tied to a long history of racial and group discrimination (Markus et al., 2000). Therefore, using the term cultural identity allows for a broader scope in interpreting the identity construction of research participants (Yanow, 2003).

The term ‘Global Majority’ in this research also extends and incorporates the definition of ‘Black’ and ‘global minority’ groups introduced by Johnson and Campbell-Stephens (2010, 2013). ‘Three-quarters of the world’s population is of Asian and African extraction, and their footprint is a large one’ (Portelli & Campbell-Stephens, 2009:1). The term acknowledges that global majority groups are neither minorities numerically nor subordinate on the worldwide stage or within the urban context of western countries (Portelli & Campbell-Stephens, 2009), like the UK. With this context in mind, I apply the term ‘Global Majority’ as a more positive terminology – itself an acknowledged self-identity construction on my part - for individuals in this group to more accurately (re)present and reconcile difficulties of identification, belonging and agency experienced by non-White people in the UK (Ang, (2014); Banerjee & Linstead, (2001). The inclusion of African, African-Caribbean, Asian and East Asian into a group under the banner of Global Majority acknowledges that they also share similar experiences to some extent of having a racialised identity, a term taken to mean a process of imposing difference [usually physical difference] (Oxforddictionaries.com, 2019) determined by one group [in this case White] onto another [non-White] using the category of race’ (Ospina and Foldy, 2009). Therefore, having a problematised identity is relevant to my focused research question below. However, global majority individuals may also share similar traditions, characteristics, and value orientations different from the dominant culture associated with the euro-centric society in which they live and work. Whilst I believe that the experiences of global majority individuals

1 Problematised means to make into or regard as a problem requiring a solution
https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/problematize
and groups are distinct, I can learn from research as to how other groups have been marginalised and minoritised by the discourse and practices of leadership (e.g., in terms of race, sexuality, class, religion and particularly gender), where substantive literature exists. Cultural ideas, meaning, and symbolism held in common by a collective are maintained when people socialise and transmit these cultural ideas through norms and values from generation to generation (Ortner, 1984). Therefore, cultural identity provides a broad scope for interpreting the shared history, beliefs, and values that serve as the basis for self-defining in groups (De Vos, 1990; Yanow, 2003). This terminological discussion illuminates how we are still working with inadequate and imprecise analytical language. Therefore, all we can do is use language that most clearly appraises the structures and relations of the world as we come to interpret them (Mohanty, 2003).

Furthermore, colonialisation introduces the ‘historical moment that colonial power inscribed itself onto the body of the ‘Other’ and the cultures ‘affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to present day…because of the preoccupation throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression’ (Childs & Williams, 2013:2-4). Critical Race Theory (CRT) seeks to reveal the taken-for-granted way in which power is embedded in language, practices, and structures (Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022). Therefore, CRT will help surface some of the underlying occluded societal and organisational narratives and discourses, resulting in severe and significant material consequences for individuals and identified groups, underpinning the UK’s postcolonial context.

1.3 Role as researcher

As a British-born, first-generation child belonging to West-Indian migrants who arrived in England in the early 1960s, my positionality as a Native autoethnographer and choice to research this topic is evident. However, having spent over 20 years in the public sector working with vulnerable groups of individuals, such as children and adults in need of social care services, my experiences of colour-blind and culturally illiterate leadership, in addition to biased and discriminatory leadership practices, resulted in a threat to my identity [an identity threat] (Steele et al. 2002) and led me to question some of my assumptions I had about leadership and my identity construction. For example, my professional identity as a social worker felt threatened as fundamental principles, such as anti-discriminatory and anti-racist
practices on which the profession is underpinned, were often dismissed by senior leaders in relation to their dealings with global majority staff. In addition, my identity as a global majority individual also felt constantly challenged and undermined through organisational narratives, the environment, and some actors within it. For example, as a Black practice educator, if I recommended a passing grade for a Black student, this would be questioned and viewed with suspicion and led me to perceive that I was being looked at as someone who would show nepotism in my value judgement, particularly where the student was also a global majority individual. At other times both White and some Global majority Students would dismiss my legitimacy as a practice educator and assume White onsite supervisors to hold the power in the supervisory relationship, to confer their fitness to practice. Another example was as a service manager responsible for decision-making in childcare cases going to child protection conferences. I experienced other White managers deliberately consulting with my job-share partner, who was White, to confirm that my decision-making was appropriate even when I was more experienced and qualified to make those decisions.

In moments like these, the identity threat led me to question if the principles of the ‘American Dream’ – that is, a dream of equality or the ability for anyone from any background having the capability to succeed through hard work and the pursuit of happiness could ever be a reality in Britain. Furthermore, I questioned whether it could be a reality within a national context of liberal democracy where individual rights and freedoms are understood to be protected; they are not a reality for all. For example, I found that although I had reached a position of seniority within an organisation, being the only global majority individual at a senior leadership level and the first global majority to advise directorate boards and councillors, there appeared to be implicit barriers for further promotion. In addition, there were experiences of explicit bias and negative leadership behaviours, such as a director refusing to cooperate with a request for information from me on behalf of a safeguarding board because I was the one requesting the information.

Whilst studying for my postgraduate degree, I came across a study by Davidson and Chapman (1997), a comparative study exploring the challenges of Black and White women managers. It struck me that although it was written over two and a half decades ago, the challenges identified for Black managers in the UK (such as isolation, challenges to their authority and organisational barriers) seemed to be just as relevant now as it was at the time it
was written. Moreover, the challenges identified remain despite the introduction of anti-discriminatory legislation and equal opportunity policy frameworks.

At around the same time as discovering Davidson and Chapman’s work in the late 1990s, I was re-introduced to leaders such as Martin Luther King Junior, Malcolm X, and Marcus Garvey, who were, except for Garvey, examples of African American men performing leadership. However, whilst they were and still are very inspirational figures, and more recently with the election of President Obama as the first President of the United States of colour, the nagging concern that I had about the lack of examples of leadership for ‘global majority’ (GM) individuals in the UK, remained.

On reflection, I recall being unconsciously aware of an underlying organisational narrative of being a token. For example, when I became the first global majority head of a two-tier local authority learning and development function, several White and Black colleagues started pointing this out. It slowly became apparent that in developing my leadership identity, I needed to be mindful of the impressions I made to both White and global majority staff and how any potential response I had to the leadership challenges I would face could influence followers’ perception of my leadership and me. One such time was when the organisation’s CEO visited the programme management office, an open plan office of more than one hundred people. His first question on entering the floor was, ‘What is that coloured lady doing here?’ It was 2008. As the principal resourcing manager for senior appointments, including his, that was not a question I expected to hear. However, it led me to question the lack of representation and invisibility of other global majority leaders at those senior levels within the organisation, as well as the lack of engagement with equality and diversity by senior leaders, evidenced in the term ‘Coloured’ being used as an acceptable descriptor at the time. After 17 years of working in that organisation, I soon left and went to work in the East of England. It had gradually dawned on me that the myth of meritocracy had seduced me - work hard, and you will be rewarded and recognised for your hard work - but I did not feel valued or rewarded. Although I had given my best years to the organisation, I was seen as nothing but a ‘Coloured’ woman, a token gesture. I left feeling traumatised and suspicious.

Arriving in the East of England at a time when increasing racial tensions seemed to be surfacing, both within the organisation and in the broader community, with the discourse of Brexit, led me to another significant ‘identity threat’ (Foldy, Rivard and Buckley, 2009; Lukes,
2005). For example, I offer the experience of the CEO of the organisation I had joined having to issue an edit to all staff insisting that any discrimination against ethnic minority workers had to stop or was to be brought directly to her attention. This was alongside my own personal experience of being a target for ‘hate’ crime within my neighbourhood. This identity threat motivated me to explore and understand why I felt so alienated and disconnected from the organisations I had chosen to develop a lifelong career and the community in which I lived. I wanted to know how this social world ‘worked’ with particular regard to the relationship between leadership and identity construction for global majority individuals. In addition, I wanted to know why the leadership I observed was not more in keeping with my upbringing, faith, and cultural identity or one I felt motivated me to aspire to reach. Following many conversations over the years, I began to identify that I appeared not to be the only one amongst my peers for whom this was an issue. Even more profoundly for me as a British-born global majority individual was the question of belonging and rootlessness when it came to my work and leadership experiences. The undertaking and writing of this thesis is from an identity that informs my interest and approach to this area as both unbelonging and rootlessness as experiences connected to my identity construction will be explained and explored later in Chapter 9.3.

1.4 Aims and objectives

In exploring this area of study, it became evident that for some time, several groups have been marginalised and held on the periphery of UK society, particularly those from global majority backgrounds, who are problematised in the leadership literature, (Lewis, 2005; Sinha, 2005). According to Ospina and Foldy (2009), much research on race and leadership comes from an underlying assumption and perspective of seeing Black leaders as disadvantaged or understanding their race as an obstacle that must be managed and therefore problematised, mainly where these studies are undertaken in an American or British context. These authors also suggest that research on leadership from global majority peoples’ perspectives is treated as a special case and is often downplayed or ignored (2009:877). Defining leadership is also problematic, both in the literature and in practice. Nevertheless, many studies discuss leadership from a Westernised perspective but fail to adequately address that the identity people hold concerning leadership has significance, (Avolio, Walumbwa, & Weber, 2009; Balkundi
Furthermore, while the complex notion of identity and leadership in organisations has been extensively researched (e.g. Blunt & Jones, 1997; Carroll and Nicholson, 2013; Jones, 2006; Ospina and Foldy, 2009; Watson, 2015), only a small number of studies have looked at the impact of race and identity in an attempt to explain why global majority individuals may be presented with barriers to acquiring seniority in public life (Davidson & Chapman, 1997; Foldy, Rivard and Buckley, 2009; Holmes and Robinson, 1999) let alone exploring the challenges of practising leadership, a concern beyond the attaining and sustaining of formal position. More of these authors’ findings will be discussed in the literature review. This research aims to give global majority individuals a voice from their perspectives and contribute to theory from within the specific social context of the UK. This area of research involving global majority participants has been under-researched in the leadership literature. I also offer the audience of this thesis, where appropriate, my reflexive insights as a native autoethnographer, connecting the experiences of research participants with my own, together opening access for the reader to the personal, politicised and lived experience of what it means to be part of this marginalised group.

The research explores the challenges individuals of African, African-Caribbean, Asian and South-East Asian descent living in the UK may face in attaining, practising, and experiencing leadership within organisations. I explore this drawing on two theoretical lenses. Firstly, I draw on critical race theory to shine a light on the underlying contextual and power structures of postcolonial societies like the UK, in which the leadership and identity construction of these individuals are shaped and practised (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1995; Baker, Diawara and Lindeborg, 1996; Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022). Secondly, an objective of the research is to use a qualitative research strategy to uncover the dominant genres and occluded themes hidden within the narratives of research participants as they shed light on the fine-grained detail of their lived experience with and in leadership. Such attention to the lived experiences of leadership in relation to race is not adequately (re)presented in the leadership literature or within organisational discourse and practice. Therefore, I intend for this PhD study to contribute to critical leadership and organisational studies and influence organisational practice knowledge.
1.5 Research questions

My research question is presented below, with my guiding assumptions and an outline of how I structured the sections of this thesis.

This research study focuses on the following question:

**Main Research Question:** “How do Global Majority individuals experience and practice leadership in a UK context?”

The research question is addressed via a social-constructionist and interpretive ontological-epistemological approach, which allows a view of how underlying societal and structural narratives have significant consequences on the everyday lives of research subjects and their leadership practice.

In order to fully respond to the research question and how experiences potentially influence an individual’s identity construction or notions of self in relation to organisation and leadership practice, I also explore the following sub-questions:

**RQ1:** Are there additional challenges global majority individuals face in exercising leadership due to differences in their identity?

**RQ2:** How is the identity of global majority individuals constructed, and how does it shape their construction of leadership?

**RQ3:** In what way do global majority individuals respond to the norms of organisational life and practice leadership?

These additional focus points are concerned with agency problems, (re)presentation, identity, and how ‘the other’ is dealt with in leadership studies and practice. My chosen conceptual and methodological approach assumes that paying close attention to the narratives and unique personal accounts of participants and their storied way of knowing (Denzin & Jupp, 2016) will help to uncover the underlying societal and organisational narratives and milieu in which participants’ identity construction is shaped, and leadership is experienced.

The second objective is to explore global majority leadership practice in-depth. Paying close attention to the way in which global majority individuals enact, reproduce, disrupt, and...
reshape their leadership and identity in response to dominant leadership practice in UK organisational contexts enmeshed with other socio-political norms that continue to disadvantage them (e.g., discrimination and marginalisation). Understanding and theorising how, through the shaping and influencing of meaning (Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld, 2005), global majority individuals continue to develop and practice leadership within this context is significant for this study and has implications for policy and practice. For example, how organisations respond to my research findings as it highlights the lasting and stressful effects of marginalisation, stereotyping, and limitations that invisible barriers can have on global majority people's experience and practice of leadership.

My main contribution to knowledge is to provide rich and detailed insight into the experience and practice of leadership by global majority individuals within UK organisations marked by a framework of norms deemed hostile, isolating, patriarchal, racialised and gendered. Much of my findings are consistent with meagre studies in this field that identifies several barriers and challenges for research participants acquiring and enacting leadership within a postcolonial constraint. However, I also offer a critical account of how organisational narratives and underlying societal norms directly influence the material and social consequences for global majority individuals in their identity construction and leadership practices. Furthermore, my second contribution to knowledge is to open a window into the one-on-one discriminatory practices and organisation-induced trauma and stress that behaviours enacted by organisation elites and colleagues play in the lived experiences of individual participants and, more broadly, across the group. My findings further extend the leadership and social identity literature, recognising in-group and out-group discriminatory practices.

1.6 Overview of the thesis

Most accounts of the literature discuss leadership and organisational culture from a western perspective which can offer prescriptive formulas, whether or not the western context is acknowledged (Avolio, Walumbwa, and Weber, 2009; Bass, 1990; Hartley and Hinksman, 2003; Kellerman, 2004 and Williams et al., 2014). However, these leadership accounts fail to address the significance of the cultural identity of organisation employees to leadership and identity construction. Therefore, I will outline the importance of cultural identity in the study of leadership in Chapter Two. However, for this study, leadership and identity are approached as cultural constructs embedded in the social and political context and practices in which they
are exercised (Sanchez-Runde, Nardon and Steers, 2011). Therefore, leadership and identity can mean different things to different individuals and groups and can also change according to how they are discussed, communicated, and responded to in practice.

Chapter Two reviews the literature on leadership and identity concerning marginalised groups. Whilst the literature deals with the subjects of marginalisation, isolation, tokenism, and limited career opportunities for global majority individuals, very little is addressed from a UK perspective or the position of the direct narratives of the global majority individuals themselves. Therefore, their marginalisation in mainstream leadership, organisation and identity literature remains invisible. For some critical scholars (e.g., Bohman, 2002; Collinson, 2011; Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003), leadership is seen as embedded in the contested power of leaders and practices of leading. According to Sanchez-Runde et al. (2011), it would be challenging to tackle this area of study without further consideration of the impact of colonialism on marginalised groups to contextualise the underpinning power and societal structures inherent within dominant narratives and structures of organisations. However, defining leadership is as problematic as defining identity. Namely, there is no widely accepted definition of leadership, and it remains a contested concept. Therefore, an interrogation of broader organisation studies will be explored in-depth in this thesis through a CRT theoretical lens to discover underlying assumptions present in the narratives of marginalised groups and their construction of leadership identity. The works of scholars like Fanon 1957; Gilroy, 2000, 2002; Hall, 1996, 2014; hooks, 1991; Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022; Ospina & Foldy, 2009, Prasad and Prasad, 2003, amongst other scholars, has drawn me to focus my attention on the underlying aspect of research participants’ counter-narratives. The reason is that themes such as ‘rootlessness,’ ‘intercultural betrayal, ‘and ‘unbelonging’ are of particular note compared with other works that have dominated identity research, such as ‘formation’ and ‘construction.’

Chapter Three presents my conceptual framework and discusses leadership and identity as a social construction linked to global majority individuals' material and social consequences as examined through critical race theory. A critical race lens is adopted as suitable for exploring the thesis topic as it offers a framework to examine these contested constructs of leadership and identity and, therefore, is on par with my onto-epistemological stance.

Chapter Four presents the methodological approach, the narrative and the autoethnographic strategy reflective of my ontological and epistemological stance and presents
the methods I used to develop my approach to coding and the techniques adopted. An example of preliminary data analysis is also included, as is a brief outline of the ethical considerations.

Chapters Five to Ten outline the data gathered within the main body of my PhD thesis as a thematic, interwoven narrative and genre analysis of my findings. According to Gabriel (1991), genres feature highly in organisations and organisational narratives. The aim was to uncover the prevalent and occluded genres and themes hidden within the data analysis where research participants were elucidating the fine-grained detail of their lived experiences. Therefore, alongside the dominant genre categories posited by Gabriel (1991) as Epic, Tragedy and Comedy, I have supplemented these to include the genre of Horror, which features highly in the participants’ data. A table summarising the dominant and occluded genres and themes that emerged from the data are presented in Chapter 5 of the findings, and a table of genres illustrated with participants’ quotes as emerging from the analysis is cited in Appendix 7.

Chapter Eleven discusses my findings against a further review of the literature and explores implications for theory, research, and practice, as well as some potential points for leadership development and limitations to the research approach adopted. Finally, Chapter Twelve concludes the research to date.
2. Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction to the literature

The literature review chapter synthesises marginalised groups’ key issues and challenges as captured in organisation, leadership, and identity literature. So, to ground this PhD study in the existing knowledge available, the literature review draws on two central bodies of literature: i) leadership in relation to marginalised groups and ii) leadership and identity. Accordingly, I will structure the literature review across two sections.

The first section is ordered thematically for ease of reference, starting with the search methods to show the epistemological development of the literature over time and to demonstrate how marginalised groups have been dealt with in this body of work. Doing so has allowed me to focus on how others have worked with the notion of leadership identities from a critical and constructionist viewpoint and also how marginalised groups have been dealt with in the identity literature (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002; Bush, Glovera and Sooda, 2006; Carroll and Levy, 2010; Watson, 2015). Secondly, a synthesis of the identity literature is presented, giving insight into how the identity construction of global majority individuals have also been dealt with in broader organisation literature.

2.1.1 Search methods

To focus my literature review on the specific area of study, the following search terms – leadership, cultural identity, Black, race and ethnicity – were used in isolation and in conjunction with one another to identify two types of text – journals and books. I followed this search with another search on gender and leadership, as I held that it was plausible to assume that such research would deal with issues such as barriers relevant to marginalised groups at the centre of my research. Finally, I explored the broader organisation studies literature to understand better issues relevant to marginalised groups, including studies in relation to race and leadership, as this helped shed light on power and authority structures within organisations. Some references may have been omitted, but multiple sources provide some confidence that what has been found so far is representative of the body of knowledge on ‘global majority’ leadership and identity. In addition to leadership, identity and organisation studies, seminal
works of relevant critical race writers were reviewed to understand better the societal context in which social norms and values translate into organisational narratives and practices.

Given the focus on global majority leaders and groups of individuals as the subjects of this empirical research as outlined in chapter 1, the following section discusses the notions of normalisation and the invisibility of Whiteness, and the ‘dichotomous oppositional difference’ (Hill Collins, 1986:20), of the ‘other’, including stereotyping, White solipsism, structural inequality and power and their complex relationship to leadership discourse and organisational narratives (Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022). The purpose is to understand the influence of structural inequality and power on the identity construction of research participants and the social and material consequences that may come about for the group.

Existing research reveals that occluded [hidden and underlying] discourses, such as the ‘sacred’ nature of leadership (Grint, 2010), and the invisibility, heroicising and Whiteness of leadership (Liu and Baker, 2016; Ospina and Foldy, 2009), underpins social and organisational hierarchies. These lead to several social and material consequences that make it difficult for marginalised groups, such as global majority individuals, to exercise leadership (Bell and Nkomo, 2001; Liu & Baker, 2016; Nkomo, 1992; Ospina and Foldy, 2009; Sullivan, 2014). Furthermore, these consequences can result in global majority individuals experiencing leadership and many barriers within organisations as mainly negative, leading to, for example, unbreakable concrete ceilings [lack of career progression] (Davidson & Chapman, 1997), precarious glass cliffs [difficult and risky solo status roles] (Cook & Glass, 2013), stereotype and identity threats (Boyd & Mitchell, 2018; Foldy, Rivard, & Buckley, 2009). These concepts and barriers will be discussed below (sections 2.2 and 2.3). Section 2.4 reviews the barriers experienced by marginalised groups identified in broader organisational and leadership literature, including racialised and gendered leadership and the lack of access to formal and social networks. Drawing on a social constructionist conceptual framework, I examine the role and power of leadership discourse in shaping the organisation and social practice. Critical race theory foregrounds the challenges specific to this group. An overview of the potential responses, such as to withdraw, conform, disrupt, or reshape their leadership practice, is explored in section 3.3. to see if these occur as research participants engage in these responses as they make sense of and construct their identities within these organisational discourses.
2.2 Leadership and marginalised groups

‘If society, communities and individuals are all significantly informed by race, then leadership must be as well’… (Ospina and Foldy, 2009:876).

In the leadership literature, marginalisation is used as a form of stereotyping and is widely accepted as explaining why individuals and groups from non-White cultural backgrounds are subject to stereotyping and biases within organisations (Chung-Herrera & Lankau, 2005; Mendez-Morse, 2003). Jost & Banaji (1994) argue that stereotyping is the mechanism through which the status quo is affirmed and maintained. Many studies exploring stereotypes and prejudices focus on African-American, Asian and Latino individuals in a particular context. Consequently, the leadership literature fails to fully recognise (or reflect) the leadership of global majority people in the UK, or that when it comes to White leaders that their race is unseen (invisibility of Whiteness, Liu and Baker, 2016), thereby making both groups invisible in the dominant definitions of leadership (Ospina and Foldy, 2009).

The organisation and leadership literature also indicate that individuals from marginalised groups are more likely to be disadvantaged and not respected as legitimate leaders due to underlying assumptions and racially biased power and inequalities in the perception of decision-makers and followers within organisations (Foldy, Rivard, & Buckley, 2009; Goodwin, Operario, & Fiske, 1998; Hardin, Rothman, & Banaji, 1993). Furthermore, many societal and cultural barriers, including discrimination and bias, limit marginalised groups, in this case, ‘global majority’ individuals’ access to leadership positions or exercising authority (Hardin, Rothman, & Banaji, 1993). These barriers are thought to surface due to organisations aligning their norms, values, and behaviours with dominant societal groups, favouring Eurocentric ideology, and creating monocultural organisational environments (Prasad & Mills, 1997), leading to many social and material consequences. Researchers can therefore analyse organisational life to reveal important insights into the experience of marginalised groups and uncover the social and material consequences of marginalisation where leadership is performed within organisations or in less formalised societal spheres. For these notions and arguments to become more tangible, it is helpful to conceptualise and identify these consequences and barriers more generally across various organisational settings.
2.3 Operationalised marginalisation: stereotyping and structural inequalities

2.3.1. Stereotyping

Many studies provide more detail about barriers to leadership (Bierema, 2016; Lowe, 2013), including how marginalisation is operationalised through stereotyping, inherent structural inequalities, and systemic racism, as discovered in the organisation and leadership literature. Drawing on a social adaption perspective in relation to the use of stereotyping (Osland & Bird, 2000) can help us to understand the social motive of the use of stereotypes within organisations and, in turn, how individuals’ core motivation of belonging (Stevens & Fiske, 1995) results in them maintaining affiliations and bonds with in-group members to ensure survival. Therefore, stereotyping and automatic categorisation can help people recognise each other more quickly as members of the ingroup (McCann et al., 1985). Stereotyping can be helpful in a social context where survival and belonging are core motivations, which means that individuals need people to survive and share a common understanding of their environment and each other to make sense of their world (Fiske, 2000). Stereotyping quickly helps group members detect and distinguish between in-group members and those who do not belong to the group through categorisations such as age, race, gender etc. (Banaji & Hardin, 1996). In doing so, individuals may mimic, comply, and echo the behaviours of members of the in-group on which they depend for survival. However, the literature also suggests that this interdependency can also direct group members to stereotype and discriminate against others on whom they are not dependent for survival (the out-group), leading to, amongst other things, the operational marginalisation of others (Fiske, 2000:305).

According to Osland and Bird (2000), ‘sophisticated stereotyping’ helps us make broader comparisons between cultures rather than understanding the wide variations of behaviour in a single culture. This can be useful as long as we acknowledge their limitations (2000:66). Understanding the use of sophisticated stereotyping has been particularly useful in exploring the current research question as it has proved challenging to address marginalisation and difference without understanding the social motivations and interdependencies of the dominant group. This has required a type of shorthand and ‘sophisticated stereotyping’ (Osland & Bird, 2000:66) to explain dominant cultural behaviour whilst acknowledging its limitations as a simplified way to make sense of the world. With these two functions of stereotyping in mind, stereotyping is used in this research to uncover the shared understanding of global
majority individuals concerning organisational environments they operate within and how they make sense of their world and understand the core motivations of members of the in-group.

According to Goodwin, Operario and Fiske (1998), stereotyping maintains hierarchies of control through systemic justification, seeing subordinate groups like non-White leaders as deserving of their lower positions (1998:680). Therefore, stereotyping is a widely accepted explanation for the ‘stress that marginality’ (Bass, 1990; 742) creates for global majority leaders who are often subject to low-level stereotyping. Osland and Bird (2000) describe this as being based on ‘a lack of personal contact and irrational dislike of people who are different from oneself’ (Osland & Bird, 2000:66). For example, Mendez-Morse (2003) argues that Latino women are subject to stereotypes that view them as only wives and mothers and are dominated by the men in their community. Asian women are seen as passive and retiring, which contributes to them not being found in large numbers within management positions. However, Asian women are more likely to be seen as embodying the profile of a prototypical leader (Chung-Herrera & Lankau, 2005).

Goodwin, Operario, & Fiske (1998) extend this argument further, suggesting that over time, biased cognitive stereotyping and behavioural responses affirm hierarchies making it difficult for more powerful people to challenge their own bias towards subordinates, especially those subordinates who are considered problematic (1998:681). According to Depret & Fiske (1999), when powerless people feel they have no control, they will also resort to stereotyping the powerful. Bearing the explanations of why both the in-group and out-group may be motivated to use stereotyping will help respond to the research question, ‘How do global majority individuals experience and practice leadership in a UK context’ and examine if a reverse type of stereotyping is evident in participants’ data. According to Steele (1997), such an emphasis is significant when negative stereotypes form part of the fabric of organisations. A threatening environment is created, which creates a situational stereotype threat for individuals or groups at which the stereotype is directed. These stereotypical views include a notion that people considered subordinate belong to two groups: those who are liked but disrespected and those who are disliked but respected (Fiske, 1998). Thus, for example, some women would be considered members of the first group. Women are not regarded as intelligent as men but are liked because they are considered nurturing and not a threat (Goodwin et al., 1998; Liu and Baker, 2016; Ospina and Foldy, 2009). The second group, Black and non-White males, may be respected for their competence but are disparaged as they are seen as a threat to
the dominant group, particularly White men. Alternatively, they are seen as intellectually challenged due to their ethnicity (Smith et al., 2007). These notions can have a constraining impact on global majority leaders (Bass, 1990:743). For example, Elliot and Smith (2001) note that global majority individuals are less likely than Whites to hold leadership positions in work organisations across various settings, as discussed in Chapter 1.

Furthermore, stereotypical bias has been shown to have a strong bearing on how those in power distribute resources (Goodwin et al., 1998:681), and it also renders those in positions of power able to alter their bias towards subordinates. For example, one of the primary disadvantages and hierarchies of control is to exclude global majority individuals from accessing professional networks or for global majority individuals not having developed social networks due to the lack of peers and occupying sole status positions. These barriers thus make it difficult for subordinates to rise up the hierarchy and appear to result in global majority people being much more likely and willing to accept promotion opportunities that may come with an elevated risk of failure. The acceptance of high-risk positions by global majority individuals is attributed to the fear of a lack of better career opportunities in the future (Ryan & Haslam, 2005, 2007). Extant research also contends that these individuals are more likely to be judged on interpersonal characteristics than their performance (Bartol et al., 1978:298), which can hold many negative consequences, for example, adverse performance expectations based on race (Yopyk & Prentice, 2005) created by underlying structural inequalities and occluded societal norms. Furthermore, sophisticated stereotyping and sensemaking can also aid us in making sense of these complex behaviours within the organisation's cultural context (Osland & Bird, 2000:72).

2.3.2. Structural inequalities and power: Heroizing Whiteness in leadership

Critical scholars argue that structural inequalities often prevent marginalised groups from elevating themselves through individual effort in a system that they experience working against them (Bell McKenzie & Allen Phillips, 2016). Some studies have even suggested that the formalisation of equal opportunity (equal opportunity to achieve) and equality (being equal in status and rights) policies have masked workplace discrimination and inequality in the distribution of rewards and promotion (Elvira & Graham, 2002; Osterman et al., 2001; Reskin & McBrier, 2000). For example, global majority individuals’ access to leadership development
programmes or promotion opportunities appears to take longer than their White colleagues, which may be linked to requiring nominations from White managers (Abrams, Randale, & Marques, 2008; Bush, Glover and Sood, 2006). Fiske (1993) describes this type of power as the disproportionate ability of one group to determine the outcomes for other groups. According to Fiske. & Depret (1996), those with power and dominance are motivated to stereotype and judge others according to their own values and norms to sustain levels of hierarchy at the interpersonal level, which Goodwin et al. (1998) concur maintains the group’s social hierarchy and status quo - although also acknowledged is that power and dominance can be differentially possessed and experienced. Therefore, instead of overtly discriminatory ideologies previously expressed through physical violence, the implicit articulation of cultural inferiority and supremacy in the UK means that racist acts are not as easily recognisable ‘even to those subjected to them’ (Rizvi, 2015:269). As Hall (1986) argued, contemporary forms of racism in the context of the UK are contextually nuanced and contested ideologies embedded in everyday practice, such as racial classifications used in recruitment processes, low-level stereotyping (Osland & Bird, 2000) and race-based preferencing (Elonga Mobayo, 2017). Therefore, racism can be contextualised as a form of power linked to supremacy embedded in structural inequality.

Drawing on the works of Alderfer et al., 1980; Goodwin et al., 1998; Nkomo and Cox, 1996, power in organisations within this thesis is taken to mean the ability of some groups to control outcomes for others. Something Alderfer et al. (1980) refers to as ‘fate control’, the ability to control the destiny of others. Goodwin, Operario, & Fiske (1998) argue that fate control is central to organisations’ race relations and is, therefore, relevant. Just as racial categorisation was introduced to justify hierarchies of ethnicities and slavery, Fisk (2000) contends that socially shared and constructed categorisations along culturally condoned lines continues to reinforce stereotypes (2000:307). This notion points back to the development of in-group/out-group power and the motivation to marginalise certain groups by those in a privileged position (Goodwin, Operario, & Fiske, 1998; Hill-Collins, 1986; Liu and Baker, 2016; Wyatt and Silvester, 2015). Coupled with the heroicising of Whiteness in leadership theory and research, fate control sustains the underlying assumptions that White leadership is ‘sacred’, ‘set apart and untouchable. Something which according to Grint (2010) ‘many of us like to eat but would rather not know how it got on our plates’ (Grint, 2010:91). Leadership in this context is synonymous with the heroicising of powerful White leaders and White leadership. For example, where White leaders demonstrate concern for others, as in those
leaders engaging in philanthropic ventures (Fry & Cohen, 2009; Grint, 2010, 2012), it further develops Grint’s idea and discourse, which suggests that leadership, as it is dominantly understood and practiced, has a specific ‘sacred’ connotation that it is set apart, untouchable and silences alternative forms of leadership. The heroising of Whiteness can also take the form of White leaders investing large sums of money or time to be viewed as White saviours or heroes through philanthropy, mentoring and saving disadvantaged communities or societies (Liu and Baker, 2016). White leaders are seen to rescue marginalised groups from themselves or the ‘inferior’ leadership, which is often attributed to people from marginalised and racialised communities (Peters-Little, 2003; Smithers, 2009).

Therefore, leadership that is set apart from other activities in the workplace becomes ‘sacralised’ (Grint, 2014:861) and thus reinforces, perpetuates, and naturalises power imbalances. Furthermore, while it does not explicitly address race, Grint's proposition suggests significant racial implications to his hypothesis. Implied is that the sacred nature of leadership protects the status quo – which in most western contexts includes White privilege (the unspoken advantages and opportunities bestowed on people due to cultural dominance, (McIntosh, 1988). For example, where practised, homophily sees one group, usually the most powerful (which tends to be concentrated at the top of the organisation), choosing to associate or recruit people to join the in-group that look and behave like themselves. Thus, privileging the in-group over the out-group. The out-group being those with impecunious social capital, little homophilous ties, and people more likely to be situated in lower levels of the organisation (Collins, 2012). Grint’s proffer allows some insight into the motivations of the in-group to control the fate of those in the out-group via stereotyping, leadership, identity formation, and organisational practice constraints (Goodwin et al., 1998). It also speaks to the colonial project of (re)presenting colonised people as primitive or savage. Grint’s work also draws attention to a broader tendency of power in leadership discourse that normalises power imbalances and, while doing so, hardens racial inequalities.

In appraising the tri-partied structures of the world concerning identity construction, writing from the perspective of the formerly colonised helps us examine the problems and consequences of a racialised identity and its effects on the lived experience and identity construction of GM individuals within the UK. Fanon’s work in ‘Black Skin, White Masks (1967) can help to conceptualise how in the practice and experience of organisational life global majority employees who internalise a colonial legacy of inferiority can imbue authority onto
organisational elites. The environment where Whiteness is performed is where global majority people are taught to assume a role of inferiority to Whiteness (Matias, 2016:227). Fanon (1967) alludes to a psychosis characterised by the White man’s ‘Hidalguismo’ (i.e., son of God complex, Matias, 2016:224). Fanon further asserts that this has corrupted the soul of White men due to the psychosocial process of an acquisitive relationship in which he (the White man) has established himself as the master of the world and enslaves it (1967:128). This acquisitional relationship establishes a racial superiority that ‘perpetuates a systematic relation of violence’ for global majority people (Leonardo & Porter, 2010:148). Fanon (1967:53) contends that [H]ate is not inborn but has to be constantly cultivated to be brought into being. Matias (2016) argues ‘that this is due to the underlying, deep-rooted disgust for global majority people that lies at the root of behaviour and speech.

Therefore, researchers must go beyond discursive analysis and engage in psychoanalytical investigations to dismantle systematic racial oppression (2016:222). A view also held by Ford (2012), who promotes the need for a psychosocial, analytical lens when critically examining the role of dominant forms of leadership identities. A Fanonian analytical framework could be used to theorise the inferiority-dependency complex developed by global majority people due to Whiteness's neurotic and irrational state and the complex attachment Whiteness has to Blackness through the ‘racialising process of humanistic emptiness and psychosis’ (Matias, 2016:224). This means that Whiteness's active suppression and invisibility becomes a latent act of aggression that forces racial superiority whilst maintaining an unconscious process of repressed racial awareness and released culpability (Mills, 2007). ‘Whiteness’ is understood here as a place of radical privilege and an embodied position linked to taken-for-granted social practices that result in the structural marginalisation of those not seen to be White (Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022). However, in insisting that race is integral to all social functions, and whilst the social, political, and cultural contexts could be explored through a psychosocial, analytical lens it can also be examined through Critical Race Theory, due to the intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2000) of race in which these constructions or deconstructions of identity are formed. Critical Race Theory is an approach that views reality – and race - as socially constructed and intersects with other socially constructed phenomena, such as leadership and will therefore be used as the conceptual lens to explore both topics, as detailed in Chapter 3 of this thesis.
In contrast to the heroicising of Whiteness in leadership, other leadership models are seen as dark, uncivilised, marginalised, racialised and potentially corrupt (Chow, 2002; MacMullan, 2009) perpetuated through dominant popular media channels, e.g. television, news and political agendas. In dominant ways of thinking, darkness/Blackness has negative connotations leading to assumptions that the dark side is where bad/evil, threatening, and problematic things happen (Fiske, 1998; Grimes, 2001) because metaphorically, light is absent or the dark side equates to the unknown, which breeds fear. In contrast to the dark side, White is considered to shine a light and is good and conquers all evil (Fiske, 1998:58). This conception suggests that global majority people are not fit for followers or do not have the resilience and capability to lead. Furthermore, Black leaders are thought to be more likely to be corrupt or threatening and uncivilised and they need White saviours/White managers to go in and clean things up (Collinson, 2011; Grimes, 2001; Liu and Baker, 2016; Peters-Little, 2003; Smithers, 2009). To illustrate this, Liu and Baker (2016) study the heroicising of White leadership. Their study examines how four White leaders in Australia were portrayed in the media. These leaders would usually be captured engaging in self-sacrificial acts of benevolence, often using images of themselves with indigenous ‘native savages’ (Grint, 2010:91.) that they had come to rescue with their status and money (Liu and Baker, 2016). Images like these perpetuate the underpinning idea of White power and property that White leaders bestow gifts to their followers and disadvantaged communities, highlighted by Liu and Baker in their research (2016). These impressions of social reality point to the systemic power and racial dynamics implicit in contemporary postcolonial societies that heroise White leaders as prototypically good leaders (Ang, 2003; MacMullan, 2009).

Various studies, including that of Bhatt, Carr-Hill, & Ohri (1988), assert that ‘at all levels it is the White construction of Black reality that prevails’ (1988:150), which Chia (2003) describes as taken-for grantedness, which results in an alienating ethos that favours European cultural heritage, due to marginalisation and indirect racial barriers (Harris, Morgan, & Moran, 2010). What this means for global majority individuals, as asserted by Fanon (1986), is ‘that they live in a society that makes their inferiority complex possible, in a society that derives its stability from the perpetuation of this complex state, in a society that proclaims the superiority of one race; to the identical degree to which that society creates difficulties for him’ (1986:74).

Central to this ‘dualistic’ ideology is what hooks (1984) refers to as ‘a system of domination in western society, which shapes the oppression experienced by marginalised
groups, including global majority people, as their status is assigned to the inferior half of an array of dualities when measured and compared to the dominant group’ (1984:29). Fokati, Metcalf and Harding (2014) demonstrate this through their use of the work of Luce Irigaray, who posited how seemingly rational language disguises the violent way in which both men and women are subordinated and controlled. Ospina and Foldy (2009) highlight that race-ethnicity or cultural identity is seen as a ‘constraint or obstacle that must be managed because most research has been conducted in contexts (usually American or British) where White is the dominant racial group’ (Ospina and Foldy, 2009: 879).

Prototypical leaders and the powerful status occupied and bestowed on them by their groups have also been taken for granted in leadership theory and literature (Liu and Baker, 2016; Ospina and Foldy, 2009; Tillman, 2004). It is well documented that the in-group mindset within organisations leads to barriers and other discriminatory practices such as ‘homophily.’ Homophily tends to create social networks with ethnically similar individuals at work (Ibarra & Deshpande, 2007). It helps to develop and sustain this abiding cultural capital of Whiteness within postcolonial and neo-colonial societies like the UK, Australia, and the United States (Collins,1986; Liu and Baker, 2016; Riad, 2011; Wyatt and Silvester, 2015). Although this may apply to other groups, Whiteness, as argued by Rosette et al. (2008), is perceived as an attribute of the prototypical leader and normalised by its ‘silent imposition as the standard to which social difference is known’ (Levine-Rasky, 2013:45). In other words, normalisation serves to reinforce this powerful status occupied by White people through its silent association, negation, and exclusion of Whiteness by defining what is not White - that is, what is Black, Brown, Yellow, or Red (MacMullan, 2009), [or non-White – my assertion]. It is seen in how race is not applied to White people but non-White people in everyday discourse (Dyer, 1997). The racialising of leadership surfaces the problematising of global majority people as the only ones with race (Sinclair, 2005).

Some researchers offer a counter-argument by pointing to global majority people who break this notion, such as Martin Luther King Jr and Nelson Mandela (Liu and Baker, 2016; Peters-Little, 2003; Rowland, 2004). However, as Liu and Baker (2016) argue, these non-White leaders are usually defined as participating in leadership explicitly representing the interests of their own racial/cultural groups. This is different to White leaders, who are revered as speaking for all people irrespective of ethnicity or diversity, and where they are domesticated to fit dominant liberal capitalist norms. This view reinforces what Hogg and Terry (2000) described
in the context of contemporary society as the prototype of leadership being undoubtedly White and male (Sinclair, 2014), as well as individualistic, hypermasculine and ‘dominant in the field of money and power’ (Lemke, 2008:32).

2.3.3. White solipsism and invisible Whiteness in leadership

Liu and Baker (2016) and Sullivan (2014) argue that the normalising of ‘Whiteness’ reiterates these underlying assumptions. The normalising and invisibility of Whiteness see non-White leaders as racialised and lacking credible authority or legitimacy to be leaders as opposed to the ‘heroicising’ of White leaders who are more commonly seen as just leaders’ saviours, philanthropists, or heroes. By contrast, Black or non-White leaders are invisible in the leadership literature but are exposed through organisational discourse in practice (Grimes, 1996; Liu & Baker, 2016; Nkomo, 1992; Sullivan, 2014).

White solipsism is a philosophy that sees White people’s well-being, values, and self-interests prioritised over other racial groups, which Sullivan (2006, 2014) further asserts stems from the roots of White domination (Sullivan, 2014). According to scholars like Grimes (1996); and Harris (1993) White solipsism is a result of the legacy of colonisation in which the ‘White race’ was a construct created to differentiate poorer Whites from slavery and to reinforce White power (Fiske, 1998). Emerging research demonstrates that the normalisation of White leadership, solipsism and heroicising of leadership has constructed White leadership as invisible and powerful, mastering all environments, neutral and unracialised, which in practice makes the norm of leadership White (Dyer 1997; Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022; Liu and Baker, 2016; Nkomo 1992, Sullivan, 2006, 2014). Liu and Baker (2016) further contend that race is not attributed to White leaders, but there is an invisible assumption (Bradbury & Lichtenstein, 2000), that White leaders maintain a ‘neutral’ position. Therefore, ‘Whiteness’ is the neutral place from which judgements and decisions on how best to improve organisations and societies can be made, irrespective of the racial diversity that might make up the society. Harris (1993) contends that Whiteness has long been associated with property and power and adds to the material dimension in that as White people tend to occupy and hold most of the senior positions in organisations, with that power also comes the right to exclude.

Several scholars (Liu and Baker, 2016; Raid, 2011; Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008) assert that ownership and power are due to an enduring sociohistorical dominance of Whiteness (Balkundi & Kilduff, 2005) which is perceived as an attribute of the prototypical
business leader, which evidences itself through the adoption of ‘White solipsism’ (Sulivan, 2006). Societal differences in power and resources are reflected in organisational structures, including processes, group dynamics, discourse and relational interactions, which privilege Whites at the expense of other employees (Alderfer & Smith, 1982; Foldy, Rivard, & Buckley, 2009; Nkomo, 1992; Prasad & Mills, 1997). Therefore, ‘Whiteness’ became essential in guaranteeing access to jobs, the vote and protection under the law in several postcolonial societies. Any deviations from an unacknowledged White norm are subject to underlying stereotypical views held within organisations. Therefore grouping individuals according to positions, experiences and views (‘objective’ classifications) assumes that race and culture are irrelevant, thus creating what is known as a colour-blind approach (Foldy & Buckley, 2014; Jayasuriya, Walker, Gothard, (eds), 2003). A colour-blind approach additionally creates an environment that has historically privileged White, male/masculine norms to the exclusion and marginalisation of the other and therefore continues to play an influential role in shaping social identities and structures (Jayasuriya, Walker, Gothard, (eds), 2003; Liu and Baker, 2016; Ospina & Su 2009). As such, this study must examine the significance colour-blindness plays concerning the question: ‘in what ways do global majority individuals respond to the norms of organisational life and practice leadership?’

2.3.4. Colour-blindness

Many organisations seek to assign individuals to an organisation group according to a division of labour and the organisation’s power structures. Therefore, individuals are assigned to groups that share common positions, work experiences, functional expertise, and similar organisational views (Cox, 1994, Nkomo & Cox, 1996). In Eurocentric organisations, employees are further divided based on underlying assumptions based on dominant societal group perspectives (Prasad & Mills, 1997), which in effect creates monocultural environments which assume that all people have universal similarities (Foldy and Buckly, 2014; Kenny, Whittle, & Wilmott, 2012). Monocultural environments mask a deeper form of prejudice, leading to colour-blind leadership.

A colour-blind approach assumes that people should be treated and understood as individuals and not have an identity as group members (Foldy, Rivard, & Buckley, 2009). hooks (1991: 12) refers to this as the sentimental idea of ‘racial erasure’, which assumes that racism would cease if everyone would forget about race and see each other as individuals. However, racial erasure denies that more profound structural inequalities such as racism,
discrimination, and White solipsism exist. The effects of such racial erasure can be that real prejudices concerning race remain hidden under the veneer of objective if loaded, measures.

Keeping these underlying assumptions and organisational discourses in mind, extant research notes that when people are recruited into an organisation, they bring with them their own group identity, which includes their affiliations based on such things as ethnicity, age, class, sex, family background, as well as common biological characteristics, and historical experiences etc., (Alderfer & Smith, 1982; Nkomo & Cox, 1996). However, racial erasure and a colour-blind approach marginalise and primarily excludes by further perpetuating broader societal norms in how already marginalised groups or the ‘other’ is dealt with. Racial erasure eliminates or makes colour-blind the possibility that one can be racist and solely shifts the responsibility of the ‘others’ condition onto them, (Foldy, Rivard, & Buckley, 2009; McKenzie & Phillips, 2016). In the leadership literature, racial erasure translates into being treated as invisible (Boyington-Wall & Daniel, 2008) yet seen as having ethnicity deficits, such as cultural inadequacies, lack of motivation, poor behaviours, failed families, and communities (McKenzie & Scheurich, 2004).

One such example is the mainstream adoption of the equality of opportunity agenda, which posits that everyone has the right to access essential opportunities and human rights irrespective of status or protected characteristics. However, the equal opportunity agenda makes it impossible for minoritised groups to discuss racial inequalities and serves to hold global majority people responsible for being unwilling or unable to assimilate into the dominant society (Grimes, 2001). Furthermore, Grimes (2001) argues that equality of opportunity does not necessarily equate to equality of outcomes, particularly for marginalised groups and can be worse for global majority leaders due to the normalisation of Whiteness in leadership and racialised leadership environments. In addition, colour-blind leadership fails to recognise that group identity is highly related to organisational social and power relations (Alderfer and Smith, 1982). As a result, formal leadership positions and the underlying paradigm of Whiteness and invisibility become encased in the form of the prototypical leader (White and male) who make up the ‘in-group’ in organisations (Sullivan, 2006, 2014). Therefore the ethnicity paradigm, which posits equality, ‘the quality or condition of being equal’ (Oxford English Dictionary, 2021) amongst all races, assumes that the White ethnic experience of assimilation is the desired goal for all global majority people (Omi & Winant, 1986), albeit conceived to support the status quo (Grimes, 2001).
Thereby, a colour-blind perspective forces those with different racial and cultural identities from the ‘norm’ (usually those not of European descent) into a totalised unit, a collection of people brought together in a process but who never achieve becoming a final or fixed group but only gain their identity concerning their difference from their oppositional counterparts (Hill Collins, 1986).

Colour-blindness, therefore, translates into a dichotomy of oppositional discourse, which sees the other as different and implies relationships of superiority and inferiority, for example, Black/White, male/female, subject/object, where constructs of difference are not enhanced by the other but are opposed: e.g., Whites rule Blacks, males dominate females and subjects rule objects (Hill Collins, 1986: 20). Therefore, collective explanations and practices of leadership can make the problem of marginalisation worse. Chemers (2003) contends that leadership is a group activity instead of an individual phenomenon. It is the process of social influence through which members enlist and mobilise others to achieve a collective goal. In many postcolonial societies, this collective goal equates to keeping leadership, White. According to Ridgeway (2001), leadership emerges from the socio-cognitive examples and representations the group members hold about themselves, their leadership, and identities (Lowe, 2013; Ridgeway, 2001). Furthermore, dualistic thinking, which Fanon (1952,1986,2008) describes as an ‘inferiority complex and hallucinatory Whitening – turn White or disappear’ (2008: 74-75), is perpetuated through the normalisation of White leadership and violent discourses within organisations (Hill-Collins, 2004).

Countering this colour-blind, universalistic and monocultural approach is the culturally distinctive perspective that calls for an awareness and acknowledgement of race and ethnicity, prejudice, and discrimination of marginalised groups in the organisation and leadership literature, (Foldy & Buckley, 2014; McKenzie & Phillips,(2016). Being aware of the silent association of ‘Whiteness through the discourse of heroic leadership’ (Liu and Baker, 2016, pp 421) helps to explain the resilient power of Whiteness and marginalisation of the ‘other’ in western societies (Alvesson and Sveningsson, 2010; Chow, 2002; Greenleaf, 1977; Grint, 2010; Liu 2017; Ospina & Foldy, 2009; Raid, 2011; Yang, 2011). Mainstream White assumptions are seen (or not seen – my assertion) as the overarching reality (Grimes, 2001), which appeals to and supports White interests and standards. This state of affairs is blind to the socially constructed landscape in which some groups are privileged (White, wealthy, and
English speaking) and some minoritised and marginalised (global majority people, poor and non-English speaking) (Bell McKenzie & Allen Phillips, 2016; Hill Collins, 1986).

Detailed examination of research participants’ narratives for evidence of the complex notions of the power of Whiteness and its relationship with the practice of leadership and organisational discourse will help to uncover its role concerning the question: ‘How is the identity of global majority individuals constructed and how does it shape their construction of leadership?’ The organisation and leadership literature highlights how these contested ideologies, such as White solipsism, colour-blindness, and the underlying political dimensions, link to the concept of invisible Whiteness, and permeates organisations through discursive practices and narratives. The following section presents how organisation discourse and practice can result in material and social consequences for participants, leading to organisational barriers, such as a lack of access to networks, isolation, intense scrutiny, racialised sexism, and gendered leadership.

2.4 Material and social consequences – Organisational barriers

This section describes barriers identified in the broader organisation and leadership literature that result in material and social consequences for global majority individuals when experiencing and practising leadership in a UK context. As previously stated, (sections 2.2. and 2.3.), the extant literature points to stereotypes and biases as the widely accepted explanation (Ospina and Foldy, 2009) that marginalisation can bring to global majority individuals. However, extensive qualitative studies also highlight racism, isolation, a lack of professional acceptance and subtle challenges to leadership. In addition, there is evidence of unrealistic expectations associated with exercising leadership amongst marginalised groups (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; MacKay & Etienne, 2006). The majority of these can be described as a structural constraint on global majority individuals, leading to severe consequences that global majority individuals internalise when subject to these constraints.

2.4.1. Lack of access to professional social networks and organisational support

Evidence from in-depth studies indicates that global majority individuals feel excluded from important social networks (Bell & Nkomo, 2001), attributed to cultural and stereotypical assumptions. For example, global majority individuals may question whether they have the appropriate social connections or are members of a specific network they aspire to; they would want to spend time with them (O’Hara, 2009). Further studies show individuals worrying they
might be questioned about their career motivations (Davidson, 1997; Kamenou & Fearfull, 2006) due to role incongruity (Eagly, 2003) and whether they would be a good fit. Role-incongruity in this context is where global majority individuals face ‘two dangers’, namely that they are either ‘too Black’ to do the job. They are stereotyped as not being legitimate leaders due to questions about their lower cognitive abilities. Alternatively, other Black staff presume they are ‘too White’ (Lowe, 2013:154), and they are seen as either betraying their culture and values or assimilating into the stereotypical leader too much, resulting in these prejudicial evaluations restricting their career advancements.

In addition to the above challenges, the literature also indicates that due to the lack of access to internal and external professional networks, global majority leaders tend to have limited access to information about job opportunities, mentors, or peer support (Bell and Nkomo, 2001; McGuire, 2002). This, in turn, also serves to limit global majority leaders’ career progression as they tend to be concentrated in jobs and occupations that offer limited opportunities for progression. Often working in lower-paying occupations and sectors felt more appropriate to their societal roles, such as personal and social services (Sailes, 2000; Stainback & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2009), or service industries such as hospitality. Researchers have found that the lack of career advancement may be due to global majority individuals lacking homophilous ties with those likely to be at the top of the organisation, which results in disadvantaged social capital, limiting results and access to career-related sponsorship and guidance (Ibarra, Kilduff, & Tsai, 2005; McDonald 2011). Studies find that global majority individuals experience a lack of career progression compared with White colleagues’ social capital in a similar position (Bell and Nkomo, 2001; Ibarra & Deshpande, 2007; McGuire, 2002). Scholars have also found that Black leaders lack the necessary organisational support or access to critical organisational resources to succeed in and exercise leadership due to exclusion from informal groups and networks (Collins, 1997).

Meanwhile, Singh (2002) notes issues of bias and negative stereotyping by White leaders/assessors and their misjudgement of the potential and fit of global majority leaders to organisations which suggests that global majority individuals are not seen to have the legitimacy, skill, or authority to be leaders (Bell & Nkomo, 2001). Therefore, it is essential to draw out relevant evidence into leadership as part of this study. Studies also suggest that global majority individuals are steered towards lower leadership positions by decision-makers, limiting skills development and reproducing stereotypes that reinforce that global majority
individuals are less fit for leadership (Bass, 2008; Feagin & Sikes, 1992; Maume, 1992, 2014, 2012).

2.4.2. Intense scrutiny and isolation

Qualitative studies such as Chung-Herrera & Lankau, 2005; Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008; Vecchio & Bullis, 2001, have found that White and, in some cases, Asian leaders are rated more favourably as successful managers/leaders compared to Black or Hispanic managers/leaders, (Grimes, 1996). In addition, research also shows that global majority leaders contend with being heavily scrutinised and undergoing performance pressures, which prevent them from successfully leading organisations (Cook & Glass, 2013). For example, global majority individuals experience feeling pressured into taking on risky leadership roles that are subject to more intense scrutiny and performance evaluations (Cook and Glass, 2014:182). Furthermore, they also experience stereotypical practices and organisational behaviours entrenched with micro-aggressive practices, including subtle assaults, insults or invalidations directed towards global majority people intentionally or unconsciously (Constantine & Sue, 2007; DeAngelis, 2009). For example, broader organisation research has found that White managers and White employees often challenged or undermined non-White managers (Prasad & Mills, 1997). Powney et al. (2003) signify the evidence of hidden discrimination against minoritised individuals in securing promotion due to covert, overt and institutional racism (Bush, Glover and Sood, 2006), a form of systemic racism embedded in the regulation and operations of an organisation, as well as group consensus (Abrams, Randsley, & Marques, 2008) and race-based preferences (Elonga Mobayo, 2017).

Extant studies suggest that organisations' racial composition significantly impacts the promotion opportunities for global majority individuals in attaining positions of authority. Findings indicate that organisations often only recruit global majority individuals to top leadership positions where it is already a more diverse organisation (Elliot & Smith, 2001; Smith, 2002), thus instigating a self-fulfilling prophecy. Works by scholars such as Hogg and Terry (2000) and Van Knippenberg & Hogg (2003) found that groups organised in this way are more likely to authorise and choose leaders that are most prototypical of the group, especially where those group members have a strong sense of group identification. As a result, individuals from marginalised groups will find it challenging to gain leadership positions where they do not fit an organisation’s cultural prototype and are ignored or overlooked when allocated or
assigned to organisational groups (Hogg and Reid, 2003). Furthermore, global majority people may be recruited to leadership positions when organisations are in a state of shock (or risky, difficult positions) and are therefore felt to be more fit to lead these organisations out of a state of crisis. This is where White leaders are reluctant to take on high-risk work challenges due to fear of failure or reputational damage. Only under these higher-risk circumstances (glass cliffs) do minority leaders appear to have opportunities to exercise leadership (Powell & Butterfield, 2002). Global majority leaders give these perceived structural inequalities as reasons for accepting these high-risk positions to progress their promotional prospects. There is empirical evidence supporting that the ‘glass cliff’ (ascending to leadership positions where the risk of failure is high) problem exists (Cook & Glass, 2013:185). Research suggests that this is not only for women managers, who are more likely to be appointed to struggling organisations, but also across marginalised groups (Ashby et al., 2007).

Additional organisation research studies suggest that Black leaders have higher expectations placed on them or are judged more harshly by organisation actors. According to David & Derthick (2014), this leads to adopting self-defeating behaviours, attitudes and thoughts that affect the everyday lives of historically and systematically marginalised groups, bringing about internalised oppression. Furthermore, internalised oppression harms individuals in the group’s well-being, which, according to Steele & Aronson (1995), means that they risk engaging in negative self-confirming stereotype characteristics associated with the social norms assigned to the cultural group they belong to (1995:808). Therefore, perceived organisational barriers such as intense scrutiny and isolation bring about feelings of psychological unsafety and identity threats (Bell McKenzie & Allen Phillips, 2016; Cook & Glass, 2013; Foldy, Rivard, & Buckley, 2009; Ospina & Foldy, 2009) which highlights some of the additional challenges which individual participants in the out-group might experience.

The above factors can translate into subjecting marginalised leaders to hostility, resistance, and challenges to their authority, allied with a lack of organisational peer support or resources to exercise leadership successfully, thus forcing them off the metaphorical glass cliff into failure and possible job loss (Taylor, 2010). Ospina and Foldy (2009) contend that differences in cultural identity mean that global majority people are more likely to face insubordination and discrimination from organisation subordinates, including White colleagues and other marginalised groups. For instance, those who might be themselves marginalised because of specific reasons like gender or disabilities, are also likely to face isolation, lack of
acceptance, unrealistic expectations, and challenges to their leadership authority (Bell and Nkomo, 2001; Ospina and Foldy, 2009); due primarily to a lack of peer support, promotion opportunities, differing gender values or having English as a second language (Ospina & Foldy, 2009).

By appointing minority individuals to leadership roles, employers encourage workers to work harder through the promise of meritocracy. However, White and minority employees may construe this type of appointment as a ‘token’ gesture, which again leads to intense scrutiny and performance pressure due to the high visibility (Buchanan and Settles, 2019) of being ascribed solo status roles within the organisation (Bell and Nkomo, 2001). In addition, issues of ‘tokenism’ (Chused, 1998), or solo status where the role holder is likely to be the only one of their minority groups in a leadership position (Bell and Nkomo, 2001; Brown et al. 2015), presents further challenges of isolation and the exclusion of marginalised individuals within work organisations.

Bell and Nkomo (2001) argue however that one of the most challenging obstacles to overcome is ‘racialised sexism’ (2001:87), a form of sexism shaped by racism, gender discrimination and racial stereotyping that could explain the barriers to the advancement of Black women managers, which is worth more exploration in organisation, leadership, and identity literature. It also concerns a large majority of research participants in this study.

2.4.3. Racialised sexism and gendered leadership

An increasing number of studies are emerging that point to both the racialised and gendered nature of leadership (Ospina and Foldy, 2009; Ospina and Su, 2009; Riad, 2011; Sinclair, 2005, 2007). The literature on women’s leadership often notes that some women are disadvantaged due to being associated with the private sphere of the home - but also, conversely, acknowledges that Black women rarely have the luxury of working solely in their own home (Ospina and Foldy, 2009:888). Since slavery, and in more recent times, Black women have worked long hours outside their own homes as maids, housekeepers and, more latterly, carers, experiencing discrimination and oppression by White women as well as White and Black males (Chapman and Davidson, 1997; Ospina and Foldy, 2009).
Firstly, Black women have been able to observe White elites from a perspective that has been primarily obscured from their Black spouses and these marginalised groups themselves (Rollins, 1985) and are therefore in the unique position of being the ‘outsiders within’ (Hill-Collins, 2004:14). Second, holding this ‘outsider-insider’ status has meant that Black women have cooked, cleaned, and cared for other children whilst sharing the confidences of their employers and frequently became honorary members of their White families (Hill-Collins, 2004). These gruelling work roles mean that Black women have long been aware of White society’s most intimate secrets. Furthermore, they are well-positioned to understand the lived experience of racial oppression’s intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991) as it interlinks with other social categories like gender and class. As such, Black women have a unique standpoint on self-identity, family and society and an acute awareness of the interlocking nature of oppression (Beale, 1970; Davis, 1981; Dill, 1983; hooks, 1981), remaining both visible and hypervisible as well as invisible (Smith et al., 2019) in these contexts. This ‘outsider-insider’ status of Black women presents an ambiguous and hybrid mix of ‘outsider’ and ‘insider’ that symbolises the ability of Black women to be both someone denoting the possibility of assimilation (insider, yet also never fully incorporated within) and unassimilable because they undermine the White patriarchal family unit’s (outsider) notion of pure origin and supremacy (Lewis, 2005:542).

Research into gendered and racialised sexism has extended this argument further by looking at the attitudes of White middle-class women portrayed as the custodians of conservative morality (Stoler, 1995). However, this role facilitates the denial and concealment of White women’s ongoing complicity with White supremacy (Lugones, 2003; Sullivan, 2014). The literature suggests that where some White women face ‘glass ceilings,’ Black women are more likely to experience ‘concrete ceilings.’ A barrier which, according to Davidson and Chapman, is ‘denser and less easily shattered’ (Davidson & Chapman, 1997:9). For example, Black women tend to experience far more reproductive labour than any other group, as they are over-represented in industries such as hotel and catering or health care (Davidson and Chapman, 1997:9). Black women can either be trusted with the personal care of children or the elderly (insider) and loathed by some due to the dependency on Black women as carers etc, denoting destabilisation. Black feminist literature raises two essential themes, the embodiment of assimilation and the unsettling quality of undecidability (Kates, Reimer, & Twersky, 1994) regarding the marginality of Black women because of this ‘outsider insider’ status.
A review of gender in organisation studies points to the invisibility of feminine forms of leadership and the patriarchal masculine embodiment and practice of leadership accepted as the taken-for-granted norm in western organisations (Fokati, Metcalf, & Harding, 2014; Ford, 2012). The identity of being a leader is best understood through a hegemonic masculine interpretation that reinforces stereotypically masculine behaviours such as objectivity, rationality, control, and competitiveness. These attributes are seen in the ideal employee (White and male), but women seen as opposite are therefore stereotyped within the reproductive/domestic sphere.

This cultural construct of leadership presents women with limited options but to adopt the widely accepted image of leadership, which requires a more masculine style, thereby offering a cold and ‘professional’ approach (Calas & Smirchich, 1996). For followers to be convinced of women’s leadership role, or as Oseen (1997) contends, leadership theories still need heroes rather than heroines to make sense in dominant cultures (Fletcher, 2004; Ford, 2006). For example, this forces women to take a more masculine leadership style as the excepted, and invisible norm bears its influence. Studies demonstrating this have not been restricted to business organisations but also public sector contexts. Ford’s (2006) study of local government organisations showed that due to the need for growth in leadership within the sector in light of increasing demand and constrained resources, organisations continue to include a discourse that cultivated language around effective organisational performance that reinforces a single model of patriarchal leadership behaviours. For example, critical decisions are made in ‘corridors or on the hoof’ outside formal organisational arrangements, perpetuating the ‘old boy’s network’ (Ford, 2006: 85).

Some marginalised groups, including women and global majority individuals, experience an inferiority-dependency complex (Matias, 2016) associated with individual subjectivity and agency due to organisational and societal constraints. For example, one of these interwoven oppressions concerning Black women focuses on their leadership aesthetics, such as their visual appearance and hair. Extant research has shown that Black women’s hair is associated with the embodiment of their identity regulation and cultural custodianship (Rosette et al., 2018). In order to be seen as forming a more acceptable corporate image in organisations with strong dress norms (Rosette et al., 2018: 745-6), Black women faced pressure [having their identity regulated] to straighten their hair; otherwise, they were seen as unprofessional, dominant and less attractive should they continue to wear their hair naturally as opposed to the
accepted prototype of straight hair to emulate White women. According to Buchanan and Settles (2019), these pressures would lead to Black women experiencing either visible or hyper-visible identities within work roles.

As evidenced by research, a consequence of this visible or hypervisible identity in practice meant that Black women with natural hair would be assigned to more gruelling work roles. They have less access to education or appropriate work attire due to cultural and religious expectations than those whose physical appearance resembles White women with wavy or straight hair (Jones, and Shorter-Gooden, 2003; Patton, 2006). If Black women chose to conform and straighten their hair, in doing so, they would often suffer the Black backlash of being considered to neglect their role as custodians of culture, again feeling the double-bind of being racialised and gendered as well as the weight of oppression and bias associated with the embodiment of Black leadership (Cole, 2009; Patton, 2006; Williams and Dempsey, 2014; Johnson et al., 2017).

Qualitative studies in the above area have been complemented by quantitative studies, which also document how many individuals from African-American, Latino and Native American groups, mainly women, have felt significant disadvantages and obstacles exercising leadership and career progression, including, as stated above, experiencing isolation, marginalisation and tokenism (Bartol et al. 1978; Fitzgerald, 2006; Knight, Hebl, Foster, & Mannix, 2003; Sackett & Dubois, 1991). Some studies also acknowledge that barriers impact career progression due to Black women needing to meet family and community expectations, presenting Black women with a triple bind of oppression in addition to the gendered binds and race discrimination they experience due to being Black women. Black women are also seen to experience the usual cultural barriers associated with race, but in addition, they experience gender discrimination from men and some women of multiple racial backgrounds (Davidson & Chapman, 1997; Hill-Collins, 2004). Therefore, relevant to the literature review findings is how identity work construction and identity regulation have become necessary leadership features within organisations. Identity work relies on reflexivity and contextual instability within an organisation that propels social actors into experiences of active and conscious behaviour modification (Courpasson et al., 2012). These impacts on the experience and practice of leadership for global majority individuals, particularly global majority women leaders, will be worth exploring.
2.5. **Chapter Summary**

The literature reviewed suggests that perspectives exploring the relationship between identity and leadership from the experience of marginalised individuals remain separate from the mainstream leadership traditions (Ospina and Foldy, 2009). According to Calas (1993), Landson-Billings (2000) and Tillman (2004), insights based on the study of global majority people are less likely to infiltrate the knowledge base of leadership studies.

The literature review highlights that there are identified obstacles and significant challenges to global majority leaders and their leadership practice by excluding their voices and concepts of leadership through the continued marginalisation of ‘others.’ Leadership and organisation literature, scholarly works, and media representation or misrepresentation of marginalised groups infer that only White leaders have the legitimacy to speak for or lead society (Liu and Baker, 2016). This premise negates a complete understanding of marginalised individuals' racialised and gendered leadership experiences (Ospina and Foldy, 2009). Furthermore, discussing issues of race and discrimination has become an even more complex, challenging and often felt taboo subject to give voice to. A colour-blind approach to leadership reinforces racial and other discriminatory hierarchies and is perceived as preventing individuals from addressing or confronting discrimination within their work environments and in leadership and scholarship interventions (Foldy and Buckley 2014). Existing research acknowledges that these differences privilege Whites at the expense of employees of global majority backgrounds (Alderfer et al., 1980; Alderfer & Smith, 1982), a matter previously discussed above dealing with leadership and marginalised groups (sections 2.1 and 2.2).

Furthermore, the invisibility of Whiteness in the leadership literature points to the sustained normalisation of Whiteness as the prototypical benchmark for leaders of all ethnicities to strive toward. The silent association of leadership to Whiteness further serves to compound the marginalisation and non-legitimisation, and invisibility of the ‘Other’ whilst continuing to privilege those who are imbued with the power and status to confer or un-confer categories of social recognition of human and prioritised identities (Igantiev & Garvey, 1996; Knights & Kerfoot, 2004).

In summary, acknowledging identity construction as an exercise of ‘social power’ (Thomas & Linstead, 2002) gives further scope to question the underlying societal structures and assumptions of leadership by global majority individuals through the dialogue of
acceptance through assimilation, resistance, withdrawal, or undoing, (Carroll and Nicholson, 2013, Collinson, 2012). Several scholars argue that this emancipation from ‘perspective limiting assumptions’ (Gray, 2007) can be achieved through identity work. Adopting the notion that identity work can help uncover any changes in employees’ relationships within their organisations, the construction or contesting of their leadership identities (Courpasson et al., 2012) will be analysed through their narratives. A critical race approach, as outlined above (Chapter 2.3), is an apposite conceptual foci for exploring global majority leaders’ experience within organisations. In particular, highlighting the intersection of cultural identity, identity work, and identity construction will help conceptualise leadership and identity as practised, experienced, constructed, responded to, and potentially (re)constructed by global majority individuals. Using social constructionism and a critical race conceptual framework may provide a way to make sense of how global majority leaders’ construction and deconstruction of their identity informs their experience and practice of leadership. In addition, genre analysis will help uncover the occluded societal and organisational narratives to address the research questions further.
3. Chapter Three: Social constructs and accounts of identity and leadership

This chapter offers Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a conceptual framework to address the research question and better understand how global majority individuals construct leadership identity. As the conceptual focus of this research study, engaging in CRT seeks to contribute to the liberation of global majority individuals from ‘the unnecessarily restrictive traditions, ideologies, stereotypical assumption, and power relations inherent in dominant discourses and identity formations’ (Alvesson, 1996:19).

Critical Race Theory is based on five tenets (Delgado & Stefancie, 2011; Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022), which will be utilised when analysing the research participants data. CRT tenets assert that: i) racism is normalised and taken for granted in the routine functioning of everyday life in societies. Thus the invisibility of Whiteness results in an alienating ethos that favours eurocentric culture and operationalises the marginalisation of those considered non-White or ‘Othered’ as discussed in 2.3.2 above. ii) The White over-colour social hierarchy ‘Shadism’ where Whiteness is seen at the top of the race pyramid (Khiari, 2015), serves a material and psychic function for White solipsism thereby benefitting only White people. Shadism can determine social capital and as such acts as a type of class system, This tenet includes Whiteness as property and underpins the notion that Whites can define, own and possess property as a central source of power; the purpose of which is to oppress and exclude. Whiteness brings about material and social value that global majority individuals are aware of but can never posses (Harris, 1993). iii) Race is a social and biological fiction, a social construct, as illustrated above in 2.3.2, and is a product of social thought and relations. However, race has long been portrayed as a natural and unproblematic 'taken-for-granted' process which has represented the colonised as savage and primitive. Racism a necessary component of colonialism is still an underlying process by which the UK’s colonial project was and continues to colonise global majority people (Chrisman and Williams, 2013). Inherent to this portrayal is the role that racism plays and with it comes substantial material and social consequences, Delgado & Stefancie, (2011); Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, (2022). iv). Different groups have been racialised differently depending on the needs of the dominant group (for labour, warfare or the need for scapegoats). As such it will be useful to explore if the experiences of research participants of different genders and shades within organisations differs. v) CRT recognises notions of intersectionality as a powerful means of recognising oppression but also
more positively as a means for people who look different finding common ground through mutual recognition of aspects of their identities (Delgado & Stefancie, 2011). Galvanised by the experiences of racism and marginalisation can bring about emancipatory ways for global majority individuals to construct a more positive identity construction and leadership practices. The tenets of CRT are therefore a relevant theoretical lens through which to examine the narratives and stories of research participants to see how they might apply to the lived experience of this group.

CRT utilises counter-storytelling to dispel unquestioned majoritarian stories in which the interrelation of Whiteness and identity is exerted and experienced (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). ‘CRT theorists reject essentialism, and instead note the many aspects of that impact on ones identity’ and those of marginalised groups (Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022:6). Identity is therefore subject to the continuous play of history, culture, and power and as such, identity is the name we give to the diverse ways we are positioned and position ourselves within narratives both past and present. From this position, we can understand the traumatic characteristics of racist experiences, which position the subjected to the dominant regimes of representation as a critical exercise of power and normalisation. These socially constructed phenomena come about by how people talk about them and narrate their everyday lives. Narrative is a form long associated with the heritage of research participants and how they construct and make sense of the world. A lack of reflection by identity and leadership scholars on race enables the masculine discourse of leadership identity to be reinforced through a hegemonic masculine interpretation of organisational identity, sustaining gendered and racialised power relations (Collinson & Hearn, 1996).

Therefore, this study critically reflects on how global majority individuals construct identity and enact leadership within a postcolonial constraint. Identity is being used here within a ‘social theoretical mode of analysis – the social circumstances and the performance through which an individual does their situated activity’ (Holmes and Robinson, 1999:5). Situated activity, in this study, is taken to mean subjects as ‘positioned actors within a social context, situated within social relations and moral order. Therefore, any actions taken are based on explicit and implicit understandings (interpretations of what should be done given their social positioning’ (Holmes and Robinson, 1999:4). This interpretation draws on the perspective that people are both objects and subjects in their identity construction. As objects, they may conform to having their identity undone and regulated by organisation elites to conform to organisational
goals; or as subjects, they exercise agency in undoing and reconstructing their own self-identity within the organisation. By broadly drawing on the work of Alvesson & Willmott, (2002), the chapter explores how marginalised groups construct emancipatory self-identities by engaging in redoing and doing away with identity within a scene of postcolonial constraint. Finally, the work will also draw on writers like hooks (1991), Ladkin & Patrick Bridges, (2022), Mohanty (2003), Ospina & Foldy (2009), and Ospina & Su (2009) to foreground this aspect of a richer understanding of race dynamics and emancipatory self-identity construction.

3.1. Understanding identity as a social construct

The following section looks at how social constructionists interpret identity and how identity is socially constructed, reconstituted, and regulated, as the leadership and identity literature does not offer a depth of understanding of the cultural processes and forces at work that underlie the identity construction of global majority individuals within organisations.

‘Identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practises then represent, we should think instead of identity as a ‘production,’ which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation. This view problematises the very authority and authenticity to which the term ‘cultural identity’ lays claim’ (Hall, 1990:222).

Accepting the above premise, the social construction of identity can offer a lens through which participants' lived experiences can be examined and linked to these culturally and socially practised and embedded systems of belief, values, and meaning-making (Lemke, 2008). Fearon (1999) defines identity in two ways. Firstly, as a social construct in which people are assigned to membership of a group with implicit and explicit rules - identity is a social category. Secondly, identity as a social category is intersectional (Crenshaw, Jul, 1991) and linked to and understood by categories such as beliefs, desires, moral commitments, physical characteristics, and behaviours recognised as belonging to or obligatory enactments of members of the group in certain situations. These categories or ‘content’ as defined by Fearon (1999:14), change and can vary over time due to human thinking, discourse, and enactments. As such, the creative power of identity as a social construction can open up a dialogue by forcing a reconsideration of the self and whom we become in forming or deconstructing identity (Ford et al., 2011). For the purpose of this study, identity is presented as a social construction that is understood as ongoing interpretations of the social world and phenomena (Pye, 2005), which shape practice and meaning and classify people and the self.
At the core of social constructionism is the understanding that ‘we are born into dominant discourses (ways of seeing, thinking and speaking) that structure our social experiences, identities and knowledge of the world’ (Cunliffe and Linstead, 2009:6). Conceptualising identity in this way draws attention to both the choices social agents (individuals, leaders, managers, and employees) have as both subjects (as authors of the meaning) and as objects (an object to be manipulated or shaped) and the persistent regulatory enactments (general behavioural norms, workplace inductions, performance appraisals, learning and development environments, and organisation discourse and narratives), in which their identities are also constrained (Fairhurst, 2007).

The following section explores the research question ‘In what way do global majority individuals respond to the norms of organisational life and practice leadership?’ specifically drawing on critical writers including critical race theorists to uncover how the personal identities of global majority individuals might be constructed in response to a racialised organisational environment.

3.2. Identity work in organisations.

If identity regulation within organisations is a means of managing and reinforcing the norms and values of wider society, as Deetz (1995) asserts, then ‘the modern business of management and leadership is to manage the “insides” – the hopes, aspirations, and fears of workers rather than their behaviours directly’ (1995:87), thereby shaping organisational employees like objects to the will of the organisation. Deep analysis of participants’ narratives gives clues as to how these social actors are integrally placed and differently located within organisations and may yield detailed insight into whether they are advantaged or disadvantaged through the social structures and dominant discourse within these organisations (Fairclough, 2003).

There has been an increasing academic interest in organisations' identities and the process of their formation through identity work (Brown, 2017). Individualistic or heroic leadership (Pearce & Manz, 2005) within Anglo-Saxon countries like the UK, US and Australia were practised as the norm (Sanche-Runde, Nardon, & Steers, 2011). Predicating that the masculine ideal of control, conquest, and competitive success is the ideal goal for identity
regulation (Knights & Kerfoot, 2004:432); as in western societies, work has been considered a significant source of identity work. Historically, it has been heavily gendered and masculine in its design (Knights and Clarke, 2017: 348). Although there has been some decrease and a formal shift from heroic leadership identity to an emphasis on post-heroic forms of leadership (collective and collaborative) in organisation and leadership studies (Ford, 2006; Koenig, Mitchell, Eagly, & Ristikari, 2011), effective leadership is still mainly viewed as a means of securing employee performance and commitment through discursive processes and coercive constructions of identities (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Collinson, 2003).

During the post-war era, a specific view of leadership was one aspect of identity work, which was steered towards producing heroic leaders with a set of expected leadership behaviours (Brown, 2017; Lord & Hall, 2005) underpinned through cultural expectations arising from broader society, local circumstance and organisational employees themselves (Collero, 2003). As a result, organisational leadership success was exclusively ‘evaluated as masculine hyper-intense fantasy’ (Ekman, 2013:7), through which the heroicising and reverence of organisational roles (Brown & Coupland, 2015; Liu & Baker, 2016) allow some individuals to accumulate symbolic wealth, status, and power (Clarke & Knights, 2015). In the UK, this organisational context includes a colonial legacy that underpins leadership and identity discourse and practices within organisations, including public sector organisations and broader society (Banerjee, 2001; Prasad A. 2003a, 2003b, 2006). Therefore, if the power of organisations is deemed to be invested in regulating the will of employees to the norms, values, and social structures inherent within them (Alvesson and Wilmott, 2009; Watson, 2015), it begins to emerge that those organisations with roots in a colonial past, will be invested in sustaining White power and privilege as discussed previously in the literature review (Section 2.3.2). Roberts, (2005), argues that the normalising of identity is the central concern of organisations.

A significant body of contemporary work discusses how leadership identity regulation within organisations as a process is systematically hostile to the cultural values and norms of different groups (Dreher and Cox, 2000; Prasad and Mills, 1997). Therefore, the formation of identity and identity work can be seen as a self-regulatory way of complying with the dominant operation and practice of leadership and is enacted within organisational forums and technologies, such as leadership development programmes or systems processes (Carroll & Nicholson, 2013; Gagnon & Collinson, 2014; Sinclair, 2009). Colonising employees or customers through coercive reward-based incentives such as leadership development
programmes, career rewards or commodity incentives effectively traps or lures individuals into thinking or recognising themselves as continuously improving and adopting organisational identity. Organisational employees engage in identity work (willingly or unwittingly), as leadership (in a Westernised context) is taken to be and seen as mainly positive and something to aspire to. However, for recognition to occur, these identity traps require a ‘strong interest in controlling not just the self but in the subordination of others or both’ (Alvesson and Wilmott, 2002: 637). Sinclair (2014) argued that leadership is understood and unconsciously accepted within contemporary Eurocentric societies and organisations as White, male, and embellished by managerial elites who can use leadership identity regulation to progress their own agendas and self-interests.

Further research has shown that conceptualising God as a White man might infer for some that White men are more fit to lead (Roberts et al., 2020: 1291). Historians have long argued that the depiction of God as a White man has served to disempower Black men and women. The association of a supernatural entity being White, male, and all-powerful is used to empower White men and associate Whiteness with Godliness (Williams, 1987), reinforcing social hierarchies and racial prejudice (Howard & Sommers, 2015, 2017, 2019). Critical writers argue that identity work within organisations is an invitation to seduce oneself through the dream of heroic and sacred leadership (Ford, Harding, & Learmonth, 2008:78) or as a form of confession which invites the individual to reveal the ‘truth’ about themselves by disclosing their thoughts, intentions, and consciousness to others (Foucault, 1988).

The confessional relationship emerges through a power-play between agency and subjectivity. Where people are regulated and controlled within organisations, they identify failings within themselves in relation to White ideals to the extent that they give power to organisation elites (leaders and managers) regardless of how unconscious the invisibility of Whiteness in leadership may be. The link between the invisibility and power of Whiteness is further explored in chapter 6.2. It relates to the agentic strategies global majority individuals engage in to resist structural barriers and regulation. This means that identity is forged in the social sphere located in the past, present, and future. As such, it is ever-changing according to the social context in which individuals find themselves situated (Bauman, 1988; Hall, 1996; Kehily, 2009). In other words, identity is not fixed but changes according to life experiences. How do people narrate who they are in relation to others? How history shapes them and what they hope to be. Therefore, identity can be stable, fluid, or unstable and has a significant role in constructing meaning (Cunliffe, 2009). Identity is continuously articulated and disarticulated
over time through discourse. Identity is communicated and, for some, is perceived to have material consequences, evidenced in the marginalisation of some groups.

Gilroy suggests that ‘there is more at stake in the current interest in identity than we often appreciate’ (2000b:98) as it can be used as a catch-all ‘interpretive device’ (Aly, 2014:200). Identity is a fragmented and manipulated construct that carries classificatory practices with material consequences (Miron & Inda, 2000). These material consequences come about because people tend to ‘naturalise’ (Fearon, 1999: 15) or draw on the certainty of naturalisation systems of general behavioural norms to claim certain generalisable moral rights and truths concerning race. For example, as Fearon argued, racial categories such as Black, White, Hispanic, and Asian are viewed as morally right (1999:15). Normalisation gives rise to the notion that identity as a social process goes beyond an individual’s control to shape something that the individual may understand as profoundly personal. Furthermore, normalising a social category gives rise to unarticulated ways in which a recognised social identity constitutes personal identity (Fearon, 1999:18). For example, normalising the social category of being Black articulates a particular way of being or ascribing to certain cultural behaviours. Various studies, including Bhatt, Carr-Hill, & Ohri (1988), assert that ‘at all levels, it is the White construction of Black reality that prevails’ (1988:150).

Chia (2003) describes this as taken-for-grantedness. The domination of White construction results in an alienating ethos favouring European cultural heritage and identity due to the marginalisation and normalising of indirect racial barriers (Harris, Morgan, & Moran, 2010). For example, policies applied equally irrespective of whether they disadvantage one group over another or perpetuate low-level stereotyping (Osland & Bird, 2000) in recruitment and selection processes exemplify taken-for-grantedness. Stereotyping and discrimination are social issues that dispossess people in society by denying social recognition. Section 2.4.3 shows that gender discrimination against women, especially impoverished women and women of colour, continues across the globe and the role that political and societal institutions have played in sustaining this when we consider poverty and literacy levels (Mohanty, 1988). Negative portrayals of global majority people in the media juxtaposed with the heroising of White saviours in contrast to these negative images attest to the durability of empire and unquestioned adoption of Whiteness which again brings about social and material consequences (Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022:16).
Identity, as such, is inscribed in the way people live their lives and the discourses that position them. If, as the literature suggests, organisations reflect the social norms, values and categories of society that impose these norms and locates actors within them according to where they are perceived to belong, this can also affect how individuals and groups are treated within organisations (Kenny et al., 2012).

Identity is continuously in the process of being formed; it is contested between various political, social, and economic forces, as well as between people and organisations. Identity is something which can hold both positive and negative associations for people (ambivalent), used to empower, but also to oppress. Identity is also a category constituted through one’s relationship with others – this can be a relation to others in equality or in relations of oppression and subjugation.

Therefore, by conceptualising and theorising about how global majority individuals think that societal narratives and organisational discourses have shaped their lives, this research uncovers the entangled and hitherto unarticulated ways research participants practice (do) and experience leadership and why they construct social and personal identity in a particular way. In addition, it will be helpful for this study to also examine how ‘identity works’ (taken to mean for this study a behaviour modification tool) and, as posited by Alvesson and Willmott (2002), as a ‘powerful medium and outcome of organisational control’ (2002:622), which normalises White privilege and power by exposing how dominant discourse within organisations represent social actors' social lives (Fairclough, 2003).

This study builds on the definition of identity above and analyses how organisations and individuals reinforce, normalise and challenge societal norms and values and how these are transmitted within organisations.

3.3. Identity regulation as relevant to studies of race at work

Extant research argues that organisational employees may respond to organisation identity regulation by adopting three types of subjectivities: conform, resist, or withdraw (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). Identity regulation is attractive to organisations in that the impact on individuals is to form an organisation or work identity. In other words, the individual becomes conformed to the desired organisational goals by consuming the discursive and
reflexive processes that accompany identity construction and regulation within organisations. Developing a work identity is not necessarily bad, for example, in an organisation with values that benefit society. However, greater attention needs to be paid to how any discursive practices influence individual employees – especially those in the minority and how they might feel included or excluded (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002; Carroll and Levy, 2010; Carroll and Nicholson, 2013).

As previously argued in section 2.3.2, societal differences in power and resources are mirrored in organisational processes and interpersonal group dynamics. Alvesson & Willmott (2002:622) contend that identity regulation normalises the power and control of organisational elites and is achieved by producing knowledge and exercising power through institutional practices. An effective way to regulate employees and employees’ identity is to gain commitment (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002) and help the in-group maintain overall power and control. Control that is accomplished through identity regulation and conveyed through operational practices (Musson & Duberley, 2007) requiring organisational elites to control the narrative or organisational discourse (Lukes, 2005).

As discussed above (pg. 52), the seduction of identity occurs through both the agency and subjectivity of the confessional relationship and the importance that power plays between these roles; for example, that of leader and subordinate, whereby subjects would feel responsible for improving themselves. A confessional relationship can present itself in organisational learning and development or supervisory environments. For example, the confessor (subordinate) imbues authority (agency) onto the person hearing the confession. They give the listener (leader/manager) the power to forgive, punish, console, or reconcile the confessor. However, the listener also has the role of ‘expert by subjectivity’ (Carroll & Nicholson, 2013:1229), colonising (Gagnon, 2008) or regulating the behaviour of the confessor (Foucault, 1990:61-62) to the organisational constraints. Alvesson and Willmott (2002) claim that the effects of such regulation can be twofold. Firstly, the more influential group will impose what they believe to be ‘good’ practices on other groups due to the influence they gain from an unequal power differential. Secondly, this power imbalance places a significant burden on members of the ‘other’ to align themselves with an external code of conduct that differs from their own.
The literature reviewed establishes a link between the invisibility of Whiteness in leadership (Liu & Baker, 2016) and the power of Whiteness (Leonardo & Porter, 2010), often tacitly endorsed in the leadership literature (see chapter 2.8). In leadership identity construction, this power usually leaves global majority people ‘forever in combat with his own image’ (Fanon, 1967:194), battling racial fatigue, trauma and bias (Franklin, 2016). A few studies have shown how ethnic minorities overcome structural barriers through individual resistance and the emancipatory nature of agentic strategies (Bauman, 2000; Cuzzocrea & Lyon, 2011). However, the celebration of success in individual resistance, according to authors like Fleming & Spicer, (2008) and Mumby, (2005), runs the risk of overlooking the inherent tension and cost of agency and resistance within identity construction. An example of this might be seen in relation to Black women and their hair, as already discussed, where women have responded to identity regulation through the three critical choices they are presented with: to either conform by straightening their hair; resist by maintaining their status as custodians of their culture and wearing natural hairstyles; or withdraw by leaving the organisation or self-isolating and flying under the radar. Therefore, conceptualising identity work in which global majority individuals continue to be confronted with the pervading power of Whiteness and regulation in discursive organisations (Van Laer & Janssene, 2017) would be beneficial. Exploring how these subjects might respond to the discursive and coercive constructs of identity or identity regulation presented within post-heroic/postcolonial organisations is key to understanding the emancipatory ways they may resist or reconstruct their identity within these organisational constraints.

3.3.1. Conforming

Alvesson and Willmott (2002) argue that identity is inextricably linked to self-esteem, which is an aspired attribute of identity and positive social meaning. Therefore, having a recognised identity can bring significant social value and benefits to organisational employees/leaders. A recognised identity can make the consumption of corporate/organisational identity much more attractive to those willing to conform as opposed to others who serve as objects of comparison and are seen and described in less favourable terms (Turner, 1984). Where these shared values/norms are threatened by the ‘Other,’ individuals/members of the dominant group can become untrusting, hostile, and potentially aggressive (Hogg & Terry, 2000). Turner (1984) further contends that individuals seek to belong to groups that reinforce their sense of belonging through perceived similarities, i.e.
social categorisations such as race, class, gender, etc. Therefore, bearing the above in mind, it is essential to look at what the literature tells us about alternative responses that could emerge from identity construction and regulation within organisations amongst individual employees and conceptualise how this might be interpreted when dealing with marginalised global majority individuals and groups.

### 3.3.2. Resisting

Identity control and regulation can also affect conformity and cause employees to become sceptical or resistant, particularly if they feel conforming is losing self-identity or feeling unfamiliar tension levels (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). The authors suggest that when employees become unsettled or are presented with an organisational context in which they feel anxious, ashamed, or devalued, this can result in a disruption to the assimilated identity (2002: 626), which can become pervasive and un-sustained unless intensive remedial identity work is undertaken, (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002:627). Foldy, Rivard, & Buckley (2009) argue that where global majority individuals are faced with the dominance of others and unable to blindly accept or conform to an organisational culture that is geared towards normalising and privileging Whiteness and implicitly hostile to the cultural identity of the ‘other’, they are left with undesirable options. Options that may result in resisting could cause overt conflict as they try to create a space for themselves (2009:29).

Resisting identity regulation within leadership and organisation studies has been taken to mean a form of oppositional or asymmetrical influence (Zoller & Fairhurst, 2007). It has been explored by looking at followers’ activities, as opposed to leaders, and how they could use power to create something not intended by those in authority (Flemming & Spicer, 2008). According to Collinson (2005a: 1430), resistance can take the form of ‘disguised dissent’ or deviant discord, which can result in open opposition, such as confrontation, struggle, work/slow strategies, or even humour. Some writers have argued that looking at resistance/power as a binary artificially disassociates one construct from another. According to Collinson (2005a), the best way to examine these concepts, rather than looking at them in opposition to each other, is to bring them into a mutually constitutive relationship by analysing their interdependence and co-construction. By looking at the interdependence and co-construction of resistance and power, we can see how the existing power balance may be reinforced by resistance through the discourse and practices in which organisational employees engage and enact (Collinson,
Therefore, identity work can be understood as taking place in a context of ‘contradiction, disruption and confusion’ (Alvesson and Wilmott, 2002:621). Therefore, resistance and instability can be productive and creative in the leadership domain as one must ‘create a landscape of enabling constraints out of chaos’ (Carroll and Levy, 2010:214), which is seen as primarily the role of leadership.

Kondo (1990:240), however, offers a related account of resistance and argues that people ‘consent, cope and resist at different levels of consciousness and at a single point in time.’ Thus, power and resistance can overlap and are seen in the struggle to work with these interconnected dynamics when producing agency and negotiating institutional change (Fleming & Spicer, 2008:57). Therefore, resistance can be understood as a constant process of adaption, co-production and even non-compliance to organisational discourse (Carroll & Nicholson, 2013), with the potential to propose a different form of leadership (Deetz, 2008; Zoller & Fairhurst, 2007). Increasingly, power within organisations feels that it cannot openly resist calls for more equality concerning gender or race. So, instead of openly resisting or imposing dominant organisation norms, engage in ‘oblige resistance’ (Smolović Jones, Smolović Jones, Taylor, & Yarrow, 2021). A process by which organisations block change whilst superficially bringing openness to change. However, resistance takes many forms, not all of which will offer alternatives for organisations. For example, Caroll and Nicholson (2014) acknowledge that a spectrum of resistance comes in many forms: withdrawal (escape), refusal and creation. (2014:1471).

### 3.3.3. Withdrawing

Foldy, Rivard and Buckley (2009) look at the conditions global majority individuals may experience within organisations and groups, which would cause them to withdraw from identity work and regulation, including the additional challenges they face due to differences in their cultural identities. Withdrawal within this context differs from resistance in that organisational employees may withdraw psychologically or physically when confronted with these identity threats (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). Foldy, Rivard, & Buckley (2009) propose that the inequalities of power cultural and institutional practices within organisations disadvantage global majority individuals and cause intergroup conflict and an identity threat. As previously stated in chapter 1, an identity threat is a sense of threat to group identity arising from multiple sources tied to the long history of racial and group discrimination. This occurs
in environments that ‘implicitly and explicitly reproduce structures and patterns that give one group [the in-group], more power than those of the other group,’ (Markus, Steele, and Steele (2000:238) [the out-group – my assertion]. Due to this identity threat, global majority individuals may seek to resist the dominance of others and try to create space for themselves and their ideas (Foldy, Rivard & Buckley, 2009:27). However, an identity threat can also result in fear from the out-group that they will be exploited or leave them feeling resentful as they are considered inferior. Furthermore, an identity threat can also bring about a fear amongst the in-group that the out-group will create a negative impact, thus compromising psychological safety (Foldy, Rivard and Buckley, 2009:29). These factors can lead to prejudice, discrimination, and undesirable options for global majority individuals, including withdrawing from organisations.

There is ample research that points to poorer outcomes for global majority employees compared to their White counterparts (Cancio, Evans, & Maume, 1996: Dreher & Cox, 2000) and that this is inextricably linked to the societal inequalities reproduced within organisations (McGrath, Berdahl, & Arrow, 1995). As a response to identity threat, withdrawal can be seen as a costly option to the individual, as this option presents global majority individuals with either physical or psychological withdrawal, which further isolates the individual or results in the internalising of stereotyping or turning the discrimination in towards themselves or their own group members (Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001). An identity threat leading to withdrawal may also cause the individual to experience devaluation and behave in inauthentic ways, undermining their sense of coherence. Foldy, Rivard and Buckley (2009:29) suggest that for global majority employees to feel psychologically safe within organisations and prevent withdrawal as a response, identity safety has to be a precursor for psychological safety. Having an awareness of these responses of global majority individuals to identity regulation within UK organisations allows for conceptualising how global majority individuals construct their identity to exercise leadership through identity undoing within organisational milieus and leadership practices that reproduce environments that stimulate identity threats. Exploring what research participants have to say using a fuller conceptualisation of the circumstances that lead global majority individuals into withdrawing, resisting or undoing their leadership identity as a defence against dominant power relationships that exist in UK organisations needs to be given voice and amplified, with a specific focus on the intersectionality of leadership, identity construction, and race. Resistance is also an important way of understanding how power in organisations responds to social or organisational pressure concerning more racial or gender equality.
3.4. Reconstructing identity

Identity work requires some form of undoing and reconstructing. In this study, I am drawing on the concept of undoing as applying to an individual who might be ‘undone’ due to an oppressive or regulatory situation. In such situations, identities are undone through a repressive or normative framework, language mechanisms, or standards. Although, as previously stated, contemporary societies can see leadership identity and as a purely positive categorisation development (Collinson, 2012). However, according to Carroll and Nicholson (2013), having one’s identity undone can be a ‘highly negative, even destructive experience, leading to feelings of turmoil, confusion, and pain’ (2013:1231). Identity undoing can occur for individuals who willingly submit to having their identity undone. For instance, those voluntarily joining up to regulatory occupations such as the armed forces or those opting for citizenship of a chosen nation. The experience can be largely involuntary and coercive at other times, leading to undoing and creating an identity threat (Rivard & Buckley, 2008), for example, when people seek refugee status and are treated as criminalised subjects. Identity work is vital for this research study as it opens up other avenues and ways to conceptualise the construction and undoing of leadership identity as a response to psychosocial trauma and threat experienced by global majority individuals.

Critical Race theory helps us understand that the West has constructed global majority identity as ‘Othered.’ The West are those regimes that have the power to make colonised people see and experience themselves as ‘Othered’ as a legacy of colonialism marked by a systemic process of racism ‘subjugation and cultural domination achieved through the incumbrance of imperial structures of power (Williams & Chrisman, 2013:17). Such a construction of identity and the subsequent inner expropriation, cripples and deforms if its silent association if not resisted or reconstructed, (Fanon, 1963:170-176). As stated in chapter two (S.2.3.2), colonialism portrayed the colonised as savage and primitive. From this position, we can understand the traumatic characteristics of a racialised experience, which positions those subjected (those colonised) to the dominant regimes of representation as a critical exercise of cultural power and normalisation (Ladkin and Patrick Bridges, 2022). Approaching identity as something constructed through discursive and interactional practice need not only mean regulation but also indicates the potential for dominant leadership identities to be ‘undone’ or resisted through formal organisational processes and ongoing informal talk and practice
(Crevani, Lindgren, & Packendorff, 2010). Nicholson and Carroll (2013) remind us that identity work may also play a part in deconstructing identity more positively, resulting in an employee undoing and escaping from a leadership identity experienced as oppressive. One such area where identity amongst research participants can be undone is gendered and racialised leadership, which links to the embodiment and practice of leadership.

3.5. The Embodiment of Power – the practice of racialised and gendered leadership

Bodies are shown to be the living embodiment through which leadership is created, experienced, and understood (Lois, 2013). By seeing the body as the medium through which leadership is restrained and/or resourced, insights can be found on issues of self-awareness and identity (Lois, 2013), including the inextricable link between White and Black bodies. This inextricable link comes into play due to racialising and gendered discourse. Matias (2015) argues that both discourses denigrate the latter to uplift the former (2015:229).

We understand that bodies maintain the biological properties of men and women, which distinguish the masculine from the feminine (Pullen & Rhodes, 2008) and are also deployed to construct patterns of meaning socially, i.e., to distinguish Whiteness from Blackness or visible from an invisible difference. Therefore, to properly examine identity beyond talk and text, this study also needs to consider one of the most important signifiers of identity - the body itself (Ainsworth & Grant, 2012). Recognising the body as a critical signifier of identity comes with the investment of some individuals in ensuring that other identities are repressed for more dominant, gendered, and masculine forms of identity to be considered the primary source of authority within western society (Knights & Kerfoot, 2004). Knights (2015: 200) argues that ‘in everyday Western life, there is an extreme preoccupation with pursuing the idealised masculine and feminine bodies. An excellent example of this is portraying the leader's aggressive, masculine competitive frontier on the one hand whilst drawing on the feminised images of CEOs engaging in collaborative and team working skills on the other (Hooper, 2000). However, conceptualising identity in this way can also be limiting and neglect exploring identity concerning embodied engagement with ‘others’ (Liu and Baker, 2016). A critical view on the gendered role of leadership can help surface the contradictions and the ‘stress of marginality’ (Bass, 1990:742), which can be created for women due to embodied engagement with others.
Due to the number of women participants in the study, a specific focus on the relationship between the embodiment of leadership identity and gendered discourse will be explored, drawing on Koval and Rosette (2020) and other influential critical scholars such as Fokati, Metcalf, and Harding (2014); Ford (2006), hooks (1981) and Mohanty (2003). These writers will help answer the research question about any additional challenges faced by global majority individuals (women) in exercising leadership due to their cultural identities. It has been asserted that gender discrimination is perpetuated and sustained in postcolonial societies through language, which has long been a tool used to distort aspects of female behaviour and specifically non-White female behaviour seen as most threatening to White patriarchal definitions of femininity (Gilkes, 1981; Hill Collins, 1986; White, 1984). Studies of gender in organisational studies point to the invisibility of feminine forms of leadership and the patriarchal masculine embodiment and practice of leadership as the taken-for-granted norms in western organisations (Fokati, Metcalf, & Harding, 2014). In addition, probing women of colour in this study to see if the dichotomous difference of opposition (pitting masculine forms of leadership against more feminine forms) has influenced the discourse on racial and sexual oppression (Britten & Maynard, 1984) may also be helpful.

bell hooks (1991), in her article ‘Yearning: Race, gender and cultural politics (1991), offers a way for us to see how deeply the continued power differential between men and women, gendered and racialised legacy functions in society. Through language and the normative order in which we live, hooks (1991) argues that ‘contemporary discourse which talks most about heterogeneity, the decentred subject, and declaring breakthroughs that allow the recognition of ‘Otherness’, still directs its voice to specialised audiences that share a common language rooted in the very master slave narratives it claims to challenge’ (hooks, 1991:423). This power differential has been embedded in the construction and concept of dominant social races since the sixteen century (Khiari, 2015). The formation and hierarchisation of groups were racially defined through the historical process and establishment of colonial empires and capitalist expansion. Thus, throughout history, the racial distribution of humans was being formulated, which has meant that a wide range of minority groups have been excluded, ‘dominated by the group whose main criteria of belonging - shaped by a colonial history – have been inseparable from being White’ (Khiari, 2015: 66).

For dominated groups, this translates into a desire to be recognised and constituted as a viable human being depends on social recognition and how people narrate and articulate what is considered ‘human,’ usually through social norms. Social norms mean that some people have
the power to confer humanness (in this case, Whiteness) or deprive ‘Others’ of the possibility of achieving this status. Therefore, the question of race is inseparable from the races’ struggle for power and the interrelation of social forces between the dominant race and those dominated (Khiari, 2015:67). Igantiev & Garvey (1996) assert that the acceptance of and legitimacy of Whiteness leads to treason against humanity if institutions and social norms regulate what constitutes only those particular kinds of identities that are prioritised. What this means for minoritised groups, and their identity construction is that if they are not recognisable to the ‘Others’ upon whom they depend for social existence because of dominant social norms, then it becomes necessary for them to seek a way of escape from these norms through a sense of survival.

Race and social boundaries are built into these struggles. The dominant group hopes to maintain supremacy, and those dominated races’ seek their liberation through resistance, a ‘frontal struggle’ (Khiari, 2015:67). This is a process that Igantiev & Garvey (1996) call a path to re-humanising and loyalty to humanity. The method of rehumanising the human and a way for minoritised groups to establish more inclusive conditions for recognition and resisting assimilation. An illustration of this is demonstrated through accepted narratives of gendering. If we accept, as posited, ‘femaleness’, is how de-legitimising narratives such as the ‘aggressive’ or ‘strong’ Black woman or the ‘subservient’ Asian woman or ‘male-dominated’ Latino woman can be used to reflect efforts to distort and dispossess aspects of female behaviour—especially the behaviour of Black women, which is deemed to threaten patriarchal norms. The use of de-legitimising language puts all women in their place (Hill Collins, 1986:17) whilst encapsulating and maintaining the persistent regulatory performances (reclaiming) of gender over time. As illustrated in the literature review, global majority women have sought to undo these norms and regulatory constraints.

For example, some have straightened their hair, worn European wigs, or used bleaching products to lighten their skin (Rosette et al., 2018). Others are shown to resist and continue to wear natural hair and traditional cultural dress. However, this can also mean a struggle for those dominated to belong to the dominant race or be as close to it as possible in order to climb the racial hierarchy. Critical race theory helps us to understand the complex strategies of White power, which seeks to expand its borders and exercise its power by determining who can cross them. This position is reinforced by strategies used by dominated races to undo these institutionalised structures. However, they appear ‘tormented by their ambition to be fully
accepted within the White community’ (Khiari, 2015:67). This social hierarchy presents itself as pyramidal, with whites at the top and differently oppressed groups below, each one having levels of colour, culture and class divisions according to its place in humankind or civilisation (Khiari, 2015). However, despite the richness of Khiari’s analysis, it fails to draw out the gendered dimensions of identity and undoing entirely. Therefore, a critical race concept of social hierarchy and race is helpful to interrogate the narrative of research participants and address the research question as to ‘how they might respond to the norms of organisational life and practice leadership’.

Mohanty (2003) contends that feminist scholarship should critically examine the analytical paradigms used to explore the lives of marginalised women. Western feminist theorists are called on to be mindful of the micropolitical context - subjectivities and macropolitics of the global economy and political systems and processes in which the Two-thirds/South women (those from Africa, Asia and Latin America) live and struggle and which discursive practices are used as a means of continuing the naturalisation of capitalist values that maintain them as subaltern subjects (Mohanty, 2003:503). This section explores the role of empire in the historical and political landscape of the UK context, particularly where it pertains to global majority individuals born in the UK. It is important to theorise about the experience and practice of leadership and identity construction. Conceptualising the role gender supports in the continued renewal of colonialism through identity construction can also be used to codify and interpret any additional challenges global majority individuals face when analysing their data in responding to the focused research question as to ‘how is the identity of global majority individuals constructed, and how does it shape their construction of leadership?’

Gendered leadership has the potential to offer some explanations as to why global majority individuals and, in particular, global majority women may lack recognisable subjectivity and therefore also agency and be forced to construct/reconstruct a specific leadership identity. Mohanty (2003:510) helps us cognise this notion by contending that ‘privilege nurtures blindness to those without the same privilege.’ Therefore, critical race theory is valuable in examining the research questions about how the identity of global majority individuals is constructed and how it shapes their construction of leadership. This is pertinent given that many of the group are descended from those who have been racialised and whose place of birth or that of their parent’s stem from the roots of colonisation and continue to be so as part of the common-wealth.
Furthermore, feminised, and masculine gendering has continued to exploit the almost free labour of these two-thirds marginalised groups, which many global organisations – and indeed moneyed executives and business owners - have come to rely on heavily (Marchand, Runyan, 2000) - for example, the domestic service of immigrant and migrant women (Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998). In other words, the endurance of dominant power needs both feminised and masculinised hierarchies to exist. However, gendered roles retain a dualistic opposition, as it imposes masculine norms of superiority over alternative logic. Therefore, a racialised identity construction requires women and girls and a need for the Anglo-American (Eurocentric) gendering to naturalise taken-for-granted hierarchies of power to succeed (Mohanty, 2003). Therefore, a critical race lens is also helpful in addressing the research question, exploring how global majority individuals respond to the norms of organisational life and practice leadership when much of the globalised discourse of leadership within society and organisations is subject to a racialised and gendered constraint. For some research group members, namely women, leadership means a patriarchal and gendered performance.

In her critical essay ‘Under Western Eyes’ (2003), Mohanty accentuates such tendencies when she criticises Eurocentric feminism as not being representative of all women. Mohanty (2003) asserts that feminists who adopt universalistic feminism (usually the One-third/North world representing White middle-class women) try to speak for all women and lack understanding and empathy with Two-thirds/South women and girls. The latter is, as Mohanty argues, ‘necessary to the operation of capitalist global economy’ (2003:525). Nearly 80 per cent of displaced people are women and girls who come from the Two-third world/global South, which Mohanty (2003:505) describes as the ‘have nots’ when compared to the One third/North, the ‘haves’. These ‘have nots’ do two-thirds of the world’s labour but receive one-tenth of the world’s income and own less than one-hundredth of the world’s property (2003:514). Furthermore, the two-thirds/South women's constructed identity continues to re-perform colonialism imparted as globalisation and free trade (Shiva, Gordan, & Wing, 2000) as they are shaped by colonial attitudes, which place these women in the position of objects.

Drawing out such dynamics is essential for a better understanding of the identity work and regulation at play in this study of leadership. Nancy White’s (1984) metaphor explains well the dehumanizing oppression White and Black women suffered when she argues that the Black woman as a ‘mule’ knows that she is perceived as an animal. In contrast, the White
woman as a “dog” may be similarly dehumanised and may think she is an equal part of the family when she is actually a well-cared-for-pet (White, 1984:22-24). Therefore, the need for self-definition and self-evaluation of Black women becomes significant. Both racist and sexist philosophies commonly treat dominated groups as objects lacking complete human subjectivity (Hill-Collins, 2004). bell hooks (1991) theorises a link between Black women’s silencing, censoring and anti-intellectualism within all-Black spaces and dominant institutions where Black women are told that they cannot be listened to or heard as their work is not theoretical enough. These practices reinforce and perpetuate Black women's collective exploitation and repression (hooks, 1991:8). Despite being subjected to domination and oppression, Black women can create a location for themselves where they have otherwise been erased or misrepresented in dominant Euro-centric feminist scholarship and communities’ (Mohanty, 2003:503). bell hooks also argue that marginalised women can use their agency to deconstruct and disrupt (1991:4) this taken-for-granted location. Within this context global majority women can seek to undo and redo a more emancipatory sense of self, which illuminates that Black women are very insightful about the multiple structures of domination and oppression they are subject to, in contrast with perhaps other groups, who might occupy more contradictory positions, such as White women or Black men (Hill Collins, 2004).

Mohanty (2003) cautions against a universalistic analytical framework when theorising about global majority groups (the Two/thirds/South). hooks (1991) sees theory as disrupting the process of capitalist commodification and challenging the status quo where only the privileged can afford to engage in feminist theory (1991:9) and argues for a politicised revolutionary feminist activism as a central plan to transform society. hooks (1991) conception of theory also helps to explore how marginalised groups construct emancipatory self-identities geared towards embodiment and performativity when ‘undoing’ identity. Therefore using critical race theory to conceptualise the continued reworking of gendered and racialised identity can help us examine its relevance to leadership. In addition, the lived experience of unbelonging and displacement of individual participants in answer to the research question, ‘are there additional challenges global majority individuals face in exercising leadership due to differences in their identity’ might be uncovered as pertaining to the group.
3.6. Chapter Summary

This chapter has offered a conceptual framework to address the research question and a deeper understanding of how global majority individuals construct leadership identity. By engaging in the social construction of race through critical race theory, I have sought to conceptualise how the identity of global majority individuals might be socially constructed, undone, and reconstituted by them and how they might, as objects and subjects, be regulated by others within organisations.

Understanding identity as a social construction is particularly salient in research settings dominated by patriarchal norms and a racialised colonial legacy. It helps conceptualise how marginalised individuals are born into dominant norms and discourses that structure social experiences and knowledge of the world (Cunliffe and Linstead (2009). As discussed, identity work and regulation is a means to reinforce society's dominant norms and values and in which identity is articulated and disarticulated over time. Therefore, by using a critical race lens, we can examine the narratives of research participants to offer a depth of understanding of the cultural processes and forces at work that underpins and intersects with the identity construction of global majority individuals within organisations which the leadership and identity literature does not currently offer.

Furthermore, a deep analysis of participants’ narratives using theories posited primarily by hooks (1991), and Mohanty (2003), may yield detailed insight into whether they are advantaged or disadvantaged through the social structures and dominant discourses within these organisations. One such enduring discourse is that a globalised legacy of colonialism places minoritised groups in a position of inferiority and powerlessness and normalises the power and control of organisation elites to regulate and control the fate of members of those groups. Control operationalised through organisation practices, and identity regulation aims to maintain the status quo of organisation elites and leaves some participants feeling rootlessness and unbelonging. Alvesson and Wilmott (2002) provide a conceptual framework that has helped analyse the talk of research participants and offers a way to understand their agentic response to the norms of organisational life and how they practice and embody specific leadership to them.

This conceptual chapter also gives us a way of understanding the additional challenges associated with a sizeable proportion of the group, namely women who, due to the colonial
constraint and a constructed identity, continue to suffer a triple-bind of dehumanising exploitation and oppression brought about by patriarchal, racialised and sexualised gendered norms.
4. Chapter Four: Research approach

4.1.1. Ontological and epistemological considerations

My research question asks how global majority individuals experience and practice leadership in a U.K. context and is pursued through social constructionist ontology and epistemology and viewed through a critical race lens. Critical Race Theory (CRT) sits within a broader social constructionist ontology. The notion that leadership is part of a socially constructed activity is part of organisation theory's tendency towards gaining knowledge through analysing the interplay between individual sense-making, collective cultures, and institutional norms (Ladkin, 2013). Therefore, exploring the R.Q.s through a social constructionist ontology and epistemology arises from a solid basis of similar research. Thus, the study aims to understand if the lived experience of participating 'global majority' individuals presents them with any personal and professional challenges or opportunities in exercising leadership. According to writers like Berger & Luckman (1966) and Shotter (1993), social order is given meaning through the ways in which people make sense of the world, which they reinforce through the sharing of their experiences, which means that social reality is shaped and influenced by people's individual and collective understandings and shared meanings associated with a particular social phenomenon.

Social constructionism is an ontology that asserts that the social world is constructed, influenced, and given meaning by social actors (people). Applying a critical race positioning from a social constructionist approach emphasises the constitutive role of power relations enacted through the discursive regimes of societies and their institutions (Khiari, 2015). Mobilised for this research, working through a critical race lens means acknowledging that knowledge, power, and agency are all produced through social relations. Such social relations are shaped through a historically constituted set of relations, heavily shaped by western-centric knowledge regimes (hooks, (1991); Khiari, (2015); Mohanty, (2003), which foregrounds a politics of opposition and struggle and problematises the critical relationship between centre and periphery (Mishra. & Hodge., 2013) My emphasis and focus on race as constructed and political have social and material consequences when race as a floating signifier is enacted through the power and performance of socially constructed phenomena such as leadership. Correspondingly, identity is also constructed through racial norms, which are co-constituted through other norms related to gender, class, age, and ability and are perpetuated by organisations and the individuals within them and the technologies put in place by them. Thus,
social constructionists hold out to the possibility that the racial dynamics explored by research participants can be influenced and changed through acts of leadership (Collinson, 2005). Following from this onto-epistemological positioning, for example, 'the organisation' is understood as constituted through broader social relations and capable of constructing a particular view of leadership that may align (or not) with this (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Leadership – of the organisation and the research participants - as constructed could shape the social action of a person through its rules, regulation, group norms, organisational discourse, structures, and operating procedure. Therefore, the social actor's (employees) practice is shaped by either following, assimilating, resisting, or withdrawing from an organisation (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Carroll & Nicholson, 2014; Watson, 2015).

Adopting my onto-epistemological positioning shaped by social constructionism and critical race theory explains how racism continues to oppress people and distorts, disfigures, and destroys their past knowledge of themselves (Fanon, 1968), which leaves a colonial constraint of unbelonging and rootlessness, as identified in research participants’ narratives. These responses point to a particular fluidity of social relations and how leadership and identity amongst this group are constructed. As Potter (1996) states, such constructions are liable to change because 'the world…is constituted in one way or another as people talk it, write it, and argue it' (1996: 98). Social constructionists maintain that the social world is forever changing due to the negotiated purposes social actors agree on concerning the social world (Bryman et al, 2011). Constructionism, therefore, requires a methodological approach that can cope with human nature's complexities, contradictions, uneven development, sensitivities, and the power structures and relations inherent within them - and how these can combine to construct social meaning and experience. Social constructionist researchers gather rich data through a qualitative methodology that attempts 'to make sense of or interpret lived experiences in terms of the meaning people bring to them' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013:7).

Of course, other ontological and epistemological paradigms can also be drawn upon to help examine the social construction of the phenomena in detail, such as critical realism, queer theory, and cultural theory. However, my onto-epistemological preference allows for a broad range of methods, including collecting narrative data and empirical material through interviews, case studies, or even ethnographic fiction. My onto-epistemological preference guided my decision to collect empirical material through semi-structured and unstructured interviews and autoethnographic reflections.
4.2. **Narrative methodology**

In this section, I describe my methodological approach to generating and analysing the data with reference to relevant literature (as discussed in Section 4.1). Central to the conceptual framework is the intrinsic link of identity construction to critical race theory through the embodiment of narrative sense-making and lived experience (Cunliffe et al., 2012; Watson, 2009). These are illustrated through empirical examples such as Trovão (2017) and Gabriel (1991, 1995). Finally, I conclude this section with an overview of the diverse types and analytical approaches associated with narrative analysis directly applied when using an interpretive methodology to make sensible 'the self and others' (Cunliffe et al., 2012:70).

I will specifically expand on or explain how I use narrative and genre analysis to interpret the shared meaning of the lived experiences of global majority research participants I interviewed. Further, I will explain how I have used my autoethnographic accounts to communicate other occluded and co-constructed (blended) meanings of interviewees' narratives.

I felt it necessary to include stories from participants. However, not all of the quotes will be a story. Although, when I report the findings, I co-construct a collective narrative by analysing the narratives and stories of the research participants. Furthermore, by interpreting these collective narratives, I sought to expose anything that could shed light on how global majority individuals construct their leadership identities. Using their stories and narratives encapsulates contextual factors and helps us see how power dynamics can shift whilst identities become constructed and contested (Courpasson et al., 2012). The analysis of both talk and text is possible using Narrative Analysis. Narrative Analysis refers to various approaches that can be applied to analysing uniquely personal accounts of how people told their story and the intonation of their voices; and diverse kinds of texts, interpreting the words used in stories, which have a salience for the knowledge and communications norms of a particular audience, (Denzin, 1989; Jupp, 2006). Many examples of the research participants' data are interspersed throughout each section of the Findings, chapters 5-10. The presented extracts were identified in the data using Labov and Waletzky's (1967), structural analysis model (see 4.5.3 for more details) to identify the stories. Other textual analyses are also presented to illustrate better research participants' lived experiences and practices. While many more illustrations could have been used, I have limited these to the broader themes emerging from the findings and ones.
that offer an opportunity for the reader to engage actively and be immersed in the significance and evocative power of the perspective and performance of the storytellers (Ladson-Billings, 1998) [the research participants], their lived experiences.

I selected stories that capture many facets that would be recognised by global majority readers as representative of the lived experiences spoken about more partially by research participants, that readers might identify with. Percolated through are my reflexive thoughts and feelings derived from my fieldnote and autoethnographic journals, presented here to share meaning and connect the 'mess, chaos, uncertainty and emotions' (Adams, 2015) of the experience of research participants, including my own, to the culture, and politics of social life in the U.K.

4.2.1 Defining 'Narrative' for this research

Narrative analysis relies on similar themes or genres borrowed from the conventions of literary theory (Daiute and Lightfoot, 2004), for example, the dominant genres of fiction, non-fiction, drama, folklore, or poetry. These literary tools help keep the critical focus here on the story as the subject of investigation through the research process, thus allowing the rich detail of experiences to be uncovered in interpreting participants' stories.

Narrative is a way humans impose meanings on experience or try to make sense of that experience (Brunner, 1990). Cultural learning begins in early childhood through the collaborative reconstruction of the self through many things to symbolically tell stories of the past told by parents and others to pass on tastes, relationships and social standing, (Seale, 2000:37). Therefore, narrative plays a formative role in developing the 'cultural person' (Nelson, 2003) and helps shape society and culture. Watson (2009) suggests that cultural development is presented in the narratives that 'we meet in the stories from our parents...to the characters we see in films and read about in books and newspapers as we move through our lives...' (2009: 431) which is delivered through various media.
Narration (a thing narrated or an account)\(^2\), storytelling (the action of telling a story)\(^3\), and narrative (an account of a series of events, given in order with the establishment of connections between them)\(^4\) are used interchangeably in the literature Riessman, (1993, 2008). However, narrative will be the term used for this study, incorporating all of these unless there is a need to use them in isolation to illustrate a particular point. Therefore, narrative is being used as it incorporates all aspects of narration, storytelling, and narrative. The study calls for research participants to give highly personal accounts through empirical narratives of events constructed over time. Therefore, narrative was my preferred methodological approach to conceptualising findings concerning this group.

Having established what is meant by narrative and its relevance to this work, narrative is described as an ontology structuring interview-based research design and a method for interpreting oral or written narrative discourse. Therefore, narrative is considered more than just 'words or windows into something else' (Daiute and Lightfoot, 2004:x). In referring back to the onto-epistemological grounding of this thesis (social constructionism), it is assumed that any research participant's narrative account of the world, including my own, is a doorway to the social reality and constructed meaning people make of their lives. Therefore, the narratives presented are co-constructed through negotiated meaning from a socio-political and racialised context infused with power. Furthermore, narrative analysis is well suited to examining subjectivity, identity, inequalities, oppression, and other practices of power that might be taken for granted by individuals in the group being studied (Rosenwald and Ochberg, 1992a) and, therefore, an appropriate methodological approach.

The use of NVIVO helped me organise the narratives of research participants as I coded and grouped many themes from which to interpret and pull-out shared meaning across the narratives and stories. Whilst analysing and writing up the research, I was mindful of composing a narrative account of the findings as a whole (Sinha, Smolović Jones, & Carroll, 2021). My choice to present the whole thesis using Labov & Waletzky's (1967) structural framework as a co-constructed interpretation of global majority research participants' lived experiences of leadership and identity construction was determined by my onto-epistemological positioning and in my role as a native autoethnographer.

\(^3\) https://www-oed-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/view/Entry/190988?rskey=DuDqdO&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid
\(^4\) https://www-oed-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/view/Entry/125146
4.2.2 A critical race approach to narrative research

Studies of organisations have increasingly revealed how narratives shape identities (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002; Kenny Whittle and Willmott, 2011). In considering the racialised context of the U.K. on narrative analysis, which, as explained above, is most consistent with my research aims, I, as the researcher, took on the role of central narrator (a position of power) to articulate 'how' the stories were told in particular ways. The primary purpose of this approach is to offer an interpretation and connection between the individuals telling the story and their lived experience of social structures and everyday lives (Harling Stalker, 2010: 596). In other words, under this logic, both the researched and the researcher are forced to question taken-for-granted assumptions (the seen and the known) inherent in historical narratives constructed from early modern cultures, such as a belief in racial hierarchy, dominant leadership norms, meritocracy, and education, which research participants began to question and considered not to aid but deceive (Clark, 2007).

The rich data held within the narrative of individuals rely heavily on research participants exposing and revealing their thoughts, feelings, actions, and insight into why they are telling their stories. However, a reflexive research approach also demands that the researcher reflect critically on their identity work unfolding in the research process (Bell, 1999), thus bringing in and analysing the researcher's thoughts, feelings, and unconscious bias. Therefore, narratives are intrinsically linked to identity formation, just as research participants are linked to the researcher's and 'other's gender, race, age, class, and sexuality, linked to power, politics, and the personal (Hanisch, 1969). Such dynamics allude to narratives' creative power, which is also integral and essential to narrative analysis and the data analysis process (Daiute and Lightfoot, 2004).

4.2.3 The meaning and value of narrative analysis in social constructionism and sense-making.

This section will use narrative to convey the interpreted experience of social construction and a vital underpinning process through which individuals engage in sense-making and identity work (Watson, 2012). Whilst writers are in no way unanimous in their
definitions of narrative; most agree that they contain four main elements (Brunner, 1987). Firstly, narratives are interpretations of sequential events that rely on a plot or storyline to bring meaning to causal factors (see Ganz, 2010; Louchart et al., 2008). By listening, recording, transcribing, and interpreting participants explaining a series of events or stories that led them to a particular perception of how they experienced leadership and what led them to construct a particular leadership identity within an organisation at a given time, I was able to bring meaning to identified factors shaping the experiences and identity formation of research participants. Secondly, narratives assume the intentionality of human action: in other words, there is a purpose or motive behind the action taken or being taken (Sahni and Sinha, 2016). Analysing and interpreting the research participants' narratives enabled me as the researcher to weave together and conceptualise the intentionality of human action, both the research participants and others involved in the plots and stories illustrated in chapters 5 to 10. Thirdly, narratives are built on various kinds of complex and diverse discourse, meaning multiple discourses can unfold simultaneously (Boje, Luhman, & Baack, 1999).

People tend to construct the social world just as the world shapes their own identities and the organisations they are involved within (Berger and Luckman (1971). For example, when people are working, travelling, suffering through illness, or dying, they narrate their experiences of these phenomena to make sense of their interactions, (Fairclough, 2005; Spicer, 2005; Watson, 1997). We know that these interactions, identities, and the organisations in which these interactions occur are 'real' as we are confronted by the pattern of organisational rules, values, procedures, and expectations. In other words, people come to experience the 'taken for grantedness,' or societal power, which, according to Watson (2009), 'is the outcome of historically grounded processes of human interpretations of the world' (2009:230). Therefore, narratives help us shed light on societal power and a means of rationalising it. Narrative analysis offers a way to understand 'how individuals and groups contribute to the shaping of society but how they are also shaped by the social and cultural world' (Watson 2009:449).

Narrative research does not just rely on a descriptive first-person narrative account. It also requires the researcher or 'protagonist' to interpret the meaning underpinning that account (Riesssman, 1993). As the researcher, it guided my interpretation of events and their connection to the research participants lived experiences; I first have to identify the stories within their storytelling by analysing and interpreting those narrative accounts. Research tools such as coding, categorising, and identifying themes give the researcher the ability to uncover the
meanings behind first-person accounts whilst exposing issues such as power (Gabriel, 1995) and organisational motivations for organising discourse and identity (Gabriel, 1995), even where such power is least observable (Lukes, 2005:1).

By examining how societal discourse influences things like organisations and how this relates to the lived experience of the teller and their relationship with mainstream culture vs subjective realities (Daiute and Lightfoot, 2004: x), we can get to the occluded narratives underlying society or organisations and make sense of people's lived experience (Swales and Freak, 2000). For example, suppose we were to explore the cultural effects and legacy of the colonial experiences in the power dynamics of British society. In that case, we might interrogate the tensions between this identity reality for research participants without 'failing to recognise the indelible imprint of this colonial legacy on their present experience' (Trovao, 2012:264). To do so, we might follow Trovao's (2012) empirical study, which presented a comparative case study of several individuals (75 participants) of Asian ethnicity from both the African and East Asian diasporas living in Britain, and their interpreted 'in-between' status (Bhabha, 1986, 1994), perceived by them to be inseparably linked to the process of negotiation and elaboration within their identity formations. Trovao (2012) examined the narratives of these research participants to uncover strong tropes of competitiveness and hierarchy in the 'discursive production on identity' of her research participants (2012:268). Trovao's research participants are similar to some participants in this study. Due to the East Asian and African diaspora and colonisation, many, particularly those born in the U.K. and, more specifically, of Caribbean descent, have an interpreted identity status that includes rootlessness and unbelonging. Knowledge of these systemic power dynamics in the U.K. context, viewed through CRT, guided my coding and analysis, as I was mindful of these potential examples that might arise from narratives, specifically those of Caribbean descent and those of Indian heritage, such as unbelonging, tokenism or discrimination. Hence, thematic and narrative analysis were used to interrogate the interview data to uncover the dominant and occluded themes and genres.

According to Cunliffe & Coupland (2012), narrative is how we make our lives and ourselves sensible. It is through the embodied (physical and bodily) experiences, such as our emotions, senses, and feelings, that we can express these interpretations and contested narratives and stories of our lived experience (Cunliffe and Coupland, 2012: 64). In organisation studies, narrative is also a way to get at the subjective 'truth' or interpretation of what life is really like for individuals engaging with or in an organisation (Gabriel, 1995:480-
By exploring the roots of narrative within social construction, one can see that narrative enables the researcher and individuals to build and make sense of their world, particularly where their narratives attempt to humanise and impart meaning to impersonal spaces of bureaucratic organisations (Gabriel, 1991) or as a way of reconciling themselves to emotionally challenging experiences. Alternatively, stories give signs and clues leading to the 'truth' or an interpretation of the reality of the individual's life within a particular society or group (Gabriel, 1995:481). Therefore, according to O'Connor (2012), a good narrator makes sense by connecting plotlines in which they plot or imagine themselves in other stories and convincingly narrate the company.

4.3. The role of the researcher

Narrative is the 'reflexive interpretation of social and cultural norms transferred through the dialogue within which the narrative takes place' (Harling Stalker, 2010:595). Within the interviewing process, both the researcher and the researched co-create meaning as they narrate through their dialogue interpretation and meaning or shared understanding of the lived experience. In narrative analysis, co-construction includes exposure to the researcher's own social construction captured through reflexive practice and consists of their own thoughts, feelings, values, and emotions. As the researcher, I consider myself to be part of the narrative process and bring my own experience and feelings to bear on how I present the narration of the thesis as a native autoethnographer, someone who 'blends and bleeds' (Ellis, 2014:116) their narrative with the group being studied.

Reflexivity is taken to be a process by which 'the questioning of the threads of philosophy and methodological certainty are implicit in the goal of mainstream social science to provide an absolute view of the world' (Cunliffe, 2003:984). Thus, the researcher undertakes reflexivity to uncover their ontological and epistemological persuasion and any research bias. Existing literature is used as the secondary data source to explore the area under study. By engaging in reflexivity within my research project and including an autoethnographic account, I accept that I will be making myself vulnerable as the researcher. However, in exploring the research question, it was necessary to open the research up to exploring CRT and issues of prescribed or taken-for-granted identities, including my own as a native autoethnographer within the group under study to expose the social and material consequences brought about by
Autoethnographic research certainly demands that the researcher 'cultivate a reflexive approach' (Jupp, 2006:15) in which life experience is analysed along with the researcher's own subjectivity and can, as further asserted by Jupp (2006), involve the researcher reflecting on 'the various social roles, interactions and processes which resulted in the kinds of observations and conclusions which emerged' (2006:258). As Jupp (2006) argues, reflexivity is 'a process of monitoring and reflecting on all aspects of the research project from the formulation of research ideas through to the publication of findings' (2006:258). Jupp (2006) notes that an integral part of reflexivity in autoethnography is the researcher's closeness to the subject and the data. By combining my personal narrative with those being researched, I sought to erase the boundaries and engage in 'Emotional sociology' between the self and those studied (Bochner and Ellis, 2002). It was also appropriate to consider the relationship with insider research as a native autoethnographer. I reflected on my positionality whilst conceptualising the research and was cognizant of it throughout the research, as reflected in my autoethnographic extracts. I took pains to present myself as a learner to research participants, asking them to elaborate, giving them the knowledge advantage in their storytelling and narratives. As a native autoethnographer and insider researcher who might be perceived to share cultural markers, including language, idiomatic expressions, cultural beliefs, and attitudes (Chereni, 2014), I recognised that this shared understanding created the potential for stories to go untold or meaning to remain unelaborated. I, therefore, used my insider status to carefully check my understanding and re-check my interpretation of meanings by considering the interviews as an opportunity to explore the diversity of understanding and research participants’ lived experiences. An example of this was what research participants understood as a constructed identity of ‘Blackness’ or the construction of their ethnic identity.

According to Tillman (2002), research should consider 'the importance of the researcher having the cultural knowledge to accurately interpret and validate the experiences of the group being investigated 'within the context of the phenomenon under study' (2002:4) and not just concentrate on the researcher being from the same ethnic group. Denzin and Lincoln (2006) argue that the 'diversity and complexity that characterises (marginalised – my inference) people's lives often ignores the impact that age, class, gender, education, and race (shadism - my emphasis), among other variables, might have on the research relationship', (2006:111). This notion is corroborated by several studies, (Brochner, 1997; Chadwick, 2001b). Thus, by
employing a critically reflexive approach to my research, I sought to operationalise self-determination through a negotiated positioning and behaviour, (Denzin, and Lincoln, 2006:117) with the group and how they defined leadership and exercised it in light of the diverse and complex challenges they might face.

Reflexivity requires personal disclosures by the researcher, which constitute the basis for analysis (Doloriert & Sambrook, 2009), so, I have drawn on reflexivity to share some of my experiences where relevant and appropriate to do so. As such, I include reflexive analysis taken from my autoethnographic journal throughout this study to accurately interpret the group's shared narrative and validate their experience for the reader, the unfamiliar circumstances of the group.

`4.3.1. Autoethnography

In this study, aspects of autoethnography are incorporated within the methodology to account for my own first-hand experiences and identity work as a global majority researcher and individual, weaving these within the narrative I compose from the stories of my research participants. Autoethnography is essential in this study as it reflects that I cannot escape or be situated outside my identity as a global majority individual and researcher, nor would I want to be. Furthermore, I share a cultural background similar to some research participants as the researcher. Autoethnography is a term that combines autobiography (life story) and ethnography (the study and recording of human cultures), and there are several different definitions used to describe what it entails. For example, Bryman and Bell (2011) suggest it is 'an autobiographical form of research that is concerned with researching settings where the cultural backgrounds of the observer and observed are shared' (2011:707). However, according to Denzin and Lincoln (2006: 16), autoethnography is a form of 'self-narrative that places the self within a social context'. I have drawn on both the definition suggested by Bryman and Bell (2011), and that of Denzin and Lincoln (2006), as closest to my study. My study explores the issues and challenges of those from African Caribbean, African, Asian, and South-East Asian backgrounds (the observed) experiencing and practicing leadership, which is shared with me as the researcher (the observer). Therefore, these definitions allow me to account for myself as part of this global majority group and co-construct meaning within a particular social context.
This methodological approach, as previously discussed above, offers those who might read the narrative a more profound understanding and tangible emotional experience of what it is like for someone from a 'global majority' cultural identity to exercise leadership in the U.K. whilst critically appraising this against the social context in which those lived experiences have been constructed and have taken place. Autoethnography can relate organisation studies with detective stories. Both prefer a realist style of writing based on an interest in social life (Czarniawska, 1999), as it is built around problem-solving, with the researcher or detective being the central character. The researcher/detective, who is often the invisible narrator of the story, is called on to investigate the situation and provide a solution or use logical reasoning to deduce a theory arising out of the presentation of facts and the emerging plot without being part of it. However, Czarniawska (1999) contends that this is seldom the case in either autoethnographic organisation studies or detective stories (1999). By engaging in the reflexive aspects of autoethnography, the researcher can justifiably explore and expose their experience, beliefs, and socio-cultural and socio-political biases about the research, again being mindful of the influence these might have on the study. I would assert that this explanation of autoethnography aligns with the project's research design as it accurately depicts my role as the native researcher, hoping to narrate the experience of a group in which I have a vested interest.

Autoethnography also involves writing highly personalised text that reflects the flow of thoughts and meanings the individual has related to the cultural, political, and narrative form of ethnographic writing (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013; Watson, 2000). These writers also suggest that autoethnography challenges the conventions of social science by linking it to creative/literary writing, which blends the personal account of the researcher with that of the subject of their study. Therefore, in keeping with Watson, Denzin, and Lincoln (2013), I will include highly personalised reflections of my thoughts and feelings as applied to the narratives of research participants relating to the U.K.'s cultural, political, and social context, as well as its racialised roots and colonial legacy.

There are several empirical examples of the types of autoethnographer and how they use reflexive autoethnography to 'blend and bleed' the boundaries of individualised cultures, intentionality, and its relation to the audience (Brochner and Ellis, 2000). For instance, reflexive ethnographers use reflexive accounts/journals that allow the researcher to reflect critically on their own lived experiences in a particular community. Native autoethnographers’ reflect on their membership in a historically marginalised or exoticized culture. I have adopted the role of native autoethnographer outlined by Denzin and Lincoln (2013: 213), as it appropriately
reflects my membership as part of this historically marginalised or exoticized group. Autoethnography is a way of critically appraising and understanding the socio-political and sociological practices that shape human experiences.

There are many ways in which an autoethnographic study could be presented. These include, in the form of a poem, text, play or other visual forms or personal narratives, as critical autobiographic accounts, offered to audiences. Through these forms, audiences can access the personal, politicised and lived experience of the autoethnographer to understand or make sense of that human experience regardless of whether their lived experience is routine or problematic. Toward the end of the research study, I have included an autoethnographic spoken word poem in keeping with the oral historical nature of my ancestry as a descendant of Windrush migrants of Caribbean descent. The poem attempts to illustrate the central notions of my lived experience as a global majority individual experiencing life in the U.K. as one who has suffered abuse, racism and discrimination, silencing, segregation and unbelonging. However, along with others in the group, resilience, questioning, and faith are empirical examples of a reflexive feature or autoethnography's intuitive nature, as demonstrated in Ellis's (2004) writings about 'genre-bending'.

Ellis explains how she used a fictitious account of her teaching a graduate course on autoethnography as a basis for engaging herself and students in a dialogue for teaching and doing autoethnography. This dialogue generated what Ellis describes as 'creative non-fiction,' blending personalised accounts of her own life with those of her students. Ellis used this method for her students to experience the phenomenon as if it were happening to them (2004:116). Using methodological discourse in creative non-fiction, according to Holman Jones (2005), seeks to create a 'palpable emotional experience' in the reader (2005:767). According to Alexander (2005), this form of autoethnography is performance ethnography, an approach to studying and 'lessening the gap between 'perceived' culture and 'actualised' culture of 'self and the other' (2005:411). Alternatively, as Bochner & Ellis (2002: 739) assert, by using 'the history, social structure and culture', researchers were revealing through their' feeling, thought and language' a way to create that tangible lived experience with the group.

According to Grey & Sinclair (2006), autoethnography allows the researcher to present the research in such a way as to enable the researcher to tackle complex notions such as oppression, inequality, or the exercising of leadership in a form that is accessible. Furthermore, autoethnography allows the researcher to ground complex ideas so those reading, viewing, or
participating in it can gain a narrative understanding that allows for empathy. Grey and Sinclair (2006) argue that this can make the difference between academic papers that are 'complicated and difficult to understand' instead of those written in an autobiographical form that gives students greater confidence in finding diverse ways of writing or expressing themselves (p.447). As asserted by Watson (2000), autoethnography offers the researcher a way of bridging the genre of creative writing and social science and further challenges the researcher to adopt the skills of a fiction writer with the abilities of a researcher, which again allows the co-construction of meaning in this case with the audience.

Autoethnographic research should also include a far-reaching reflexive analysis of the researcher's 'emotions, thoughts and research relationships and leave them vulnerable in the text' (Behar, 1996, in Sage 2005:666). Examples of this should be littered throughout the entire research process and not, as further asserted by Jupp (2006), as 'a collection of afterthoughts on how the project has been accomplished' (2006:258). One very distinctive feature of autoethnographic research is vulnerability. Mary-Louise Pratt (1992) argued that 'vulnerability can be a way, although not exclusively, a mode of self and group representation on the part of colonial subjects, that is informed by representations of them by others, who are more dominant and can be viewed as a form of counter-narrative' (1992:77). Therefore, it is customary for autoethnographers to expose and 'emphasise their own ethnic identity and origins in their life narrative' (Jupp, 2006:15).

One such example of this and how reflexivity exposes the vulnerability of the researcher can be seen in WEB Dubois' (1903,1953) early work on the constructs of 'double consciousness' in which he argues from an African American perspective how he feels regarding his 'two-ness…two souls, two thoughts, two reconciled strivings' (p.5). Dubois critically analyses the swing between the two poles of integration and nationalism as an African American in synthesising the two through an autoethnographic account. These are similar issues that the current research sought to explore, with research participants who had been identified as part of a marginalised group within the context of the U.K. It asked them to make themselves vulnerable by exploring the challenges in exercising leadership brought to them within the U.K due to their cultural identity. According to Fanon (1994), the U.K., which 'because of colonial domination…very soon managed to disrupt the cultural life of a conquered people in spectacular fashion. This cultural obliteration was made possible by the negation of national reality...by expropriation and by the systematic enslaving of men and women' (1994:45).
A considerable proportion of research participants came from the African and Asian diaspora due to the colonisation of their ancestors. Indeed McClintock (1992) argues that the term 'postcolonial' limits us from fully explaining the conditions of hierarchy, hegemony, racism, sexism, and unequal power relations. As part of the global majority group and sharing the same racialised identity (Lowe, 1996) as some research participants, it would be unethical for me not to have made myself vulnerable and share and expose some of my own experiences, thoughts, and emotions in exploring this area of study those found most difficult to tell (Adams and Holman Jones, 2011).

Autoethnography is a means to disrupt the traditional and dominant way research is done and is designed to call attention to issues of power and the structural conditions in which power is exercised (Jupp, 2006). By adopting a reflexive approach to managing these latent ethical dilemmas within autoethnography, the researcher can call on other theoretical frameworks to unpack the context of the individual experience. For example, critical race theory can challenge structural and taken-for-granted power asymmetries within the social order, (Denzin and Lincoln, 2006; Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022; Ladson and Billings, 2000). In addition, critical race theory serves to help us understand and see the 'worldwide oppression against the 'other' and the ability of dominant groups to define the terms of being and non-being...' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2006:285). Autoethnography is, therefore, most effective when it addresses the 'complex and nuanced relationship between the researcher and the researched; dominant and subordinate in the context of individual experience and socio-cultural structures of belief and control' (Jupp, 2006:16).

Autoethnography, alongside a critical race theoretical framework within the research, helps to deconstruct the prescribed or taken-for-granted identities historically ascribed to the group being studied and gives further insight into the challenges individuals in the group face in exercising leadership within the U.K, as well as critically appraising this against the structural socio-context in which those lived experiences have been constructed. It enables a structured but personal way of looking at leadership embodying, such as for example, through hair, racialised and gendered leadership identities.

Providing a critically reflexive account throughout the research as part of my research design and presenting an autoethnographic account taken from my reflective journal extracts has allowed me to blend (co-construct) the complex and nuanced experiences of exercising and experiencing leadership with the construction of my cultural identity. It also enabled my group
membership to be transparent regarding those blended experiences as a researcher. In addition, this methodological approach offers those who might read the narrative a more profound understanding of the tangible emotional experience of what it is like for someone from a 'global majority' identity to exercise and experience leadership in the U.K. Such as the particularly challenging time following the murder of George Floyd on 25th May 2020 during the global pandemic. It seemed like the U.K. went from a society not talking about race to this being fully front and centre on our televisions, on news channels, and enacted in the streets. As a result, more research participants felt empowered to share their stories with me and what went from being a challenging research activity trying to recruit participants suddenly became less so as people made room in their diaries to be interviewed. In addition, more participants came forward via snowball sampling, where research participants suggested others, I could contact interested in being interviewed.

Most importantly, there seemed to be a change in attitude, and it felt right for research participants to talk about their experiences, as painful as some of those accounts were the common ground, they found to engage in collective activism through which they could exercise positive leadership practice and give a voice to this pain. There were also visible expressions of empathy and solidarity from large numbers of White people discussing and expressing the emotive topics of White privilege to a backlash from those on the other side of the fence openly spouting White supremacy, racism, and other neo-fascist discourse. The nation became captivated by statues of enslavers being toppled in Bristol, amongst other places and museums and universities obligated to confront the historical embarrassment of profiting from artefacts linked to the transatlantic slave trade. Ordinary people verbally and loudly dissented about a Black family being depicted in Sainsbury's Christmas advert and the racist trolling experienced by the dance group Diversity because of their public support of the 'Black Lives Matter' movement through the art of dance.

Nevertheless, during this time, I found my voice as it felt necessary to say something in response to the emotional harm and distress unduly caused by an unwitting academic wishing to turn the tragic murder of an American Black man at the hands of the police into an intellectual debate. The academic showed how operational marginalisation of the subaltern could be unwittingly exercised by questioning the solidarity and emotions felt by many global majority students and other academics alike because it did not take place on these shores. Sharing and discussing the lived experience with so many participants and the similar agency in which
research participants practice leadership gave me hope, especially as many felt it was an important thing, I was doing that needed to be done.

Initially, many research participants were mistrusting of discussing their experiences in real depth until they became comfortable with my motives as a researcher. I recognised this was due to the trauma of psychological unsafety and identity threat and the intercultural betrayal several participants had experienced and talked about, which will be discussed in chapter 8. However, my autoethnographic journal was different. It felt like a place where I could capture my emotions, innermost thoughts, and feelings about what I was in receipt of, from what research participants were telling me. I also included my thoughts on what I was soaking up through various media such as social media, television, and general discourse when at work, in social circles, or discussions with friends, acquaintances and family members relevant to my research. My autoethnographic journal also captured how I felt about research participants' narratives related or not to my own lived experiences. It was also a place to capture commentary about the political and social landscape and how this was changing, or not in respect of race and dominant discourse. It was a purposive strategy not to code it and include it with the participant group but instead to use relevant extracts to draw co-constructed meaning and sense-making, including interpreting the occluded narratives underlying the findings, to allow this study's audience to experience the phenomenon as if it were their own.

4.4. Methods

The following section includes an outline of the data collection methods and analytical principles implemented in my fieldwork. I also set out an account of how the methodology guided my choices and a detailed account of the research instruments I used to support my research outcomes.

4.4.1. Data collection procedures

The narrative approach provided me with the scope to use a purposive strategy of two methods for generating data: the use of semi-structured and unstructured interviews with reflective field notes and recordings of impressions, as well as my autoethnography throughout the period. Both forms of interviewing techniques can yield a wealth of information about a complex issue concerning social actors, particularly a person's life experiences, attitudes and
values, and the meanings they bring to make sense of their world. However, as Seale (2004) argues, ‘one of the most compelling advantages of qualitative interviewing is that when it is done well, it can achieve a level of depth and complexity that is not available to other forms of interview techniques such as survey-based approaches’, (2004:182). However, whilst there are many strengths to qualitative interviewing it relies heavily on verbal accounts of events, and as such it can mean that there is also the possibility that things taken-for-granted by the research participant may not come to light during the interview due to distressing experiences they might have tried hard to forget. Thus, qualitative interviewing requires the researcher to critically evaluate their impact and role in undertaking and engaging in the research process throughout, but there is also a need to ensure that those being studied or interviewed do so by giving informed consent. Thus, it is of utmost importance, not only if there is a possibility of disclosures or distress, but when interviewing children or adults who may be vulnerable. Ethical considerations put in place will be discussed later in this chapter.

A semi-structured approach was chosen as my primary method of generating data. Therefore, I devised a semi-structured interview guide (see appendix 1) before I undertook the interviews. This was shaped by the research questions that came primarily from existing literature and the literature review, which guided my identification of the focused topic areas I wished to explore as well as my own experience of leadership and identity within organisations. I considered the topics of identified barriers and challenges and the emancipatory ways marginalised groups might exercise and experience leadership within organisations. I determined to complete an initial interview with each research participant, choosing only to re-interview to check factual information or for points of clarification if needed.

However, whilst most data were gained through semi-structured interviews, other research participants engaged in an unstructured interview, namely a conversation with a purpose (Burgess, 1984). Unstructured interviews were prompted by an open question that allowed research participants to talk freely. Whilst this happened spontaneously, during the research interview, I was happy for this to happen as a conversation with a purpose type interview as it allowed participants to explore what leadership meant to them. By only pursuing points that seemed significant, I was able to get to the taken-for-granted identity issues inherent in their narratives. Two interviews were collected using this interviewing format. For example, a senior female university lecturer felt that faculty leaders had taken for granted her ‘workhorse’ status.
During the interview process and having familiarised myself with the five tenets of CRT, I was also listening out for any racial and gender issues that might be identified by research participants, which was guided by my reading of critical race and feminist theorists such as hooks, 1991; Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022; and Mohanty, 2003. As a result, some of the emerging themes were perceived to be connected to the financial struggles linked to colonialisation, enslavement, and rootlessness experienced particularly by British-born Caribbean research participants in the U.K.

The semi-structured and unstructured interviews took place face-to-face or via video conferencing technology except one, which was conducted via the telephone due to severe weather on the date arranged for the interview. During the early part of data collection, I conducted semi-structured and unstructured interviews in the workplaces or homes of participants. However, the COVID pandemic meant that all face-to-face fieldwork interviews conducted during lockdowns or heavier restrictions took place online. All interviews except one were audio-recorded and complete transcripts of the interviews were produced by me. The length of interviews ranged from 49 minutes to 4:17 hours, the longest being a conversation with a purpose (Burgess, 1984) at 11,615 words (23 pages) to the shortest at 5,897 words (12 pages).

Alongside the audio recordings, I took detailed field notes containing handwritten notes of the interview. These notes contained my recording of non-verbal communication and impressions of body language. Participant’s presentation, the research environment, and particular phrases I wished to recall because of the colloquial meanings they might have across the group and my reflections on the interview. My role as the researcher were also noted. Entries varied from short paragraphs of these impressions to several pages. In addition to my fieldwork notes, I kept autoethnographic notes that I made on regular occasions, sometimes daily or when an opportune discussion with individuals or groups touched on the research subject I wanted to capture. I also recorded my reflections on my identity within organisations and as part of the group.

Generating stories through a narrative approach is viewed as a negotiated interaction – a co-construction between the interviewee and interviewer (Taylor, 2008). My reflections allowed me to step back and bring to the fore some of my own unconscious biases and how I was experiencing the research process. Recording my impressions allowed me to reflect on how I felt and how I might also affect the research participants in my role as the researcher. For
example, some participants' stories made me reflect on similar experiences I had in organisations, while others emotionally impacted me. I would often return to my autoethnographic journal as I gained new insight into my research or if I were grappling with my unconscious bias and assumptions or my motivation, feelings, and emotions. This helped me process my thinking. Clarke et al. (2015) posited that emotions are intrinsically linked to power, politics, gender, class, race, and voice as 'emotions are never privately owned but found in the relational activity' (2015:17). Reflecting on my emotions and those of the observed helped me uncover examples of where particular aspects of Eurocentric culture and social norms are reproduced and privileged over others. I was also able to link where particular aspects of dominant culture and norms are resisted and identities re-constructed Clarke et al., (2015).

The benefit of keeping an autoethnographic journal was instrumental in preventing the emotional work invested in the research from becoming 'acontextual', helping me to link my emotions and those of the research participants to concepts and the contexts in which they were being felt to show as argued by Clarke et al., (2015); 'how emotions can never be absent, neutral or apolitical' (2015:7).

My autoethnographic journal totalled 87 pages of handwritten notes (approx. 16,008 word-equivalent to typed-up text). Extracts of my autoethnography are weaved throughout the thesis but more specifically as part of the chapter summaries to 'evoke the complex and nuanced relationship between the subjective experience of participants and the structural conditions in which their lives take place' (Reed-Danahay & (ed.),1997:16). My fieldwork and autoethnographic journals contained 226 pages of handwritten notes (approx. 57,856 words) and longhand impressions.

4.4.2. Research participants

Due to the low representation of global majority individuals in leadership within the U.K, I gathered a purposive sample of global majority individuals (those from Black African, Caribbean, Asian and South-East Asian ethnic origins/descent) who self-identified as leaders. Individuals who worked in a senior/middle or senior leadership role within public, private, community sector, or faith-based organisations. I was able to identify research participants due to my membership in a national Black and Asian leadership development forum, so I could target individuals who matched the research criteria. My purposive sample also included those whose organisations identified them as leaders or having leadership potential. Research
participants were contacted via email sent through the sector's staff college that hosted the Black and Asian Leadership forum to its networks. The network included multiple organisations in the public and community sectors. The sample included male and female individuals across the age range of 18-65+, split 80:20 in terms of women to men. To participate in the study, up to 200 potential participants were approached directly or through this gatekeeping organisation. I anticipated that up to 40 interviews would be conducted with primarily U.K.-based participants. I considered that this would be a sufficient number due to the individuals chosen all work, or have worked, within a U.K. public, private or community sector organisation and due to the lack of global majority individuals in senior leadership positions across many sectors.

During the initial stages of the research, I sent an invitation and online questionnaire (see Appendix 5) to participants through a national leadership and development programme specifically aimed at Black and Asian leaders. The primary purpose of the online questionnaire was to gather demographic information about the group and from which to select a purposive sample. However, snowball sampling (Bryman A, 1999; Venter et al., 2005) involving research participants contacting others relevant to the research topic was also used due to access difficulties, as individuals were dispersed throughout the country. Snowball sampling also negated the need to go through gatekeeping organisations that could not or were unwilling to grant direct access to research participants.

One of the difficulties I found in identifying individuals from the required background and experience was due to the experience of being disadvantaged and marginalised - a common issue reported for global majority individuals or researchers seeking access to other global majority individuals. Often, global majority individuals choose not to identify their ethnicity in organisation monitoring tools for fear of being further disadvantaged, as argued by (Bush et al., 2006; Singh, 2002). It, therefore, proved a slow process to gain access to research participants. As a result, a further research flyer was designed and disseminated to encourage individuals who had already taken part in the research to recruit other suitable participants (see appendix 4). The research flyer yielded some self-selecting participants who responded to the invitations to take part.

During the first phase of gathering research participants, thirty-eight completed the online questionnaire, with eighteen opting to be interviewed in the second stage. Following further purposive and snowball sampling, which included sending numerous emails to various
Black workers' support groups and individuals, eighty-one people completed the online questionnaire. Twenty then committed to being interviewed and completed a recorded interview with me.

Due to the global pandemic, the U.K. lockdown meant that all face-to-face fieldwork ceased in March 2020. However, this pause allowed me to individually recontact respondents who had initially opted in to see if I could spark some interest in them reconsidering being interviewed via Zoom, Microsoft Teams or even telephone. I again sent out a follow-up email with an attached research information flyer. I followed this up with a telephone contact to see if I could re-engage participants who had previously consented to being interviewed. Before this, I had been able to transcribe the interview data of the first eleven interviews, which allowed me to review my interview schedule and reflect on my interviewing style and how I might generate richer responses through 'conversations with a purpose' (Burgess, 1984). My persistence paid off as during April and early May 2020, I was able to interview a further fifteen participants using Zoom in all but one case, where due to connectivity issues, we conducted the interview using mobile phones.

In total, thirty-five (35) global majority individual participants were interviewed—all educated to degree level, with two having post-graduate qualifications. The research participants comprised 13 (37%) men and 22 (63%) women, which is broadly reflective of the U.K. national statistics of minoritised leaders in organisations (Geer & Jarman, 2010). All research participants were in the age range between 18 – 65+ and were working or had worked in a UK-based organisation in either a public, private, commercial or voluntary sector. The table below represents a more detailed profile breakdown of research participants and how they identified their cultural identity:
Table 1. Profile of Global Majority Research Participants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Sample No.</th>
<th>Total sample size percentage</th>
<th>Black African</th>
<th>Black British</th>
<th>Caribbean Indian</th>
<th>Mixed Background</th>
<th>Middle Eastern</th>
<th>Unsure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>4 (12%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (5.5%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>1(3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>1(3%)</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>7 (21%)</td>
<td>2 (5.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8(24%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, due to identity complexity some participants identified as having mixed, multiple identities and described themselves as Black-British with Caribbean influences and were therefore unsure how to categorise themselves. This unique aspect of identity is discussed later in this thesis (Chapter 8.3).

4.4.3. Analysis

As the research is based on research participants' semi-structured, unstructured interview data and my autoethnography, it was necessary to choose an analytical approach to analyse both talk and text. Analysing both talk and text is possible using a narrative, thematic approach. I employed an inductive analytical stance to generate new or modify existing theory (Awuzie & McDermott, 2017), rather than to fit a pre-existing theoretical framework to respond to my research question. My guiding principle was analysis-in-context to acknowledge the broader context in which an individual's leadership and identity are constructed (Juzwik, 2006).

Narrative analysis helps the researcher examine a story and analyse 'how' it is put together and how it draws on certain linguistic features and social and cultural resources. In addition, narrative analysis asks why the story was told in that way. According to Riessman (1993), narratives require a level of interpretation to understand the narrative's meaning. I am providing some commentary on Riessman's framework approaches used in my analytical approach as the following delineates the general types of analysis used in my research study.
and describes how they are relevant to the research questions. I understood that each form of narrative analysis focuses on different elements, and the boundaries can sometimes be blurred (Riessman, 1993), yet the goal of narrative analysis is to understand the individual's experience and how he/she interprets them relating to the socio-cultural context. I supplement Riessman's framework with the works of other writers where applicable.

4.4.3.1. Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis emphasises the content of a text: 'what' is said and what is 'told' rather than 'how' the 'telling' of the story is performed. This approach has a philosophical and conceptual underpinning, which seeks to generate meaning from collected stories to find common thematic threads across research participants narratives (Riessman, 2003). This analytical approach is relevant for responding to the research question as I scrutinised the research participants' narratives in relation to the social and cultural context. As the analysis continued, I developed thematic maps to move in an iterative process between abstract constructs and concrete data.

4.4.3.2. Structural analysis

Structural analysis focuses on the 'telling' of the story and the 'way' in which it is told through the methods selected by the teller to make the story persuasive. For example, how the use of syntax and how linguistic elements (words and grammar) are put together to form constituents (phrases or clauses) and prosodic (rhythmic or intonational) features of talk (Riessman, 2004).

One such example of structural analysis is Labov & Waletzky's (1967) approach. In this approach, Labov and Waletzky assert that narratives follow a chronological and sequential order of events that move linearly through a particular time. For example, in western traditions, the use of 'entry and exit talk' (Daiute, Lightfoot, & (Eds), 2004:8) in narration, such as 'Once upon a time' is used to denote both the beginning of a story and links it to the past. Likewise, 'They live happily ever after' signifies the story's end, future, or exit. Used in bedtime stories, this is a familiar example to many of us to influence recall and convey a moral point. Structural analysis reflects the cultural and developmental tools within a narrative analysis, which lends
itself to identifying dominant discourses or master narratives embedded within values and beliefs which profoundly influence identity development.

Labov and Waletzky (1967) also contend that a structural approach that mirrors storytelling's order and linear pattern would be the best way to analyse narrative. Clauses (narrative clause conveys the meaning) in personal experience narratives are characteristically ordered in temporal sequence (Labov & Waletzky, 1967: 360-363) and, as such, relates the social characteristics of narrators with the deep semantic structure (the evaluative clause, the why or reason) of the personal experiences being told. Labov and Waletzky (1967) further suggest that if the structural order is changed in any way, this has implications for the original purpose of the narrative, which would be altered and would result in a different interpretation and could convey a different meaning.

Therefore, Labov and Waletzky (1967) developed what is considered a paradigmatic model (see figure 1), in which they suggest that all 'fully formed' narratives include six standard elements. Furthermore, Labov and Waletzky (1967) argued that each of these elements has a specific purpose in allowing the teller to construct a story for direct experience and persuade the listener or reader of the significance of events and their authenticity (1967:219-247). This model is illustrated in figure 1 below, as this approach was broadly used as a research tool to help identify the stories within participants' narratives. I provide more details on how I go about this in section 4.5.3. below.

**Figure. 1: Based on the six common elements of Labov & Waletzky's 1967 Structural Approach to Narrative Analysis**

The abstract/prelude aims to locate the story or set the scene within a context giving a background to the story about to be told.
The storyline or scenario catapults the reader or listener to a place or time where the story takes place. It may introduce the main characters or social actors and their importance or role in the story.

The order of events or plot depicts the actions and events and is the main body of the story. Its purpose is to inform the audience (reader/listener) about what has occurred and the various twists and turns of the story.

The climax or finale of the action reveals what the narrator is thinking and how the story's co-construction can come about. This might be where the audience, central antagonist, or the narrator (the researcher) poses a question that the narrative analysis seeks to answer. According to Labov and Waletzky (1967), the climax or finale includes a resolution/evaluation of the emotional content as to why the story is being told and worth telling and is the interpretation of the narrative analysis.

The epilogue, also known as a coda, is the concluding phase that summarises the narrative and seeks to bring the past into the future (Daiute and Lightfoot, 2004: xi).

Structural analysis is valuable in delineating how a teller 'tells' a story. I used it to broadly identify the structure of stories within participants' narratives by applying the six common elements of the model as I read and analysed participants' transcriptions. An illustration of how I have used structural analysis to identify the whole stories within participants' narratives can be found in appendix 5. In addition, the preliminary analysis of the same extract is presented in Appendix 5.

The danger is that deconstructing or decontextualising the narrative could result in any historical, interactional, or institutional factors being ignored (Riessman, 2004). Critics of Labov and Waletzky's model have also noted that it is westernised in its approach to structuring stories that may not reflect how some research participants in the group tell their stories. These criticisms were valid for my study in that it was often difficult to identify research participants' stories in such a structured form, as the narratives were often devoid of clear beginnings or endings. Research participants also relied on proverbs and colloquial sayings to convey meaning, making assumptions about me as a native autoethnographer being able to fill in any missing detail in their stories. When this occurred, I adapted my approach and asked research participants to explain the meaning as if I was not from the same cultural group.
4.4.3.3. Interactional analysis

Interactional analysis seeks to analyse the dialogic process between the teller and the listener and is suitable for a constructionist approach that acknowledges the role of the researcher as a co-constructor of meaning in the research process. The focus is on the co-production of collective meaning, where the teller's social reality is inserted into the question-and-answer exchange. This form of analysis is helpful for relational studies between speakers in diverse field settings and the research interview itself (Jupp, 2006:188). For example, in narrative exchanges between consultant and patient in medicine or social care between the social work practitioner and their service user. However, as an approach in its strictest form, an interactional analysis may not be suitable for this study as it is limited to the microanalysis of language and interaction, representing speech as transcribed.

Furthermore, this form of analysis cannot thoroughly examine the communication associated with gestures and other visual displays enacted and embodied in non-verbal communication strategies, which usually typifies the communication strategies employed by group members under study (Riessman, 2004). However, it was helpful where it was essential to acknowledge and include the voice of the researcher demonstrating the 'bleeding and blending' (Ellis, 2014:116) of any co-constructed narrative performativity as in the co-constructed story of the regional nursing manager, who was responding to a point made by me about tokenism (section 7.2.). It was also valuable to systematise my reflexive insights within the broader narrative of findings, which I will explain in greater detail below.

4.4.3.4. Performative analysis

Performative Analysis extends the interactional approach beyond the spoken word and involves the audience through language, gesture, listening and viewing the storytelling as a performance. This also extends to and includes written text. Performative analysis can range from a dramaturgic or dramatic composition to a narrative praxis (Jupp, 2006:188). The primary purpose of this is to evoke a performance in the mind of the audience so that they analyse the positioning of the storyteller, as well as the communication practices such as reading, writing, speaking, and visual media, amongst other things, used by the narrator to involve the audience in the construction of their identity. A performative analysis is helpful for the detailed study of identity construction. Therefore, it helped me examine how research
participants constructed their identities by how they communicated this to me as the researcher. Indeed, it will also be a valuable approach to invite the reader as the ultimate audience of this PhD thesis to analyse the performance of my own constructed identity as a (re)presentation of global majority participants’ feelings of unbelonging and rootlessness as captured in the data. An example of this performative analysis is offered in chapter 12 (12.3) as part of the epilogue of this PhD.

4.4.3.5. Genre analysis

A genre is defined as a 'social action' and a language event with communicative goals. It is where members of a group share patterns of structure, style, and content for a purpose within a particular discourse community (Hyland, 2004). For example, an academic genre in a research community would use communicative events like research articles or dissertations that follow an accepted structure to communicate information or knowledge to a particular audience.

Genres are characterised by two defining features (Bhatia, 1993; Swales, 1990). First, that genre has integrity, which makes it acceptable to members of a particular community, as they all understand the genre's implicit and explicit goals. Second, it follows the accepted structure and intercommunication methods associated with the genre (Swales, 1990). According to Swales & Freak (2004), Genres are both open and accessible to everyone, whilst others might be occluded (hidden). Genres that are 'open' are visible to the public, such as those published or presented in plays, dramas, or organisation reports. Others can be occluded or support hidden ones within an organisation or societal structures.

Gabriel (1991) posited that three major genres emerge within organisation stories: the epic, the tragic and the comic, as well as other hybrid sub-genres. Gabriel concludes that stories and narrative genres in organisations provide a way of understanding meaning and purpose in organisational life. They should also be understood as a cathartic outlet for emotions and a way of conquering the pain, powerlessness, suffering, and hardship of events, amplifying these to impart meaning and messages (1991:430). Therefore, genre analysis presents a way to explore and uncover both dominant genres (open ones) and occluded genres that are more hidden from view. For example, the use of micro sleights and micro-aggressive practices within Western organisations, which are subtle forms of racism and racist narratives that to the White gaze may
appear inconsequential 'banter,' but to the victim is a genre of tragedy which is often occluded and oppressive.

Genre analysis is an attractive approach as it can present the stories of research participants as a performance of their everyday lives through characterisation, sense-making, experience, feeling, plot, and narration. It also offers valuable insight into subjectivity in the workplace and identity formation within the context of broader societal structures and practices. Furthermore, it is a process by which several samples of a particular genre within texts are grouped together to represent how narrative is used to respond to a recurring situation and analyse similar and different purposes (McMahon & Watson, 2011). For example, in the findings, the genres of epic tragedy and satirical comedy are presented, where several participants across the group talk about the cold side and shadowlands of organisations which many of them respond to by self-isolating or using humour as a coping mechanism.

The following section details the specific elements of narrative analysis, employed as outlined above, to generate central organising concepts (Braun and Clarke, 2019) as well as forging connections through personal reflexivity to socio-political structures and personal events to reimagine lives and make them more meaningful to others (Riessman, Kohler, 2017:7).

4.5. The development of coding themes and preliminary data analysis

4.5.1. Preliminary data analysis

I undertook an initial data analysis of eight transcribed interviews, which uncovered first, some second and third-order codes that emerged from the data through an iterative process. Thus, the preliminary data began to identify people's concepts of leadership, identity formation, and how marginalised groups dealt with organisational and societal culture. Phase one was a lengthy process that I continued once I had completed the transcription of all fieldwork interviews. I expected more codes and themes to emerge as I interrogated the data further.

The following section details steps taken to identify themes emerging from the data and how I have approached the coding. A more detailed analysis of the phases is summarised in the table below and in the following paragraphs.
Table 2. Summary of coding and analytical approach.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Outcome/Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1</td>
<td>Completing a literature review and using this to identify deductive themes.</td>
<td>Deductive and textual analysis</td>
<td>Development of first and second-order codes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transcribing Interview recordings using an iterative approach</td>
<td></td>
<td>Macro-level detail of lived experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 2</td>
<td>Generating and grouping themes to build central organising concepts</td>
<td>Reflexive thematic analysis</td>
<td>Themes such as:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Cold and Frozen side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Shadowlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- The hard knocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Personifications and enactments of GM leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 3</td>
<td>Identification of stories and evocative narrative quotes</td>
<td>Structural analysis</td>
<td>- See Appendix 5 for example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 4</td>
<td>Weaving and blending the narratives and autoethnographic accounts to co-construct sensemaking and meaning</td>
<td>Genre analysis; Identifying dominant genres and themes</td>
<td>Such as Epic drama, Comedy, Tragedy and Horror as well as occluded themes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>See Appendix 7 for empirical examples</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
4.5.2. Development of coding themes

Once the fieldwork data was collected and transcribed, I then proceeded to use NVIVO software to help code and organise my data. This first phase was long and arduous as it involved conducting fieldwork interviews and transcribing them, which I did manually and using transcription software. After transcribing the interviews, I read the interview transcripts in detail. I went through each transcript individually to code words that emerged which felt significant, being mindful also of the emotional content of the narratives to achieve an understanding beyond that which the verbal perspective alone could not provide. I used first-order prompts as shown in Table 2 above, stemming from my research questions and deductive analysis of the relevant literature and the interview briefs to organise first-order codes (Knights and Clarke, 2013) and as a way to explore the research question further. It allowed me to interrogate the textual data of each interview transcription and code them into categories. I used the word and frequency search tool, and once satisfied that I had saturated coding data (meaning I could no longer identify novel codes), I began the thematic analysis of my data to uncover abstract constructs and concrete data to evidence shared themes. The use of first-order or high-order themes (Knights and Clarke, 2014), alongside deductive analysis, for example, (leadership, cultural identity, challenges, and opportunities) were used to develop the second-order codes. A frequency analysis of the data was also used as a deeper processing tool of the first-order codes to capture any other emerging themes beneath these higher-order codes. The purpose of which was to begin analysis of the macro-level detail against which participants shaped their identities and any taken for 'grantedness' (Chia, 2003;100) or underlying rules of the organisations in which they worked. Examples of these are where research participants identified the concepts of ‘a workhorses’ as a taken for granted feature of organisation narratives or the invisibility of White leadership as a taken for granted norm as discussed throughout the Findings (Chapters 6 and 7). Open-ended questions allowed for flexibility so that participants could shape the narrative from which inductive themes were drawn.

Further themes explored included the meaning of leadership, culture and cultural upbringing and influence. I also explored leadership practice, opportunities, and challenges. The deductive analysis in conjunction with words like 'Black,' 'ethnic,' and 'marginalised groups' and the U.K. was used to draw out the concept of leadership; and the types of leadership practice participants found challenging or to which they aspired to emulate. Commonly
recurrent themes like 'challenges,' 'opportunities', and 'cultural identity.' were also other first-order codes which I used to order the data.

I continued to use NVIVO software through an iterative process, resulting in concepts that have helped organise and manage the data (Knights and Clarke, 2013). The iterative process of coding the interview data allowed me to identify deductive and inductive themes through each transcript, highlighting significant words and recognising patterns and word frequency used by two or more research participants. I then went through the data manually, combing each transcript by hand to identify each story, I turned to structural analysis, broadly using Labov and Waletzky's (1967) structural analysis to identify stories to uncover whole stories within the participant's narratives.

In addition, co-construction with research participants emerged as the shared themes and stories emerged and were interpreted by linking my own lived experiences similar to those across the group. Here, the significance of adopting a critical race theoretical lens supported this process as I was able to scrutinise textual data and the emerging stories and the circumstances of their production and developed a unique understanding and interpretation for comparison across the interviews. For example, I was able to recognise CRT tenets in the feelings of the group being measured by a different yardstick and the normalisation of racism resulted in feeling silenced and powerless due to marginalisation. Where data emerged that was uncommon or significant to me, these codes were also included for further examination, such as 'self-isolation', a novel phenomenon not previously highlighted in existing literature.

4.5.3. Structural data analysis

The second phase was to broadly use Labov and Waletzky's structural analysis model (1967: 365-370) to identify the individual stories within the interview data, which is part of a narrative analytical approach. The prelude was identified by analysing the interview data to see if I could identify the beginning of a story or context-setting words used by participants. The storyline or scenario was established by asking myself questions about 'who was involved?' 'Was there a time period?' and 'What events happened? and what were the complicating factors which led to answering not only the order of events but also allowed for the climax or finale of action. The resolution stage was identified as the final coda and was determined by what interpretation or meaning the story's narrator applied to the event (the
researched and researcher). I used the epilogue to co-construct meaning by recording the non-verbal communication and my impressions about the performance of the story by the participant and uncovering the occluded organisational narratives underlying the reasons why the story had been told. I aimed to discover 'what their experience and viewpoints were (whether real, observed or imagined) and how the unseen constructs of existing power structures have consequences on their lives' (Bhasker, 1978:13). An empirical example of structural analysis is found in Appendix 5. Where appropriate, I have used my autoethnographic insights and merged these into the analysis, offering a more detailed reflexive evaluation of assumptions, my positioning and my experiences after sections of the findings that resonated with my lived experience as a native autoethnographic researcher. I see the whole thesis as a narrative, and as such, I assume the role of narrator. Therefore, the presentation of my final thesis is an attempt to broadly mirror Labov and Waletzky's structural analysis model (1967: 365-370) in keeping with my onto-epistemological stance as a co-constructed work of leadership and identity. I do this by offering a prelude (Foreword) introducing the societal context in which global majority individuals live and practice leadership through to the organisation milieus in which they experience power relations that are institutionalised and legitimised through language, structures, rules, and regulations (Pettigrew, 1977), Chapters 2 and 3 orientates the reader to the many complicating factors about to unfold and the underlying invisibility of Whiteness and operationalised marginalisation. Chapter 5-10 offers the reader an insight into the characters and plotlines peppered with empirical examples and scripts by global majorities as both objects and actors illustrating their experience and practice of leadership in these contested spaces. Narrated in places through my voice to engage the audience in the performance actively and offered as an appraisal by way of interpretation is my autoethnographic extracts.

4.5.4. Thematic data analysis

The third phase was to undertake a thematic analysis of the interview transcripts, which I could generate according to the stories and particular patterns of shared meaning across the dataset. I thematically examined the interview transcriptions to generate the grand themes from what was said by research participants enabling a window into the world within which the group exists to gain an understanding of the historical and structural features of a socio-cultural system underlying the organisations in which they worked. I did this manually as I read and
re-read the interview transcripts to feel familiar with and immersed in the data. I was aware of striving to be fully 'cognisant of the philosophical sensibilities and theoretical assumptions' (Braun and Clarke, 2019:594) informing my use of reflexive thematic analysis. This process allowed me to generate and organically group the themes into core concepts based on my knowledge of the literature, my experience, and the details of participants' data. Final 'central organising concepts' (Braun and Clarke, 2019:593) were inductively discovered as they emerged from the data, and I felt that on reading and re-reading the interview transcripts, I was left with a saturation of data where the participants shared meaning through their experiences and stories, organised around these central organising concepts (See Fig 3 below).

Figure. 3 Manual Draft of Thematic Analysis

The fourth stage of my analytic approach involved pulling out empirical examples from the participants' stories to illustrate these central constructs of meaning and assigning them to each central organising concept that would offer the reader the greatest opportunity to be actively engaged in the lived and shared experience of participants. An example of my thematic approach can be found in Appendix 6.
4.5.5. Genre analysis

The final stage of my analytical approach is presented in the discussion as the shared story's weaving and blending (co-construction). Through this qualitative research study, both the known and unknown genres and themes were made visible, including occluded themes inherent within organisations as experienced and practiced within the U.K.

Genres feature highly in organisations and the analysis of data. Genres in this study unearth the context and dominant norms operating within the contested spaces of organisations. Themes make sense of the underlying and occluded organisational narratives and nuanced experiences of research participants. Therefore, before presenting the analytical details, I summarise the dimensions of the dominant genres and themes illustrated throughout the analysis in the following table. In addition, I have supplemented Gabriel's categories outlined in section 4.5.3 above with the horror genre as it emerges strongly in this study.

Finally, the epilogue seeks co-presence with research participants in their 'chorus of discordant voices (and images)' (Denzin N. K., 2008:6) concerning their place in our collective imaginations of the U.K. and the leadership and identity literature.
Table 3. Gabriel's categorisation of dominant organisation genres and supplemented research genres and themes used in the thesis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dominant Organisation Genres</th>
<th>Epic</th>
<th>Tragedy</th>
<th>Comedy</th>
<th>Horror</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The epic story centres on the battles and contests or good triumphing over something considered bad/evil. It is about the agency of the social actor to resolve or avert a crisis personally. It inspires courage and demonstrates resilience.</td>
<td>The tragic story engenders pity for the victim brought about by misfortune</td>
<td>Comedy is used to unearth misfortune and uncover occluded organisational narratives that would otherwise be silenced and hidden which are addressed using jokes and humour</td>
<td>A genre exposing intense feelings of fear, shock or disgust linked to the agency of poor leaders, organisational norms of dominant leadership behaviour and inhospitable milieus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emergent Themes</th>
<th>Heroizing</th>
<th>Marginalisation</th>
<th>Satire</th>
<th>Atrocities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sacredness</td>
<td>Invisibility</td>
<td>Irony</td>
<td>Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Power</td>
<td>Isolation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Regulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Faith/Hope</td>
<td>Social reproduction</td>
<td></td>
<td>Racism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occluded themes and genres</th>
<th>Invisibility of Whiteness</th>
<th>Self-isolation</th>
<th>Dark-humour</th>
<th>Over-monitoring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White Solipsism</td>
<td>Rootlessness</td>
<td>Micro-sleights/Micro-aggressive practices</td>
<td>Fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hidalguismo</td>
<td>Unbelonging</td>
<td></td>
<td>Intercultural disconnection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hypervisibility</td>
<td></td>
<td>Intracultural betrayal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Organisation induced trauma and stress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.6. Ethical considerations

The research includes primary data and has sought the views of human participants. Therefore, it has warranted several ethical considerations. These include informed consent of participants to opt-in or withdraw from participating in the research and the protection of personal data. Consideration has been given to the principles set out in the British Psychological Society's Ethical Principles for Conducting Research with Human Participants (2010) and the British Sociological Association Statement of Ethical Practice (2002). These codes outline expectations for undertaking research, such as professional integrity, respect for confidentiality and respect for participant's autonomy, dignity, and the social responsibility of undertaking research. In addition, this research gained approval from the Open University Ethics Panel (HREC No 2015/2143).

In protecting the anonymity of all participants, I have sought to minimise any potential harm to research participants by anonymising personal research data as soon as received and ensuring confidentiality so that participants will be protected from any harmful impact of participating in the research process. I have used pseudonyms instead of actual names or have anonymised participants through a specific identification code. Fictitious place names were also employed in this study, so organisations or areas where participants lived or worked could not be identified. Due to the lack of individuals at such senior levels within organisations, it would be easy to identify research participants if organisations or place names had been used. Participants expressed the importance that they or their specific organisations should not be identifiable. In understanding the career-limiting potential that this may have presented and wanting participants to trust my integrity to do them no harm, whether personally or occupationally, I felt comfortable assuring their data would be anonymised.

Consideration of the potential emotional harm that research participants could be exposed to in reliving negative interactions and experiences was dealt with by debriefing participants following the interview. I also consider this in relation to my feelings and the potential for emotional harm that I might experience from what I might hear. Careful consideration about what I would share through reflexivity and researching with feeling (Cunliffe, 2003) helped me unpack any adverse effects captured in my fieldwork journals.

I transcribed in-depth interviews and sent these back to interview participants to check the accuracy and allow a cooling-off period so participants could decide if they were happy to
continue to consent for their data to be used. For example, following one interview, the participant was concerned about sharing too much personal data. Therefore, I agreed that examples potentially identifying the person, or their family were removed. However, another participant consented to be interviewed as long as this was recorded manually and not via electronic means. Therefore, only handwritten notes were made of that particular interview. The audio recordings of interviews, including transcription and participant contact data, are kept on a password-protected server to which I have exclusive access.

In recognising the trauma in some of the participant's narratives, I used my social work training and research principles to avoid harming research participants and discussed sources of support following each interview. In addition, all research participants had access to my contact number and O.U. Office details to discuss anything that worried them about the interview content or research process.

I kept a handwritten ethnographic fieldwork journal throughout the research process, where I also captured my autoethnographic impressions and notes. I keep this in a locked filing cabinet drawer, of which I am the only key holder. The ethnographic journal was used to make detailed notes of the interviews, recorded at the time, to support my memory and as a backup in unclear or inaudible digital recordings or where any participant was reluctant to be recorded. At the end of each interview, I also used process recording techniques to capture my impressions of the main themes and powerful narratives I noted at the time of each interview. This was valuable in capturing my impressions of the non-verbal communications I was in receipt of from the research participant or where repeated words and phrases started to emerge as relevant across the group.

4.7. Chapter Summary

I have outlined the narrative methodology used in this research which explores how global majority individuals experience and practice leadership in a U.K. context. I set out the onto-epistemological position underpinning the research and posited how a critical race theoretical lens would assist in exploring the research aims through an interpretive epistemology most aligned to the onto-epistemological stance. I justify the rationale for conducting a qualitative autoethnographical study employing semi-structured interviews and reflexive engagement to generate data. Using semi-structured interviews, I explored the
personal narratives and discourse of how global majority leadership identity is socially constructed and liable to change by the meanings and shared understanding participants bring to these social phenomena (Becker, 1969; Berger and Luckman, 1966; Shotter, 1993). Semi-structured interviews worked well as they allowed me to gather rich data from 35 research participants to conceptualise and analyse the practice associated with the research focus. Interviews have begun to shed light on the 'important ingredients in the constitution of collective identities and in the work of leadership' (Ospina and Su, 2009), such as the notions of unbelonging, disconnection and rootlessness. I justified a mix of narrative data and reflexive autoethnography as suitable for generating data in a co-construction with participants. I described an iterative and gradual approach concerning the data analysis. I stated my intention to draw broadly on thematic and narrative analysis of highly personal accounts to unpack the fine-grained detail of participants' experiences and enactments of leadership and identity construction. I moved on to consider the ethical issues related to researching marginalised groups and the emotional harm and vulnerabilities that emotive research topics can unearth and reflect on the research procedures. I proposed being a native autoethnographer as a suitable research identity, and mode for offering a deeper understanding and corporeal, emotional engagement with the research as seen from the perspective of one that shares the same cultural background and vulnerabilities with research participants.
Chapter Five: Findings

The findings are presented over five chapters and address the research questions outlined in section 1.5 of this thesis. Chapter five opens with a prelude giving an overview of the organisational milieu in which leadership practices are enacted, connecting the societal context and enacted leadership behaviours within organisations, addressing RQs from the first-hand accounts of the research participants. Secondly, in chapter six, I explore the professional challenges identified from the thematic analysis and offer insight and an in-depth interpretation of the genes, themes, and themes from the research data, alluding to the organisations' cold, frozen, and dark shadowlands filled with atrocities and identity control. Chapters seven to nine of the findings analyse the personal struggles experienced by participants as they develop and construct a leadership identity within these contested spaces, further revealing occluded themes such as Organisational Induced Trauma and Stress (OiTS). Findings of intercultural betrayal and disconnection amplify these research participants' personal and specific leadership challenges. Finally, chapter ten closes the findings by analysing global majority individuals' characterisations and enactments of leadership. I identify how participants’ identities go through a shaping, undoing, and reshaping within societal and organisational milieus due to their experiences of leadership and perceived leader/follower behaviour and their own responses to these, such as through pioneering, resilient and relational leadership practices, which emerge through their struggles in these inhospitable terrains.

5.1. A prelude to the UK – A colonised societal context

As the narrator, I have sought to weave together the research participants’ narratives to represent and enable the story about this group and how their experiences have shaped their leadership practice and identity construction. Firstly, for the reader to make sense of the epic drama and significance of the stories as they unfold, a prelude follows that gives some insight into the broader societal context in which the leadership and identity of global majority individuals have been shaped.

In presenting a view of the broader UK societal context, I am deliberately using the language of writers like Gilroy, 1987, 1992; David Olusogo, 2016 and others to convey, until recently, the untold history of global majority individuals living and working within its shores.
(Olusoga, 2016). This literary technique is employed to communicate a sense of the illusion and romanticism of colonised children with the ‘Motherland’ and the shattered dreams evolving from the tales and narratives of research participants. My use of a more literary style of writing here is to convey the often-devastating reality of life and work of past and present generations and their own stories about societal and organisational life in the UK, as usually retold through oral histories.

The conditions of nationalism, racial hierarchy, and racism (Gilroy, 1987, 1992), which exist in UK society, were entrenched following World War II. Firstly, thousands of African American soldiers were deployed here, followed by Britain’s children from a colonial past once the invitation was sent out far and wide for those children from the ‘Common – wealth’, (Olusogo, 2016; Gilroy, 1987), to come and help with the post-war effort in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The first four hundred and ninety-two, mainly Caribbean ‘Windrush’ generation, answered the call from the Motherland to come help rebuild an empire.

Attracted by stories of its streets paved with gold, many of these patriotic subjects (my father being one of those as a carpenter) sailed the Caribbean Sea in response to this cry for help. Several other research participants shared that their parents came with the promise of a better life for themselves and their children. However, except on arrival, they found that the war had ravaged the Motherland’s streets and depleted its male population, who, after fighting in the trenches, came back to the UK malnourished and faced with the bleak and uncertain consequences of war and de-industrialisation (Olusogo, 2016). On re-arrival and seeing men with ‘darkened skin still ripe from the effects of living in sunny climates, plump on the fruits of the Caribbean, seems to have cultivated the beginnings of a prevailing class-based disdain and hurtful feelings of a loss of Empire’ (Gilroy, 1987, 1992, p. xvii), amongst these ex-soldiers. The feelings harbour by these native sons of the Motherland soon gave rise to a trade unionist movement that, despite its many gains, has also had a mixed and sometimes regressive record regarding progressing racial equality (Olusoga, 2016). The conditions in which ‘racism and nationalism are symptomatically intertwined’ (Gilroy, 1987, 1992, p. xiii) became woven into UK society's fabric. Racism was evident not only in the streets and on the doors of houses and shops marked with, ‘No Irish, No Blacks and No dogs’ but soon leaked into the organisations that had so readily invited and welcomed these colonised children.

Faced with the harsh reality that instead of the expected experience of these soft, genteel, civilised, missionary White folk, many, for the first time, were forced to acknowledge
themselves as being viewed as lesser beings, part of the ‘commonwealth’ but not British. As a result, many participants spoke of the tales their folks would tell them of the White people they encountered, often exposing their parents and some participants to racial slurs and violent behaviour. This inescapable and entrenched aspect of UK life, as experienced by many of those first-generation migrants, is understood as continuing to present itself in the narratives of their second-generation children, as well as in the everyday encounters of research participants in organisational life, as illustrated in the extract below by a female senior national church minister:

‘I guess the things is like I always felt like I didn’t belong…really and probably by and large people didn’t let me. You know, for some reason or other, I didn’t really understand what people were talking about. So, so I had a group of kind of White middle-class friends and their lives just seemed, they lived on another planet really and erm the sorts of stuff they thought about, talked about erm, got involved with, you know, horse riding was just like, it was just a far cry where we were. Erm, and also when we moved from that first place we were talking about and then moved to another place that was a largely White working-class community, we suffered a lot of racial abuse. Yes, so we used to have faeces pushed through the front door, you know—stuff written on our doors and windows erm yes. We had to live with that, really and er yeah, I don’t know how my father coped with it and dealt with it. He worked pretty much all the hours, and I was fostered for part of my childhood. So, between the ages of six and eleven, I was fostered to a White family.’ (GMLKC39)

The occluded narrative in the extract is that parents who were invited to work in organisations in the motherland may have felt that they would have received humane treatment within these organisations. The participant’s hesitation emphasises the difference when she came to England and saw White people for the first time and her thoughtful consideration in the pause and description of being unwelcome, as illustrated in the research participant’s narrative. The research participant alludes to an awareness that they did not know the people she was surrounded by and that (by and large) she felt that she (the participant) did not belong here, which is illustrated more so because she felt excluded when she said, ‘because people didn’t let me.’

The extract reveals a hidden, but the continued class structure and position of unbelonging uncovered when the participant shares experiences of being friends with ‘middle-class White people’ yet appearing to have little understanding or compatibility with these friends’ way of life and these White friends not having any insight into hers. Rich insight is given into this window of life as the research participant stresses how different her way of life was from her White friends, evident in the emphasis that ‘their lives just seemed, they just lived on another planet, really.’ Again, this is confirmed when she exclaims, ‘it was just a far cry
from where we were!’ The coda of ‘I don’t know how my father coped’ allows us into the inner world of the participant. Her insight reflects on how painful a memory it was for the participant to feel excluded and a sense of unbelonging, as she shared how her father’s coping resulted in her being ‘fostered as part of my childhood’ indicating the loss of childhood and connection as they were displaced by being ‘fostered to a White family.’ Her father ‘pretty much worked all the hours,’ alluding to her father’s disconnection with reality or an unwillingness to cope with the trauma of discrimination but being connected through work ‘working all the time’ to societal norms through organisational life. There is a suggestion that this participant was left to fend for herself, navigating a world in which she did not belong, and which was alien; ‘another planet,’ where she suffered ‘racial abuse’ and violence. This extract points to issues of isolation, invisibility, the sacred nature of Whiteness, and the normalisation of racism. These tenets of CRT, (Delgado & Stefancie, 2011; Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022), as further explored in sections 6.2, 6.3 and 7.1, are also reflected on here by a female senior nurse professional working in private practice.

‘You know if you go back to an era where my parents came here in the 1950s and were invited to come, and they were quite wealthy in their own land. They came here, and they were treated very badly… Right Erm, when I went to school you know my… my brother used to walk with me. It wasn’t far only, about ten minutes’ walk and he used to walk with me because he was older than me and we were spat at. That’s the era I was grown up in; you know what I mean? I was called like ‘nigger’ and all that, and that’s how I was grown up in. When I was …we used to walk past this school it was a huge school, and it had like, well they wouldn’t do it now. And it had like wire netting round this school. It was like they were caged in. it was .... awful to think about it; and yes, these kids would run-up to this netting and call us, ‘nigger. nigger’ calling us all sorts, but you just get on with it, don’t you? And if anything, it makes you stronger cause you just think to yourself, “whatever” (GMLRR64)

The above extract presents a picture of the oral history handed down through generations, where the participant reflects on the ‘era where my parents came here in the 1950s’. The invitation to come seems vital as the storyteller wishes to convey a sense of choice to respond to the invitation, as they stress that her parents ‘were quite wealthy in their own land.’ Evident is the feeling of disappointment and disbelief, as the teller emphasises the link between ‘being invited’ to how ‘they were treated badly by those who extended the invitation. Comparisons are made to how her parents were treated and extended to the teller and her big brother, who, like their parents, were mistreated as children (‘spat at’ as they took the short walk to school). The correlation between the research participant’s parental journey to the UK and their journey to the school seems to convey two significant themes. Firstly, the anticipation
of moving towards something perceived as better and secondly, the significance of the treatment received as part of that journey conveyed in ‘only ten minutes,’ where they [her and her brother] came to experience the discrimination, reflected in ‘being called a nigger and all that.’

Furthermore, conveyed in the talk of this research participant is the hidden narrative of confusion in that although she was being portrayed as inhuman by the dominant other, the imagery of the White school children who were verbally abusing them from behind the ‘wire netting around the school’ is contrasted with caged animals when the participant states the White children were ‘like they were caged in’. Furthermore, an image of the school children like wild animals protected by being caged in or behaving as if reacting to threats in the wild, running up to the cage and calling this research participant and her brother ‘nigger, nigger’ presents a vivid picture. This counter-narrative contrasts with the illustrations of ‘White folk’ portrayed in popular literature and news media as civilised and educated. However, research participants saw them and their behaviour as different, inhuman, from ‘another planet.’

The research participant expresses sorrowful feelings for the caged children and herself when she remarks how it is ‘awful to think about it.’ Still, the narrative also illustrates the growth and development of resilience as the research participant alludes to their development of agency even from an early age, as she states, ‘you just get on with it, don’t you?’ Although seeking camaraderie and validation, there is also a sense of uncertainty in their question, ‘don’t you?’ The coda revealed here indicates some of the research participants’ leadership responses and how their leadership begins to be shaped. For example, this is captured through the participant’s quote of the adage that ‘it makes you stronger’ and that the life lesson experienced was a worthwhile one in that it helped them toughen up, which she finalised by brushing off the traumatic event. What can be ascertained is an internalising of the experience and qualifying this by the participant stating, ‘cause you just think to yourself, whatever!’ as the right way to have dealt with this experience. However, what transpired from this research participant’s narrative is an uncertainty and tension of being caught between wanting to make the best of what is available to them, such as educational opportunities and exercising resilient leadership despite the glaring horror of systemic racism encountered.

Alongside a perceived colonial legacy of displacement, it is evident in the talk of the group that they also perceive that those barriers created by imperialistic attitudes and maintained through organisational narratives continue to impact their financial and economic
stability. Some research participants attribute this loss of assets to as far back as the enforced exodus of transatlantic enslaved people; and then to the systematic racial classification and hierarchy, brought about through the use of racial and biological fiction, (Delgado & Stefancie, 2011; Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022), which, after the war effort, prevented those of Black and Asian descent from being hired. Racial classification resulted in Black and brown people, particularly men, being dismissed from work to make way for ‘demobilised White men’ (Olusoga, 2016, p. 453) and underqualified White women. The analysis here points to other tenets of CRT which evidences that different groups are discriminated against differently to serve the reproductive benefits of and for the needs of White people and that the perceived loss of assets seems to link to a theme of White solipsism as continued through racism, as discussed in Chapter 2, and further explored in chapter 6.2. and 6.4. Below is what one research participant a university academic had to say regarding this specific challenge:

‘We have financial challenges …so well… your White counterparts, well when their families die because they didn’t come from the Caribbean, they may have come from middle-class jobs and middle-class homes. So, when their parents died, they might have inherited quite a lot, and then they’re able to pay off their mortgages or buy property and stuff. Whereas when you’ve got parents that come from the Caribbean who’ve had to struggle in England, it’s not quite the same, so you see the knock-on effect even now through us.’ (GMLLB03)

Others spoke of their parents, the ‘Windrush’ generation, who could not acquire loans and financial support from UK banks and businesses. Research participants hold that this economic instability continues to bring subsequent generations financial, economic, and work challenges compared to their White counterparts. Thus, job progression, career limitations, and financial barriers are featured in their parents’ experiences and are perceived to continue in research participants’ current experiences and those of their children.

As I explored the data, it became evident that the challenges of loss and ‘struggle in England’ also extended to losing a wealth of history and ancestral legacy. Many research participants, specifically those UK-born second-generation African-Caribbean individuals, described this as having a fundamental impact on their sense of identity and place of belonging. For example, the extract below is provided by a young British male university diversity lead who identifies as both Caribbean and British:

‘Yeah, … it’s just you look to see the stark lapse in knowledge of certain issues, something like colonialism where Britain built most of its wealth, but no one knows no one really knows about it. And a lot of these students are descended from that, the system as well. A lot of our students’ families has come from Nigeria and Zimbabwe and Ghana who were formally colonised by Britain, but they don’t
know that history. And when you go to these places, they still teach an education system that was informed by British colonial rule as well, so...even in those countries, they’re still learning a sanitised...narrative of their own... of their own story, yeah of their own history. My grandparents, the Windrush generation and there when they were growing up, it was the same they were learning British history...they didn’t learn about themselves, and I think that’s... that’s the key to this. People of colour do not know about themselves and their identities because of things like colonisation, and that goes to the very heart of it, of who you are and your worth as a person....Universities were not built for...to accommodate students of colour or women or...er...working-class students or LGBT students, erm, they are built to benefit White straight men, non-disabled, straight men essentially, erm, and universities need to come to terms with that, and they’ve still not come to terms with that and until they do...erm, that could be another way...erm, of an example of what leadership looks like to decolonise universities essentially,’ (GMLTV65)

Research participants’ talk briefly captures a window into the state of confusion and intergenerational and intercultural significance of loss and displacement due to colonisation. Many of them appear to have encountered these entrenched discourses as children walking to school whilst in school and in early job roles. Many made similar comments to the one offered above, that ‘Britain built most of its wealth’ on the back of colonialism. However, many research participants are ‘descended from families that come from those colonialised areas who are unaware of this history,’ implying that there is a significant productive power and control of a sanitised version of history purported and held by powerful colonisers over the less powerful brought about through racial and biological fiction, resulting in social and material consequences (Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022).

The extract alludes to the invisibility and normalisation of Whiteness, as research participants’ grandparents learnt ‘British history’ and ‘not about themselves. This is perceived to continue through the continuation of a racialised education system reflected in the research participant’s narrative, that ‘there is an urgent need for colonised research participants to begin to know their own histories’. The participant struggles to verbalise the many groups, such as global majority people, women, and LGBT people, for whom ‘universities, are particularly not designed.’ Captured in the research participant’s statement is the perception that universities that symbolise the highest intellectuals in the echelons of society are ‘built to benefit White and able-bodied straight men’ and, as such, appear to be contested spaces that protect sanitised versions of UK history. However, this research participant felt that reflecting on his known history and early experiences has helped him examine how this has shaped his mindset and understanding of the forces against which he would have to fight to exercise his own agency. He perceived that immutable forces continue to shape his present life.

The legacy of this societal context collectively underpins the experience and feelings of research participants and a perceived expectation of colonial servitude and unquestioned White
solipsism that then seem to experience within organisations on a day-to-day basis. Some may question whether these professional and personal challenges can be attributed to all leaders. However, over the following four chapters, I will elaborate on these experiences, demonstrating the specific experiences of global majority individuals, such as rootlessness, isolation, unconscious and conscious racial and gender discrimination, stereotype bias, abuse. A more detailed analysis of this can be found in section 9.4, further in this chapter, which mainly focuses on unbelonging and rootlessness. The colonial legacy and racism emerging in the findings significantly influences how research participants identify with leadership and construct a leadership identity that leads them to develop emancipatory ways of co-constructing mutually accepted identity representations of themselves, which CRT helps us to uncover.
6 Chapter Six: Findings - The cold and frozen side of organisations

This section explores the organisational milieu in which global majority research participants work and have worked and how tenets of CRT are relevant as outlined above in demonstrating how dominant discourses of society are perpetuated and reinforced within organisations. As such, these contested spaces are worth exploring and engaging with to respond to the research question of how global majority participants experience and practice leadership within them.

However, before presenting the details of the findings, I will highlight the dominant genres, occluded genres, and themes at play in the organisational narratives as evidenced in the narratives of participants summarising these at the beginning of each chapter for ease of reference.

Table 4. Table of the dominant genres and themes of the cold and frozen side of organisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dominant Genre</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tragedy</td>
<td>The tragic story engenders pity for the victim brought about by misfortune</td>
<td>Marginalisation, Invisibility, Isolation, Social reproduction</td>
<td>‘And if you didn’t fit with that you would get frozen out right there and then. Part of that freezing out is that, …erm, your difference in terms of style or engagement or interaction, your physical difference…’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occluded Themes</td>
<td>Separation</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘I guess the thing is like I always felt like I didn’t belong…really and probably by ad large people didn’t let me.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Furloughing</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘I was furloughed into a particular branding at school which sat in the middle band if you were lucky.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self-isolation</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘I work in isolation quite a bit. All this working from home that’s happening now, I’ve been doing for ages anyway if I can get away with it! I don’t want to sit in the office with people asking me what I’m having for lunch. I don’t. I’m not in that. I have nothing in common with them.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Intrinsic to the dark side of organisations is an implicit theme that emerges across the participants’ narratives as a wish for acceptance, validation, and representation. Instead, participants perceive organisations as menacing, treacherous, and chillingly cold with frozen territories, inhospitable, impersonal, and full of dangers in which racism is normalised and race as a signifier leads to consequences. This icy terrain creates a backdrop in which the genre of tragedy and feelings of cold, yet subtle psychological warfare is waged and resisted. The following extracts from a university participant and a social care manager elucidate their experiences of the coldness of organisations in the UK:

‘It makes you feel like you’re in a war zone, a war zone all the time.’ (GMLLB03)

‘And if you didn’t fit with that, then what would happen is that you would get frozen out right there and then. Part of that freezing out is that erm your difference, not only difference in terms of style or engagement or interaction, your physical difference…’ (GMLFD05).

As illuminated above, several research participants discuss navigating organisations in ways that feel like crossing desolate territories created by those with power within organisations. These conflict zones appear filled with eerie isolating silences and psychological attacks, a milieu perpetuated and sustained by organisational agents at every level ‘a war zone all the time.’ Several research participants talk about these hostile attacks that can take the form of horrendous and unscrupulous behaviours—for example, being ignored, ‘frozen out’ and disadvantaged, ‘unfairly treated’ apparently because of their difference. Research participants describe differences as manifest in how they interact in their leadership practice and engagement and their ‘physical difference.’ The following is taken from a senior nursing manager whose son had begun to express the same issue of feeling ignored, having recently moved to a White area of the country:

‘Yes, you’re invisible, and it’s the first time he’s expressed so much about the way he [participant’s son] is treated, and I feel the same…Er… it’s that feeling where you’re in a room, but you’re made to feel as if you’re not there. You’re just overlooked. Erm…if you do say something, you’re never acknowledged. An example, individuals who work in the workplace will go to other staff, even though you’re there, and they’ll invite the individual who is of the same ethnic group and just ignore you and just walk away, and that’s just a regular occurrence. Gosh, there’s just so many things that you’re made to feel…unwelcome. Yeah… (said sadly through tone of voice). (GMLBP68)

The underlying sub-theme that begins to build in the extract above is an immense and growing sense of being made invisible and overlooked as if cut out of view with a sharp scalpel. It appears to leave research participants feeling dismissed and feeling that they do not exist.
Participants give examples of where people who do not look like them ‘walk away and ignore them,’ making them feel like outsiders banished to the out-group where they are as described (made to feel unwelcome) as they are not in the favoured identity group. As reflected in the participant’s words, being made to feel unwelcome is ‘a regular occurrence’, an expected norm in the social behaviour of White colleagues and managers towards them as the invisible Other.

Many participants recalled their first encounters of being frozen out within Eurocentric organisations that seem to have started in their first institutions, such as education settings and early job roles. In these settings, they perceived that they were explicitly segregated through banding systems and implicitly through gatekeepers’ attitudes, such as career advisors, teachers, and organisation leaders, as explored in the following paragraphs.

6.1. First encounters with invisible barriers

For many research participants across the group, experiences of early institutional spaces trigger an undoing and re-shaping of identity and an internal quest for validation and recognition. It also introduces them to what they appear to later on in life recognise as the invisible barriers to progression, as illustrated in the extract below from an Early Help childcare manager:

‘Yes, I do. I think erm…I feel even in the secondary school that I was furloughed into a particular banding at school which sat in the middle band if you were lucky. I was told you know that I shouldn’t have any high hopes, you don’t…because I wanted to start with office work. I wanted to be a nurse, actually, and I was told that couldn’t happen, you wouldn’t get the right…your results wouldn’t be good enough. Don’t contemplate office work because you know you probably couldn’t do that either. Think about factory work (Researcher: ‘wow!’). And when I went to the career’s office and when I left school, I remember going for lots of interviews in offices, having all the qualifications that I needed and never getting the job. And my experience of getting my first job was at the Commission for Racial Equality, and I got that because my face was Black rather than thinking I got that on my own merit. I wasn’t there for long, and then I went into a solicitor, and I always thought, hmm, I got that job because my aunt knew that solicitor…and she put a good word in for me. So, the first job I felt I got on my merit was when I went to probation because nobody was involved in that, and I had to interview, and I stayed there for twenty-two years (GMLPG73).

The extract implicitly identifies several hurdles in the way of the participants through their descriptions like ‘furloughed,’ ‘banding,’ ‘middle band’ as perceived physical barriers to progression and how invisible barriers can be created through the performative narrative used by those with authority and control to prevent participants career progression or to exercise leadership as retold in the above extract. For example, the participant describes how you were
considered lucky if you were in a particular banding at school, ‘middle band.’ Nevertheless, regardless of achieving a specific banding, participants experienced that powerful elites could still dissuade them from aspiring to work in particular roles when they were young. The extract illustrates how aspirations of working in an office seemed beyond the accepted norm and position for the racialized other, as indicated in the organisational narrative of those gatekeepers. Career advisors, teachers, and recruiters appear to have deemed these participants unable to achieve the right results or that they should only work in spaces indicative of low-paid, insecure, demanding, physical labour roles - ‘think about factory work! Other examples of invisible barriers formed by the performative language of organisation elites in early education and work roles are evident when career advisors say things like, ‘Don’t contemplate’…’ or ‘you probably couldn’t do that either.’ Or where teachers might say, ‘you wouldn’t get the right results, or your results wouldn’t be good enough,’ seems to have transpired into participants’ everyday experience of organisations. For example, as in the extract above, many recall going to a number of job interviews in offices, having all the qualifications needed yet ‘never getting the job.’

Furthermore, whilst many credible reasons could be given for participants not being successfully recruited, several across the group gave similar examples of the underlying sub-theme of invisible barriers linked to stereotypical views and being measured by a different yardstick as a significant reason for this continuing to be their lived experience within organisations as discussed in section 6.3. The analysis also reveals that participants are encouraged by the assertion of these actors to swap the formal slavery of their ancestors for waged enslavement as they saw befitting their roles and status. The experiential effects of being frozen out appear to leave some participants internalising feelings of low self-esteem, defeat, and self-loathing, feeling dismissed and wanting to switch off, as demonstrated in this early help childcare manager’s extract above.

Research participants talk about how they are left with an inferiority complex as they grapple with how best to respond to these hyper-boreal atmospheres that make them feel, due to their visible identity (colour), that ‘the attack would be greater if people decided to turn.’ This participant’s reflection highlights the difficulty that might be inherent in forming a leadership identity for participants who want to be represented but are aware of their invisibility and dismissal as leaders and fear that an attack on their leadership enactments could be more intense due to their difference.
We also see in this extract that the participant replicated the practice of colonised slaves, as promulgated throughout the technologies of television, film, literary works and popular media, where the field slave would be invited to work in the house on the word of the trusted house slave who would have to vouch for him or her. We can see this being replicated when the participant tells of when she secured a job because a family member was known to the organisation ‘I got that job because my aunt knew the solicitor…and she put in a good word for me.’ The inability of participants to create a leadership identity outside of the Black subaltern is explicitly accepted by this participant when they talk about how they secured a position in the organisation, which they perceived was because of their colour when illustrating that ‘I got that because my face was Black…’

Here again, we see an awakening when the research participant’s visibility as the subaltern is acknowledged as an act of exploitation that can manifest itself in some Eurocentric organisations, as tokenism and engagement in racial fiction (Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022) is discussed in Section 7.2 below. The participant perceives that they were recruited because of their visibility as a Black worker ‘my face was Black,’ rather than thinking it was due to their suitability for the role, ‘I got that on my own merit.’ Through an emerging sub-theme of exploitation, we can see that the visible difference in participants is accepted as long as it serves their colonial Masters. However, we can also see how it is used as a tool for survival in a corrupt society where familial ties are used to navigate corrupting factors like racism to circumvent exclusion from the favoured identity groups within organisations. What transpires from the extracts is a growing sense of the research participant’s recognising her position, value, and agency. As a result, the research participant from the racial equality organisation makes a swift exit and withdraws. However, the first extract also highlights that where there is a feeling of acceptance and feelings of being valued based on merit, research participants are more likely to invest in the organisation and develop an identity or organisational affiliation, as demonstrated in the participant’s talk when they explained that ‘I stayed there for twenty-two years.’ The second extract reveals the opposite effect and personal consequences for participants of suspicion and a lack of trust when they have an ‘outsider-insider’ status, as discussed in Chapter 2.

The data gives insight into how identity is shaped and reshaped in organisations. The sub-theme of reproduction and exploitation of the racialised subject is again alluded to here, as
will be discussed in chapter 7.1. However, an underlying sense of unease and the occluded narrative of power and control is also implicitly linked to this theme of domestication and exploitation, particularly where organisational elites are perceived to have the performative power of language to change outcomes. An analysis of the data revealing why this might be the case is discussed below in the following autoethnographic extract and section 7.1.

**Extract from fieldwork and autoethnographic Journals**

The above extract struck a chord with me as evidenced in an escape of my inner thoughts (Wow!) when the participant shared her experience of segregation at school. This was because it was so intricately linked to my own personal experience of advice given to me by careers advisors whilst I was at school but also my first work experience. I distinctly recall being told that I ‘should not bother to try and to work as a nurse as I would not be accepted. Instead, I should go and work in a factory,’ even though I was in an A stream class like the female research participant above. What specifically struck me is that this participant and I attended the same school and have never spoken about our experiences of discrimination and racism. In sharing her experiences, we were able to share meaning in our lived reality as to what it meant for us to experience a postcolonial context of education. What emerged is that not only were we separated from our White counterparts, but we were also separated from each other by the silent association of Whiteness that, through performative language, communicated to us that we were not good enough, treated differently and did not belong.

‘I recall working in an organisation for a year in the early 1980s. I was aware that I was the first Black woman, well, teenager they employed, and the company had been going for over seventy-five years. I thought we all got on really well, but then one day we were sitting and talking, and one of the underwriters made a joke and rather than everyone laughing, there was a sharp intake of breath, everyone stared at me, and he started apologising to me. I couldn’t understand why he was apologising, and then he said he hoped he hadn’t offended me. I can’t quite remember what he said, but I remember them explaining it was a cricketing term, something like ‘nigger in a woodpile and let’s play the White man. Meaning, let’s be fair? It transpired that before I started at the company after my interview, they had a big meeting warning everyone not to say anything racist as they didn’t want to be sued. I understood from the others that the main manager didn’t really want me there, but as the organisation celebrated its silver jubilee, the area manager felt it would be progressive. Well, it really made me stop and think, was everyone just pretending to like me, and could I trust anyone? As a sixteen-year-old, that was my first conscious and real encounter with racism, and I can tell you it made me very suspicious of White people for a long time after that!’

**6.2. The fear of ‘scary’ White people**

Participants seem wary of taking up leadership roles due to the fear of White colleagues and their perceived propensity to turn or attack due to them sensing a change in behaviour and attitudes of White people towards participants’ visible difference. Here again, the same
participant, an early help childcare manager, gives us an insight into what they perceive as the precarious state of leadership for solo-status global majority managers and leaders.

In that role working in…with men mainly…and trying to help people to change, who they…how they made lifestyle choices. In that job… I hmmm… I used to question myself there. Am I as good as my European colleagues as I was the only Black woman working in that team for lots of lots of years. And that’s when my opportunity to be a manager. And by that time, I thought I knew how human beings operate but I thought I don’t want to manage you lot because you’re backstabbers, and because of my colour, I thought the attack would be greater if people decided to turn. And I’ve got no proof of that, but that’s just my internal erm, ground.’ (GMLPG73)

Articulated explicitly in the above extract is unsafety's complex and internalised dynamics when the research participant says, ‘I don’t want to manage you lot because you’re backstabbers.’ Evident in this research participant’s example is the honest reflection that they have no proof that this would be the case other than their internal perceptions that White people are untrustworthy ‘backstabbers.’ The fear of White people and an underlying notion of the invisibility of White colonial power abuse continues to exist amongst global majority communities, an example of which is expressed in the participant’s verbalisation of ‘I’ve got no proof of that, but that’s just my internal erm, ground.’

Navigating the menacing and cold terrain of organisations can create for some participants a sense of a creeping internal conflict and disorientation, resulting in identity threats and repeated continuous stress. Furthermore, the trauma of organisational life points to the normalising of whiteness and how organisations go about its business (Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022) and seems to infiltrate and inflict damage to participants’ perceptions of themselves when compared to their White counterparts. While acknowledging these unknown enemies, participants also question their own ability to make sound judgements - ‘I thought I knew how human beings operate.’ An example of this is given below from the narrative story of a female national senior church minister:

‘I came to the UK. Erm, and you know…we did have… White friends in Cabot Cove, I know that just because of looking at family photographs…erm but and I think they were missionaries pretty much by and large and so...so it’s interesting that when I came to the UK, I felt that I was seeing White people for the first time. They were very different and erm...scary, you know.’ (GMLKC39)

The above extract also alludes to the sacred (Grint, 2005) aspects of White leadership. This research participant experienced White people in a different country, ‘White friends in Cabot Cove,’ as distinct from the White people they met in the UK ‘seeing for the first time,
they were different.’ The White people this research participant had known in her country of birth were ‘missionaries.’ What is unspoken is that those she had known before appeared kind, and benevolent, which implies they were viewed as sacred and set apart, which becomes apparent by her assertions that they were ‘missionaries by and large.’ Research participants who had previously formed impressions of White people in different spaces, knowing them as friends and acquainting them as family members; There is a distinction made between those associated with the saviour narrative ‘missionaries pretty much by and large’ from those associated with whom present as unfriendly and different. Implied here is that those friends/White allies were not real White people compared to those discovered when they came to the ‘Motherland.’ White people in the UK are perceived as very different. The research participant’s talk emphasises this rude awakening: ‘I felt I was seeing White people for the first time. They were very different [and]… [followed by a pause and dramatic narrative arc] ‘erm…scary!’ The research participant seeks to involve me as the researcher by asking a rhetorical question, ‘you know?’ assuming this was a shared experience.

The data analysis indicates that research participants can find themselves in organisational climates, which seem to operate at every level and in every Eurocentric model of organisations where they are located. Whether in health and social care, banking, higher education, sports, or policing, in the UK, these professional challenges are not restricted to these sectors alone, as referred to in this thesis introduction (Chapter 1.1). As elucidated in the narrative of this local authority childcare manager reflecting on his childhood upbringing:

‘If you walked down the road and something happened, you know, my mum would say, she would talk about “White people this and White people that,” and what they did but what she was describing, talking about was racism, incidents of racism. So, I grew up quite aware’ (GMLLB03)

The data indicate that these hostile and often inhospitable climates can seem to infiltrate and impede the ability of participants to navigate the labyrinth (Wyatt & Silvester, 2015) of leadership. For example, some reported not feeling listened to by junior staff, having more pressure placed on them by managers, or not having access to support networks. What becomes evident from the collective narrative of participants is that this unfavourable milieu makes them ill at ease with their White counterparts in what they perceive are disturbing and inimical terrains. So illustrated in their talk when one participant stated that they ‘used to question myself there’ as the comparisons were made when asking themselves, ‘are they as good as my European colleagues.’
6.3. Invisibility and visibility

Research participants conceptualise invisibility and visibility within organisations like snow blending into the frozen landscape. Invisibility in this context describes the invisibility in organisational decision-making, leadership identity and re(presentation) of themselves as racialised and othered. Again, demonstrating a tenet of CRT which sees ‘White over colour’ and different groups being racialised in different ways, (Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, (2022). It also represents the visibility of Whiteness where only White people’s voice and leadership is defined at the racialised subject’s expense, as illustrated below in this early help childcare manager’s quote:

‘Sometimes, no, this isn’t, not sometimes this is all the time, being heard in the work arena. Because we can sit down and have meetings and I don’t know, I know I don’t talk loud I’m not a loud person; but I almost feel that when I say something, it’s almost…dismissed. And I don’t know why, because I can send the same comment in an email and it’s a ‘great idea.’ But if I sit in the room with my…(sigh) colleagues, I don’t know with their superiority complex, which they probably don’t think they have, but they do. It’s like what I have to say is not important. So that’s quite challenging. ...And yeah, it just makes me say, well, I’m just not going to say anything, but that doesn’t last very long. Or I’m just spoken over, or it takes someone to say, oh Pelaliah is trying to say something. You know just sometimes makes me want to switch off. But then I don’t want to be given the label of ‘the lazy Black woman.’ (GMLPG73)

The invisibility as the ‘othered’ becomes more visible through the way research participants’ express feelings about the internal turmoil this dichotomy of invisibility and visibility presents. The paradox becomes even more evident as the above research participant explains when trying to establish why they are both invisible and dismissed when visible in a room of White people. For example, when questioning why, when they put things in writing, such as saying the ‘same comment on email,’ it ‘becomes a ‘great idea’ or when a White colleague repeats the same thing. Or where White leaders and colleagues do not want to validate a global majority individual’s creativity or innovative thoughts or ideas. These examples further illustrate the disadvantage participants can face when not hidden behind the less visible medium of technology, such as emails or other written communication. The participant’s sigh expresses the wish to ‘switch off,’ as the participant perceives their presence and voice devalued ‘not important’ by those around them.

The research participant’s questioning also gives voice to and makes tangible the insider/outsider phenomena and the occluded undertones of a White superiority complex
uncovered in this extract. The research participant feels this superiority is hidden and invisible to those who display it when they express that ‘they don’t think they have it, but they do.’ In contrast, the research participant tries to give a voice to their humanness without condescending to the stereotype label often associated with global majority people, such as ‘the lazy Black woman.’ The research participant must reject other stereotype images often apportioned to the subaltern. The ‘loud Black women’ is another disparaging and oppressive stereotype that the participant is at great pains to distance themselves from in the way at the beginning of the excerpt; they repeat, ‘I don’t talk loud. I’m not a loud person.’ The implication here is that there is a fear of being assertive, which suggests that being outspoken makes one vulnerable, as voicing for a global majority person signals something unwarranted and something they wish to disassociate themselves from. It brings unwanted visibility as a subaltern. Also evident is the internal conflict this double-bind aspect brings. To remain quiet can position the subaltern with the negative connotations of being seen as ‘lazy’ but speaking up is to be seen as loud and visible for the wrong reasons. Both visibility through perceived loudness, and laziness, can be perceived as a defence mechanism but can also be an abstruse form of oppression and exclusionary practice experienced by some research participants.

Many research participants give examples of being met with cold silence when contributing to work meeting discussions as if they have not said anything. This is illustrated further above when the research participant speaks hesitantly about ‘when I say something, it’s almost …dismissed.’ Or when they have moments of feeling pathetic when faced with a colour-blind response from leaders when left to challenge racial micro-sleights or having to be re(presented) by White allies (a person speaking and advocating on their behalf). Many examples of these themes were evident and a common experience in the talk of participants who view this as ‘quite challenging.’ They hesitantly acknowledge that what the above participant says about this does not happen ‘sometimes’ but that ‘this is all the time…in the work arena’ and reflects participants’ experience within organisations. The above participant sighs and concludes with the assertion that ‘it’s like what I have to say is not important.’

Participants express frustration in being seen only as ‘workhorses,’ ‘doers,’ unseen objects on which the one-third/North world (usually representing White middle-class women) (Mohanty, 1988) depends. However, my assertion here is that both White women and White men rely on the domestic help of the ‘two-thirds/South world’ (usually women and girls) to maintain and reproduce the needs of managers and staff (see chapter 3 of this study). This
notion stretches into the intersectional issue of an explicit construction of racialised identities, as articulated by the participant below, who was a retail manager turned diversity lead in policing:

‘My manager…it was a man…erm ran the shop and Celia who recruited me was retiring, and they needed a full-time supervisor. So, I thought I thought I’d go, the kids at school, so I thought I’d go for a full-time supervisor’s role. So, my manager called me in the office the next day and said he had gone home and spoken to his wife about me being a full-time supervisor and …you know oh, she said that she don’t think she can do a full-time job and have two kids so I don’t think it would be fair of me to do the work, do the job because you’ve got children. And that’s when it first started to hit me so. I’m part-time when anybody’s off sick you call me, I come in, when people are on holiday you call me, I come in, so when I want to do it full-time, my kids are an issue when they’ve never been an issue! okay, alright… So, he recruited this woman, and she got me to do everything!’ (GMLFJ48)

This tragic story is evocative of the invisibility of the domestic worker, whose role is constituted as someone whose responsibility is to maintain her organisational superiors' position. The participant spoke about this racialised and gendered identity hesitantly: ‘I thought… I thought,’ even though the suggestion and request are perfectly legitimate – ‘to work full-time while children are at school.’ Instead, we see a power play whereby the participant is positioned as someone whose duties should be reserved to serve the reproductive needs of others – her children at school and the domestic needs of her (White) organisational colleagues. Dripping in patriarchy, another woman is enrolled as a gatekeeper and fulfils this role by co-opting the fairness discourse ‘I don’t think it would be fair of me.’ The implicit understanding from participants’ talk is that the accepted archetype is also fiercely protected by White women depicted as staunch gatekeepers of these archetypal leadership identities. Worryingly, from participants' perspectives, White women can also display and engage in racial and gendered violence and discrimination towards both women and men of global majority backgrounds. Their unconscious/conscious attempts to keep leadership White and male creates identity threat and frustrations for participants.

An example of this is especially evident when this research participant states, ‘when I want to do it full-time, my kids are an issue when they’ve never been an issue!’ An awakening does occur in the story ‘it started to hit me,’ as the participant realises that she is fulfilling a servant’s role and articulated into such an identity. The salutary but concise ending communicates so much in very few words, weighing down on the narrative: ‘he recruited this woman, and she got me to do everything,’ representing a final narrative punch. This moment enables the participant to see how she is regarded and constituted to the position of the subaltern
domestic help, becoming visible and exposing Whiteness's invisibility in leadership. Although
the participant does not explicitly mention that the woman ‘he recruited’ was White, her
emphasis on ‘this woman’ implies that this is the case when she says, ‘he recruited this woman,
and she got me to do everything!’ The participant’s example again suggests her place as part
of the two-thirds/South being relied on by the one-third/North to replicate the social norms of
leadership. Still, her insight also enables her to exit the organisation. Therefore, this coda
represents the beginnings of a new narrative arc, which, although loaded with tragedy, also
suggests a more positive rebirth and awakening. This extract also gives a window into the
isolation participants can feel when engaging in work settings and demonstrates organisations’
cold and isolating face to some of its members. Delving deeper into the analysis of this sub-
theme raises another significant sub-theme pointing to the psychological aspects and social
consequences of isolation, which I will explore in the following sub-section.

6.4. Isolation and self-isolation

Many participants talk about the danger of work cliques, fraternities, and the dreadful
emotional terror of feeling isolated and uncomfortable in a room full of White colleagues,
including leaders and managers with whom they had no other common bonds other than
through work. As identified by this senior police officer participant below:

‘Well yes, even as a lowly constable, you are just thinking, why do feel that I stick out and it’s not
unusual because you get there and it’s even more lonely as who do you turn to? Because you can turn
to peers, but not that very often. Because they were going through the very same things as you were.
And it was very difficult to turn to White colleagues, as it was seen as a sign of weakness. But I had
people outside of the organisation that I sounded out for help, but it was a lonely place. Because you
had to make the decisions and if it goes well everybody enjoyed it, but if it went badly, you’re to blame.
(GMLVO80)

The lack of perceived acceptance and understanding amongst work cliques and the in-
group are some disadvantages some research participants perceived as linked to their identity.
This impression prevents them from seeking support from inside the organisation. Firstly, this
was due to a perception that seeking help from White peers could be interpreted by others ‘as
a sign of weaknesses. Also, some participants perceived that seeking support from White
colleagues left them with a perception that a different yardstick measures them. For example,
White leaders, it appears, have networks of support that they can call on without it reflecting
on their character or strength of leadership. This was seen as not being the case for global
majority individuals. This extract again supports the CRT tenet that different groups are racialised differently, (Delgado & Stefancie, 2011; Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022).

The rhetorical question by the participant, ‘who do you turn to?’ highlights the lack of peers and trusted networks and further cement the real loneliness that Global Majority leaders can experience. These expressed feelings of being exposed to the weight of responsibility within senior/senior leadership roles, such as being a model for community members and having to ‘go to people outside of the organisation’ for help and support, give glimpses of the challenges for research participants. However, there is also a realisation that an organisation can be ‘a lonely place’ and ‘much harder’ for global majority individuals as leaders to navigate within these spaces, as alluded to in the talk below of this senior university lecturer:

‘I mean, I went for a role against her, and she got the role, but she had far less experience than I did. But she had all the right buzz words, capital… cultural capital and connections, whereas I don’t. I have found that as a Black lecturer. Thank God for Lois [a Black colleague working at the same university] because I am used to really working in isolation where I’m the only one. I often find that unless you’ve got someone supporting you, it’s much harder…(pause) much harder.’ (GMLJD14)

Delving deeper into the sub-theme of isolation, I found that this was not only due to exclusion from established workgroups or networks. Research participants were also isolated because they perceived, as discussed, that they are tokenised members of organisations and, as stated, are ‘used to working in isolation’ in solo roles. Alternatively, research participants were choosing to self-isolate as a means of self-protection and preservation, which was due to a perceived lack of representation or mutual identification with White work colleagues’ socio-cultural practices or the internal and external pressure and expectations of working within organisations they felt they have ‘nothing in common with.’ The extract below from an Early Help Manager is used to demonstrate the finding of self-isolation:

‘I work in isolation quite a bit. All this working from home that’s happening now; I’ve been doing that for ages anyway if I can get away with it. I don’t want to sit in the office and people asking me what I’m having for my lunch. I don’t… I’m not in that…I have nothing in common with them. You know when they are going out socially and saying shall we go out? You know you go and get drunk. That’s not my thing, you know. So, it’s easier to erm…avoid those conversations. Or sometimes I say I don’t do drinking and you get ‘oh, little miss perfect and those side comments and so…I keep myself away.’ (GMLPG73)

It becomes evident that individuals across the group found ways to fly under the radar by withdrawing themselves from uncomfortable experiences, which makes them feel isolated and become even more isolated – another double bind. Participants shared how practised they were at limiting their exposure to the harsh, immobilising organisational terrains by choosing
to work from home or excusing themselves from social gatherings. If participants did attend social work gatherings, they would question the organisation's motives for them being there. Primarily they raised questions because they felt they were just there to be insulted, as illustrated in this participant’s talk when they retold how they would be responded to if they did not engage in social drinking. For example, ‘oh little miss perfect and those side comments.’ These underlying narratives allude to the gendered and racialised identity of participants who experience a double-bind of disadvantage (Davidson, 1997) due to their gender and race identities, perpetuated by these organisational discourses, which will be discussed further in section 7.1 below. Furthermore, the extract also evidences how global majority individuals can create space for themselves through self-exclusionary practices to construct a more positive identity using technology and invisibility to cloak emancipatory practice. First, I discuss how research participants experience the micro-aggressive practice of reverse persecution associated with racism.

6.5. Silenced through reverse persecution.

Participants expressed confusion, apathy, frustration, and anger when contemplating the occluded reasons for these isolating and disadvantageous conditions. However, in addition to these negative responses, participants actively resisted or accepted the underlying structural inequalities such as stereotype assumptions, epidermalization and problematisation that go hand in hand with fighting for success on the organisational battlefield, recognising the part their identity contributes to these conditions. Some research participants point to this being attributed to an underlying resentment which they perceived is inherent in organisations amongst its White members, which sees these ‘lesser beings’ occupying leadership roles where they ought not to be as enunciated by senior managers in social care and education. Or as a ‘reverse persecution’ (feeling victimised by the victims of racism) when White members are confronted when the unspoken [race and racism] is spoken about, as reflected in this social care manager’s data below:

‘The struggle that I’ve had with White professional colleagues is that they can’t do that. They find it difficult to venture into conversations around race as I said it becomes uncomfortable, and they consider it as almost like some kind of reverse persecution against them by virtue of talking about you know this was my reality; this was what I grew up with; this is what I managed in my professional life and my professional life; even people you’ve got really, really good relationships with. I’ve experienced something quite different to you and even the reality of that is it’s not about my personality it's actually
they viewed me as something different and lesser than. And so, I do, and I think it becomes more comfortable and that’s what happens in my team now it is a ‘colour-blind’ approach.’ (GMLFD05)

There is a powerful sense from the participant’s data that the underlying structural inequalities continue and are sustained by organisational actors refusing to talk about these inequalities. These silent war tactics are further elucidated in the narratives of the following participants, one of which is an ex-senior police officer turned consultant and the other, a nursing manager, both feeling the gaslighting effect of being silenced from talking about their experience of leadership, which is exposed as alienating and silencing.

The term gaslighting is usually taken to mean ‘the action or process of manipulating a person by psychological means into questioning his or her own sanity’ (Oxford English Dictionary, 2012). In this context, it emerges as a practice by organisation actors that manipulates the victim (the global majority individual) into believing that their reactions, and perceptions, are not only mistaken but unfounded and qualify as a figment of their imagination or due to them having a chip on their shoulder. The end result for the victim is to question themselves and shamed into feeling negative about themselves when faced with White organisation actors, as described by Sanela Smolović-Jones in her theorisation of ‘weaponising victimhood’ (2018:213). This form of reverse persecution is where genuine claims of persecution from victims are reverse-engineered by the perpetrators and reconceived as unfair attacks on them, casting perpetrators as the real victims. This tactic silences and disparages any claims of marginalisation, discrimination, or occluded structural inequality (Smolović-Jones, 2021).

‘And we’re not exposed to those opportunities were just not. We are not even considered. We are invisible. Anything of value, anything of worth, anything of note we are invisible. But if there is anything that's negative, mate, we are the first thing that comes into people's heads. That is the one thing I’ve noticed, and that's why we don't get to where we should be. That’s’ because we're just not seen like that. It's like being seen as an alien.’ (GMLFJ48)

There appears to be a consensus among the group that where the visible is kept invisible, it ensures that the status quo remains intact—much to the benefit of those who consciously and unconsciously benefit. For example, denying leaders with a visible difference from occupying the top ranks of the organisation in leadership roles or keeping silent the different voices and disregarding these individual’s narratives through adopting homogeneous policies and initiatives maintains that invisibility.
There is an unsaid line in the workplaces… where because you look different, you should not even be in a leadership position. And you feel it, and it is not just personal to me. Erm other colleagues have expressed the same feeling. Yep.’ (GMLBP68 – senior nurse manager)

The above extract prompted me to question my unconscious bias and the influence of a colonial legacy of internalised shadism. It struck me that hearing the mention of a public title like that of ‘Baroness’ made me immediately think it was somebody White and that perhaps I had internalised a silent association with Whiteness in leadership, as reflected below in my autoethnographic journal:

**Extract from autoethnographic Journal**

... So, it was interesting seeing the BBC programme on the life and leadership experiences of Baroness Benjamin and even thinking that it was strange that I had assumed that Baroness Benjamin, on hearing her title, was Caucasian and not realising it was Floella Benjamin, one of the first Black TV presenters from Blue Peter that I had grown up watching as a child! I think this says something about me and my socialisation. I am so unused to seeing people from our communities being recognised in public life with titles or honoured publicly unless they are sports personalities, which is rare. It doesn’t seem to compute easily. I can acknowledge my bias here.

It was also Black History month, and the programme was about Baroness Benjamin’s challenges as an immigrant coming to England from the West Indies and her unpreparedness in the face of racism but her resilience to succeed. The programme was about how she viewed herself, the racism she faced, and how others viewed her. I compared this to how young Black British children cope with racism, particularly in its subtle form. Baroness Benjamin was conscious of the expectations and holding a place of leadership even now in the public eye and the controversy around the unveiling of the Mary Secole statue in London, for which she has been an ardent supporter. So, in all, a reflective day and hearing about the first identity drama and acting stage agency started 13 years ago, boasting actors like Idris Elba and John Boyega (Star Wars) as the only one of its kind. Now, this could be seen as a public service to Global Majority communities who, without these innovations, could not be seen as such, given the controversy in relation to the film industry and the BAFTAs. I think this is one for my supervisors as I would like to interview the CEO, particularly as in this interview on BET, he
was open about his belief that it was a calling from God to set this up to give to those with diverse cultural identities a platform.

One of the fundamental concerns at this moment is the very politicised time following Brexit and the election campaign in the States. The racialised and politicised agenda is very much dominating and seems a preoccupation in the community I belong to and am exploring. In evidence is the expressed racism that is prevalent in the organisations in which I and some of those I am studying are situated. I also note that prejudice is also being identified between different fractions of the global majority, particularly African and African-Caribbean communities but mainly those born between the 1950-1960s. Again, I question the root cause of this, but perhaps that’s another research project.

Having questioned myself and reflected on my own unconscious bias and that of some members of the community I belonged to, I was also struck by how complex the developing societal context was proving in the wake of the presidential election of Donald Trump as the POTUS (President of the United States) and the following Brexit campaign. It became increasingly evident that societal norms were being transferred into organisations by the performativity of organisational actors, which significantly influences the material and social consequence of global majority individuals in these contested spaces. An example of this was when some White staff had begun to discriminate against global majority staff members openly racially, resulting in an organisation-wide memo issued by the CEO challenging this behaviour. I had never experienced a CEO in a public sector organisation having to do something like this before. It was troubling that powerful political leaders set this poor example of leadership and normalised such behaviour. It exposed how embedded racism is in the fabric of the UK and Eurocentric organisations, something I again reflected on in my autoethnographic journal.

**Extract from autoethnographic Journal**

*Today is armistice day when the guns of World War II fell silent, yet the recent advent of the American elections and Donald J Trump being elected has caused mass protests in America. His political campaign spouting racial hatred, homophobia, and sexism makes it feels like we are on the brink of something terrible that creates a spirit of fear, intolerance, and hatred. I looked at this and somehow knew Brexit was only the start...Economic Migrants are not to blame for the country's state, the national health service deficits, or the high unemployment figures. For young Black men in my community, the lack of jobs, a steady income*
and meritocracy have always been challenging. However, Brexit seems to have permitted others to discriminate openly against ‘others.’

One thing I have noticed, and which still puzzles me is, and I suspect, has galvanized people to be more questioning and even motivated to enquire as to why there seems to be so much more hatred, discrimination, and racism still in existence some 50 + years after the civil rights movement in the USA started? Never before has so much research and programmes been aired on the BBC, seeking to redress the hidden histories of ‘global majority’ communities. Including individuals like Mary Seacole, the Black Victorians, Beechy Head woman, and questions like ‘will there ever be a Black prime minister’ as proposed by David Harewood, the Black actor and director. He explored national statistics about the probability of this occurring and found some shocking or rather not-so-shocking figures, such as out of 160 Judiciary roles, not one was held by or came from a global majority background. Looking at the media sector, David found that no CEOs or senior managers from a global majority background held a similar position out of 150 media giants holding popular newspapers, magazine franchises, etc. It struck me as he was looking at the public office of the prime minister that similar structural inequalities that I am finding in exploring the ability of global majority individuals exercising leadership are echoed up to the highest echelons of UK society. In examining this, David Harewood went to the office for national statistics (ONS). Through the data, ONS could show the inherent bias and discriminatory practices in the educational system from teacher assessments to selection practices of HEIs such as Oxbridge and the stark disadvantages, particularly for those from African-Caribbean working-class family backgrounds in exercising leadership or attaining positions of seniority in public life.

My challenge is how difficult it is to break oneself out of the fear of speaking up or thinking about what I have to say about this. My research is as vital as the BBC programme, and some of those interviewed clearly articulated and spoke about unconscious or inherent bias/racism within the structure of society which is not only part of modern-day Britain but is also not fashionable to speak about. Nevertheless, people on both sides (Black and White) are afraid to call it what it is. Racism is never debated, perhaps why events like Brexit and the president-elect’s situation have come about. What racism does is demonstrate that it is extraordinarily complex, and explorations of leadership are incomplete without understanding its association with it.
6.6. Chapter Summary

The data revealed that participants were not only ostracised through the cold and frozen attitudes of individual actors as subjects in receipt of the performance of leadership experienced but could also be complicit as objects in the practice of self-isolation as illustrated in section 6.4 as an enactment of self-preservation. The data further reveals the lasting legacy of colonisation that continues to wage violence against the racialised subject through structural inequalities and the performative language of exclusion by organisation elites. These inequalities start in education establishments and first work roles as it is normalised, resulting in research participants suffering the material and social consequences of invisibility and lack of recognition as legitimised leaders by more dominant and powerful groups.

In addition, the data reveals that global majority research participants grapple with reverse persecution from White perpetrators who ‘weaponize victimhood’ (Smolović-Jones, 2018:213) to negate and invalidate the uncomfortable truth of the lived reality of global majority colleagues in their experience and practice of leadership. Emerging as a result of organisations' cold and frozen sides across the group of research participants is a context of fear, invisibility, and hypervigilance. However, looking through a CRT lens, research participants manage to find emancipatory ways to practice leadership through the self-protection tactics of self-isolation, invisibility and silence to exist and survive in these hostile organisational milieus.
7. Chapter Seven: Findings - The Shadowlands of organisations – Atrocities and control

This section's title reflects the inextricable link to the legendary genre of horror and survival of transatlantic slavery concerning the African diaspora and the tri-partied legacy of a colonial constraint within the UK. Much like the brass and iron shackled enslaved Africans in the dark underbelly of those behemoth slave ships, the shadowlands are used as a metaphor to convey the organisational places where similar leadership abuses of power occur. A shadowland is a place of eerie darkness filled with pain and suffering, infested with racism. It is often devoid of human kindness, except for the scraps of food and bones thrown where only the fittest are expected to capture these rewards and survive (token/poster child). A mysterious place marked by fear, where atrocities happen in a subtle, covert way under the shade of the beating sun and a moonlit night, both of which serve to shine a light and perpetuate the stinking swamp of patriarchy and power. Power in this context is demonstrated through leadership behaviours that shape and influence culture and the norms of patriarchal society and organisations where the subaltern is cast into the bowels of leader(ship) practice. This place further perpetuates their inability to break through organisational barriers, as referenced in broader organisational and leadership literature discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Participants are at pains to explain how they perceive organisational elites and followers behave and how those with power wield that power. When explored through tenets of CRT, it is a place where research participants can find themselves chained in a vulnerable position through structural inequalities and racial exclusion to serve the reproductive needs of those at the top of the taken-for-granted racial and social hierarchy.

The table below highlights the dominant genre of horror found for research participants and supplements Gabriel’s framework of dominant organisation genres as specific to this group.
Table 5. Table of the dominant genres and occluded themes in the shadowland of organisations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dominant Genre</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Horror</td>
<td>A genre exposing intense feelings of fear, shock or disgust linked to the agency of poor leaders, organisational norms of dominant leadership behaviour and inhospitable milieus</td>
<td>Racism and Patriarchy</td>
<td>It isn’t anything that I didn’t expect, really, but it is really sad that racism is still around and permeating everything. It’s like a disease that doesn’t go away. It’s like cancer. It’s horrible… that people have the power to do that just in very subtle ways that if I did say anything it would make me look pathetic!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Social Reproduction</td>
<td>‘Only certain people are listened to and it’s who they liked, they would listen to. Erm…People who they didn’t particularly like, especially immigrants, it was obvious that more pressure was placed on those individuals. They were expected to perform at 150%</td>
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<td>Tokenism</td>
<td>‘I think that part of it is that I feel to some extent that I am a token’</td>
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<td>‘Constantly being on show, that everything you say, you do, you wear, what hair, whatever could be a challenge…There are politics in how we look, how we dress, our hair, you know? People have policed our hair…wow, you know what I mean?’</td>
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<td>Power</td>
<td>‘I suppose, and those that are higher up in the hierarchy do have leadership power and do misuse it. I think it’s just evident that there are different levels of, you know, grading and even though they say there is no hierarchy, there is one, but they chose who will be in the levels and it’s not open to everyone.’</td>
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<td>Occluded Themes</td>
<td>Atrocities</td>
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<td>‘I know that the service has monitored and watched me and other black officers, and erm, some of those officers have ended up in Prison. I respect the law, and it is what it is. And so…and I think the biggest challenges, sort of challenges there have been moments that could threaten to almost break you.’</td>
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<td>Unequal races to run</td>
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<td>‘…this is in the police service. Right. Black officer. White officer, they’re at the starting line of 100 m dash. The gun goes off, both start running. Pretty soon it becomes clear that you’re not doing that; the Black man…the black officer is not doing a 100 m dash. He’s doing 100 m hurdles’</td>
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<td>Organisation induced trauma and stress</td>
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<td>‘It makes you feel like you’re in a war zone, a war zone all the time.’</td>
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7.1. Racism and patriarchy

As highlighted in the previous section, participants’ narratives start in UK milieus which can also appear menacing and filled with overtly aggressive, racialised and sometimes violent episodes of daily psycho-social thrashes practised by individual actors, leaders, managers, and followers. These actors are, perceived / or understood by participants as deliberately, forcibly, or unconsciously designing organisational barriers detailed in the following paragraphs to restrict visibly minoritised groups from attaining leadership.

The following extracts, the first taken from a female senior lecturer/programme leader in a Higher Education establishment, seeks to illustrate the overly aggressive leadership perceived to be practised by some White leaders and colleagues and the occluded organisation narratives that confer and reconfirm those power structures and inequalities:

I think that the higher up you go in the organisation they have the power to behave in that way. Yes, so because they are in those powerful positions, they think they can do what they want to people, and they can walk on people. I think you know it because there is a hierarchy, hmm, and so the higher up you go in the hierarchy, the more leadership power you have, I suppose, and those that are higher up in the hierarchy do have leadership power and do misuse it. I think it's just evident that there are different levels of, you know, grading, and even though they say there is no hierarchy, there is one, but they choose who will be in the levels, and it's not open to everybody.' (GMLLB03)

The questioning and underlying conflict the participant grapples with appears in their wondering when they repeat such words as 'I think that… I think you know... I think it's just evident'. The participant becomes more confident in their assessment that organisational actors abuse their power the higher they rise in leadership levels and hierarchy of the organisation. Furthermore, they have more control than they [the participants] seem to possess: 'I suppose …those that are higher up in the hierarchy do have leadership power and do abuse it'. The very notion that leadership is something hierarchical and associated with influential individuals is equated to racism or enabling racism: 'they have the power to behave in that way…[but] they [the powerful] chose who will be in the levels [of leadership] and it's not open to everybody'. Two tenets of CRT are implicit in the same participant's narrative, which recognises that leadership is not open to the subject, as different groups are recognised as being racialised differently, (Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022). The invisible barrier of racial exclusion and the race pyramid is practised through power misuse.
‘Exactly, it’s just modelling we don’t value you. Everything is on paper, but really we don’t, and we
don’t value you and your achievements. It isn’t anything that I didn’t expect, really, but it is really sad
that racism is still around and permeating everything really. It’s just endemic. It’s like a disease that
doesn’t go away. It’s like a cancer it’s horrible…that people have the power to do that just in very subtle
ways that if I did say anything, it would make me look pathetic… because it does just sound stupid,
doesn’t it; but it isn’t when you look at everything else, and only a Black person can understand
that.’(GMLLB03)

This equation is made particularly so when participants perceive that occluded themes
of racial exclusion through lack of re(presentation): 'everything is on paper, but really, we don't
value you and your achievements' amongst the hierarchy of organisations is due to the
prevalence of the cancerous disease of racism, as alluded to when this participant says, 'It's just
endemic. It's like a disease that doesn't go away. It's like a cancer. It's horrible' [and where they
state that] ‘even though they say there is no hierarchy, there is one, but they chose who will be
in the levels, and it is not open to everybody’.

The extract begins to illuminate the hidden subtle undertones of structural inequalities,
'grading' and discrimination ‘cancerous disease of racism’ and the position of organisational
actor's place of 'power'. The research participant again points to racial hierarchy, the
normalisation of racism, and how UK organisations go about their business (Delgado &
Stefancie, 2011). The participant explains how racialised subjects perceive their place in
patriarchal organisational structures. One which largely excludes them and one in which less
powerful beings (the invisible) can only speak for themselves and their own community
members but are also faced with a double bind of not being able to speak due to the ‘subtle’
‘endemic’ and ‘pervading’ nature of racism. Participants perceive that to expose this is to risk
looking ‘pathetic’ and ‘sounding stupid.’ To emphasise this, the research participant stresses
the point that 'only a Black person can understand that.' Unethical leadership behaviour
demonstrated through overtly sexualised domination or overtly and subtle racism remains
hidden in plain sight in the shadowland of organisations. However, it is perceived to have
significant psychic and material consequences for the subject, as illustrated in the following
extracts. The first from a male semi-professional footballer turned communications and media
manager, and the other from a service leader in a public sector organisation:

‘Yes, just the challenges, there is definitely racism in football just even in the last England game there
was racism, there was chants, monkey chants and me personally I’ve experienced a lot of racism through
my years of playing football. I’ve had opposition coaches shouting to their players ‘take that monkey
out. Take that nigger out.’ Saying those comments to their players. So, what… talking of leadership
what sort of wrong leadership does a coach erm, express by saying those comments to their players.
I’ve had comments from other players so yes, I’ve experienced a lot of racism in football, and I know
it’s a real thing. And I do feel like that the effect, the chances and probability of a Black player, playing
at the highest level, there are a couple of things that make it difficult for someone to make it. And yeah
of course, there are less than one percent of players; footballers make it as a professional in the football sector, football industry, so despite your background, going by your ability, there is a very slim chance of that happening.’ (GMLMY49)

Highlighted in this participants’ talk is how endemic racism affects them personally and professionally. The participant evidence that his experience of racism ‘is real,’ ‘I’ve experienced a lot of racism in football, and I know it’s a real thing.’ It is also perceived to bring career-limiting realities as expressed in the above participants’ talk when they say, ‘What sort of wrong leadership does a coach, erm, express by saying those comments…’ The participant points out that the leadership modelled by this coach was one of bullying and verbally violent racism. The underlying inference here of the ‘couple of things that make it difficult to make it’, as a global majority individual, is that underlying racism and structural inequalities of a patriarchal system like that in the UK renders White privilege over the life choices or opportunities of global majority individuals. Thus, it is perceived to expose itself in the ‘wrong leadership express[ed] by leaders [like the coach] saying those comments to their players’ are real and have significant consequences.

Emerging from research participants’ is the connection between research participants being unnoticed by organisational elites and the misuse of White privilege, gendered politics and the reproduction of patriarchal and racist discourses and practices of White women and their White male counterparts, as discussed further in 7.3. and briefly below. In addition, some research participants perceive that these White colleagues also exhibit an underlying resentment possibly linked to the fear of infiltration by global majority individuals amongst their ranks, as illustrated in this ex-senior police diversity officer turned consultant’s view:

‘I was talking to them, and they said do you know Festus, ‘when you first came here, we thought you had been sent to infiltrate us.’ I thought, ‘wow, are you crazy’ do you think I would try to do that, but I now understand why they thought that because my god, I have seen some things! I know some things, and I have seen some things, and I’ve heard some things, and I don’t trust the police, never will until I see the people who have committed crimes in the police service to account or people who have been found guilty of racism have been dealt with, right and until that happens nothing is going to change and… They abuse their power; they really do abuse their power, and I just and I think that’s what drives me.’ (GMLFJ48)

For others, it brings trauma and stress, particularly where the leadership behaviour is coupled with a display of highly sexualised flirtation and aggressive practice. As illustrated by this female Asian public sector leader:
‘When I was in the police, and I had just started working then, and she was quite a senior manager. And she was one of those very dictatorial managers, very much you know, very rude, very aggressive; but to be liked, she was very flirtatious. And very sexually harassing (coughs), and I remember one night having a work dinner and her getting very, very drunk and making very suggestive remarks over chicken bones, and I just thought, that is not what a manager should be, or a leader should be, people should respect who you are, and it was at that point that I lost respect for her…. Yes, that woman completely traumatised me (laughing) (GMLYP08).

The connotations explicit in the research participants’ extract is the contradiction made with the ‘very dictatorial leader’ in a regimented and controlled organisation ‘When I was in the police,’ which was painted as a ‘very, rude, very aggressive’ leader but one who used their power ‘to be liked.’ The unethical behaviour seems at odds with the ‘very dictatorial leader’ who, to be liked, was very flirtatious and ‘very sexually harassing.’ This is particularly poignant as the participant, in stark contrast, was a quietly spoken Asian woman positioned in a patriarchal society as someone expected to be timid, compliant, virtuous, naive, and non-aggressive, which is echoed in the telling of this episode. In her choice of this narrative, she saw this White woman in contrast to herself being ‘one of those very dictatorial managers …very rude, very aggressive…very flirtatious…very sexually harassing.’ The effect of this experience is one of rejection and disconnection from the leadership practised and seen in the analysis of the research participant who ‘thought, this is not what a manager or leader should be.’

The extract gives further insight into the psychosocial trauma ‘Yes, that woman completely traumatised me!’ experienced by participants in this shadowland where those held up as prototypical leaders do not appear to enact good leadership for themselves or behave in ways they constitute for others. This is a specific challenge for global majority individuals due to the double-bind of stereotype bias and gender bias, particularly for Black and Asian women.

The following extract is from a Nursing manager who felt the difference in her identity exerted on her by White managers who used it as a form of oppression and as a material consequence:

‘Only certain people were listened to, and it’s who they liked, they would listen to. Erm…people who they didn’t particularly like, especially immigrants, it was obvious that more pressure was placed on those individuals. They were expected to perform at like 150% whereas …erm how can I say this it… their counterpart like Europeans were…it was so evident the difference in how you were treated. If it's an opinion, if it’s just the workload and how you manage it, the evidence was just…it was just so real, so unbelievable that in this era we are faced with the same struggles…erm oh my goodness, there are just so many things that come to mind…the inequality was real.’ (GMLBP68).
For many research participants, organisations reflect a dark, underlying shadowland of entrapment, violence, and subjugation by the powerful in an organisational milieu where participants feel constantly monitored and controlled. The relationship of global majority individuals as recipients of these perceived organisational conditions is further investigated in the following paragraphs.

7.2. The token and poster child

Several participants felt that organisations tried to control and regulate their behaviour. Some described this as constantly being in the spotlight as a ‘Poster Child’ as described by a female senior police officer or a Token, as illustrated below in the narrative of this young female banking manager:

‘Erm…. yeah. I think part of it is I feel to an extent that I’m a token. But then, at the same time…the thing is at the same time I do believe in my merits, but in some organisations, you do need to sugar-coat things, and you are not always recognised on your merits. And it's sad, but it's just life. But if it means you’re seen as something else whether you’re being the token, or only female or whatever, but if that is your doorway into showing your actual merit, then… (phew blows with her mouth), go ahead. I don’t really have much against it. I mean, it can be a bit frustrating, but …I don’t really have anything against it because I just feel that in every single organisation that I’ve worked in, people have favourites and like a lot of especially in the industry that I work it… it's about who you know in terms of promotional aspects. Erm… a lot of it is who you know, who you network with. Who you get drinks for like who you…it’s not always based on what you can actually do. And I think because I learnt that so early erm…erm...and you know because of that it’s kind of like once you know you’re in that position you can counter it and show your merit…’(GMLAA78)

Whilst this participant acknowledges that they ‘feel to some extent that [they are] a token,’ they have a pragmatic view that they can use this as leverage to ‘sugar-coat’ things and counteract the perceived unfairness of leaders having their ‘favourites.’ However, there is an acceptance that being ‘a token, or only female [or] something else’ might be the doorway to attaining leadership and a position to thwart organisational disadvantages from leaders who choose others in their ‘networks.’ The following is an extract from a female senior national church leader whose background includes the experience of White missionaries and White foster families and her explanation of the stress of marginality due to the lack of (re)presentation.

'I had the big crisis, race crisis, race and ethnicity crisis, and it was like …because I could see that there were very few Black leaders full stop in any of that… at that point in any of the churches up and down the country regardless of what denomination they were' (GMLKC39).
The findings unearth an unfortunate predicament and realisation that for many, the folklore of meritocracy, working hard, and becoming well educated being the road to elevation and succession, appears to have had a negative backlash as participants failed to see notable leaders ‘up and down the country’ who looked like them. Also revealed by research participants is the feelings of vulnerability attributed by participants to being a standard-bearer or lone/token role. ‘I had the big race crisis, race, and ethnicity crisis… because I could see that there were very few Black leaders.’ This picture was perceived to be reflected nationally and temporally when the participant notes that this was the case ‘at any point in any of the churches up and down the country.’ The participant’s narrative below emphasises the lack of preparedness for the shock of an identity threat within organisations as a male senior childcare manager who experienced racism and intracultural betrayal and how different groups can be racialised differently (Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022) in both White and Black-led organisations:

‘I don’t…I don’t think I was fully prepared for the world of work in the sense of how my … difference (emphasised with air quotes) would be viewed and also treated. I don’t think I think to some extent my, my, my upbringing gave me some insight but not fully until I was actually exposed to the world of work … …you’re the person who bears the burden of responsibilities for standing up for when particular comments that get made and whether that’s against your professional colleagues who are Black or in terms of rights links in terms of service users so. I can’t remember the last time in my team meetings that they talk about issues of race…we don’t’(GMLFD05)

Other participants, however, perceive the ‘Token’ or 'Poster Child' roles within Eurocentric organisations as having a more sinister feel. On the one hand, both personifications of leadership are perceived as elevating and segregating one or two role models from the community as shining examples. In the words of a research participant, a very senior police officer, ‘I feel to an extent that I’m a token.’ On the other hand, however, in occupying these spaces, it is perceived that organisations are secretly keeping an eye on them as a means of control by displaying participants in a specific way and regulating them through dehumanisation, and alternatively, as a way to infiltrate the communities they represent. As such, the roles are viewed with suspicion and disdain by many research participants and sometimes within the communities, as illustrated in this regional nursing manager, responding to a point made by me about tokenism.

‘I totally agree. Totally. You don’t want to be a token, do you? No chance. So that’s why it’s important that when you go for an interview, I also interview them as well because even if I get a job and I don’t like them, I’m not going. I’m like that you’re not having me as a token, no chance. It’s not happening!’ (GMLRR64)
As seen in the above participant’s narrative, they ask, ‘you don’t want to be a token, do you? And then confirm their underlying perceptions of the place of tokenism in their final exclamation, ‘No Chance!’ and again when they say, ‘it’s not happening!’ The extract above demonstrates some resistance and agency in how participants also use the interview process to illustrate choice in exercising leadership. The participant uses the interview process to decide whether they will become ensconced in this role within an organisation and appear resolute that they will practice resistance and a powerful way to use this taken-for-granted identity to disrupt dominant narratives if they are regulated to being a token role. The following extract begins to uncover the specific challenges associated with tokenism and the underlying sub-theme of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ leadership as told by a female senior national church leader and the dehumanising effects of this:

So, they were trying to try and get me to do things in their way because there was a BP way of erm... because they had no Black women or women of colour at all and they had very few women, they really did not know how to treat us at all. Erm so, there was a lot of bullying, a lot of erm, putting us, putting me down. I was told over and over again the way I preach, the way I dress, the way I erm lead my, my philosophy of leadership etc, etc, etc where do we stop; was wrong. Basically, I was told flat out. I was told over and over again it was wrong. The irony is now I’m the flavour of the month. (GMLKC39)

Emerging from the participants’ data is that those who excelled within very hierarchical organisations seemed to think they had to contend with organisational attempts to dehumanise and display their identities. Organisations attempt to discipline the bodily presentation of global majority individuals by overly policing what they wear, how they (re)present and how they convey themselves within them. ‘I was told over and over again, the way I preach, the way I dress, the way I lead, my philosophy of leadership …was wrong basically...over and over again.’ Participants reflected that their represented organisations would script how they should go about their day-to-day leadership enactments as a token or poster child, as in this senior high-ranking police officer’s comportment of Black leadership below:

'Constantly being on show, that everything you say, you do, you wear, what hair or whatever, could be a challenge…There are politics in how we look, how we dress, our hair, you know. People have policed our hair, wow you know what I mean? ' (GMLRW22).

The legitimacy of these powerful modern-day overseers identified in the above extracts evokes an image of a patriarchal and occluded colonial past as perceived through research participants’ narratives, indicating how they are dominated and monitored. ‘Constantly being on show [and] that everything you say, do or wear could be a challenge.’ The underlying themes
of politicisation and policing come across strongly in these two participants’ narratives. Both extracts link to the subject's dehumanisation as they discuss their perceived lack of choice and decision-making. The extract also reveals the confusion coupled with the pressure that the token and poster child positions place on individuals when they perceive they are faced with the ‘irony of being [the] flavour of the month’ when usually their enactments of leadership are deemed to be ‘wrong.’

The following extract illustrates this perception more vividly. We are given an insight into how dehumanisation and the displaying of the racialised subaltern are embodied by the ex-paratrooper who comes to (re)present to ‘others’ the horror of their perceived place within UK organisations as a Token or Poster Child. The story below, told by a female senior police officer who considered themselves a poster child for the organisation, indicates the perception of global majority individuals being overwatched and controlled.

'I know that the service has monitored and watched me and other Black officers, and erm, some of those officers have ended up in Prison. I respect the law, and it is what it is. And so…and I think the biggest challenges sort of challenges there have been moments that could threaten to almost break you and when I say break you, the one that always comes to the fore of my thinking is the death of Stephen Alder. He was an ex-para. I think he was an ex-paratrooper, a young Black guy Christopher Alder in Humberside; you know about the case, and he died in police custody. Erm, and it was for the first time it was about the time; it was the 90s, and we introduced recording in custody suites. So, Christopher Alder went out in Hull, a night out with his mates had a bit too much to drink, got involved in an altercation with somebody else where he ends up injured as a victim of crime erm, he's then taken to hospital as he's the victim but whilst in the hospital, he starts to exhibit particular violent, aggressive behaviour, and the hospital staff call the police. To cut it short, the police arrive, and they take him, so this is someone with a head injury … and they take him from the hospital, and there is a journey from the hospital to the police station over a few minutes not far …and that's what makes it really compelling he was able to walk into the prison van by the time he gets out of the other end you see him being dragged into custody; his pants around his ankles and he's defecated and he's semi-conscious, and it's called 'death on camera', and for the next twelve minutes in total you watch him die in front of the officers where nobody covers his dignity …and they end up burying the wrong body [laughs but conveys disbelief in their voice]. You have to look at the case, but there are moments when I saw that… (long pause) … I just crumbled'. (GMLRW22)

Through the example given, the research participant tries to bring to the surface an implicit inhumaness in the way that, in order to gain and maintain control of these commodities, White leaders, through the humiliation and destruction of their bodies, evokes a powerful image of the subject either being ‘dragged into custody' or enslaved ‘end up in prison' with 'pants around his ankles'. The 'semi-conscious’ image of the subjugated subject being 'defecated' on by a system of brutality. The presence of a camera in this context is not a tool used as a protective factor but extends the practice of surveillance and control of the subject as
those bystanders 'watched him die in front of the officers' whom it is perceived, do nothing to stop the extinction of the paratrooper and watch a life expire on camera and suffer no meaningful consequences.

The use of such media and public displays of horrors further reinforces the discursive racist norms that are enacted by followers (racist police) as the extract reveals the underlying nature of White solipsism and White supremacy perceived to be connected to leadership. The poignant coda of this research participant’s narrative is exposed through this horrific episode where the participant says that it threatens 'to almost break you'. As they watched the outcome, when in the 'next twelve minutes in total, you watch him die' and the subaltern's life is finally expired.

The participant draws a chilling sense of horror at this indignity and injustice as they express that 'nobody covers his dignity'. The dawning realisation that the perceived intention is for White leaders to break the spirit of their human capital in 'these moments that could threaten to break you’ is conveyed by the participant repeating the line that this ‘just break[s] you'. The participant laughing in disbelief at witnessing this neglect of duty and inhumaness imputed to the ex-paratrooper seems to bring a moment of realisation as the participant seems to get a sense that this horrific act could happen to them. What comes about at that juncture, when the participant states that even after watching this 'death on camera', ‘they [the invisible White leaders] end up burying the wrong body,’ appears to point to the implicit and invisible power behind a system designed to maintain the status quo, which shapes the norms of leadership and creates the context in which atrocities and brutality such as this can take place.

The reference to the position of the main character of this extract being an 'ex-paratrooper', a servant of the state, denotes that even when the subaltern other is someone who has served their Queen and Country, this does not ensure a death worthy of military honour. On the contrary, this commodity or perceived human capital can be used and discarded by other state officers inhumanely. The research participant takes a long moment to pause and then exclaims hesitantly and with grave sadness the poignant ending of the saga – ‘there are moments when I saw that...I just crumbled'. At that moment, it becomes evident that the research participant's awareness of the significant challenge was not only one of keeping sane in the face of these experiences but one where they perceived that she could also be a risk even from a place of privilege as a ‘Token’ or ‘Poster Child.’
The analysis unearths the complex positioning of both the Token and Poster child. They can be a party to the brutal realities of how [in this case portrayed as the ex-para trooper] the ‘Other’ can be treated. The unconscious dynamics underlying these roles can play a part in the perceived travesties of inhumaness and injustice - as knowing but silenced. With this comes a foreboding and chilling sense of being under constant surveillance, 'monitored and watched'. Having an acute perception of their position leaves participants with several high emotions, including feelings of hypervigilance, anger and frustration. Or furthermore, they ‘just want to take a day off being different'. Something enunciated by a social care manager, from the highly negative organisational spaces and narratives ‘negatively affect [ing] not only their mental health’ and their lives.

The extract above exposes the very ominous and horrific side of leadership practice in the shadowland of organisations, as perceived by a few research participants with similar stories of atrocities across the group. One of the critical perceptions of why this happens is the relationship leadership has with a cultural bias towards the dominant culture at the expense of marginalised individuals and groups (Bordas, 2007), which is explored further in the following section. Through a continued organisational narrative of White over colour hierarchy (Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022), participants are conceived as commodities to serve the needs of White leaders and work colleagues whom they perceive only notice their existence through the acts or absence of their reproduction and exploitation.

7.3. Different ‘races’ to run: Measured by a different ‘yardstick.’

In this context, the word ‘yardstick’ (meter rule) conveys the differences in measurements applied to describe participants as measured against White leaders and colleagues. Participants discussed their frustrations with knowing that it would take them three times as long to achieve the same levels of success. Many talked about how they would get to a certain level in the organisation but could go no further, especially unable to break through to senior levels within an organisation based on the perception that they are measured to a different standard. The following metaphor captures and exposes the racial inequalities of race as a social and biological fiction (Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022), perceived as embedded in the infrastructure of organisations, illustrating the agonising and exhausting thriller of entrapment felt by the majority of participants as captured in the narrative of this ex-senior police officer turned consultant:
‘…this is in the police service, right. Black officer, White officer, they’re at the starting line of 100 m dash. The gun goes off; both start running. Pretty soon, it becomes clear that you're not doing that; the Black man…the Black officer, is not doing a 100 meters dash; he's doing 100 m hurdles because he has to jump over all of these to get to where he’s going. In the police service, I've never seen it so many different subtle ways that you can stop somebody from achieving or getting all or having the opportunity to get evidence so that you can get development and is it that it's really interesting…the levels they will go to, to find something ...Yes, it’s the subtle things they pick up on it could be the slightest little thing, and it's turned into something really big’, (GMLFJ48).

Like in an imaginary video game where the player ‘starts running’ and the levels they ‘have to jump’ over to get to where they are going become more challenging and complex. When they [the participants] finally arrive at the last level or finish line, they realise that they have yet to face the ‘big boss.’ However, in this game scenario, due to the ‘many different and subtle ways,’ for example, low-level stereotyping and judgements, racial bias, and in-group prototype leadership narratives, the participant can be stopped by ‘somebody from achieving,’ or the ‘slightest thing, [which] [is] turned into something really big’ at the last hurdle. For many, it very well is ‘GAME OVER’ having never attained the medal or broken through the barrier, maybe except for those able to outwit the ‘big boss.’ Participants’ understanding of being trapped in a never-ending cycle forces them into acts of defeat where they give up trying to check out of these organisations 'where they can check out if they like, but they just can't leave' as so eloquently put in the song lyrics from 'Hotel California by the Eagles. (Henley, Glenn, & Don, 1976). The following participant, an independent management consultant who had previously worked in the criminal justice sector, illustrates through his narrative the significance of power and politics ‘the dark side’ in organisational narrative and the practice of leadership in being able to navigate around inherent stereotypes and norms as a global majority individual to succeed:

‘There is Ok… (pause, deep breath intake) there is a dark side to leadership, which is about not just everything is great but looking at the organisation and the power and the politics and how you have to position yourself in that. So, like sometimes, I find it fascinating how many hmm… CEO and Chief executives are really White and tall. And I know from the interview perspective they have gone, ‘he must have authority because he’s got the physical presence’ kind of. The fact that they are crap at their job isn’t the point because they haven’t judged it on knowledge, all they’ve judged it on is the stereotype of this is what in this organisation we view leaders as. So, how you have to position yourself around some of those stereotypes of leadership becomes important…. Yes, a good example was years ago I did some work around institutional racism and what came out similar to your research, was why is it just in terms of longevity in particular services, people haven’t moved up the ranks. We were looking at the prison services. And this one guy said something quite interesting to me he said, ‘I knew I had to take the sidestep out of the organisation.’ He became a CEO of a charity, which then gave him the credibility to come back in but that was his way round the glass ceiling, and at my particular young age at that point as a researcher, it was recognising that organisations aren’t particularly loyal to you.’ (GMLLR11)
Others talked about going through a side door and up the back stairs to move up the ranks. Thus, taking a ‘sidestep out of the organisation.’ Finally, the participant brings in an organisational narrative that seems to grasp the reality of a ‘fascinating’ fact that leadership is not necessarily only based on the ability to influence or shape knowledge and practice but is also predicated on specific physical attributes and the position one holds within an organisation (positional leadership). This finding emerges when the research participant states that ‘you have to position yourself around some of those stereotypes of leadership.’ What becomes evident is a knowing that the first hurdle of many barriers - the invisibility of Whiteness presents itself when participants talk about trying to infiltrate or move up the ranks to each level of leadership which implicitly requires participants to be ‘White and tall.’

The subtle ways participants across the group felt they could be stopped from achieving leadership goals was when they talked about being shattered by constantly fighting a losing battle as the measures of success were frequently changed or moved as they approached achieving or near achievement of them. In the process, several participants perceived that leadership is not necessarily based on ability or knowledge but a specific set of norms and physical presence and attributes and access to specific networks, which is different for global majority people. Furthermore, the perceived consequences of constantly being measured by a different yardstick mean that those participants who experienced this felt that it distanced them from staff and led to feelings of being alone in a crowd, as illustrated in the talk of this female public service inspector.

‘Yep…erm so going back to my inspection days, if you wanted to move up, one they wouldn't let you do it, but because they say you haven't got this qualification, but yet they would let somebody else do it…. They were different to me in the sense, not…they were an inspector, but erm but they were given more opportunities, so one time my line manager who was managing me. He was an inspector in…in…I think it was in Peace Ville, and he didn't have a social work qualification, but yet they allowed him to be an inspector. Not that I was going to… because I know the barriers; I just didn't; I didn't apply. But when my line manager said, 'Oh, you should apply. He knows he said to me, 'what are you going to do? How do you see your role developing? And I just said, 'Well, I'm just going to stay an inspector'. He said, 'have you never thought of moving upwards?’ and I… that's the first time I thought of moving upwards, and I was thinking I might. I thought I should try, and I did try, but then that guy got it, and they told me it was because I didn't have the right qualifications.’ (GMLKM61)

The implicit understanding by this participant is that they are fully aware of their positioning 'I know the barriers'. However, this presents them with a dichotomy in that; while they want recognition for their achievements, they also expressed that 'being measured by a different yardstick means that their worth is measured by how much value they bring as commodities to be used. However, as the above extract highlights, their contribution is never
valued as equal. Other participants who attribute this lack of recognition to their identity, such as this male senior police officer, echoed these notions.

'I think if my identity were different, I would have had a shed load more. I think that had I been a White person, I would have been 'lorded' as opposed to anything else. So, if I take just the bit about Highland, which to a certain extent, I was fortuitous because the BBC did a documentary and erm I remember some of our media people coming over and saying there's a social media message saying Victorious for commissioner, but on the same basis I got my direct line manager saying to me, I'm not good enough to work at the next rank. So, if I'd been White, I'd be on a pedestal saying yeah, you're going to become a chief constable somewhere (I use that as an example), and so it would have been completely different.' (GMLVO80)

The summarising coda of the participant’s narrative, where he states, 'had I been a White person, I would have been 'Lorded as opposed to anything else' indicates an awareness of their perceived nightmare’s sinister and menacing reality. The participant reminisced that for as long as they could remember, attaining leadership seemed an unobtainable goal ‘if you wanted to move up,’ due to perceived leadership abuse by those powerful elites, 'they wouldn't let you do it'. Signalling a constant state and positioning of the participant as a heavily regulated object. An object subject to constantly being judged as underdeveloped and underachieving and measured by occluded organisational narratives of failure such as 'they say you haven't got this qualification.' The normative sense conveyed is that participants being different, have extraordinarily little agency to determine their destiny, 'but yet they would let somebody else do it' despite perceived successes in job and leadership roles. Furthermore, the analysis offers a counterpoint to the shadowland role of organisations which offers the poster child and token roles as being one willing to have global majority individuals enter the race to leadership but is also instrumental in preventing them from receiving any material recognition or rewards such as this dual-heritage male catering manager.

‘The challenges, I think, are still there now. I think… I think, as I say a lot of it’s how people perceive you and for you, people’s perception of me are still as… especially…I think once you start to progress along the hierarchy of an organisation and try and push up the ladder a bit, I think people still have perceptions of you as a Black person and erm, and I think that’s a negative perception erm…For example, if there was a White European Polish person going in for an interview and perhaps me going for the same interview, I think the White European person may have more of an opportunity. I think also when you apply for jobs, I don’t put my full name…but again yeah, I think it’s people perceptions, and then I think I sometimes consider the fact that I’m very British, so how can it be for more African speaking people or darker, cause I am of quite light skin. Erm, so I think there is a lot of barriers there still now, which I think are quite… Sometimes you just think, why are they there? And sometimes you think of; it is historical, and it is kind of organisational, institutional racism sometimes as well’(GMLSC53).

Many participants discuss the challenges of people’s perception of them due to the visible identity marker of being different or a different shade, which is perceived as mainly
‘negative.’ The strategies for counteracting these perceived harsh and unfair treatments include not using their given names on application forms if it gives away their cultural identity to circumvent the archetypal screening machines positioned at the front doors of organisations set up to filter out any imposters. Some participants discussed that although they were 'British and White as you could get', they still felt the barriers. Particularly when they are confronted by ‘negative perceptions’ of being Black, such as when business people ask, ‘where they are from?’ When this particular participant replies 'from a historical town in England', they convey the unconscious bias they observe through those business people's shocked faces. These types of interactions were commonplace examples given across the group brought about by multiple levels of expectations and pressures placed on participants, as in the talk of this senior nursing manager below:

‘Speaking to other Black Afro-Caribbeans who's been in those positions, it was that more pressure was placed on them, and a lot of them came out of the managerial post very early because you’re not listened to by junior staff. More pressure is just placed on you, and you just feel that you’re fighting a losing battle. Consistently. Yeah….it doesn’t matter how good you are as a person; you just feel demoralised consistently’ (GMLBP68)

The research participants' reflection reminded me of a challenging time and subsequent discussion with mentors from the staff college about an organisational context in which I was trying to operate. My experience led me to a glass cliff (Cook & Glass, 2013), to decide whether to stay or leave this working environment due to the pressure and what felt like constantly hitting my head against a brick wall for a change. I found it difficult to give up and walk away as a completer-finisher. However, having shared with my mentors the types of experiences I was having, for example, being asked to secure a response to government guidance from a senior manager as an advisor to the service board but was told ‘you don’t want to upset a manager like me.’ I understood that this senior White female leader took offence that I had been sent to ask her for this response. Whilst at the time I did not recognise this threat as having an underlying element of racism, it was only on reflection and tacit knowledge that I understood this micro-aggressive practice, as two days later, a request came via my supervisor from the same senior leader to see if he (my White male manager) would loan me out to help them respond to the same request I had previously made.

My mentors explained that I was navigating in an ‘acid’ organisation. One mentor asked me ‘what happens when acid hits the skin? The advice given was always to have an exit strategy and a plan to escape. That stuck with me. I was reflecting on the above research participants’
example of feeling the pressure within organisations, and it led me to be able to convey my feelings about my experience and subsequent decision and reasons why I decided to leave in my autoethnographic journal:

**Extract from autoethnographic Journal**

Ok, so I am 2 days away from leaving my current job and starting my new adventure. I am not sure how I feel. Mixed but anticipatory and a little anxious, more about saying goodbye to some lovely people and feeling the need to conceal my feelings at leaving such a toxic environment. I struggle with wearing my emotions on my sleeves as I hear my mum’s still voice saying, ‘honesty is the best policy.’ However, I’ve been questioning that a lot lately.

In fact, there are several things I’ve been questioning lately, such as the benefit of a good education, the working twice as hard as your counterparts to not achieve the same level as them, in both recognition for your arduous work or to be paid commensurately for the job you do. I have found myself being or feeling like a phoney, especially when I see the struggle of my children, especially my boys, who, no matter how hard they try, constantly feel the disadvantages of living in a society that does not accept them because of the colour of their skin and in which meritocracy is only recognised for a few.

Am I bitter about this for myself? No, but for my boys, ‘hell yes.’ I can’t recall who said, ‘nothing really prepares you for racism,’ but I’m beginning to feel they were right. I certainly wasn’t prepared, and even if you do feel prepared through certain times in your life, nothing prepares you for it once anti-racist practice and the discourse becomes unfashionable and doesn’t seem to exist in the face of more favourable discourses such as diversity and equality. It still feels very much that it is equality and acceptance of diversity for all but global majority people, and how do you know this? Because you just have to look at what the political discourse comes down to in times of economic and political crisis and what it is that a so-called democratic, civilised nation chooses to exert its focus on! Building walls and repatriating so-called illegal immigrants back to their own countries. However, my question is, if those same politicians and the societies from which they have come have done such a good job of hiding the very histories and identities of those people throughout history, where do they suggest those immigrants are repatriated to?

The stark reality of the catering manager’s story and the pressure he felt as a dual-heritage person to prove his Britishness to business people led to him not using his full African
name in order not to disadvantage himself further. The nursing manager felt so demoralised by
the pressure exerted on her in the shadowlands of organisations. These examples draw a parallel
to the plight of those deemed to have illegal immigration statuses caught up in the Windrush
scandal who were brought here as children, as British subjects, who have had this citizenship
questioned and cruelly and violently torn away from them and sent to foreign places, which
they are told they should call home but to which they have little association. It is indicative of
the transatlantic slave trade, which continues to leave an indelible footprint through the norms
of society and the acid in organisations. It also adds to the feelings of rootlessness and
unbelonging of me and other research participants as legal citizens born in the UK and the
agency to act and exercise leadership.

7.4. Chapter Summary

Overall, the findings in this section demonstrate that these lonely and isolating
shadowlands and organisations' cold and perilous underbelly can appear to reproduce some of
the dynamics of the Master-Slave narrative. In a context that continues to mirror the colonial
conditions that give authority to visible ‘Masters’ whose legitimacy appears to be, to subdue,
abuse and deny freedom and dignity to those unseen and invisible subjects from determining
their own agency. Except, however, for those acts of reproducing and meeting the needs of
their masters, which runs through the research participants' data. The analysis points to the
oppression and professional challenges research participants face in addition to those faced by
their more privileged White counterparts due to their leadership identity within organisations,
which have material consequences in both their experience and enactments of leadership.

Many point to constantly feeling under pressure to be ‘Standard Bearers,’ meaning
those tasked with being a good role model for the visible identity of the community. This
position acquaints participants with a realisation that, in some cases, this role diminishes the
relationship and connection with their own communities and sometimes their families. The
token and poster child phenomenon also seems to respond to the research question of the
additional challenges participants face and what is experienced by leaders in general due to
their cultural identities.

Emerging from across research participant’s narrative is that global majority
individual’s leadership experience within organisations seems inextricably linked to the
continued colonialisation of the subaltern. CRT’s relevance to this study brings the understanding of how different groups have been racialised and gendered to satisfy White Solipsism and the needs of the more dominant, powerful group (Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022). Their worth within organisations appears equated with the value of their reproduction, both men and women, as invisible house slaves [token and poster child], workhorses or domestic help to be abused by their White masters and overseers. These work roles position and attract over-monitoring, harsh treatments and objectification through sexual fantasy and violence, as illustrated throughout by the extracts used to demonstrate their day-to-day lived experience.

Elucidated in the extract below as a summarising coda provided by a male banking manager is the pervading and implicit effects of unconscious bias and racism felt within a UK organisation:

‘Not explicitly…erm but implicitly, it’s always there. Erm, that…that’s the cultural breakdown of people in senior positions. Erm and it is, therefore, it’s difficult to see, and we have that unconscious bias that sits in the background, and we don’t progress because of that, but I haven’t directly had anything I could say is attributed to that specific feeling, but I can say for sure, it is in the culture of the organisation more than anything else…I just think it’s more it’s not just this organisation, but it’s in this country. We are on a journey now, and we are trying to improve that, but where we are today, it’s still…what’s the word…it’s still…we are still a million miles away.’ (GMLRD77)
8. Chapter Eight: Findings - The Hard knocks of leadership - 'Rain a fall but dutty tough!'

This chapter extends the analysis of research participants' data to uncover further the genre of tragedy, satirical comedy, and underlying reasons participants’ see organisations as disadvantageous spaces and linked to leadership’s 'hard knocks'. Again, a table summarising the dominant genres, themes and occluded themes is presented to assist the reader.

Table 5. Table of the dominant genres and occluded themes in the Hard Knocks of leadership for global majority individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dominant Genre</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Epic</td>
<td>The epic story centres on the battles and contests or good triumphing over something considered bad/evil. It is about the agency of the social actor to resolve or avert a crisis personally. It inspires courage and demonstrates resilience.</td>
<td>Cultural custodianship</td>
<td>‘We don’t necessarily make ourselves that, but once we get there, our behaviour means that we have to be extra careful as the White equivalent, and we have to be the standard-bearers for our role.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pressure</td>
<td>‘I think, erm…there’s always a …not pressure but an expectation that people want you to do well, especially where there are so few Blacks in this type of organisation. So, it’s almost like, a do well for us also or we’ve got someone too…’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shadism</td>
<td>‘If I was a different ethnicity, mainly if I was light-skinned, I would be treated slightly differently to how I am being treated being a dark-skinned female. So, it’s really weird to think about it like this intense really as I would never really think about it. But yes, its true. If I was light-skinned, I would probably have better opportunities. Whereas being a Black female and dark-skinned erm I have to work ten times harder.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Organisation induced trauma and stress</td>
<td>‘Oh wow!…erm for the most part, not always, but the most part, you feel undermined and you’re made to feel a less valued part of the team. And it’s evident…it’s very subtle. So a lot of the time, you are treated as though you are stupid or that you don’t know what you are saying even though you have more qualifications or a better understanding of what you are doing. That plays out on a daily basis.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occluded Themes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Satire and irony</td>
<td>‘My difficulties is that once you know, you develop consciousness and awareness of umh…somethings and how it…you can’t not know them. So, Erm…, for example, hmm, it just places a great deal of scrutiny and self and of hmm…got to be careful that self-criticism.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Jamaican proverb: 'Rain a fall but dutty tough', is used here to convey the specific personal challenges associated with the brutal and destructive side of leadership, which many research participants’ referred to as their experience and practice. The translation of the proverb means that even though the rain is falling, the ground is still hard and reflects participants’ perceptions that although leadership is considered a positive concept, there are 'hard knocks’ which, for some, evidence itself in the extreme pressure and personal burden of leadership. The genre of tragedy and satirical comedy in the form of irony is evident in these 'hard knocks', which include family and community expectations, critical self-doubt, internalised oppression and shadism leading to what I term ‘organisation induced trauma and stress’ (OiTS).

8.1. Family pressure and community expectations

Many research participants point to constantly feeling under pressure to be ‘Standard Bearers', meaning those tasked with being a good role model for the visible identity of the community and the organisations in which they are situated. On the one hand, being a standard-bearer is considered positive because of the value in the community placed on leaving a legacy and individuals modelling leadership that the younger generation can look up to. On the other hand, however, this is also problematic due to the pressure of this role, and standard-bearers, as argued by Liu and Baker (2016), are only seen to speak for their own communities, unlike White leaders who position themselves as being able to speak for all people and all communities as reflected in the talk of the following participant a male senior police officer who sets the scene for the narrative which continues in the quote which follows:

'Yes, we tend to occupy 'standard bearers' for organisations. You know, we tend to be role models for our organisation. Whether it's at one level in terms of the President of the United States Obama, he's not a president, but he's a world leader, a world saviour, and there's Nelson Mandela. He wasn't a world leader. He was in Africa, but whereas Obama wasn't in the majority in the country, but he was a leader all the way through to business… I can't remember his name now the chief executive of Merrill Lynch, the African guy… So, in the world of business, he's seen as quite clearly a very talented and also seen as very unique chief executive officer in the financial institution and seen as the standard-bearer for the Black finances of the world. So, I think we are. We don't necessarily make ourselves that, but once we get there, our behaviour means that we have to be extra careful as the White equivalent, and we have to be the standard-bearers for our role. (GMLVO80)

The extract compares other notable standard-bearers as perceived by this participant and how 'world leaders' [and] 'world saviours' have to be 'extra careful' in how they behave in their leadership roles compared to their 'White equivalents'. The extract below alludes to the
reproductive use of these standard-bearers by White leaders as their ‘talent’ is recognised but also by the communities they stem from, as again illustrated in the same participants’ talk:

‘I got posted to Highland, and that was a challenging time after the riots and erm… and the type of pressure was, and there were a number of erm …African and Caribbean older gentlemen and women who were really pleased that I was there. You know. They said we’ve been asking for a Black borough commander for many, many years, and so we’re really, really happy that you’re here, and I was pleased for that, but the pressure was then that I was going to sort out all the mess internally, so they weren’t asking for favours they were now asking for ‘you can now ensure that we can now have equitable policing. You know we can get a police service rather than a police force, and it was enormous. You know one person to do that with the history that the place had, but it was also a privilege. So it was that kind of pressure…(GMLVO80).’

There is a sense of the extreme pressure participants feel from the weight of carrying the visible representation of what it means to be a Black leader having to be ‘extra careful’, [through] challenging times [despite] the 'type of pressure' there was from 'African and Caribbean older gentlemen and women who were really pleased' to see themselves (re)presented. The participant tries to convey what the weight of expectation felt like when he explains that 'the pressure was then that I was going to sort out all the mess internally' so that organisations give a 'service' to the community and not a 'force', like the police service used in this example. This notion of sacred leadership transpires from the data in that there is an almost sacrificial element of leadership alluded to and expected from Black leaders to sort our systematic issues by being appointed into a solo status role and, therefore, able to save their people. Alternatively, to be ‘talented and ‘unique’ is projected from members of their own communities and attached to the role of 'standard bearer', something felt to be an ‘enormous’ task echoed in the talk of this banking equality lead manager.

‘I think, erm there’s always a …not pressure but an expectation that people want you to do well, especially where there are so few Blacks in this type of organisation so it’s almost like, a do well for us also or we’ve got someone too, I don’t know look up to, but you’re kind of leading the way, giving an example, and flying the flag and it kind of enables you. So, it’s kind of…you get those comments a lot mainly from family and friends and community wise.’ (GMLRD77)

In addition to being standard-bearers, there is a perceived understanding that, in some way, they might also be able to circumvent the barriers of structural inequalities for community members. However, this could be achieved by almost righting all wrongs when in a position of power, thus creating a dilemma for participants’ leadership credibility. The difference emerging from this leadership practice from that as discussed in section 7.2. concerning the ‘token’ or 'poster child,’ is that the pressure to be the standard-bearer is self-imposed or exerted on the
participants by themselves, their families or communities as opposed to being pressured from within or by the organisation. 'We don't necessarily make ourselves that but once we get there, our behaviour means that we have to be extra careful as the White equivalent and we have to be the standard-bearers for our role' as articulated in another banking participant’s extract below.

‘I think it’s more like you feel like you. I don’t know if its again, like I said you mentioned before, all overly critical of yourself… in your head, you feel like you have to work that much harder, I find I know some, I’ve had examples where people have said certain things where I’ve had to do twice as much work as someone else whereas I haven’t physically been in that situation myself I don’t know cause it’s myself that’s putting that pressure on me I’m whenever I’ve done work, I’m working twice as hard to produce something what said you didn’t have to do that much, but I feel like I have to I don’t know why I feel like that, I have no idea. I over analyse things, or I …think, oh, that’s not good enough, I need to go over that, or it needs to look better, I don’t know. I don’t where that came in or …why I’m like that, but I just I do things a lot… more than others, so even with my job. (GMLTT76)

The above extract demonstrates the internal pressure exerted on participants by themselves to work twice as hard as an underlying societal and cultural narrative. Or as explained in the previous banking equality lead manager’s extract above (research participant GMLRD77), there is an ‘expectation to do well [because] there are so few Blacks’ in organisations that they are almost conducting the role of standard-bearer and ‘flying the flag’ as perceived ‘for us’ as a collective agentic practice as opposed to a solo enactment of leadership. The participant exposes the links with the underlying history, politics, privilege and intersectionality connected to the pressure and role of being a standard-bearer specific to global majority leaders and the heavy burden of leadership within this context. This role also demonstrates a powerful place where GM individuals can find common ground to represent different leadership behaviours and a constructed identity (Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022).

Other participants also perceive those self-imposed expectations come from wanting to be role models for their children, particularly after their own parental influences, such as this retired regional midwifery manager turned diversity mentoring consultant.

‘No one now, even my children, my expectations are for them. They are the two souls he gave me to raise, and I need to do what I need to do with them. So, the expectations were for me to be the role model for them.’ (GMLLE21)

Again, the above participants’ narrative alludes to a sacred aspect of leadership when they say, ‘they are the two souls, He [a deity] gave me to raise.’ The analysis reveals a continued legacy of leadership modelling that is practised.
The following paragraphs detail some of the internalised consequences this particular aspect of leadership appears to bring for participants, including self-doubt and internalised oppression due to perceived organisation-induced trauma and stress.

8.2. Organisation-induced trauma and internalised oppression

The previous sections identified that organisational spaces are experienced as places where participants’ leadership and identity go through a process of undoing and are shaped and reshaped through feelings of isolation, identity threat, reverse persecution, self-criticism, and numerous challenges. What becomes apparent is the level of distress and trauma; the effects of bullying, verbal aggression and gaslighting lead to Organisation Induced Trauma and Stress (OiTS) and internalised oppression (taken to mean turning discrimination inward and self-blaming for the oppression experienced). OiTS and internalised oppression make it more difficult for participants in the group and appear to impact them as members of their families and communities. Whilst some participants could recall moments of vulnerability and identity threats within work roles, such as having to speak up for others and the burden of responsibility for standing up, several discussed this being something that they began to experience at a very early age, and which had a significant effect on them growing up and on their identity. Exploring this concept using CRT’s first tenet demonstrates how racism is internalised and normalised even for those of global majority extraction. Such as this female Indian diversity consultant who described her experience of internalised oppression whilst at school:

‘Growing up, I felt different because of the way I was treated in school, and I only realised I was different when I went to school erm. And I used to do things like, you know, when kids used to like say 'you’re dirty', erm so I wanted to be like them. So, I remember once you know that footstone that you use to peel skin, I rubbed it on my face to remove the brown and made it bleed. And erm and then I didn't want to be Asian, and I didn't want to be brown erm I didn't want to be part of that family. And I do remember ringing a clinic at about the age of I must have been about twelve, eleven, twelve in Fairland and when the family were out, and I said I want to be White and this lady on the other end said 'oh ring back in a few years when we've invented things, and I said 'what about Michael Jackson? (laughs) as I just wanted to be White. (GMLBH55)

This sub-theme again points to the genre of tragedy for some participants who, from early interactions within the first institutions of Whiteness, start their experiences of organisation-induced trauma and an association with self-doubt and internalised emotional oppression. Being treated different[ly] and the realisation of being different for this particular participant can take shape through language that performs a material experience. For example, we can see how the White 'kids' use performative language to say, 'you’re dirty’. The self-doubt and inferiority complex this early performative language creates can be seen in this
The participant’s responses as she recalled wanting to be “like them.” The participant goes on to retell the story of how ‘I remember once, [using] that footstone [to] [rub] it on my face to remove the brown…’ indicating her attempts to be White. The participant’s initial attempts to seek support from a [White] clinic ‘I remember ringing a clinic’ is treated as a joke by the [White] people answering the phone ‘oh, ring back in a few years when we invented things.’ The extract also alludes to the unawareness White organisations had of the damaging effects or consequences the ‘hard knocks’ of internalising oppression have on participants. The participants’ questioning, ‘what about Michael Jackson?’ illustrates the underlying sub-theme of children and adults’ unpreparedness for racism. The coda captured in the participant’s sentence, ‘I just wanted to be White,’ gives an insight into the devastating internal conflicts experienced by her and several participants across the group who spoke of similar episodes growing up. They perceived that to be a valuable human being was to be part of a White family, not a Brown or Black-skinned family.

The participants’ collective narratives indicate an organisationally induced sense of inferiority and continuous stress brought about by racial hierarchy (Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022). These narratives are reflected in the stories of the treatment they experience at the hands of their White counterparts. However, these same narratives are espoused by others of the same ethnicity, who also find it inconceivable for individuals of global majority backgrounds to occupy leadership roles within specific organisational contexts. This is attributed to the lack of global majority leader’s visible within organisations. Those who do acquire these rare positions are perceived as less than valuable. This is reported as often leaving participants as ‘feeling sad,’ ‘joyless,’ ‘disenfranchised,’ ‘undermined’, and ‘less valuable,’ coupled with ever-intrusive thoughts that ‘you really don’t belong’ or are ‘unwelcome’ as demonstrated earlier on (see section 6.3). Further illustrated in the extracts below, one from a senior university lecturer whose self-doubt and lack of self-confidence are attributed to the feeling of being held back and a senior childcare manager whose self-criticism can be seen to cause internal self-conflict.

I’ve been recognised nationally, yet there’s still this element of lack of self-confidence, which probably goes way back to school. You’d think all the credentials I’ve got; you’d think I’d be a bit more confident than I am. So that’s why I wonder if I’ve internalised some of the attitudes, the prejudices and stuff because it is there. (GMLJD14)

‘My difficulties is that once you know you develop a consciousness and awareness of uhm somethings and how it…you can’t not know them so erm so, for example, hmm, it just places a great deal of scrutiny and self and of hmm…got to be careful, that self-criticism’ (GMLFD05)
These research participants’ perception forces them to respond in a way that leaves them closed off, limited and careful as if operating across enemy lines, having to watch what they say and whom they say it to or what they do in the event that they are exposed as imposters. Nevertheless, in the main, participants spoke of being made to feel like they were being treated more harshly and unfairly for making a mistake more than their White counterparts and 'easily targeted' as elucidated in the narrative of a female entrepreneur and business owner reflecting on the time she worked as an employee in finance:

'I was the highest performing regional manager in the country. I was the highest Black person in my position. Black woman, and they just didn't want to acknowledge…. I was a Black woman. There was no other Black women there. I was the only one. It's a very lonely place. I didn't win the award although my sales figures won the award. But I wasn't given the shield, or my name didn't go on the shield … And so as just not to put my name on the shield, they found one lady, and it's ironic because it was one White lady that stopped my Black name going on the shield.' (GMLAJ02)

The business owner spoke of a time when ‘one White person’ whom her organisation felt she did not develop as a talent could mean the difference between her being recognised for outstanding work or the reason used to ‘stop[ped] my Black name going on the shield.’ The continued disbelief in the unfairness and injustice echoed in them, reiterating that they were ‘the highest performing…the highest Black person in my position…there was no other Black woman there. I was the only one…they just didn’t want to acknowledge it…it was a lonely place.’ This extract evokes an underlying narrative and acceptance of the ‘biggest challenge’ that ‘the group’ seem caught in a cyclical battle of positive versus negative, positioning the participant as the undying hero(ine) ‘veering on the positive to override it’ no matter how difficult it gets. However, it also alludes to the underlying structural inequalities and normalisation of racism as the extract below elucidates the day-to-day experience of a senior nursing manager's internalised oppression and their experience with leaders and staff undermining her leadership role.

‘Oh wow! …erm, for the most part, not always, but the most part, you feel undermined, and you’re made to feel a less valued part of the team. And it's evident ...it’s very subtle. How you’re made to feel… erm, for example, ...So, you will have a member of staff who is of a different ethnic group. I don’t want this to sound as this is so…as if is so much of a race thing. It could be… You, as a senior nurse or a qualified nurse, you’d have a healthcare assistance whose view may mean more to the manager than yours as the senior nurse. Yeah, so it’s like that they will listen more, and even though educationally you are more knowledgeable in what you are doing, even that is undermined. So, a lot of time, you are treated as though you are stupid or that you don’t know what you are saying even though you have more qualifications or a better understanding of what you are doing. That plays out on a daily basis.’ (GMLBP68)
The notion of a valuable human being perceived as White is captured in the analysis of the data and its intersection with race and class. The subtle ways in which global majority individuals are introduced to the performativity of Whiteness and its invisibility in organisational narratives is evident in the narratives of the above participants. For example, when the research participants stress how they feel ‘undermined’ and ‘less valued,’ ‘it’s evident … it’s very subtle’ is trying to open a window into the world of Eurocentric organisations and the internal climate for ‘different ethnic groups. The research participants shed light on the position and practice of leadership that global majority leaders are called on to engage in from a place where they perceive they are seen as ‘stupid,’ unheard, and unqualified to undertake a leadership role of influence on a ‘daily bases.

8.3. 'Shadism' and the cultural nuance of Blackness
8.3.1. Shadism

The following theme, ‘Shadism,’ extends the sub-theme of self-doubt and internalised oppression. Still, it introduces the intersectionality of race and class through the concept of 'shadism' and the second tenet of CRT, ‘White over colour’ (Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022) in how the racialised subject can also be positioned in society, organisations, and different sections of the group. Epidermalism (Fanon, 1986) or 'shadism' is a phenomenon where the lighter in skin tone/shade you are, the more opportunities are more accessible, as alluded to in this HR specialist’s narrative below, whose extract I use as an introduction to this sub-theme:

‘If I was a different ethnicity, mainly if I was light-skinned, I would be treated slightly different to how I am treated being a dark-skinned female. So, …it's really weird to think about it like this intense really as I would never really think about it, but yes, it's true, if I was light-skinned, I would probably have better opportunities. Whereas being a Black female and dark-skinned erm I have to work ten times harder to get to where I want to be regardless of if it's just work, just in life, in general, I have to be ten times nicer or work that extra hour longer just to be noticed, or you know you've got that achievement there, and it depends on who you work for. In the same sense, I'm quite lucky now, whereas I work under another Black female, but she's light-skinned. So, she's got to where she wants to be, but I don't know how long it took her to progress to where she is. But yes, I'd say life in general, the biggest obstacle, is being a Black female. Yeah'. (GMLEA67)

The extract reflects the historical use of shadism as a form of classism where colour instead of class is used to determine social capital. Shadism has its links to White supremacy, which appears to have been taken-for-granted by research participants, as elucidated in this participant’s narrative; ‘if I was light-skinned, I would probably have better opportunities. A
lighter skin tone is perceived as more acceptable to organisations than a darker hue. 'Shadism' has long been something that appears to have been externally driven and used as a dividing norm within colonised communities and as spoken about by participants such as this male senior consultant of dual-heritage background, who was made aware of this concept by a darker-skinned peer:

‘One of my friends’ who's a CEO of his organisation which is another consultancy as well; he brought in 'shadism' there as well. What is the right level of shade that makes you acceptable to these types of organisations as he's a lot darker than me, and he said to me, you have to bear in mind that because you're a lot lighter than me, people might see that as more acceptable than with me, I thought ooh?’ (GMLLR11).

Shadism also features in the narrative of this Asian female diversity champion who experienced forced marriage in which shadism played a significant role:

‘...The darkness within the culture, it had an impact, and I remember my mum wouldn’t let me play in the sun as I was growing up. She used to say, your too dark, your too ugly. Nobody will want to marry you. Later on, in life, I’ve learnt that that was how she was trying to protect me. She didn’t realise the damage she did by saying it negative, and it was to keep me out of the sun. So, there was just this darkness became a complex even from my own family. Erm and then I had cousins who were a lot fairer than me as well erm, and then I wasn’t really a person…’(GMLBH55)

Due to the female participant’s darker shade, she explained how her in-laws treated her like a servant. Again, we can see in the extract through the use of CRT, the racialised legacy of a tri-partheid structure of society where dark skin and Blackness are equated to something ‘too dark, ‘too ugly,’ something which should not be exposed to the sunlight. The complex nuance of shadism is exposed through this example of early childhood in that the participant could reflect on the parent being protective in that they can be seen to want the best life for their daughter. However, how they exercise these protective factors perpetuates the social norms equated with racism which sees Black as negative and unwanted, and the subject as positioned as less than human there to serve the reproductive needs of the in-laws.

Shadism, like 'Blackness', emerges as culturally nuanced and, for the most, perceived as complex. The complexity involves the fact that shadism, like racism, is socially constructed through Eurocentric social norms and driven by the continuation of this oppressive practice of shadism within global majority communities and across racialised societies globally. What becomes evident from research participants’ talk is that they perceive that the lighter in skin tone individuals are, the nearer to the acceptable leadership prototype individuals are. Some
(those with lighter/Whiter skin) are perceived to have more opportunities to exercise leadership within organisations as they are perceived to be the 'right level of shade' [which makes them more] 'acceptable to these [White] organisations. However, those participants with darker skin tones attribute challenges to their leadership progression and lived experience of struggle linked to UK society's tri-partied structures that see Black people at the bottom rung of society, Asians in the middle and Whites on top due to shadism. In addition, participants perceived that the darker their skin tone, the harder they needed to work.

However, not all participants are fully aware of this phenomenon, although examples of this are reinforced through media projections. Such as in advertising hair and skincare products and the pressure Black artists, especially women, perceive they are put under to lighten their skin tone, something recently exposed through media documentaries such as BBC Three's documentary Leigh-Anne: Race, Pop & Power. Some participants like this female national faith ministry lead, however, were able to challenge and embrace their shade and limit the detrimental effect shadism could have had on them as a child due to the influence of their parents:

‘I take responsibility for the way I am, and I can choose to change it or keep it. Erm, what I think has been or what has changed for me is who I will listen to. So, I could have listened to those people that when I was at primary school said your hair is different and felt inferior to the little White girls who had ponytails and plaits well a different colour. I had plaits too. My plaits were just different (laughs) So, what I did, or probably didn't realise what I did was choose who I listen to and who I would then influence myself beliefs’ (GMLKK40).

8.3.2. The cultural nuance of Blackness

In delving deeper into the interpretation placed on the concept of ‘Shadism,’ the male consultant raised the intergenerational and intercultural differences and complexities linked to race and ‘Shadism’ and the necessity for leaders to understand the cultural nuances attached to shadism, Blackness and marginalised groups.

'We use these labels like 'Black' as if everyone understands what that means, and it's so much more nuanced than that. And understanding those nuances, as a leader, it becomes really important, as well as how to help others understand that and within this timeframe is really important because no one in this country at least is going to be in your face.' (GMLLR11).

The extract illustrates that not all participants feel comfortable with the homogenising label of 'Black' denoting the same thing to all fractions of the group or communities to which
it is applied. However, several participants felt it was an essential part of their leadership practice to support other leaders to understand this, and the label of Blackness might define the subtle ways leaders with similar identity backgrounds within the context and periods within which they operate. A significant point emerging from this extract was identifying the need for participants to possess cultural literacy (Hirsch, 1987) and to recognise that particularly those participants born in the UK to parents born in the Caribbean are perceived as having unique and different identity formations than those first-generation migrants or from those participants born in the Caribbean, Africa, Asia, or South-East Asia. The multiple challenges and the inherent cultural nuances this unique identity construction contains are reflected across the group, which is summarised in the narrative of this senior university lecturer.

'My culture is my identity as well. If you see what I mean, I don't think you can kind of separate it out completely. It makes me sound schizophrenic, but I do have. I am lots of things, and those are my different identities, but in all of those identities, I have my culture, which is my Blackness. That's me. So, I'm a Black wife, I'm a Black woman, I'm a Black lecturer, I'm a Black nana, she has her White nana, but I'm her Black nana, so does that make sense?' (GMLLB03).

'Blackness' for participants is inextricably linked to their identity and culture and, for some, adds to a multiplicity of 'masks' (Fanon, 1986) and identities that they perceive they need to wear daily. For some participants, there seems to be a cost in identity coherence, indicating that there is for some, an uncomfortable internal split ('it makes me sound schizophrenic’) and disconnection with some accepted aspects of cultural practices associated with their communities, as illustrated below by this young female banking manager.

'I think…I … there's so many levels of it, but I think a lot of people just assume 'oh it's erm somebody who's into rap and into grime' and all that sort of thing and speak a particular way which we hear a lot of where I won't associate myself with that because I'm thinking that doesn't say that isn't a culture in my opinion behaving in that way or saying oh you're not Black enough because you don't do this you don't do well no… I wouldn't then rather say I was more Black Caribbean than to say I was… within THAT bracket cause Nah [laugh] …' (GMLTT76).

The above extract gives some insight into the questioning of identity and culture, which can be seen in the hesitation of the participant as they struggle to formulate their thinking on the subject of culture, 'I think…I… there's so many levels of it…’ and again when they repeat 'I'm thinking that doesn’t say that isn’t a culture in my opinion.’ The extract again illuminates the internal struggle and internalised oppression and rejection of some aspects of what could be perceived as ‘Black culture’ as illustrated in the participant’s talk; ‘…I won’t associate myself with that…within THAT bracket cause Nah!’ The extract alludes to a rejection of the homogeneity of the group from dominant (re)presentations usually associated with some Black
individual research participants. Similar sentiments were also echoed in the talk of a university diversity ambassador below, who perceived that only some aspects of Black culture are perpetuated as representative of the group by the dominant group as a way of continued marginalisation and misrepresentation:

‘I think it’s the difference between someone like Stormzy who wasn’t one of the good ones and then a colour hereby think he has become one of the good ones in recent years despite what he talks about and him talking against the establishment. He is the one that they call what they want a well-spoken person of the Black community to go on TV to talk about knife crime or whatever. So, I think that I think that’s what they want, they want people of colour that will help. Will hold up the establishment…’ (GMLTV65)

The participant points to the widespread adoption of Black culture perpetuated by mainstream media messaging, language, and communication, which is inextricably linked to the demonising of Blackness and the heroicising of Whiteness. For example, the participant internalises it when she states that it’s ‘just assume[d] that if somebody who’s into rap and grime and speaks in a particular way,’ it is the norm. These participants' narratives contain a rejection of that image and a disassociation with some aspects of the culture, which again alludes to the reproductive use of the Poster Child. ‘The difference with someone like Stormzy’ who is seen to represent the dark side of Blackness ‘who wasn’t one of the good ones’ yet is called on by the dominant establishment to (re) present and speak to things like knife crime re-establishing a link with the racialised practice of leadership as discussed previously in section 2.3.2 (Liu and Baker, 2016).

By contrast, Whiteness is less problematic and associated with privilege and power. The power associated with Whiteness is seen as homogenised across White groups by participants, as expressed in this university equality lead’s extract:

‘I saw they don’t really want to combat this problem; they just want to be seen as combating the problem. They don’t really want to solve anything because they’re comfortable. It’s a comfort thing. And then I we brought up about stuff like Whiteness...critical Whiteness and White privilege and universities talk about White privilege like it an ambiguous term when it comes to race… in race, we talk about people of colour as victims but never the perpetrators of that which is often White privilege and we, we need to adopt an open and honest discussion about it properly, properly…so it’s that, it’s those sorts of things I think, it’s when you realise that ‘oh these places were built this way and they don’t want to change everything, they are quite happy where they are’ (GMLTV65)

A news story that hit the national press illustrated the White privilege the above research participant illuminated well. The story catapulted me back to my earliest encounter with
unconscious bias and unwitting shadism experienced in an organisation, as exemplified in Chapter 6.1. It prompted me to reflect on the incident and its significance for global majority individuals living and working in Britain, where unwitting racism and bias are interweaved and form the fabric of organisation’s occluded narratives. The reflection from my autoethnographic journal is cited below:

_Autoethnographic extract_

The recent furore regarding the conservative MP (Anne Marie Morris) raises the question of White privilege in how Ms Morris felt emboldened to use the phrase ‘nigger in a woodpile.’ Her terminology received a lot of public scrutiny and outcry many weeks after it was said. Not only because of the offensive language used but also because unwitting racism was exposed to still be so prevalent at the very core of UK society as the words were uttered concerning the Brexit deal.

The term ‘nigger in a woodpile’ conveys something important that is hidden and should be viewed as suspicious or wrong. This led me to reflect on my reading of Franz Fanon’s essay ‘Black Skin, White Masks,’ and the concept of Blackness in comparison to Whiteness as Fanon concluded that ‘Racism both in its most blatant and incipient form, is the foundation of fortress Europe’ (1986: xix).

Not long after the Morris incident exposed the continued legacy of empire and colonialism in society and politics, the Sewell report was published in the spring of 2021. The report gave rise to further controversy following the rhetoric of Brexit as the report commissioned by the UK government was reported to represent the UK as a beacon of hope to the rest of Europe in relation to its history on race and racism. However, the most difficult pill to swallow for many was that the report’s chair was a Black leader who was seen as complicit in the government’s denial of institutional racism within UK organisations. Analysing the language of research participants lends some insight into tokenism, as previously discussed and the burden of being a standard-bearer. However, the data alludes to the deep hurt and distress caused by intercultural betrayal and disconnection as underlying narratives, which I discuss in the following chapter as exemplified by Sewell’s perceived part in the report's publication.
8.4. Chapter Summary

Emerging from the analysis is that some participants have begun their leadership enactments with a negative perception of Blackness as synonymous with race and victimhood ‘in race, we talk about people of colour as victims.’ In contrast to this is an implicit positive perception of the benefits of Whiteness in that irrespective of what nationality a White person is or comes from, they are perceived to come with the invisible privilege of being chosen or their needs being put first in organisations ‘they just want to be seen as combating the problem, they don’t really want to solve anything because they’re comfortable. It’s a comfort thing.’ The invisible perpetrator – White privilege, which is perceived as something ‘they [White people] don’t want to change [as] they are quite happy where they are.’ The perception of this leads to suspicion and mistrust of White colleagues who would otherwise be considered White allies. A striking revelation is revealed when the participant exclaims that ‘it’s those sorts of things I think, it’s when you realise that oh these places were built this way and they don’t want to change...they are quite happy where they are.’ There appears to be a continued and unhealthy inferiority complex apparent in the discourse of several participants. This inferiority complex appears to stem from regular exposure to internalised organisation-induced trauma and stress, arising from participants instinctively measuring themselves against Whiteness as the zero-point example of acceptable leadership.

In addition, there is an underlying theme of the multiple disadvantages perceived by being a Black or Brown leader, a different Shade in a Eurocentric organisation. However, in addition to their multiple disadvantages, what appears most damaging to participants is when they are deeply wounded by the internalised shadism and oppression they seem to face from within their communities brought about by the consumption and practice of racial fiction (Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022). Some examples of this specific to this group are highlighted in the following paragraphs as extracted from the data.
Chapter Nine: Findings - Intercultural betrayal and intracultural disconnection

9.1. Intercultural betrayal

What is revealed in this analysis element is what I conceptualise as ‘Intercultural betrayal.’ Intercultural betrayal as a concept begins to uncover the inner turmoil of the multiplicity, complexity, internalised oppression, and prejudice from within some elements of the research participants’ communities, which is brought on by decades of structural inequalities and a legacy of the colonial strategy of segregation (divide and rule) further perpetuating the genres of tragedy and themes of trauma, disconnection, and rootlessness such as illustrated in Table 6 below:

Table 6. Table of the dominant and occluded themes in Intercultural and Intracultural disconnection amongst global majority participants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dominant Genre</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tragedy</td>
<td>The tragic story engenders pity for the victim brought about by misfortune</td>
<td>Bias, Stereotyping, Disconnection</td>
<td>I think another thing that bothers me with it is the Black and White racism, but we also have Black on Black racism, and it just pisses me off! And in terms of ..., it’s just draining. And I’ve only just experienced that in the UK. I didn’t experience that abroad.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occluded Themes</td>
<td>Internal power struggles, Suspicion, Rootlessness and unbelonging</td>
<td>‘One of ‘bout what are you doing here you know? And ‘you and your kind’ in terms of other Black professionals ‘have sold out’, and then the additional bit about challenging your identity.’</td>
<td>‘...yeah, cause nobody ever really, no one talks about it…but how would you identify yourself? You just assume everyone just assumes you should know what you are. Where do I stan in a sense? Erm, I don’t know, not sure with that one.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Satire and irony |
Intercultural betrayal manifests in hostile behaviours, including in-fighting and bullying, conscious and unconscious bias and the maintenance of colonial class and caste systems through shadism. A key theme emerging from the data is that ‘Intercultural betrayal’ is presented as a challenging factor to come to terms with for participants and seems too often to beleaguer members of the group from acting at times in their own interests. The phenomenon of Intercultural betrayal also gives some rich insight into the complex factors that feature in the process of undoing and then the shaping of participants’ leadership identity as captured in this participants’ narrative, a senior childcare manager who experienced this in a Black-led community organisation where he was seconded.

‘This is the isolating thing, so right… ok, my journey in that respect has been quite complex because the reason why I was seconded or had the opportunity to be seconded to that erm Black community organisation was because I had experienced racism within the White organisation. So, it was almost like an opportunity just for me to kind of like, wow, you know, go somewhere to just not feel like… I am not under scrutiny and be kind of like erm by virtue of me going there within a matter of months of me going there; there was this dilemma. One of ‘bout what are you doing here’ you know’ and ‘you and your kind’ in terms of other Black professionals ‘have sold out,’ and then the additional bit about challenging your identity there’s erm there’s aspects of where ermm…you could say comparisons that could be drawn between England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland and those intra-ethnics in this organisation. A lot of those people were from, erm…small islands and how they perceived Jamaicans (laughs). So, all of that was kind of being played out as well… about now like you’re…it is quite subtle because you don’t know until you’re in the midst of it. In fact, a lot of White people from the outside would look, and they wouldn’t get it, but that…and that power…and of course if you were indigenous to the UK in comparison to being born… All that was being played out about your sense of who you were, how that gave you credibility or not. It’s a horrendous, horrendous tightrope to walk, and I think on a very personal level how it is that just was so demoralising for I mean I… I think I did that for two and a half years …it was a really bruising experience at times. (GMLFD05)

Many participants talk about their motivations to help their communities. Still, their experiences show that this is often met with suspicion, as they are seen as an organisational spy, sent to ‘infiltrate,’ or perceived as treating other global majority individuals more harshly than their counterparts [White counterparts]. Many are left feeling scapegoated for being different (African) or that they had ‘sold out’ mainly when they are from another Caribbean Island than the majority members of a community organisation ‘you could say comparisons …those intra-ethnics in this organisation.’ ‘Black professionals’ who had experienced racism within White organisations were viewed as ‘foot soldiers’ for local authorities assigned to local community organisations as a means of escape. However, they would experience challenges to their identity, and some research participants’ felt ‘White people from the outside’ would not be able to understand the disconnection as it was subtle. Those participants who experienced it
did ‘not know until [they were] in the midst of it.’ Some of the underlying themes point to the internal power struggles that are at play within communities and some families, which is shown in this banking manager’s quote below:

‘I think another thing that bothers me with it is the Black and White racism, but we also have Black on Black racism, and it just pisses me off. And in terms of …, it’s draining. And I’ve only just experienced that in the UK. I didn’t experience that abroad. Even in terms of support, I’m seeing Black people… and it’s not all of us obviously but generally support White businesses or Asian businesses more than they support their own…I feel like we are not as united as we should be…in my opinion. It’s hard,’ (GMLAA78).

The phenomenon of intercultural betrayal seems to respond to the research question of the additional challenges participants face in respect of having a distinct cultural identity that may not reflect the leadership challenges of White managers and workers. Entangled with this aspect of leadership are the ‘hard life lessons,’ the disappointment and the realisation that there appears to be very little synergy and collective understanding of community. ‘I feel like we are not as united as we should be…it’s hard’ other than around the concept of ‘Blackness.’ ‘Blackness in this context is synonymous with negative challenges such as Black-on-Black shadism, as identified in the preceding sections, and a collective banner of pride associated with visible difference and culture. In a societal context, it is acknowledged by participants that the concept of ‘Blackness’ changes depending on the cultural practices of the dominant community group who are considered the majority at the time and that this appears unique to the UK context, ‘I’ve only just experienced this in the UK, I didn’t experience that abroad.’ As demonstrated in this female minister of religion’s quote, who arrived in Britain at an early age as an economic migrant with her family having been born in Africa, who not only experienced shadism but prejudice and discrimination from other fractions of the ‘Black’ community:

‘So, it was a huge disappointment as I would have expected us to all be in the same boat and therefore supporting one another. But I realise that’s not what people do. They look for someone to scapegoat, they look for somebody to make them feel better about who they are, and that’s a dangerous thing. And so, it was the West India girls, it wasn’t the boys, and they did it because they could…because they were stronger, there were more of them and…because I had an accent, and I was ‘bookish.’ I was very…I used to walk around bumping into lampposts because I was reading. I was different. I didn’t erm…and in terms of my own sort of growing up in the UK, that there are now, a lot more African communities, in the UK than when I was growing up, it was largely Jamaicans and then some of the smaller islands and that how Blackness was defined,’ (GMLKC39).

The perceived scapegoating and intercultural divisions are often discussed as a disappointment for research participants when they perceive they are excluded within
organisations, but it also suggests that it leads to their isolation and disconnection from their families and communities. A sense emerging from the data is that a harsh leadership lesson is to be ostracised and have their credibility challenged as community members by their cultural communities. This is exacerbated by the research participant expressing the constant feeling of being an outsider ‘I was different…and in the UK…when I was growing up it was predominantly Jamaican and then some smaller islands, and that’s how Blackness was defined.’

9.2. Intracultural disconnection

Participants shared how they would be ‘tested’ on every side by White colleagues, leaders, and fractions in their own families and communities, particularly those who could be perceived as ‘Blacker’ than anyone else. This extract presents the views of a headteacher who had to contend with preconceptions of his identity being challenged due to his educational achievements and perceived disconnection from the community in which he served:

‘What made me think I could relate to the father?... [the parent of the pupil]. I read it that he thought that he was testing me to see if I were really from the community and could ‘get as dark’ as he was being. It has certainly taught me a hard life lesson, though, and I’m more considerate and less inclined to go to any specific lengths to help ‘my own so-called people.’ I used to think that we all shared the same background and had the same kind of principles but being a headteacher in this particular area has taught me otherwise’ (GMLLH01).

The research participant perceived his leadership role in the organisation as selling out to his colonial masters by some family and community members. For example, this can be seen in the above quote where the headteacher said, ‘I read it that he was testing me to see if I were really from the community and could get as dark as he was being.’ This backlash acquaints the participant with the realisation that the pressure he felt ‘it certainly taught me a hard life lesson’ and was put on him by himself and his family to be standard-bearers and cultural custodians but not to forget their place.

These pressures would often lead to occasions where global majority leader’s felt they had to prove themselves as still part of the communities in which they lived, although recognising that they held a place of disconnection in having to straddle the two. The extract illustrates the self-reflection and questioning of identity construction that often accompanies these examples of challenge and identity undoing reflected below in this senior university lecturer’s extract:
It’s a real toughie... there are different dynamics between different cultural groups. As a lecturer who has an interesting different social background - transracially adopted, mixed heritage - I actually don’t know where my dad is from, so I don’t know if I am African–Caribbean or African, but I think that the Black African students are going to perceive me as Caribbean. There are forms of racism as we know between different cultural groups, so like I had an example the other day where a Black African student said to her Practice educator because I’d picked up on things with her written work, ‘that I think Jessica’s harder on me because I am Black’ (GMLJD14).

In some cases, the relationship and connection with their own communities as well as some members of their families was diminished ‘it’s a real toughie… …There are different forms of racism as we know, between different cultural groups.’ There is an underlying sub-theme of unknowing and unbelonging due to the lack of knowledge of personal history ‘I actually don’t know where my dad is from. However, this research participant’s lack of knowing her full birth history also points to the colonial legacy of unbelonging, separation and ‘rootlessness,’ which will be further explored in section 9.3. below.

The ‘trans-racial’ adoption of intercultural disconnection, taken to mean in this context the transatlantic adoption of interracial difference perpetuated through the systemic enslavement and treatment of the African/Asian Diaspora, seems to have taken root and is embedded in the everyday experiences of participants. Several research participants shared this view, which can be seen in the coda of another participants narrative, also a Senior University Lecturer, which illustrates the hurt and disappointment of intercultural disconnection vividly presented in the extract below:

‘I guess you’re absolutely right. You do feel very isolated within your family, and mine’s very separate. I have my professional life and my personal life. For lots of people, it overlaps, but for me, very rarely, I have very few professional people in my life that come to my home. Do you know what I mean? You could probably count then on one hand; Do you know what I mean, but a lot of that is to do with personal choice, and I keep it kind of separate. In a way, to be honest with you, it’s a lot easier at work because you expect the racism, and you expect the criticism, and you have the armour to deal with it. But you don’t necessarily expect it from those who are in your social and family network, who are supposed to love and care for you’ (GMLLB03).

Many participants commented on the dynamics between distinct cultural groups ‘I used to think that we all shared the same background and had the same principles.’ There appears to be a lack of a shared understanding of what it means to be considered part of the community, ‘I’m more considerate now and less inclined to go to any specific lengths to help my own so-called people.’ Coupled with this lack of shared understanding is a loss of identity concerning those who consider themselves professional or academic community participants. The
challenge of absenteeism, particularly of fathers, concerning those of mixed and dual-heritage parentage and the tensions between those native-born in the UK, those born in Africa or those who consider themselves Afro-Caribbean is evident in the narratives of the group. A loss of identity is also evident in the narratives of those from Asian and South-East Asian backgrounds, albeit to a lesser degree. However, this may speak to their lack of numbers as participants in the research group. However, it may also be due to the recognition that they are racialised differently, as they were not totally stripped of their language, religion, or cultural traditions during colonial rule, unlike the African diaspora, attesting to the fourth tenet of CRT (Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022).

The dichotomous dilemma between personal and professional identity versus the balancing of participants with their desire for connection and inclusion in their families and groups creates significant strain. For those participants who were invested in higher education, they did this by either suffering the ‘horrendous [and] demoralising tightrope [they have] to walk’ when there is a perceived adoption of a colonialised education or by ‘dumbing down’ and selling out of the culture as expressed by this female senior university lecturer.

‘I think probably other people would call us ‘coconuts,’ they’ve never done it to my face, but I sometimes get the feeling that that’s what they think. A male cousin of mine, he’s my first cousin, was cussing me the other day because both of my sons are with White women, and I’m like, ‘they love who they love Prince. But he’s like, ‘they’re diluting our race,’ you know; really blaming me and Asher and I know what he’s thinking. So, I think there’s a lot of that that goes on within the social and family, extended family network and the social kind of network. Not so much the siblings because they love me for who I am, but cousins and second cousins and people like and ermm that, and there’s no point telling them you’re doing a PhD. So, there’s none of this life-long education expectation, which is kinda part of, I suppose, my value base. (GMLLB03)

Many participants talked about how leadership can be filled with hard knocks for global majority leaders. For some, the hard knocks of leadership are most felt when participants questioned themselves following a sense of pressure and expectations from self, family, and community, ‘I think probably other people would call us coconuts, they’ve never done that to our face, but I sometimes get the feeling that that’s what they think.’ Or from the expressed disappointment and disconnection, they feel from UK society and organisations and their communities; ‘there’s a lot of that that goes on within the social and family, extended family network and the social kind of network.’ These hard knocks lead to a deep and fundamental
questioning of African-Caribbean descendants born in the UK as to their identity and place of belonging attached to their perceived ‘rootlessness.’

9.3. Rootlessness and unbelonging

‘...everyone is trying to make sense of trying to find their place.’

The sub-theme of ‘Rootlessness’ seems important and most evident in the discourse of participants who are first-generation children born in the UK descended from the Windrush generation and those second-generation children born in the 80s. ‘Rootlessness’ means lacking identity, a place of belonging or being displaced and unable to identify a place of reference as a cultural or physical place of belonging or home. What evolves from participants is that it is rarely talked about, although it is something that preoccupies the mind. However, understanding the need for a place of belonging is vital for leadership, as it gives some insight into the perceived lack of stability and belonging from which participants feel they can enact leadership. Charles Seifert, a Black historian, considered that the lack of knowledge about one’s history leaves participants feeling ‘like a tree without roots’ (Seifert, 1938). Lacking a place of belonging appears to be linked with intense feelings and emotions of sadness, frustration, anger, and hopelessness, which, for the most part, are directed at the self with severe consequences for research participants, demonstrating the role racial fiction has long played in their displacement (Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022). For example, being unable to discuss issues that affect them with White people openly leaves individuals with mental strain and isolation, as expressed by this first-generation male UK-born senior social care manager.

‘Some of the discussions we were able to have were such that I couldn’t imagine having that with a room full of White people so your sense of ‘rootlessness’ so where is it that you are saying is your home because you’re one step removed from erm where your family where your parents experienced their childhood, and here in the UK you are not fully accepted’(GMLFD05).

In addition to the perceived consequences are feelings of disappointment and regret at a lack of parental foresight and timidness in challenging these disadvantages and at the broader social structures that perpetuate the conditions in which this ‘Rootlessness’ exists. Participants describe ‘rootlessness’ as not only a loss of identity and feeling that they do not belong anywhere but that places of reference or cultures they could identify with emerging as spaces and places where participants are also deemed foreigners. Below, the early help childcare
manager discusses her feelings of rootlessness, found to be a familiar feeling amongst those identifying as Black British across the group:

‘I was talking about this the other day. I’m about to buy some land in Gambia, which is in a world of collapse. When I was there the last time, I spoke to a lady there who is from England, a Black lady, and I said to her, ‘Do you feel you belong here? How are you treated by the Gambians?’ And she said, ‘no, I will always be a foreigner.’ Living in England, we are a foreigner. Going to the Caribbean, we’re a foreigner and going to Gambia; we are a foreigner. We actually don’t belong anywhere. Nobody actually wants us, so I don’t feel I belong anywhere culturally, to be honest. I’m really, you know I just… I just feel like that rolling stone that nobody wants’ (GMLPG73).

Apparent from this sub-theme is a sense that in UK society and within institutional and organisational structures, there is a nomadic existence for many participants across the group ‘I just feel like that rolling stone that nobody wants’, and that this seems to be connected to an intergenerational legacy of ‘Rootlessness’ as reflected by the participant saying, ‘I will always be a foreigner’ and again when they reaffirm that ‘we actually don’t belong anywhere!’. It emerges as perceived by participants that to be British is to be White, and to be a UK-born global majority individual is perceived as being ‘Foreign’ in every societal context, as illustrated in the following participants’ talk from a university diversity champion – third generation Windrush descendant born in the UK.

‘I don’t know honestly, I think I will not, I was born in Pride Lands, East Pride Lands, and I’ve been through the British education system, I’ve worked in the British university…I grew up, I was born and raised in this country, and through its traditions and institutions and everything, yeah, I still won’t be seen as British, even though I hold a UK passport! In India, when I went a few years ago, I was African. Yeah, because they don’t, they see Black people in India as African...That’s it African, or you’re African American, African, American, or African...they can’t believe that there are Black people who are British, because everyone, their idea of British is White, of White people. In Canada, they were in quite a bit of disbelief as well that I was from the UK. So, even you go to other countries there was sort of another lapse in what is Britishness. So, it’s how I define how I identify it. I’m not really sure at the moment. I’d like to identify as British, but I know in the world I won’t, I won’t be identified as British so...but that, that’s the problem, I think, and I know people who identify as Pride Landers but don’t identify as British, which is another odd sort of question there as well, so I think I’m not really sure because if I go to the Caribbean, I’m foreign, if I’m in Britain, I’m foreign, if I go to Africa, I’m foreign so, it’s so...’ (GMLTV65).

A critical point to note is the apparent link to a colonialised context, particularly for UK-born participants who, although they have been born and educated or worked within Eurocentric organisations, still perceive that they are unable to identify fully with what it means to be British ‘I grew up, I was born and raised in this country and... I still won’t be seen as British even though I hold a UK passport!’ The narrative punch is that, again, the perceived loss of identity is due to the visible invisibility of the subaltern when they say, ‘I still won’t be
seen as British.’ Ending with the coda, ‘I’d like to identify as British, but I know in the world I won’t,’ reveals the tragic drama from the perspective of the participants. It emerges that there is a painful awareness of a natural feeling of rootlessness as he hesitantly states, [that] ‘I won’t be identified as British so…but that, that’s the problem, I think.’

Rootlessness opens the window into the complexity and multiplicity of identities and the challenges associated with being individuals from a global majority background, whether born in the UK or not. CRT helps to illustrate how different groups can be racialised and marginalised differently which is evidenced as a specific challenge, especially for UK-born Caribbean research participants. It is a nuanced difference that they do not seem to share with those born in colonised continents such as parts of Africa, Asia, and the Americas. The implication of rootlessness means that UK-born participants start from a lower confidence base. They lack a stable base to enact leadership and noted across the group is much more critical self-analysis and evidence of a longer-term acceptance of prolonged abuse by White leaders and colleagues as a taken-for-granted social norm. The social and material consequence of rootlessness is captured below in this male senior childcare managers narrative:

‘I don’t think I was fully prepared for the world of work, in the sense of how my …’ difference’ (emphasised with air quotes) would be viewed and also treated. I don’t think I think to some extent my, my, my upbringing gave me some insight but not fully until I was actually exposed to the world of work ... I think that it’s part of the major, major challenges around hmm professional relationships between White professionals and Black professionals like how do they tread carefully because it can undo relationships that have been forged years upon years. So, there is a sense in which… if you end up going there that your values are being compromised in an attempt to maintain that relationship just on the basis that you just don’t get it and you’re not willing to take that extra mile to see that Felix is a friend of mine and 2) there’s a political edge to this’ (GMLFD05).

As illustrated above, rootlessness, unbelonging and disconnection result in social and material consequences for most research participants. In reflecting on myself as a British-born global majority individual with Caribbean heritage, who has long felt the emotional pain of unbelonging and rootlessness, I embarked on this enquiry to understand and test out assumptions as to the root cause of these. In addition, I wanted to understand why I felt rootlessness and disconnection more acutely in work organisations than in other contested spaces. The participants’ data analysis reveals the consequences of a legacy of racial fiction (Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022), shadism – [my inference], yet also an occluded narrative of racial erasure (hooks, 1991) and a strategy of division embedded in UK society and
organisations that led to a crisis of representation and undoing as reflected upon in my autoethnographic journal:

**Extract from autoethnographic Journal**

It’s 12.25 am in the early morning, and I am unable to sleep again until I get my thoughts down as I reflect on some of my emotions concerning my research. According to Clifford (1986: 1-26), I think I am experiencing a ‘crisis of representation’, and this has sparked my wanting to understand i) what is my cultural identity because, in recent times, things I thought were concrete concerning whom I thought I was/or am, have been challenged by recent events. The almost silencing of acknowledgement that disturbances in the represented world have impacted the identity I had known, making it unpopular to talk about or discuss anti-racist theory in organisations, it seems to me.

Secondly, I am experiencing an emotion that I may have been suppressing for a long time, which might be one of the reasons I was so convicted to look at this research topic. Again, it feels like it is a taboo subject one shouldn’t talk about because, within the context of my cultural identity, it is seen as a stereotypical portrayal of particularly Black men as aggressiveness is ascribed to Black women. The emotion of anger - I ask myself, am I angry? If I’m honest and understand anger to be a strong feeling of annoyance, displeasure or hostility, vexation, indignation, resentment or exasperation, then yes! I am! I am angry that after centuries of the injustice of the African slave trade, the civil rights movement, and equalities legislation, that in the 21st century, I can still be judged by the colour of my skin rather than the intellect of my mind. I’m angry that I can walk into many public sector organisations and still find that I am likely to be the only global majority person out of a boardroom of about 50 people. I find it incredulous that even though I was born and bred here in the UK, that at times of economic recession and high unemployment, ordinary people who share the same national heritage as me can easily find it within themselves to tell me to go home! I am also angry that according to a recent BBC documentary that’s in every area of society, or UK society that there are national statistics to evidence that racist biased exists in teacher assessments; Ivy League university selections; access to medical treatment and job selection, which means that my children will continue to suffer and experience racism and oppression. I’m also angry that I am told not to be angry and that I should not express that anger but couch it in professional languages, such as being passionate, by people who have never experienced racism or subtle racism in the forms of micro slights and micro-aggressive practises that feel they have the right
/privilege to tell me how I can feel! More shockingly to me is where this has all come from. Reading Cunliffe and Coupland (2012) and absorbing what Clifford, & Marcus (Eds), (1986) have to say about reflectivity, I’m coming to realise that I have or am experiencing a crisis of representation which has led me to a disturbing place and the questioning of my relationship with the social world as I know it.

My perceived knowledge of the world has been influenced and deconstructed by the organisation’s culture in which I have been employed. The recent political discourse, e.g. Brexit and the USA presidential election campaign, social factors, and the growing separation of races by events such as terrorism and the effects on societal/populace mood, have been enough to galvanise me into having to reconstruct my knowledge and understanding of who I am and how I came to be in the world. I am led to question whether my interpretation and experience in the social world are similar to those with the same cultural identity trying to exercise leadership. I take leadership to model the behaviours I want to see in the world. I have in the past shunned being angry as a destructive emotion to have or display and given the narrative around this emotion and its conceptualisation concerning Black people, it is one that I had associated with rioting in the late 1980s and 1990s and one that even the Holy Bible warns against. Even the Black unionist Trevor Phillips discusses how Black people portrayed as ‘the angry Black man, and the suffering Black woman’ are misrepresentations of Black people. I can accept that to be or exist in a constant state of anger cannot be a good thing, but one might call it a necessary evil. However, like most things, there isn’t just one state of anger, and if I choose the word that best describes the form of anger I am experiencing, I will say I feel indignation which means to feel provoked by what I perceive to be unfair treatment, injustice, and provocation.

I feel galvanised to act and become an activist in deconstructing the accepted representations of research participants and me to construct a truer representation of our experienced knowledge of the world in which we are situated. The most appropriate way of doing so is not only to present a candid, challenging and thought-provoking autoethnography of our blended experience but to complete my PhD and raise the subject that no one wants to talk about by its real name Shadism. It is now 1:17 am, and I feel calmer as understanding and owning this emotion has helped!

Sharing this very personal insight into my feelings of rootlessness, unbelonging and anger at the underlying structural inequalities and occluded narratives present within UK
organisations and society, I was addressing the additional challenges and shared experience of global majority individuals which emerges from the hard knocks of leadership, as it materially affects the social lives and professional careers of participants, including my own. It speaks to the dislocation and identity threats that many, if not all; research participants experience in their everyday lives when navigating organisational spaces; in schools, work and society. It speaks to the devastating self-examination and many masks we wear to navigate the hostile terrains and try to slip in unnoticed across enemy lines to dodge bullets and poison gas attacks fired in a constant barrage of invisible Whiteness and normalised racism. Nevertheless, despite the questioning and deconstruction, there is a spark of hope, renewal, reconstruction, and agency to present a co-constructed counter-narrative to dispel the myth of racial fiction by calling it by a different name – ‘Shadism’. Shadism acknowledges the legacy of a colonial past but (re)-presents the undeniable fact that the human race is one race with different shades, measured by different yardsticks at present, but with the hope that the new generation of leaders will galvanise to forge new pioneering leadership identities informed by the collective narratives and voices of research participants, including that of my own.

9.4. Chapter Summary

This theme of hard knocks highlights a complex picture of internalised conflict and stress associated with intra-cultural betrayal and feelings of disconnection and rootlessness, particularly for UK-born participants. These experiences are necessary for participants to reconstruct a sense of identity to perform leadership. However, UK organisations mirror societal norms and contested spaces that are lonely and confusing for several participants, which we can see elucidated in the following participants’ narrative: a Windrush - second-generation descendent born in the UK working in the financial/banking sector.

‘...yeah, cause nobody ever really, no one talks about it...but how would you identify yourself? You just assume everyone just assumes you should know what you are. But I think it’s that’s my thoughts in it anyway, only because of looking at the ...the facts of where we were brought up...is okay. Where do I stand in a sense? Erm, I don’t know, not sure with that one.’ (GMLTT76)

Participants seem to view the ‘hard knocks’ of leadership as an understanding that irrespective of how hard they work, they continue to be problematised and disadvantaged, resulting in experiences of disconnection and rootlessness. One of the leading emerging disadvantages is the pressure exerted on participants not only by their White leaders and colleagues in the form of organisation-induced trauma and stress, which participants expected,
but also from people and communities they regarded as closer to them culturally and experientially. Their narratives also refer to self-inflicted pressure and expectations from their leadership identity.

The thematic and narrative analysis reflects that this group of participants experience extreme and specific challenges due to inherent organisational inequalities and bias based on their cultural identity and lack of representation and acceptance as leaders. The findings also answer how these inequalities can become an entrenched factor in intercultural betrayal, which evidences itself, as discussed by several participants, in internalised stereotype behaviours and practices such as suspicion, shadism, a lack of acceptance, and prejudice (Steele & Aronson, 2002). The analysis highlights and responds to the research questions as to the additional challenges global majority individuals face in exercising leadership due to differences in their identity and brings to the fore how they experience leadership and the underlying organisational narratives, practices and occluded forces (White solipsism, invisibility of Whiteness and reverse persecution) that shape their leadership identity construction.

In the concluding section of this thesis, CRT is used to analyse further how research participants seek to combat these underlying forces through specific leadership enactments. The emancipatory ways in which research participants mutually represent and recognise how they construct and co-construct leadership identity. The following is again peppered with their most provocative perspectives and anecdotal accounts to illustrate participants' lived experiences arising from this in-depth analysis.
10. Chapter Ten: Findings - Global majority personifications and enactments of leadership

‘Dignity is not located in seeking equality with the White man and his civilisation. It is not about assuming the attitudes of the master who has allowed his slaves to eat at his table. It is about being oneself with all the multiplicities, systems, and contradictions of one’s own ways, of being, doing and knowing. It is about being true to oneself’ (Fanon, 1986: vii).

This chapter outlines how several personifications of leadership emerge across the group in exercising leadership—primarily seen through pioneering acts such as being the first in a role or breaking through perceived barriers. Responsible leadership in this context is taken to mean role modelling and setting an example of leadership to others. Participants describe Relational leadership as using cultural capital and networking to support each other’s leadership practice. Furthermore, resilient leadership means the ability to withstand the organisational milieu and occluded narratives perceived to be practised amongst the dominant group of leaders and followers. Strongly linked to resilient leadership is the sub-practice of humour, faith-based and benevolent leadership that underpins triumph and hope assumptions.

Gendered leadership also play a significant part in the participants' leadership practices, specifically unique to global majority women participants. Genres at play in the narratives of participants point to ones of epic drama and comedy as dominant and linked to occluded themes of resilience, cultural custodianship, gender, and faith, as illustrated in table 7 below:
Table 7. Table of dominant and occluded themes in global majority personifications and enactment of leadership.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dominant Genre</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Epic</td>
<td>The epic story centres on the battles and contests or good triumphing over something considered bad/evil. It is about the agency of the social actor to resolve or avert a crisis personally. It inspires courage and demonstrates resilience.</td>
<td>Pioneering</td>
<td>‘I think my leadership has been forged in the flame of pioneering and actually having to often be the only one standing at the front and with a few trusted people behind me, supporting erm when I’m kind of looking at a bunch of hostile faces and then having to make the decision as to whether I’m going to say or not or finding ways that I’m going to say it that is gracious but is clear.’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fait-based and benevolent</td>
<td>‘Sometimes we use our faith to cover …racist behaviours.’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Resilience</td>
<td>So, I saw how my faith then turned ir. Rather than racism, you could then call it, that’s diving intervention.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>Racism</td>
<td>‘They may knock me off my perch, they may would me, but I’m not going anywhere, and that’s because I’m comfortable with myself.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>Marginalisation</td>
<td>‘They may give you a blow and you get hurt, but they see you come back because you want to aspire to leadership.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>Gendered</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>White and Black women’s custodianship</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td></td>
<td>I mean, at the moment, there seems to be a big backlash on Black women…erm…doing things with their hair; whether it’s a weave or erm…straightening or that sort of thing. I don’t understand why. Unfortunately, if I go natural, I won’t have any hair left!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10.1. Pioneering leadership

Pioneering leadership exemplifies the challenge to systematic inequalities by global majority leaders whom participants describe as ‘the first in role’ or the ‘only Black person’ or ‘first Black female’ to be promoted in UK organisations. Alternatively, those in a particular role, as expressed by several participants such as church leaders, business leaders and senior leaders in health, social care, and education, explain below how pioneering leadership is felt to be the first enactment of leadership practised amongst the group. The following extract from a female church leader speaks of the challenges to her leadership as one of the first in the role and the country as if it was indicative of being on a scouting expedition across the north pole filled with the trepidation of facing polar bears.

‘I think my leadership has been forged in the flame of pioneering and actually having to often be the only one standing at the front and with a few trusted people behind me, supporting erm when I'm kind of looking at a bunch of hostile faces and then having to make the decision as to whether I'm going, to say what I'm going to say or not or finding ways that I'm going to say it that is gracious but is clear,’ (GMLKC39).

This pivotal enactment of leadership stems from those participants who feel they have been able to break through what they consider glass or concrete ceilings and 'hostile' environments. As illustrated in this senior nurse manager and management coaching consultant’s talk below:

‘You can be a leader at every level, but if you want to progress to very senior leadership, that’s where the problem starts' (GMLLP16)

Some participants believe they have combated extreme organisational terrains 'my leadership has been forged in the flame of pioneering' as ambassadorial leaders. Inherent in the participants’ talk is the notion that a leader 'stands' at the front and leads supported by 'a few trusted' people, which, as discussed previously (6.3.), are perceived as those outside the organisation who would understand the position and struggles of participants as leaders of 'Others' who do not look like them. This pioneering enactment of leadership is significant for this group because of the length of time it is perceived for organisations to allow individuals of global majority backgrounds to be visible in boardrooms and the upper echelons of organisational leadership levels. The extract again alludes to the white over colour hierarchy and normalisation of race as a social and biological fiction (Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022),
that has to be overcome, as indicated in this senior consultant’s narrative below about his experience of this whilst in another country:

'Well... don't be scared to be on your own. To be the only global majority person in the room is incredibly important, and you are as valuable as anyone else in that room. Sometimes you will face incredible discomfort. One time I was on this research team, and the woman said, are you worried about being the only ethnic minority person in this village and we're going to. Not at all. I said I've been like the only ethnic minority in the country sometime, like Hong Kong, the whole Chinese kind of thing. So that confidence to stand on your own and that I'm different what is it I'm here to do and not let that affect you otherwise do I just blend into the group. Well, what was the point in having you there then?' (GMLLR11).

Some talked about exercising leadership through bravery and activism 'Don't be scared to be on your own,' even though they perceived that 'sometimes you will face incredible discomfort.' There appears to be an understanding that using their cultural capital\(^5\) (an individual’s social assets) helps participants progress in their leadership. Or that it supports a greater tolerance of them being different. 'To be the only global majority person in the room is incredibly important, and you are as valuable as anyone in that room'. As emphasised in this participant’s extract, to be the only one in the country or organisation, 'often being the only one standing at the front' also gives the impression of a pioneering spirit as they consider themselves to have been instrumental in paving the way for others. This is also reflected in this senior church leader’s narrative when she realised, she was the only Black female leader in a White led denomination:

'...I got to know pretty much all the Black women, because there weren't that many erm maybe about 30 or 40 across the country erm and hmm there was very, there was nobody else in my denomination, and I hadn't actually realised that, and I ended up being the first. Had I known that I might have run a mile. But it’s again; it is that pioneering thing...' (GMLKC39).

For women leaders in this group, there appears to be an underlying mantra that pioneering is part and parcel of their leadership enactments ‘But it's again it is that pioneering thing.’ There are also underlying thoughts and trepidation that had this participant known that they would 'end up being the first' in the role, it may have meant a rejection of the opportunity, which is downplayed through the use of humour as they stated, ‘if I had known, I would have run a mile!’. However, uncovered here is not only the sub-theme of the broader expectations of pioneering leadership but the occluded notion that being the pioneering leader or lone role is

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\(^5\) The term ‘Cultural Capital’ was first coined by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in the 1970s and is taken to mean a person’s social assets and ability to influence culture through such symbolic goods such as education, intellect, style of dress etc that can be disbursed, collected, or capitalised on.
not only a complicated thing but also a sacred thing. Something that you don’t choose to do but are somehow divinely chosen to do it. Illustrated in the following coda, ‘it [is] again that pioneering thing’ as outlined in the extract below from an Asian female leader who has experience of pioneering leadership in the world of sports and policing.

'It was predominately White middle-class men, you know; I was the first Asian woman to work there as a manager I was the first woman manager, and I was the first Asian or non-White person to work in the organisation…. I had a team of fifty men, and the first day I employed a woman, I was like, 'Oh my god, we've employed a woman!' so it was a very different world.' (GMLYP08).

The perception is that participants were often the first of their kind in a leadership position in the organisation but that women participants also had to operate in White environments and predominately with White males. The participant emphasises when she repeats her acknowledgement that 'I was the first woman manager…,' to work in the organisation the notion that this was not only of significance that she was the first female, but that she was the first Asian female to occupy a previously all-White Male space; ‘and I was the first Asian or non-White person.’ The enactments of pioneering, of breaking through this impenetrable terrain, are captured when the participant exclaims after she herself achieved this feat and paved the way for others when she states, 'Oh my god, we've employed a woman!'.

Coupled with being first in a role is the significance of the length of time it ordinarily takes for participants to break through to this ‘very different world.’ As previously discussed in Chapter 2, extant research points to the disparity in the attainment of leadership roles for marginalised groups. This disparity is articulated in the talk of this female senior police officer below:

'I was one of the youngest women promoted. I was the first Black female to be promoted in Nowhere City police to be promoted. You rise, you rise, and we get the best of you.' (GMLRW22).

This extract alludes to the length of service given by participants, ‘I was the youngest woman promoted’, and hints to a sub-theme of being unprepared for the organisational milieus they might face, as uncovered in sections 5.1-5.4. As perceived from the participants' extract, the cost associated with pioneering leadership indicates that organisations get the 'best of [them]'.

In keeping with the narratives and underlying sub-theme of struggle and breakthrough, participants compare others and themselves in the 'hostile' [and] ‘incredibly' discomforting
face of leadership. Thus, for example, the following is an extract from a Black female senior police officer who talked a lot about her leadership roles, children, and childbirth. In analysing this, it felt that an underlying narrative of her pioneering leadership was linked to her childbirth experience.

‘But before I had my first child, I was the first Black supervisor that they ever had! And the amount of Black people that used to come in and tap me on the shoulder and say well done because they had never seen a Black person in management because you never saw a Black person in management in the town centre, in the shops, in the offices you never saw them! And I'm just thinking, 'ok, fine but still not really getting it. So, I suppose not getting racism, alright. Then… and again that kept happening to me everywhere I went that kept happening to me’ (GMLFJ48)

The contrast between childbirth and being the ‘first Black supervisor they ever had!’ seems significant as an occluded narrative of labour, struggle, and breakthrough. Like a child during childbirth breaks through the murky waters of the womb and birth canal to be met by the stark outside, often sterile, light, and sanitised environment of a hospital, it seems to mirror for participants the organisations they encounter. Organisations are perceived as a ‘White middle-class’ world, ‘a different world’ disinfected of the ‘other’ as the participant said, ‘you never saw a Black person in management…you never saw them!’ Nevertheless, the appearance of Black leaders in positions of prominence and exercising leadership appears to bring a sense of accomplishment as well as hope, as illustrated in this male senior police officer’s recollection of his first senior role in policing:

‘African and Caribbean older gentlemen and women who were really pleased that I was there. You know. They said we’ve been asking for a Black borough commander for many, many years, and so we’re really, really happy that you’re here, and I was pleased for that, but the pressure was then that I was going to sort out all the mess internally,

To navigate this aspect of leadership, participants felt that they needed to be skilled in cultural literacy to manage these sterile organisational environments. Cultural literacy was felt to be accomplished by wearing different identity masks and taking opportunities to demonstrate leadership, exemplified in the following extract of a dual-heritage male catering manager who was one of the first in his family to graduate from an Oxbridge university.

‘I think maybe that's where it comes back down to personal leadership as well because I have had a lot of opportunities and I’ve taken a lot of opportunities and erm I think that’s made my personality a bit as well that I will get I’m a bit of a go-getter so I will erm… look for those opportunities and take those challenges….from being at school as I say being from a White single-parent family erm the chances of me succeeding and getting a degree which I managed to get a first-class degree with I think I’m one of the first people in my family to do that so I think that was I did have the opportunity to mess
around but I just kind of focused and my upbringing was quite disruptive so to focus and erm get the O
tevels and A levels and then go away to university was I think was quite an achievement and again
business-wise I've had a couple of businesses, catering businesses erm and at work, I always push
myself to erm go a bit further. (GMLSC53)

The practice of pioneering by being ‘a bit of a go-getter’ or ‘taking those challenges,’
despite the odds not being in favour of global majority individuals to succeed.’ The research
participant reflects on his background of being brought up in a White single-parent family with
limited life chances of succeeding and ‘getting a first-class degree’ as the narrative seems to
suggest that he had the opportunity to ‘mess around’ but instead used his disruptive upbringing
to focus on getting qualified. The underlying narrative of hope and achievement underpins this
enactment of pioneering leadership in that the practice is to ‘push me to go a bit further.’ An
underlying subtheme of entrepreneurship is also evident in the participants' narrative, which
reflects the group often exposed to financial risks due to colonialsity's economic legacy and
consequences, as discussed in section 5.1.

However, reflected in many of the participants' narratives is that pioneering is an
experience that is perceived to have 'kept happening to me everywhere I went’ as participants
begin to forge and find ways to ‘stand on their own’ rather than 'blend in' and remain unseen.
An awareness of their visible difference and the pain of the self-made opportunities it afforded
them can be interpreted through CRT as an emancipatory way this research participant enacts
leadership. The reconstruction of identity as a pioneering leader challenging colonial
constraints and the role of racism and patriarchy are broken down like in the trauma of the
birthing process and then re-shaped like in a new birth, which can be seen in the enactment of
this female senior police officer and diversity champion, who we also read about in Chapter
7.1.

‘…she said that she don't think she can do a full-time job and have two kids. And that's when it
first started to hit me… And I just thought to myself will you look at that? He didn’t even say, we’ll,
trial it for two months and see how you go. He said no, all because I had two kids. ‘I thought to myself,
well will you look at that. Because I went above and beyond, and it still didn't make any difference
because when it came to it, you still looked past me and got someone else instead who was less
competent and still using me, and I never got the credit. I suppose it’s from there's I went on to do
supervisor jobs, but the thing is my mum always taught me if you want something you got to work really
hard for it’…I felt that something there needed to be an intervention, and I felt that I could do it even
now; even if I can't do it, I'll still give it a try, but it's like if you wanna make the change you’ve got to
be part of that change. (GMLFJ48).
Across the group of participants, there appears to be a consensus that pioneering leadership is perceived as transformative ‘if you wanna make the change, you’ve got to be part of that change,’ and it implies that pioneering leadership is visible and present.

Pioneering leadership is also spoken about as working hard and being politically savvy, which means some have to fulfil reproductive tasks and endure the suffering of leadership atrocities and abuse whilst navigating the hierarchies of leadership. Pioneering leadership also requires social activism, as illustrated in the same female senior police officer and diversity champion’s talk.

‘I wanted to make a difference. I wanted to stop Black people being treated unfairly. Erm, and I needed to be able to work with people in there to find out how it could be done…’ (GMLFJ48).

This participant also suggested that pioneering leadership was a lonely role that required significant courage, as she faced futile hopelessness and unproductiveness.

‘I thought to myself, all they are doing is moaning and moaning about how they are being treated badly and that this has happened and that has happened, and I’m sitting there thinking, well what are you going to do about it? Doesn’t this wear you out? Keep talking about it all the time and not doing anything about it? People were quite mentally ill because of it, and I just thought, how can you sit and talk about it and not do anything, you know so one day I did say something about it, and they’re like you don’t understand and you ain’t been here long enough’ (GMLFJ48).

As shown in the example above, going against the grain of just talking about the problem in a support group to actively doing something about the problem is seen as practising courageous and pioneering leadership, which links back to the act of breaking through challenging organisational terrains, glass, and concrete ceilings as well as internal and external barriers. This view is held across the participants as elucidated in the extract below from a male senior policing officer and public figure:

‘So, a leader is someone who takes…or is prepared to actually disrupt something that is not working…’ (GMLVO80)

This extract indicates the aspect of leadership as it would be 'forged in the flames' of hostile fire as being courageous, often also meaning to go against the prescribed way of doing things either in organisations or as perceived by members of the group. References such as being ‘forged in the flames' also seem to refer to and introduce a spiritual leadership aspect that I will explore later. What becomes evident from the analysis is that there are several participants...
where elements of pioneering were experienced as part of their passage to leadership. The data also exposes the lack of understanding of how not 'really getting it ...getting racism' amongst the group as a potential barrier or reason for a perceived lack of the advancement of visibly different leaders being employed within UK organisations occupying senior leadership positions and is why when they achieve senior leadership positions, it is deemed as a pioneering feat—demonstrated through the notion that participants still perceive themselves to be the first of many the 'unseen,' 'non-White,' 'only ethnic minority' leadership in role and points to racism and structural disadvantage as significant underlying occluded narratives perceived to be sustained due to the current norms of leadership. These extracts are drawn from several participants who shared their pioneering leadership enactments as common ground and a way of creating a more positive identity construction (Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022). Being able to challenge these norms as pioneering leaders also felt like a significant theme to explore and is looked at in the following section as a notion and enactment of responsible leadership.

10.2. Responsible leadership

Evident from the participants’ accounts of pioneering leadership evolves the impression that being the first person of visible difference within an organisation comes with the added responsibility, as discussed previously, to be a 'standard-bearer' (See 8.1). The perception emerging here is that there is a greater responsibility for participants regarding their followers than they perceived their White counterparts would have for their followers. As discussed by the participant in the following extract, one is a senior university lecturer, and the other is a Special constable:

'I think that when you are in a leadership position like that, that actually you have a responsibility to model better behaviour' (GMLLB03). 'Yes, Leadership needs to be role modelled. Leaders should lead people the right way and support and help. The help they give should vary as every officer has weaknesses and strengths’ (GMLAE66).

Whilst this seems relevant to all organisation leaders and managers, there also appears to be an underlying principle and expectation by participants that global majority leadership should display higher standards, ‘you have a responsibility to model better behaviour’ and examples of moral leadership than they might have experienced themselves within organisations or that they seemed to expect from White leaders. As specified in this senior male public figure’s extract below:
‘I think we are we don’t necessarily make ourselves that, but once we get there, our behaviour means that we have to be extra careful as the White equivalent and we have to be the standard-bearers for our role’. (GMLVO80)

According to participants, there appears to be an agreement across the group that being a standard-bearer and practising responsible leadership is to be supportive, genuine, caring, and consistent, as exemplified by the same research participant above when they say, ‘Yes, leadership needs to be role modelled. Leaders should lead people the right way and support and help.’ Also acknowledged is that with responsible leadership, those holding leadership are subject to pressure and pressurised environments, as discussed in Section 7.3. and 8.1.

Alongside these identified leadership practices, there appear to be some participants that also perceive that responsible leadership needs to be able to adapt and challenge. Particularly in difficult organisational climates, such as in local political organisations like local authorities, to improve things. For example, the extract below was taken from the interview of a middle manager in a local authority children’s services directorate:

‘Yeah, I think they're different because I think what they want when you look at the people, they've got they’re just yes, yes people who will go along with it be like yes you know that's. Whereas I like to challenge. I think there's always a better way to do things, different ways to do things, and I think you need to challenge to be able to improve things and go. And I know that people know that about me and that wouldn't sit within what they want to do where they want people to go yes, yes whereas I would always want and I would always care and value the people who work for me…and I think in this the way that the job is going …they don't care,’ (GMLJO20)

Being able to challenge seems to bring a dual set of responsibilities for global majority leaders, especially where it is perceived that an autocratic and potentially deceitful leadership style operates behind closed doors, as illustrated in the extract above. There also appears to be a disconnection from leadership. Participants point to how they exercise leadership, which is demonstrated through the responsibility for followers 'care and value [for] the people who work for me' but also that caring for others means needing to challenge power which in turn means losing care for those being challenged ‘I think in this the way that the job is going …they don’t care.’ The extract alludes again to the potentially controlling regulation participants may feel when operating within organisations, emphasised by the participant who feels that the organisation only ‘want people to go yes, yes, whereas I think you need to challenge and be able to challenge to improve things.’ The participant appears unable to or perceives that trying to change things due to the embedded culture of inequality and controlling regulation is
unrealistic, evidenced when they say, ‘I know people know that about me, and that wouldn’t sit within what they want….’ The participant shows an understanding and awareness of their responsibility to themselves and others to be responsible about their leadership enactments ‘they want people to go yes, yes, whereas I would always want, and I would always care and value people.’ The participants' understanding of this material consequence is determined by how far they perceive they can affect the occluded narratives and norms of the organisations in which they practice leadership. The following extract introduces a responsible leadership enactment of withdrawing as the participant’s realisation that they are unable to change things:

‘I have high expectations, and I've always... I don't want to do is set myself up to...to fail because, like I said, two jobs that I've applied for in a year I haven't got, so that has completely put me off applying for anything in-house. So, yeah, I mean I did have expectations and I do have goals and aspirations, but in terms of within this role, I know I'm not going to get any higher. (GMLJO20)

What becomes evident in this participant’s talk and shared by some across the group is how they have consciously opted out of the quest for seniority in a leadership role, perceiving that continuing to pursue this within their organisation was futile; and irresponsible. Withdrawal can be taken to demonstrate acts of responsible leadership through bravery and a resignation to the perception of occluded narratives and barriers perceived as preventing them from achieving 'obtainable' 'goals and ‘aspirations.’ In particular, sustained contact with the menacing shadowland and the cold side of organisational milieus creates and perpetuate a state of extreme organisational-induced trauma and stress (See section 8.2).

In modelling responsible leadership, many participants across the group discussed how important it was to develop relational leadership and build networks outside of organisations to survive.

10.3. Relational leadership

The benefit of developing trusted networks outside of organisations uncovers the disconnection between hierarchical and traditional models of leadership perceived by participants to be modelled in organisations. It also demonstrates the relational way in which global majority individuals respond and enact leadership when faced with disconnection from organisation leadership practice. For example, the data below was taken from a senior lecturer

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in higher education whose perception was that connecting with like-minded people helped exercise relational leadership, as posited by Fairhurst & Uhl-Bien, (2012).

'Yeah, I think we need a support network. We need to link up with like-minded people erm who are on similar journeys, and you don't have to be on the exact journey, but you do have to understand where other people are and not get pulled into negatives with other Black people or suck up to White people. You just have to be comfortable with who you are, and that's not easy, and I think I only am because of my parents instilling work in me (GMLLB03).

Several participants were mindful that not all global majority individuals were at the same stage in their leadership practice or development and able to regulate their emotions when faced with experiences of structural inequalities, which led to feelings of anger and frustration. For example, the above participant assesses that it could be easy to get pulled into negative emotions or risk appeasing White people and maintaining’ White solipsism unwittingly. Still, her resolution to this potential predicament was to be ‘comfortable in their identity.’ The reference to parents and their nurturing role in ‘instilling’ identity links to how Relational leadership draws on what is perceived as using the right support networks.

Relational enactments of leadership also refer to participants acknowledging that to ‘rise’ in Eurocentric organisations is difficult without a ‘trusted network of support’. Participants discuss choosing instead finding collective strength and support from peers outside the organisation to help withstand the obstacles or help navigate around or through identified barriers, as uncovered in sections 5.1-8.4. of this chapter. Those who can share their experience. Although some acknowledge that using the word ‘similar’ is subjective and that ‘you don’t have to be on the exact journey,’ there is an inherent expectation that you must understand where other people are.

‘We’ve all been to the thing like Black workers support groups (shared laughter) and the pros and cons of that particular type of forum. So, it is almost like looking at different approaches trying to get something that fits to the individual because you might well get people who get something beneficial from being in a group experience of sharing and talking things through…(GMLFD05)

The issue of isolation from peers and lack of supportive networks within organisations brings participants’ reflections and personal struggles to the fore. Research participants are grappling with being unable to accept the traditional or more ruthless, individualistic leadership style as their own. They collectively state the importance of discussing the impact of organisation-induced traumatic stress to reduce the damage of reverse persecution (feeling
victimised by the victims of racism when confronted (see section 6.5.). Participants achieve this by forming Black worker support groups or seeking and engaging in mentoring. It becomes evident that there are personal expectations of ‘reciprocity’ in being able or needing to ‘give back’ as a significant feature of relational leadership to the communities and families that raised them and those colleagues who support them in their leadership enactments. As discussed in the senior university lecturer’s reflections of relational support:

‘Another thing that is important to me is this reciprocity…if you’re lucky, a few key people that have got your back no matter what. You know it’s, like unconditional. They’ll drop (clicked fingers) everything for you, and you’ll drop everything for them. So, it’s not isolating yourself, particularly as a Black person within an organisation, look for support structures.’ (GMLJD14)

In practice, relational leadership include mutual reciprocity, being there for one another and supporting each other being able to walk in their shoes, understanding the tragic situations that participants perceive they are exposed to and how these everyday situations have an added complexity linked to their ‘Blackness.’ What transpires is that relational leadership unconditionally supports their peers, as discovered in participants’ narratives.

Many participants talk about ways to reduce isolation, implying that they need support from those who look like them and have experienced similar things. Participants appreciate that being ‘comfortable with their own identity ‘isn’t easy.’ There is some appreciation that there are phases to go through on that journey to gain an insight into their identity. The undoing of their identity is inherent in many participants’ lived experiences within organisations. This seems particular as they grapple with some Black people's ‘negative’ emotions and perceived behaviours and feelings of inferiority in other Black people ‘suck [ing] up to White people.’ The following extract presents the final coda in understanding the need for relational leadership. In this context, it is taken to mean a need for support and to have help from those who can ‘come alongside them’ to help those individuals be better able to align their leadership identity with that of their ‘Blackness’ as talked about by a senior male leader from a local authority background:

‘So, I’m not advocating a type of going back to that model because, as I said, I think there’s elements of that which were very unhelpful and destructive for people. …They need someone who can come alongside them and not just focus on certain kinds of tragic situations that can happen in your working life and because of your own kind of ermm deficits or difficulties that you’ve kind of or carrying about key aspects of your areas of responsibilities that they…suddenly gets aligned with aspects of you and your Blackness right. (GMLFD05)
Whilst there appears to be some tension in the types of support and networks available or how appropriate these groups are in helping participants to deal with the perceived dramas and tragedies of organisational life, ‘we’ve all been to the thing like Black workers support groups’ there is also acknowledged that some of these groups can also be destructive … I think there are elements of that which were very unhelpful’ potentially due to intracultural disconnection and intercultural betrayal as discussed in chapter 9.

However, there is also a perception that something beneficial could be gained from having others, a group of people, with whom participants could confidently share their experience of organisations. Research participants practise relational leadership when they talk about the expectation that they should give back some of their wealth of experience to their communities and nurture each other through mentoring, enacting a type of parental role. Another female senior university lecturer discussed that reciprocity and nurturing are critical aspects of their relational leadership responsibility and enactment captured below in the following extract:

‘I just feel it is giving something back. I think it’s important to do that. Asher gets really frustrated because people can get, people really put on me, and he says, ‘you’re doing all of this, but you’ll never see them again, you’ll never hear from her again, it will be two years before she bothers to tell you she even got the job.’ You know, but I just think if somebody has asked me to do the job and I can do it, then it’s not really a problem, I just do it, but I do get friends or acquaintances that will do that, and I’m not just talking a one-off they do it a lot. So, I guess they do use you a bit, but I know what my mum would have done. (GMLLB03)

Again, there appears to be some tension as to how much individuals are expected to give back, and there is a difference in the value placed on reciprocity by female leaders ‘I just feel it is giving something back. I think it’s important to do that’ as opposed to male leaders who seem ambivalent about the benefits of reciprocity in leadership and perceive this as incongruent with leadership and a burden of gendered leadership. The parental and mentoring side of relational leadership is more common amongst the female participants, pointing us to continued reproductive labour as an additional factor inherent in their leadership enactments.

However, collectively participants felt that having a network of support and collaboration opportunities is an essential survival aspect, as illustrated in the extract of this female senior nurse manager and management coaching consultant.
‘You have to have the courage. You got to communicate. You’ve got to hang in there and network. You got to be able to pick the phone up and say to somebody you trust, this is what happened to me today, and this is what I did. And you’ve got to be able to trust that person to say, well, you were wrong. But this is what you should have done, and if you did this, this is what would have happened. Try tomorrow, come, and see me. Sit down and talk about it, network.’ (GMLLP16)

Relational leadership leads to a notion that participants collectively lead by sharing their experiences that can be ‘beneficial to the group’ and are fulfilling a collective legacy, as echoed in this participants’ narrative, ‘I know what my mum would have done.’ Relational leadership, as described above, also requires courage, honesty, and trust networks.

10.4. Resilient leadership

Despite the hostile and menacing organisational and social contexts discussed in chapters 1 and 2, resilience appears to be an epic genre exemplified through themes of determination, defiance, and narratives of survival and hope in the enactment of leadership. The data indicate that resilient leadership is formed whilst participants experience and go through the undoing and re-shaping of identity. Identity shaping appears to mean that the challenges and often shattering experiences these individuals face are not without notable moments of triumph and humour despite their acknowledging that these moments often come at a high cost. The extract below was volunteered by a senior local authority childcare manager whose personal experience of racism was reflected on when addressing the question of what he would say to his younger self about his experience of exercising and surviving leadership:

‘What are the things which are going to make you feel ok? That you haven’t sold out because that’s the other thing, isn’t it because you get so crushed… brutalised by the system even if that’s your own perception of that. And people are different from you. How do you get out the other side of that and see that you can make some sort of contribution, or you have made some sort of contribution? I feel like I’ve come out the other end of that because that was about four years. I had some really awful racially abusive experiences in the local authority and then went out in the community organisation and then came back in, and I do feel that that kind of really… I allowed that to shape my career in terms of the choices and the decisions that I was making in the positions that I wanted to do. I really do... feel like it was really amazing stuff; that I was able to use that and channel it to that area of work that I got into, but it definitely came at a price, you know, definitely cost me…’ (GMLFD05).

The participant, in reflecting on his very tough experiences of being ‘brutalised by the system,’ alludes to the racism and discrimination faced and the resilience in being able to reframe these experiences into life lessons of leadership and to be able to take ‘those really awful racially abusive experiences and channel these experiences into areas of leadership and work that result in ‘amazing stuff.’ Aspects of an epic genre (Gabriel, 2000) come through
heroism, which links to this notion of resilient leadership. Heroism is particularly evident in the extract where the participant identifies the internal need to know that ‘you haven’t sold out because … you get so crushed,’ which he emphasises with a pause and then introduces the concept of violence by his articulation of the statement ‘brutalised by the system.’ His narrative indicates the identity threat and internal struggle of ‘this brutal system’ and a questioning as to the figment of the imagination, which again alludes to the gaslighting and psychological torment where he states, ‘even if that’s your own perception of that’ as discussed in Chapter 6.5.

Furthermore, counteracting the feelings of being brutalised by the system is the participant’s acknowledgement and self-affirmation that he survived ‘some really awful racially abusive experiences’ and was able to come out the other side. The participant again points to the resilient leadership enactments when he states that he made it out by ‘not selling out.’ However, there seems to be a consistent theme of the sacred practice of leadership amongst the group, which is highlighted when the participant describes ‘making choices and decisions’ that lead to him doing some ‘really amazing stuff.’ A notion echoed in the warrior or wounded hero(ine) narrative inherent in the practice of resilient leadership as articulated by this female senior nurse manager, which is also apparent when she states:

‘They may knock me off my perch, they may wound me, but I’m not going anywhere, and that’s because I am comfortable with myself.’ ‘They may [give] you a blow and you get hurt, [but] they see you come back because you want to aspire to leadership’ (GMLBP68).

The above adds to the evidence of the resilient leadership practised and enacted across the group. However, some awareness of the cost of practising resilient leadership emerges when this participant states, ‘they may give you a blow, and you get hurt.’ Participants seemed to engage in an epic heroic drama filled with intense stories of dire situations and incidences of the tumultuous brutality of White supremacy resulting from the external racism they encountered. Albeit they perceive that they can defeat these through sheer willpower, determination, faith, and resilience, as illuminated in the talk of this male head of retail banking customer service.

‘I think as well, it’s about resilience because you know, resilience helps at times when you feel like giving up, and you have to…you need someone or something to help you to get to the next stage, and I think this is where faith plays an important part in who you believe in that helps to give you that extra motivation and boost to get to where you need to. So definitely faith plays a massive part especially for, I can say for me erm when I look back at where I stated and where I’ve got to erm every single… even
where there in the times of rejection there’s a lesson there, it’s helped me to bounce back to let’s do this again. So, yes, faith is important. (GMLHR76)

Resilient leadership is portrayed through participants’ practice of overcoming and achieving not only ‘really amazing’ things and how they perceive they manage to suppress, not selling out their cultural identity—or succumbing to the (re)presentations of themselves as continually perpetuated through a legacy of a racialised agency. Resilient leadership, as practiced by the group of participants, emerges as one intertwined with an understanding of dependency on others to help when things get tough or eliciting God or a sacred being as an ally, a notion discussed in more detail later on in this thesis (see section 10.6.).

While many of the identified leadership enactments above could also be attributed to participants who identified as women leaders, I found the sub-practice of gendered leadership was unique to them whilst analysing their narratives. The internal struggles and disadvantages of gendered leadership are explored in greater detail in the following section.

**10.5. Gendered leadership**

Gendered leadership practice highlights the experience of women leaders as subject to the role and expectations of being custodians of cultural practices and the associated disadvantages symbolic of reproduction and patriarchy. The genres of both tragedy and satirical comedy are played out in the enactments of this group of research participants. The individual sub-practices of reproduction and patriarchy appear visible to some male participants in the group, who acknowledge the consequences of gendered politics in leadership on their female counterparts, which, although can be applied to all women, is perceived not to have the same material consequences for all women, as highlighted by the extract below from this senior male senior police officer:

‘So, if we look back at policing and I’ll give you a simple example so if you look at the makeup of senior people in the police service in terms of gender. There are more women in senior positions in the police service in the UK. Four or five are chief constables. Many are within the executive rank, but you don’t see many women of colour. So, when you raise the issues of gender itself, it's really, really destructive’ (GMLVO80).
The male senior police officer’s extract above uncovers the gendered makeup of senior leadership in organisations and uncovers the rarity of ‘women of colour’ amongst their ranks. The invisibility of global majority participants is made visible even where ‘more women [are] in senior positions.’ The data again leads us to structural inequality as a potential factor perceived as inherent in organisations where women of colour are at the bottom, White women ‘within the executive ranks,’ and White men are at the top, as illustrated below by a female senior church leader:

‘Because the assumption was yeah and because I was ordained, and I would go as Rev Kenaz, the assumption was that Reverend must be a bloke, and if he’s heading up that organisation, it got to be a man. I turn up, and they’re looking beyond me for my husband, or you know, and I’d say, ‘no, it’s me’…(GMLKK40).

Many identified not only the double-bind of being a global majority woman and subject to racial disadvantage as a crisis for them in organisations but they were often faced with the disadvantage of being exposed to gendered leadership. For example, gendered leadership emerges for global majority women participants as someone who had to be ‘married,’ ‘loud’, and a custodian of culture. Many felt these expectations were exerted on them by organisation actors, their male counterparts, other global majority women and White women. Furthermore, family members also placed expectations on them, including partners, spouses, and extended family members such as in-laws, through taken-for-granted social norms or, often, themselves.

Emerging from the perception of women participants is that the more westernised or educated they are, the more isolated and challenging they are perceived by members, especially elders, of their communities and men. This perception appears equally so for Black and Asian women leaders and, as such, speaks to the intersectionality of race in this group’s leadership enactments and constructed identities. The following extract from a retired female police office staff member talks about the significance of Black women’s hair to the embodiment of gendered leadership and the continued link with marginalisation:

‘I mean, at the moment, there seems to be a big backlash on Black women erm doing things with their hair whether it’s a weave or erm…straightening or that sort of thing. I don’t understand why people are taking a big backlash over that and saying women should go natural. Unfortunately, if I go natural, I won’t have any hair left (shared laughter) …I just don’t understand why people can’t be an individual. Rather than them imposing beliefs their beliefs onto other people and saying, that’s your cultural identity, so that’s what I think. (GMLCB09).
Evident in her narrative is a questioning ‘I just don’t understand’ and resistance …’ why there is this backlash…’ of this taken-for-granted expectation of global majority women to others imposing this aspect of gendered leadership on Black women. Specific to Genderised leadership is the cultural expectations placed on women, particularly global majority women leaders. Women are perceived to have more responsibilities than global majority men to be custodians of the culture, including expectations on appearance, behaviour, family, and community relationships. In the case of Black women leaders, their hair appears gendered and politicised. It holds symbolic meaning for the custodianship of the culture and is used as another tool for regulating race. Black women’s hair came to symbolise colonial domination. Black women could not wear their hair naturally in work/organisational spaces having to cover it with wigs or weaves. Straight hair was seen as more professional, emulating that the straight-haired White Woman or Black woman was a more acceptable identity (Rosette et al., 2016). Whereas, as alluded to in the extract, in recent times, a ‘big backlash’ from within the community is perceived as pressurising Black women leaders to ‘go natural’ as a visible show of solidarity and as an underlying genre of male domination to uphold the culture. For example, the following extract from a senior university lecturer speaks of the continued power structures left intact by gendered and racialised norms, internalised and enacted by marginalised groups, specifically Black men.

‘Like in relationships with men. I think Black men can sometimes find Black women challenging, and when you’ve got an education on top of it, that’s another dimension to it, and that’s why I think that’s why they prefer to go out with White women. (GMLJD14).

Racialised norms of power are exemplified in the above female participants’ narrative where she states, ‘Black men find Black women challenging,’ which is exacerbated when they are ‘educated’ and unable to be subdued as easily as White women. Brown women face similar challenges from their communities and particularly from elders in the community to conform to the norms of society within their leadership enactments but also from organisation leaders, as demonstrated in the following extract from this Asian female senior public sector leader:

‘I have the most difficulties in my in-laws who aren’t used to someone like me, … I don’t have the jobs that they want. I don’t look the way they want me to look, and I don’t behave the way they want me to behave….I think the wider community is getting better. I think culturally, there is always going to be this expectation that you are this good Hindu girl and you behave in a particular way, and you know you do X, Y and Z, and if you don’t, it’s almost frowned upon, but I think it’s a much wider community issue than those around me because I think the people around you are very similar to who you are,’ I think the biggest issue of me hitting that glass ceiling is that I’m too willing to do. So, they kind of see you as that lower level. I hate using this word but ‘grunt,’ you know, but they kind of see you as oh
you’re just a doer, you will just get on and do. But culturally, that’s what you do. You just get on if someone needs help. You just help them. You just do it. You go out of your way to do it. And I suppose I’m that very much, I just get into the weeds, and I just do it. If it needs to be done, let’s do it, and I think that’s what’s stopping me.’(GMLYP08).

The realisation becomes evident when the participant says, ‘I think the biggest issue of me hitting that glass ceiling is that I am too willing to do.’ She links her cultural upbringing and the servitude associated with the Asian culture to curtailing her capacity to exercise leadership. This participant’s sad reflection and longing for the ‘acceptance’ of their reconstructed identity from that of the timid cultural custodian to the leader they have become by using their cultural capital as an Asian female can be seen when they state that ‘I hate using the word grunt.’ However, this is perceived as stopping them from progressing and leaves them feeling dismissed as leaders. The hope that this is changing is reflected when she hesitantly says, ‘I think the wider community is getting better.’

The extract also highlights the underlying sub-theme as in the section on the regulatory power of colonial control of the subaltern-other (see 7.1.), where women are regulated to the domestic sphere and assigned to maintaining organisational superiors' position by serving the reproductive needs of others. This regulation seems most felt and experienced by women leaders who have the additional weight, like White women, of gatekeeping and being perceived as the protectors and custodians of the culture. However, specific to global majority women leaders is the experience of isolation and the ‘backlash’ from the community if this is not something they choose to do.

Many female participants talked about tackling the perceived differences in how they are treated with humour. While not unique to global majority women leaders, this sub-practice was most prevalent in their enactments of leadership. For example, some were using jokes about imaginary husbands or laughing off the shocked faces when they met people or journalists whom they perceived had thought they were White females or had assumed they were from the opposite gender, White males when they had been speaking to them on the phone as reflected in this national female faith leader’s extract below.

‘I soon learnt to laugh off some of that stuff, and if you see my husband tell me – knowing full well I don’t have one (laughs), It was hilarious. Yes, so I just found it…I had to deal with that stuff on a daily basis in the city in the role. Journalists were an interesting group of people to deal with because they’d come to the organisation and say can they speak to the senior for a statement for something that was in the news and I’d say yes that’s me and because I wasn’t bellowing and doing all the stuff they might expect they were surprised and they were a little more professional about it you could tell they
were not expecting a calmly spoken woman to be responding on the difficulties we had to address when I was in the role...I quickly had to find ways of not accommodating as some of the stuff just had to be exposed for what it was, and if it were racist, I said so, and if it were discriminatory in terms of being female, I would inform rather than react to. Occasionally there, I would have to say, I know you weren’t expecting a woman, but let’s get on with the issue and not focus on it and then because I don’t always sound Caribbean because I was born here. Often, I’d have a conversation with people, and I’d turn up, and you could just tell they weren’t expecting a Black woman and so and they can’t hide the shock because you’re there in their face and you say ‘yep! This is me.’ … It doesn’t become an issue all about your skin colour. But it’s an education for them, Black or White you know the job can get done and I’ll be the person doing it’ (GMLKK40).

Other participants spoke about how they would pre-empt and accommodate the implicit bias of gendered leadership by exposing the elephant in the room through humour to practising leadership by ‘just getting the job done.’ In the extracts above and below, the practice of the two national female faith leaders notably demonstrates how they disrupt the expected enactments of leadership, which being a masculine form of leadership, by ‘surprise[ing] the journalists through their calmly spoken’ leadership manner. Alternatively, for example, using humour, ‘Yep! It’s me!’ to address ‘the shock [on] their face’ when ‘they [the journalists or congregations] weren’t expecting a Black woman.’

Managing gendered leadership and the expectations of others appears a complex and sometimes sensitive task, as the extracts allude to when the participant states, ‘I wasn’t bellowing and doing all the stuff they might expect.’ However, the extract below from one of the first global majority woman faith leaders to lead an all-White national denomination gives an example of how she uses her cultural capital and gendered leadership to disrupt the notion of the expected norms of leadership in her role:

‘I’ve had this because my name sounds English, White English, people are always shocked and by and large although some people can hear on the phone that I’m Black because the tonation of our voices are very different, sometimes they don’t and so, they’re really “Oh! It’s you! How lovely,” and you can see them recalibrating. So, yeah, I had absolutely no doubt about that. The contexts that were in it’s racialised, it’s gendered, you know you’re a woman, that closes a whole bunch of doors and ermm it raises a whole bunch of questions that wouldn’t otherwise be there for people. Your’re Black that closes a whole bunch of doors. It raises a whole bunch of questions that wouldn’t otherwise be there for people. And they don’t know they’re asking themselves those questions but you can see that’s what there are computing, and you can see that she doesn’t fit, of course, it doesn’t fit, I’m not supposed to fit. I’m happy not fitting these days, and it means I can do something different, and these days it's why people ask me to come in because they know I’ll do something different. But they also know they can trust me with what they’ve, they’ve got going. And I think it’s really important to be multilingual.’ (GMLKC39)
In the extracts cited above, we can see that unique to women, and the performance of gendered leadership is the implicit notion and expectation of broader responsibility and triple disadvantage placed on them due to their ethnicity, cultural practices and gender as perceived by these participants. However, what also transpires is the unique use of humour and demonstration of faith-based leadership and belief in expelling these cultural biases and structural iniquities through mutual representation and use of the genre of humour.

Also, transpiring across the participants’ narrative is what disrupts and reshapes their leadership when for example, this female national minister of religion above states, ‘I’m not supposed to fit…I’m happy not fitting in these days’ as the awakening and realisation of her value comes to the fore when she summarises that ‘it’s why people ask me to come …they know I’ll do something different!’ The use of her cultural capital is fully recognised when she states that it’s ‘really important to be multilingual.’ By this, the participant is not only referring to her ability to speak two languages, but she is also using her understanding and ability to speak in White spaces as well as in marginalised spaces as a unique way and disruptive way to the normalising of White leadership when she states that ‘they also know they can trust me.’ Therefore, this multilingual enactment of gendered leadership can be seen as a sub-practice of leadership that enables global majority individuals to disrupt the tragic-comedic need to take on reproduction and occupy that place of dislocation Homi Bhabha (1986: xxxi) discusses for marginalised groups.

10.6. Faith-based and benevolent leadership: Covers a multitude of leadership sins.

Faith and benevolence are highlighted as a sub-practice of leadership enacted when participants wish to suppress the emotional harm caused by the social and material consequences of racism and structural inequality. The biblical reference to sin illustrates the overriding themes of atrocities and control evident in many participants’ stories, as discussed in chapter 7. Their experience of organisations and the Machiavellian tales of leadership abuse they perceive they are subjected to convey the historical links with the use of religion as a regulatory condition in which oppression of the racialised subject was reinforced and perpetuated. Again, the epic genre of good versus evil in these overt and occluded leadership practices appears to be counteracted and defended through a verbalised and sometimes explicit
acknowledgement of faith or belief in a higher power by several participants across the group. The following extract from a national diversity and inclusion lead consultant working specifically with Honour-based violence and Forced marriage denotes the many personal challenges she faced, including drug and alcohol addiction due to the pressure of having to uphold custodial culturalism and how through enactments of faith-based and benevolent leadership she was able to face personal and professional challenges:

‘I felt the challenges over here erm and still feel the challenges...but I think with my faith because...you know when my time ends up, I truly believe my time up, but whilst I’ve still got the time because it’s God who decides not my family, not the drugs not the alcohol erm so with that and that’s how I’ll go and ern it’s challenging but challenging with love,’ (GMLBH55)

Many participants alluded to a belief that no matter how challenging or destructive their experiences or life changes have been, they perceive that faith continues to get them through these negative experiences. The following is an extract from the talk of a retired senior nursing professional and independent consultant who was currently engaged in coaching leaders and managers:

‘When I started to get problems was when I went into leadership and management. And I am thinking back to when I first went into senior leadership... because most of my colleagues didn’t even have a diploma, much less a degree, and I went into management with a diploma, MBA and the first senior management position until there was re-structuring and I was moved into another area and my White colleague who was doing nights and I was doing days, and I thought of it, but of course, there was nothing, no clear evidence to show. So, I went over into another patch did fantastically in terms of achieving, managing your outcomes in terms of what was expected but despite the January erm can’t remember what year but anyway the January, we had a meeting with our senior boss, and the senior boss was saying that out of the ten patches we were in I was the leader out of one of the patches. My patch had the highest percentage of uptake erm with immunisations and in terms of cost produced more than it cost; I was the one, yet in March, I was made redundant. On the job description, it said managers must have a degree and the people they gave the jobs to didn’t... I don’t know if I mentioned faith, but it is a wonderful thing’ (GMLLP16).

Further examples of participants either being ‘moved into another area’ or ‘another patch’ who otherwise had completed tasks and did ‘fantastically well in terms of leadership achievements and managing outcomes’ are presented throughout the participants’ narrative. An inherent acceptance that this divine force moves them from harm's way ‘when I started to get problems was when I first went into senior leadership’ [but] ‘faith is a wonderful thing.’

However, within the above participants' narrative, there is also some irony that whilst faith-based leadership seems to help some participants deal with the everyday trauma of leadership abuse, it remains something that they fall back on when there is no seemingly
justifiable reason for these material consequences. For example, being ‘made redundant’ or being overlooked, as illustrated ‘on the job description [when] it said managers must have a degree and the people they gave the jobs to didn’t…’ is a lived reality. The coda of this comprehension is perceived by this female business owner and entrepreneur when she states:

‘Sometimes we use our faith to cover … racist behaviours. I remember in that example, and I knew it was racism as a year later that department wound up, and I used my faith and said, you see, God sees the whole picture. God sees why I wasn’t given that job, because now he hasn’t got a job. So, it was good that I didn’t get the job. So, I saw how my faith then turned it. Rather than racism, you could then call it that’s divine intervention. (GMLAJ02).

The reliance on ‘divine intervention’ indicates a sub-theme of intrinsic hope in a higher power to intervene. It also reveals the genre of dark satirical humour where despite the participant’s acceptance that work-life can be terrible due to unfairness and leadership abuse, there is also an accepted knowledge that a divine force offers protection from those things that could harm them. Some participants acknowledge that this reliance on faith was a vital part of their upbringing and see it as an integral part of their leadership practice.

Some, however, recognised that it might be a way for them to protect their self-esteem or well-being, believing that it was ‘God’s will for their lives not to achieve success in a leadership role’ rather than face the stark reality that it might be because of structural inequalities or racism that they may not be recruited to a particular job or organisation. The extract below from a female business owner who talked about their exclusion from winning an award when working in banking demonstrates this intangible link of leadership made by participants to a divine force as they attribute specific outcomes and retributions to this ‘divine intervention.’

‘I was the highest performing regional manager in the country. And I didn’t win the award although my sales figures won the award. But I wasn’t given the shield, or my name didn’t go on the shield … I realised that I worked exceptionally hard … I had worked the entire year for everybody knew, I’d get the award or thought because quarter on quarter my branches were miles ahead of everybody else and basically just as not to give me the award, you change the criteria right at the end. Change the rules at the end. If I’m playing cricket, the rules of cricket and you change it and make it rounders, but I was playing cricket. And so as just not to put my name on the shield, they found one lady, and it’s ironic because it was one White lady that stopped my Black name going on the shield’ (GMLAJ02).

Reflected in the participant’s narrative is the disruption of racism which comes about as she talks about the experience of her hard work and the reward of recognition being either
stopped by a White female colleague or given to a White male colleague, which she deconstructs into a kind of ‘divine intervention’ or ‘God see[ing] the whole picture as again seen in the same participant’s reflection of another time she experienced patriarchy and racism although she somewhat subverts this.

‘I used to work at the stock exchange, and there was a project manager’s job going, and I knew the job inside out and I basically done some secondment work on that job, and so when the job became available, it was just logic that I would do it. I knew everything about the job. I was able to tell them what I was working on currently what aspects were nearly complete, and they gave the job to another guy, and I was absolutely devastated. And I knew then it’s because I’m Black because you then wanted me to train the guy to teach the job. They called it a handover. But he didn’t have a clue! You’re only handing over to someone who has an idea of what you’re doing, but they wanted me to train him in the job that you’d just given him, and that was purely racism. That made me really, really sad. Sometimes we use our faith to cover … racist behaviours. I remember in that example, and I knew it was racism as a year later that department wound up, and I used my faith and said, you see, God sees the whole picture. So, it was good that I didn’t get the job. So, I saw how my faith then turned it. Rather than racism, you could then call it that’s divine intervention’ (GMLAJ02).

As uncovered in participants’ narratives, faith-based and benevolent leadership begin to signal the inextricable link between race and religion. Empirical research has long since shown how God as a White man has been used to bolster social hierarchy, including among Black people, particularly women (Howard and Sommers, 2017). Howard and Sommers (2017) argue that exposure to images of a White Jesus has increased pro-White attitudes and decreased ingroup devaluation. According to Howard and Sommers (2017), attributing a race to a supernatural entity typically predicts racial prejudice. In the participant’s narration above, we see an undoing of this element of her identity and socialisation as the participant expresses that ‘sometimes we use our faith to cover… ‘racist behaviours.’ Although we see an underlying faith-belief that a divine entity will overcome these behaviours and inequalities, ‘God sees the whole picture, [right from wrong] that I wasn’t given the job.’ There is an underlying perception that God will eventually cause good to triumph over evil, ‘because now he hasn’t got a job. However, there is also an awareness that there is some self-shielding going on, and self-denial may be a reaction to organisation-induced trauma and stress, as described above by the participant saying, ‘rather than racism, you could then call it … divine intervention.’ Such thinking is an attempt to soften the traumatic stress of racism. Furthermore, it seems a subversion and undervaluing of what would have been considered a sacredness in White Leadership as less positive and ‘evil,’ ‘I saw how my faith turned it’ and therefore a counter-narrative to the taken-for-granted concept of White and sacred leadership.
Some participants felt that faith allowed them to exercise benevolent or servant leadership (Parris and Peachey, 2013) even when they perceived they were subjected to adverse incidences. Such as in this extract below, where a young male semi-professional footballer turned communications, and media manager gives an example of how he reacted to a racist incident whilst volunteering:

‘I’ve done work with the community and a homeless project. One of the projects I was working with was erm like a soup kitchen where the homeless people will come off the streets where they can come as a safe place where they could come with music, and there was free food and music studio and erm and yeah during that time when I was volunteering to help, erm someone was giving racist comments, and I think what was challenging for me was how I responded to that and yeah and I feel I could have easily responded with a negative response from the fiery response, but I chose not, I chose to move forward and continue serving them in my best intentions and erm yeah I feel that that was a challenging thing because I was being attacked verbally and I chose not to retaliate in a situation.’ (GMLMY49)

The participant repeats how much reliance on their faith it took not to respond, ‘with a negative response’ when he states it could have been ‘easily responded from a fiery response.’ He reflects on the effort it took, which can be seen in how he painstakingly talks about ‘I chose not, I chose to move forward’ despite it seems being ‘attacked verbally.’ The extract illuminates the conscious effort to subdue the counteracting violence this incident could have been met with. The participant again stresses the action it took to ‘chose not to retaliate in a situation’ gives some insight into the complex nuances of racism, in that the volunteer (the abused subaltern) was at a place that was considered to be a safe haven for those who were homeless so that they could ‘come off the streets [to] a safe place’ yet for them the subaltern it was not a safe place as they were subjected to a racist attack (by the homeless abuser). This extract also points to the deeper underlying narrative that Black leadership is disregarded and met with violence at every level of society and that faith is synonymous with racial oppression. It also highlights how the discourse of faith, particularly Christian faith and ‘turning the other cheek,’ allows racism to go unchallenged.

‘Faith in leadership seems to play a large part in participants’ response not to retaliate to the verbal violence of racism they are often subjected to and how they see the act of repressing emotions, as a form of resistance, as practising leadership. The following extract from the same young Black male who had been a semi-professional footballer and now worked in higher education demonstrates the personal impact of racism and the underlying and internalised narratives of White supremacy.
‘Yeah, yeah, I think I took it more to heart. There would be a little inkling of questions like, why are people racist? Or erm, I think there was an unconscious thought of White supremacy in my heart, like in the sense of… why I say that like, White people are better than Black people. Or I’d never be a doctor. Or I’d not have this job because I wasn’t made for that, maybe only sports or music. Maybe those things are made for me. That’s the path I should go down. So yeah, it’s only until I started to realise and then I thought, no, that’s not who I am! That’s not my identity! I can be whatever I want to be. God’s made me like perfectly the way he’s wanted me to be, so there is nothing I cannot do. There’s nothing I can’t achieve. I can do whatever I put my mind and my heart to it’ (GMLMY49).

Whilst evident in the participant’s narrative is a questioning of ‘the unconscious thought of White supremacy in my heart…like White people are better than Black people.’ The participant acknowledges this is unconsciously reinforced by internalising thoughts such as he could never occupy specific leadership roles, such as ‘I’d never be a doctor, or I’d not have this job…’ The questioning reinforces the socialisation and performative language many of the participants perceived they were in receipt of in early childhood, as discussed in section 5.1. and 6.1., which influences their construction and deconstruction of identity, as seen here.

However, in having these negative thought constraints, a realisation transpires in the participant’s talk. The productive power of identity undoing emerges linked to an underlying faith-based belief and discourse that ‘God’s made me like perfectly the way he’s wanted me to be, so there is nothing I cannot do.’ The participant’s narrative counteracts these negative thought processes and internalised generative norms and dominant narratives, thus building resilience. By repeating this, the participant is again awakening to the realisation that ‘There is nothing I can’t achieve’ as he repeats this and begins to recognise his agency in this reflection where he states, ‘I can do whatever I put my mind and my heart to it!’ In enrolling God as an ally, the participant seeks to confirm his value as a human being but again alludes to the sacredness of leadership as a way to overcome what could be seen as the evilness of White supremacy.

Further examples of benevolent and faith-based leadership come across from the analysis of the data and become more apparent in the performance of leadership by global majority individuals even when they espouse to be experiencing challenges, including addiction or ‘horrendous organisational experiences of racism’ threats of harm or suffering verbal violence due to their cultural identity. The extracts chosen to reflect those most visible, as some felt that there could also be a disadvantage in openly expressing their faith or religion stemming back to the inextricable links of race and religion (Howard & Sommers, 2017). As demonstrated below in this extract from a police community liaison officer:
‘I am middle eastern and a legal migrant. The language barrier has meant that I have never felt accepted. Sometimes I travel on the train if you are talking to people, straight away if you say, ‘God willing’ people move seats on the train now because of the reaction, So, I have learnt to not speak my native tongue’. (GMLAE66)

The above extract illustrates well how several participants who, although they practice faith, keep this as an occluded narrative from followers or leaders. Some hide this because it would again mark them as different, especially in the case of those practising the Islamic faith that it created leadership challenges in itself ‘People move seats …. ’ However, many across the group felt the principles of faith helped them to lead, particularly where they faced adversity, as in this senior health lead’s narrative.

‘I don’t know if I mentioned faith, but it’s a wonderful thing’ (GMLLP16).

Or as acknowledged by this senior police officer when asked if he practiced faith as part of his leadership said:

‘Not openly. I’m respectful and a religious person, and at times at desperation, I found myself back in church to find a piece of solace and reflection. And I always have a Christian outlook for the people that are working for me in the sense of respecting them, respecting what they do. Erm, I obviously respect other faiths, so if it’s been a sanctuary for me, it must be a sanctuary for them. So yes, it has played a part in my leadership (GMLVO80).

Whilst faith plays a significant role in the lives of many participants across the group, both in how they practice leadership and as underlying principles for how they treat followers and others, it also intersects with more dominant performances of racism and oppression. It could be seen as an instrument of domination used in social norms to restrict and covertly keep the subaltern in their place.

Reflecting on the sub-practice of faith-based and benevolent leadership, I took the time to reflect on my learning as a researcher. I contemplated my faith-based background, which stirred me to find out why human beings could so cruelly differentiate against aspects of themselves due to perceived inferiority versus supremacy. The following extract is shared to exemplify the epic genre of drama reflective of so many global majority individuals’ experiences whilst endeavouring to practice faith-based leadership in response to racialised constraints in UK organisations. The following autoethnographic extract summarises some of the contextual constraints and challenges.
Extract from autoethnographic Journal

I am so overwhelmed right now. It’s been a memorable journey, and this year 2020 has been the most challenging—for example, a house move, a broken heart, a family member experiencing trauma and distress. The death of George Floyd and a global pandemic that has seen countries losing thousands of lives from a deadly virus and the increase in racist and xenophobic attitudes and behaviours both exercised in the narratives and actions of heads of state (UK, USA, China etc.). The demonstration of poor masculine, competitive leadership (USA, UK, China, and Russia) compared to good leadership exercised by women leaders (Germany and New Zealand). It has been a challenging year, both personally and professionally. It is challenging professionally because exposure to some of the most appallingly aggressive, narcissistic leadership behaviours in a Black-owned business stems from the personal pain of destroyed trust, isolation, and fear. Nevertheless, on the other hand, the experience gave me an insight into what organisation-induced trauma and stress can bring about when silenced and buried deep.

The opportunities created by the global pandemic and a critical incident that has foregrounded matters of identity and invisible histories, and what that means in tackling the problematisation of global majority individuals everywhere and the awakening of heroes of retreat (Enzensberger, 1989) across the globe has seen a demand for change. Statues of slavers toppled, but narratives of society and organisations that ‘wants this all to go away’ if we show superficial allegiance to social justice for all by just changing our social media statuses to Black hearts and hands. However, the backlash called this out, and the marches continued against the constraints of restrictive legislation enacted without due process to try and revert back to the status quo of White supremacy. For example, COVID-19 legislation restricting movement and increasing surveillance ‘track and trace’ on the pretence of national health protection.

So, to be in my writing up period during this time has been a personal challenge when I have been distressed by the George Floyd killing. Angry that capital murder of Black bodies can still be sanctioned as legitimate by a powerful state. That liberal White people can still ask, ‘why are Black people in the UK angry about the killing of a Black man in the USA?’ Disturbed by a senior lecturer in academia dismissing the rawness of feelings as something for mere academic debate. I’m hurt and frightened for all Black sons who are subjected to ‘stop and search’ and disproportionately criminalised due to other people’s epidermalism, which results
in post-traumatic stress syndrome, for which they will never be compensated. Or for the broken hearts of mothers, who have to watch children suffer and husbands and partners leave behind broken homes, played through the violent abuse of women and girls as they fail to grapple with the enormity of the weight of racism and discrimination that becomes their battleground bereft of the resources to deal with it on their own in the streets, in their schools, in workplaces and social spaces. All the while not crying for revenge or envious, but just asking for the basic human right of recognition and equality. To look into our lighter brothers and sisters’ eyes and see reflected the acknowledgement that what has been invisible has now been made visible, and only together can we make a visible difference.

So, as I am analysing my data, I wonder how to do justice to the many voices that have entrusted their stories of hurt, pain, hope, pioneering and resilient leadership identity to me. It’s a daunting task, but reaching out on social media, I was struck by the number of people who have been silently cheering me on.

When writing this autoethnographic reflection, the world seemed closed to change, and the frustration of being in lockdown and still seeing atrocities of racism play out prompted the above reflection. However, some two years later, whilst many things have stayed the same, there is a slither of hope that with the younger generation being ‘woke’ to the concept of White privilege and a society that is now talking albeit uncomfortably about race, it already feels like a different place.

The public trial and conviction of ex-officer Chauvin heralded a new era of change in the fight against structural inequalities and racism. With the conviction, there seems to be greater accountability asked of those with power not to abuse. The conviction also spoke to the positioning of the subaltern as someone that as the metaphorical Joseph, a boy sold into slavery by his brothers in the Holy Bible (KJV Reference Bible, 1977/1994, Gen. 37- 48); although he was imprisoned for a long time for a crime, he did not commit, Joseph came to one day be seen as someone who through wisdom and dreams changed the world for good. Joseph saved his brothers from starvation, who had sold him into slavery and was rewarded by being reunited with his family. The link with Joseph’s story, particularly the epic genre of faith-based leadership, can be seen in parallel to the stories and extracts that pervade the co-construction of identity and practice of leadership across many of the research participants’ narratives.
10.7. Summary of Findings

In summary, this chapter presents a narrative analysis of research participants' interview data drawing on thematic and genre analysis. Overall, the findings demonstrate several genres and themes directing us to the horror, tragedy, and epic drama participants experience within organisations and how they utilise comedy, satire and relational leadership enactments to deal with the daily battles and dramas inherent in these menacing, frozen, aggressive shadowlands, and inhospitable terrains.

This analysis paints a bleak picture of everyday life, challenging professional and first-hand experiences within UK-based organisations and society for research participants. The analysis was interrogated further using Critical Race Theory and genre analysis to detail the fine-grained experiences of their experience and practice of leadership and identity construction.

The concept of leadership is accepted collectively by the group as something that exists, something positive. Leadership is recognised and defined as using influence, specialist knowledge and expertise. The group also perceives leadership as pioneering and resilient, ensconced in an individual who is aware of and makes the best use of their cultural capital; whilst hardworking and responsible. Leadership amongst global majority individuals also exist in a series of relational connections and conversations with ‘likeminded’ people outside the organisation who have shared experiences. Furthermore, global majority leadership takes ancestral knowledge and experiences into its enactments.

Finally, leadership is enacted by someone who appreciates their role as standard-bearers and role models. However, while leadership is a contested space for many, fraught with personal and professional challenges, as identified in the sections above, it is also a place where being different allows the undoing, re-shaping, and reconstruction of the self to bring value to organisations and communities.

The picture painted by participants is a deep visceral feeling of invisibility, more vividly evident when being silently frozen out by work colleagues or leadership networks and fraternities due to the continued capitalist norms which reproduce patriarchal and racist discourse. Some talked about being subjected to the offensive and aggressive atmospheres they were expected to endure, like poison gas, as they were exposed to the lack of understanding
and impact of perceived and often unconscious and espoused bias they heard when in these spaces, as evidenced in the findings.

In addition to these menacing shadowlands and chillingly cold environments, participants sense the silent, deadly sniper attack of isolation and exclusion as they can be left feeling picked off and segregated within organisations. The desperate need for the oxygen mask of connection and solace of other leaders with similar experiences outside their work comes with a price. The price they appear to pay for this assistance is to give acts of service or a need to ‘dumb down’ to reduce further feelings of isolation and self-isolation.

However, for most, as captured in the analysis, the experience and practice of leadership in a UK context results in both a material and a psychosocial cost, which for most equates to serving a prison sentence where unconsciously they dream of a time when they can exist and ‘have an easy’ [and more valuable] life,‘ as illustrated below in the words of a community policing officer of middle eastern heritage:

‘We have nice weather; we are social animals, happy people. Here it is the opposite. We respect our elders, police, and emergency workers. We never hurt anyone, women, or child. If it were not for my son in this country, I would have gone back home a long time ago. I have served my sentence for being in this country. I would go back to the sand and the sea and have an easy life’ (GMLAE66).
11. Chapter 11 – Discussion

11.1. Introduction

Through this study, I intended to give space to global majority individuals wishing to explore, disrupt, reconsider, and vocalise leadership and identity formation. In so doing, I have sought to contribute to existing bodies of knowledge that offer a unique insight into leadership identity from a global majority perspective. Therefore, it was imperative to bring critical race theory to the understanding of how marginalised groups experience and have been dealt with in the leadership literature and practice in the UK. Finally, I focused on leadership and identity, acknowledging my assumptions from the perspectives of marginalised groups and my identity as a native researcher from one of those marginalised groups. In discussing my findings, I do so with my stated contributions (Chapter 1), and the literature on Leadership and Identity (Chapter 2) percolated through a presentation of the interpreted data (Chapters 5-10).

To recap, I undertook a narrative analysis of data gathered through semi-structured and unstructured interviews with thirty-five global majority individuals working within UK-based organisations alongside my autoethnographic insights to address the research question. The dominant genres and themes were analysed through a critical race lens and genre analysis presented in chapters 5-10 identifying specific challenges, experiences and practices of global majority individuals such as 1) the UK societal context, 2) the cold and frozen side of organisations, 3) the shadowlands of organisations 3) the hard knocks of leadership 4) intercultural betrayal and intracultural disconnection and 5) global majority personifications and enactments of leadership.

Before I discuss my findings, I present an overview of the personal and professional challenges of global majority individuals’ specific experience and practice of leadership as conveyed by the analysis of research participants' narratives in the following Rhizogramme.
Figure 2. Rhizogramme - a conceptualization of societal and organisational milieus' social and material consequences as conveyed in narratives of global majority individuals as their experience and practice of leadership in the UK.

The Rhizogramme visually represents the challenges unique to global majority individuals and the societal and organisational milieus that help maintain the colonial conditions and contested spaces in which research participants' identities and notions of leadership is constructed. The Rhizogramme offers the reader a way of conceptualizing the social and material consequences of these personal and professional challenges, the intersecting feelings and internalised oppression research participants experience, and the emancipatory ways they seek to respond to their experience of leadership.

Overall, findings from this study suggest several challenges and barriers consistent with prior research (Bush, Glover and Sood, 2006; Ospina and Foldy, 2009). These include structural inequalities and attitudes, including stereotype beliefs and unconscious bias concerning the leadership capabilities of global majority individuals (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 1995). In addition, this study contributes by expanding the leadership and identity literature by uncovering dominant genres and hidden underlying themes operating within organisational narratives and spaces associated with identity and racism, or 'epidermalism' (Fanon, 1986), which perpetuates feelings of displacement and reinforces dislocation amongst global majority individuals, particularly those UK born research participants. Finally, the findings highlight that reverse persecution and gaslighting are some of the unique ways in
which the devastating effects of organisation-induced trauma and stress (OiTS) on global majority individuals are maintained by leadership enactments and behaviours of some White managers and colleagues. OiTS is exacerbated by hostile organisational milieus, self-criticism, family and community expectations, and some research participants' feelings of 'rootlessness'. In contrast, the global majority individuals who participated in the research articulated their leadership norms as pioneering, responsible, relational, and resilient when practiced. Some felt an underlying faith-based belief and heroic discourse reinforced their leadership norms.

 Similar to other research studies, Aly (2015); Gilroy, (2000a, 2000b); Hall, (1986,1989), findings confirm that global majority leaders can thrive by drawing on their cultural capital. However, they still face profound barriers in their experience and leadership practice (Ospina and Foldy, 2009:1). By first interpreting dominant leadership practices evident in the data analysis, this study contributes to and extends the literature explored in Chapter 2. Next, it will show that racialised leadership practices can be conceptualised using the primary genre of horror and themes, specifically, self-isolation and organisation-induced trauma and stress. In addition, this thesis has broadened the scope of inquiry considered in previous studies, Davidson, (1997); Johnson and Campbell‐Stephens, (2013); Ospina and Foldy, (2009) as it is explicitly concerned with the inside perspectives of global majority individuals in the UK, which is often downplayed or ignored (Tillman, 2004) in broader organisation, leadership, and identity literature.

 The second section will discuss the contribution to the cultural and gender identity literature. More specifically, it will show how identity and the subject are performatively brought into being within a societal structure that enacts patriarchy and racialised and gendered identity norms.

 The third section will discuss how leadership identities are disrupted and reconstructed through identity work and unique enactments of leadership practices linked to the global South diaspora. This section examines how much agency and power global majority individuals have to disrupt the socially constructed leadership and identity norms and dominant organisational narratives to reconstruct their leadership identity to experience a more valuable life.
11.2. Contribution to critical race theory: How do global majority individuals experience and practice leadership?

Drawing on critical race theory, I found evidence to support that there are several challenges and specific barriers global majority individuals face when experiencing and practicing leadership. These barriers include isolation, lack of networks, stereotyping bias, and barriers to progression, Bush, Glover and Sood, (2006); Ospina and Foldy, (2009). The research thus expands knowledge of the lived experience of global majority individuals who perceive these contested spaces to be cold, hyper-boreal spaces that shroud them in a dark shadowland filled with entrapments and atrocious behaviours by leaders and colleagues. Moreover, it shows further how dominant societal narratives and discursive practices pervade and are performatively enacted within organisational spaces and discourse to bring about structural inequalities and the marginalisation of those ‘Othered’ such as global majority individuals, Aly, (2015); Ospina & Foldy, (2009).

Critical leadership studies claim that leadership accounts adopt a strong preference for normalizing the White experience of leadership, Liu & Baker, (2016); Ospina and Foldy, (2009). The White leadership experience normalises competitiveness, individualism, and sacred forms of separation alongside a view of leaders being typically White and male, Grimes, (2001); Hogg and Terry, (2003); Liu & Baker, (2016); Sullivan, (2014). Inherent in the leadership literature is the notion that this form of leadership is the desired goal for all, including global majority people (Omi & Winant, 1986), as discussed in chapter 2.3.4. As such, performativity [being] the vehicle through which the ontological effects of existing norms and narratives of leadership, such as invisible whiteness and white solipsism, Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, (2022); Liu & Baker, (2016), are established and instituted will therefore be deeply embedded in the practices of actors within organisations. Furthermore, the analysis also shows that research participants are negatively affected by individuals who behave in ways that are stereotypically associated with some White leaders and colleagues, for example, misappropriating work or ideas or positioning global majority individuals in reproductive roles such as ‘a workhorse’ and that this affects them on a deep psycho-social level. Leadership within Eurocentric organisations is experienced by research participants as Machiavellian, competitive, violently abusive, and individualistic.

The findings suggest global majority individuals feel disconnected from the leadership practiced within organisations as examples of organisational trauma and stress emerge that
show how some White leaders in upholding dominant social norms are seen to engage in abusive, sexualized, and racialized leadership practices. These behaviours are long associated with the occluded organisational discourse of power and property. Linked to invisible whiteness, which gives one group implicit power over the other to exclude, the subaltern identity is embodied as an object whose body, speech, and behaviours are closely prescribed, particularly the bodies of Black women (Bell and Nkomo, 2001). These structural norms become ‘incommensurable regarding race, ethnicity, religion and culture’ (Aly, 2015:199), presenting research participants with material and social disadvantages in terms of marginalisation and lack of (re)presentation career advancement and agency. These forces of dominance embedded in habits of whiteness, as posited by Ladkin and Patrick (2022), harm both global majority individuals and White individuals due to their unquestioned adoption. Critical race theory has offered a way to consider the subject's agency to affect organisational hierarchies, overt and hidden narratives and leadership norms (Goodwin, Operario and Fiske, 1998) within the postcolonial context of the UK.

In addition, the felt experience of leadership is essential as it can give a critical insight into leader-follower relations (Ladkin, 2013), as research participants explained that they felt overwatched, extensively monitored, and subjected to intense scrutiny. Research participants also expressed a foreboding unease and sense of terror conceptualised through the dominant horror genre. As illustrated in the example given by a senior police officer recalling the death on camera of an ex-paratrooper who died in police custody, an occluded master-slave narrative indicates an implicit threat of intimidation and silencing coercion. Such hierarchies of control are felt to limit those who enact the leadership practices of a token or poster child, making them feel powerless to resist or challenge power structures that negatively affect their identity and practice (Hill Collins, 1986). By revealing how dominant narratives such as the coercive practice of legitimacy and power prevails in leadership norms, it serves to embed the construction of what it means to be human. This study shows how this construction of humanness reflected in UK organisations results in marginalised groups being perceived as less than human and whom it is legitimate to rule over and oppress. For example, research participants who occupy the roles of 'token' or 'poster child' and 'standard bearers' in particular find that 'being lonely at the top' is even more so if you are a global majority individual or leader due to stereotyping maintaining hierarchies of control through systematic justification (Goodwin, Operario and Fiske, 1998:680).
Systematic justification is legitimised by an occluded narrative of sacredness (Grint, 2005) embedded in the whiteness of leadership, as powerful organisational elites performatively through language, agency, and power, limit the progression and advancement of global majority individuals, resulting in glass and concrete ceilings Cook & Glass, (2013); Davidson & Chapman, (1997). This study expands this understanding as the findings reveal that research participants felt pressured to perform over and above their White colleagues, Bell & Nkomo, (2001); Ospina & Foldy, (2009) due to being held more accountable to reproductive norms and expectations than those they placed on themselves or that were exerted on them by their families and communities. Furthermore, the findings uncovered that normalised injunctions to be 'Standard Bearers' as argued by Aly (2015), ‘are produced by a schema of (collective, individual and institutional) ethnormative, heteronormative and class-based discourses and practices that result in forced recitations' (2015: 204) and exclusionary practices. At the interpersonal level, to maintain the dominant group's social order and status (Goodwin et al. 1998), these forced recitations were enacted through the roles of the Token and Poster Child. However, the analysis revealed that these roles were illusionary as the acceptance of global majority individuals in these roles went only as far as respecting their identities as long as the reproductive labour benefitted the 'one-third North world' (Mohanty,1988). Therefore what appeared as examples of inclusionary practice, which valued global majority individuals' unique identity, in reality, transpires to continue monocultural organisations as these roles are designed to maintain hierarchical levels and exclusionary practices through token and solo roles, Bell and Nkomo, (2001); Brown et al. (2015). Extant leadership literature gives empirical evidence of the exclusionary practices inherent within eurocentric organisational settings that isolate marginalised groups from access to much-needed support networks, Ospina and Foldy, (2009); Powney, Wilson, & Hall, (2003). However, by adopting a critical race lens, this study adds to the literature by uncovering self-isolation as a feature of exclusionary practice and as a way in which research participants have been found to adopt more positive identity construction and leadership practices.
11.2.1. Self-isolation

The understanding that global majority individuals experience disadvantages where organisational narratives and dominant leadership behaviours reproduce structural inequalities is shown throughout the findings. For instance, an early help childcare manager spoke about self-isolating and avoiding work social events due to her feelings of being overlooked, negatively stereotyped, and silenced during work meetings. In addition, she was trying to resist the double-bind of fulfilling stereotype images of being 'the loud' or 'lazy Black women' whilst also managing feelings of having nothing in common with her White colleagues. She perceived work social events as a form of oppression due to damaging cultural exclusion. For example, going for the Friday night social drink after work or through gendered remarks made by White colleagues such as 'oh she's a goody two shoes' because she chose not to drink alcohol. Alternatively, there were other examples of White colleagues speaking for her when she was spoken over or dismissed during work meetings. The examples above demonstrate that organisations are contested spaces for global majority individuals. They are uncovering the sub-practice of 'self-isolation' as a self-protection strategy—allowing global majority individuals to practice leadership undetected through faceless work technologies such as emails supplements knowledge in this area. Self-isolation can be seen as an emancipatory response as group members try to create space for themselves and their ideas' (Foldy, Rivard and Buckley, 2009:29) by choosing to self-isolate rather than being isolated by organisation actors. Such examples of how societal discourses and social norms experienced over time and enacted in organisations, such as in schools and early workplaces, can create specific moments of identity threats (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008) also contributes to knowledge in this area. Exclusionary practices can be conceptualised as positioning research participants as different and unable to succeed due to early organisation-induced trauma and stress for research participants due to early interactions within these contested spaces reinforced through language used by organisation leaders and colleagues.

For example, a retail manager was prevented from taking up the supervisor's role in a retail shop during her early career as her White male manager co-opted his wife to function as a cultural custodian. Using her [the retail manager's] domesticated role of the caregiver to prevent her progression, even though she had been doing the job when staff cover was needed, she was implicitly forced to exclude and self-isolate herself by choosing to leave the organisation. In order to abstain from reproductive labour, due to the White woman manager
recruited to the role proceeding to make her [the retail manager] do the job on her [White supervisor's] behalf, she responded by withdrawing herself. This scenario presents tension as to the agency of research participants and their ability to engage in emancipatory practice on the one hand. Nevertheless, on the other, it reflects the tensions and undesirable options encapsulated for research participants in the material consequence of their experience when exiting organisations (Foldy, Rivard, & Buckley, 2009). The above points to the social construction of race and its influence on the identity construction of global majority individuals conceptualised through racialised identity and gendered embodiments of leadership further discussed below.

11.3. Contribution to identity and gendered leadership studies: Racialised and gendered leadership identity constructions.

11.3.1. A racialised identity of leadership

The section is presented over two sub-sections: racialized identity and gendered embodiments of leadership.

Leadership and identity research has continued to problematize global majority individuals. Firstly, through an underlying assumption that global majority leaders are problems to be solved (Ospina and Foldy, 2009) or arguing that research by and on marginalised groups could be de-legitimized as not theoretical enough (hooks, 1991:4). It is another way that a colonial legacy still influences and maintains the invisibility of whiteness and marginalised groups. According to hooks (1991), studies of and by global majority people are more likely to rely on narrative or phenomenological methods, which is deemed at odds with the more traditional standards within dominant definitions of western leadership research. hooks (1991) argues that the ‘mainstream misappropriation of scholarly works from global majority people further perpetuates it, whilst denying them recognition by dismissing the work of these individuals or groups and as such, they are ignored or rejected as a source of theorizing’ (1991:4), rather than use them as a source of learning in mainstream research. As such, the leadership literature continues to overlook identity and leadership from the experiences and insights of global majority individuals, preferring to continue theorizing from a place of implicit
bias where the normalizing of whiteness in leadership remains universal, (Ladkin and Bridges-Patrick, 2022; Liu and Baker, 2016; Ospina and Foldy, 2009).

Furthermore, individuals in the group are also problematized by a constructed identity formation which Wallerstein 1991; Trovao, 2012; and Horta and White, 2009, argue are inextricably linked with the underlying 'boundaries of domination' and world systems of global power dynamics. Therefore, the challenge to dominant genres and narratives within leadership and management is an empowering discourse for marginalised groups, as Ahluwalia (2001) argues. Colonisation forged a tri-continental link to the struggles of people of African descent across America, the Caribbean and Africa, or as Gilroy labelled them, the 'Black Atlantic' (1993). By analysing how contemporary organisations continue to use identity regulation to perpetuate a complex state for global majority individuals have helped to explore the concepts of power, seduction, and the invisibility of whiteness in organisational environments.

Through challenging leadership assumptions through a critical race lens, the study uncovered 'invisible assumptions that generate social structures' (Balkundi & Kilduff, 2005; 557) in which racialised, sexualised and gendered leadership is embedded in UK organisations' narratives and norms as experienced by global majority individuals. One implication is that unless future research adds the voice of global majority individuals as a rich source and place for theorising and in-depth insight into the insider-outsider perspectives on race and leadership, we will continue to create a void in our understanding of the social and material consequences of the invisibility of both Whiteness and Blackness, and in the understanding of leadership and identity construction. The implication of this study also suggests that ignoring socially constructed categories such as race and cultural identity means that the understanding of leadership and identity remains incomplete (Ospina and Foldy, 2009:892).

Work on theory continues to happen upstream as extant research demonstrates the lack of global majority academics in leadership positions in UK universities (Bhopal, Brown, & Jackson, 2018, 2019), specifically, those from global majority backgrounds born and raised in the UK who have access to higher education, from which to draw from. This links to social and material consequences stated earlier and go back much further to schooling and early identity construction (see Chapters 1.1 and 6.1). Therefore, implications of this research challenge leadership theorists and academics to further explore issues of race, as there is no reason White academics could not be researching such conceptual foci as White privilege as they would have lived experiences of these as being White is race too (Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022).
More importantly, my research flags in Chapter 6 (sec 6.3) and Chapter 8 (sec 8.4) the importance of intersectional practice and research teams to be able to surface the many identity issues at play in leadership practice and research. The importance of allies and allyship in co-constructing anti-racist and anti-discriminatory education curricula and producing readily available tools, so that writing teams can educate themselves and not always rely on oppressed colleagues to explain the devastating effects of racism and occluded racialised narratives all the time. This would be less exhausting for them and reduce narratives of victimhood placed at the feet of global majority groups.

This racialised analysis of leadership complicates the dominant genres outlined by Gabriel (1991) by offering others, such as horror, rootlessness, the pain of unbelonging, and the hard knocks of leadership. Whilst some of the dominant genres such as epic, tragedy and comedy can apply to many of the lived experiences of research participants, underlying structural inequalities within organisations and occluded narratives such as Hidalguismo and the invisibility of whiteness mean that global majority individuals do not experience these genres in the same way as those from a position of privilege. For example, as discussed in chapter 7 (7.3.1.), global majority individuals perceive they are managed in organisational environments and cultures that leave them feeling like black pawns on a chessboard due to racialisation, stereotype bias, and power imbalance. Indeed, the horror genre features prominently in several research participants’ narratives, with many able to give examples of horrifying situations and incidences of physical danger or the psychological menace pervading their thoughts, leading to organisation-induced trauma and stress.

Furthermore, due to leader and leadership atrocities and enactments, the subject's fear of subjugation and identity threat are maintained (Ospina & Foldy, 2009). Extant literature has not explored how organisation-induced trauma and stress are articulated through organisational and dominant narratives of victimhood. It suggests a need to go beyond existing dominant genres to understand the underlying experiences of global majority individuals. This conceptual and empirical gap is worth paying attention to as it adds value to understanding the complexity of trauma associated with racialised, sexualised, and gendered identities.

My native autoethnographic account adds contextual insight to this study as part of the community. However, being aware of the risk and implications in academia of being dismissed as an ‘ethnic piece’ and only speaking to people from marginalised communities, I sought to foreground the voices of research participants by blending my autoethnographic account with
the narrative interviews of research participants and limited my contributions to where these were most relevant. Furthermore, the study may only be accepted as an authoritative piece because participants trusted me to tell this co-constructed story. Therefore, one of the main strengths is the rich insight offered into the lived experiences of research participants presented and (re)presented through empirical examples hard forged in the ‘flames of fire.’

As shown in chapter 6 (6.3.), there is an underlying and occluded but sometimes overt narrative within society and organisations, which leads to global majority individuals' lack of legitimised leadership identity. Legitimised leadership identity does not appear to be afforded to global majority individuals by White leaders or followers as suggested by extant research, Powney et al., (2003); Prasad & Mills, (1997), thereby operationalising marginalisation (Sue & Sue, 2003), which my findings expand by making the link between perceptions of incapability and deviance (Ryland, 2013, August 8). These lead to global majority research participants feeling the pressures of being measured by a different standard of expectations shown in chapter 7 (7.3) and surveillance (7.1-7.2). Global Majority individuals, most notably black leaders, are thought to be more likely to be corrupt, threatening, and uncivilised and that they need White saviours/White leaders to go in and clean things up for them, Collinson, (2011); Grimes, (200); Liu and Baker, (2016); Peters-Little, (2003); Smithers, (2009). These stereotypical views operationalise marginality leading to global majority leader's being overwatched and extensively monitored, Bush et al., (2006); Singh, (2002).

Furthermore, as shown in chapter 6 (6.4), this study reveals that research participants who find themselves working harder to prove their worth, may also withdraw and self-isolate, preferring to be invisible rather than tokenized within organisations as a marginalised identity construct (Buchanan and Settles, 2019). As mentioned in chapter 2, Alvesson, and Willmott (2002) argue that identity is inextricably linked to self-esteem, which is aspired for when searching for identity and positive social meaning. Therefore, the 'social value' brought about by a recognised identity can significantly benefit organisational employees/leaders. However, my study demonstrates that many research participants lacked a recognised identity due to stereotyping attitudes, hypervisibility (Buchanan and Settles, 2019) and experiences of reproductive labour, which reinforce the patriarchal continuation of White solipsism (Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022; Liu & Baker, 2016). In addition, the findings reveal the efforts research participants engage in whilst trying to measure up to archetypal leadership identities that lead to them wearing many masks and internalising oppression and inferiority as individuals and as a group. This study’s findings show that specific feelings of 'rootlessness'
reinforce a sense of isolation and (un)belonging, leading to mistrust, intracultural betrayal, intercultural conflict, and disconnection.

This thesis highlights how global majority individuals, particularly those of UK Caribbean heritage, are more likely to express feelings of 'rootlessness' than other global majority group members due to identity confusion, a multiplicity of 'masks', and family and community disconnection. Those research participants born in the UK from a Caribbean identity heritage experienced this dislocation within the UK and when visiting the Caribbean or Africa. For example, a senior early help manager in children's services spoke of her exchange with a Black woman on her visit to The Gambia. The participant explained that she would 'always be a foreigner' wherever she went. This essential contribution points us to the pervading undercurrents of neo-colonialism and the 'Black Atlantic' diaspora, which sees colonialised individuals' feelings of rootlessness and unbelonging in all aspects of their lives. Galvanizing around the identity of Blackness appears to be a way of countering oppressive and exclusionary practices useful for some members of the group but not all. The study reveals that 'blackness,' like identity, as Hall (1989) postulated, can be an 'unsettled space between a number of intersecting discourses' (Hall, 1989:9-20). However, for many in the group of African, Caribbean, and Black British descent, 'Blackness' is viewed as a positive way for these members to transmit and maintain cultural ideas, meaning, symbolism and understanding of collective struggles and as a way of self-defining their identity in groups and organisations, De Vos, (1990); Yanow, (2003).

By extending knowledge of how racism or shadism functions similarly to patriarchy and classism, this study highlights that those at the bottom of the shade [race] card strive for opportunities and recognition afforded to those of the accepted prototype at the top end of the shade spectrum (whiter/white). Therefore, where global majority individuals are in the hierarchy of 'shadism' equates to how visible and privileged they are within their cultural groups and organisations. Conceptualising 'shadism', like patriarchy, shows how it encourages inequality, competition, and individualism, resulting in intercultural discrimination and prejudice, resulting in group members being suspicious of each other. Shadism atomizes group members and makes intercultural tensions and competitiveness visible and isolating (Mohanty, 1988). For example, some members of the group who experienced racism and bigotry within white Eurocentric organisations also experienced both shadism and intercultural prejudice due to not sharing the same cultural background as the dominant cultural group. To illustrate, by
choosing secondment to a community-led organisation, a childcare manager experienced how oppressive norms are enacted by global majority organisation actors, who have ways of excluding individuals with different identities.

Therefore, showing how marginalised groups can reinforce dominant identities by internalising racist ideologies like shadism leading to intercultural betrayal, and exclusionary practices, extends knowledge and how groups are racialised differently when applying a tenet of CRT (Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022). A striking reality for the author was finding that in its complexity, talking about identity meant it became a visible phenomenon both physically and aesthetically where it intersects with race, particularly for global majority women leaders over and above that experienced by women leaders in general. Therefore, an embodied experience of leadership is vital to discuss in order to understand how hypervisibility unique to global majority individuals presents them with additional challenges to their leadership identity.

11.3.2. A Gendered embodiment of leadership

The findings show that both White women and White men are implicitly and explicitly invested in ensuring that other bodies are repressed for more dominant, masculine forms of identity to be considered the primary source of identity construction (Knights & Kerfoot, 2004). Connecting this to the role of race and identity construction and how research participants embody and typify leadership helps us see beyond the existential constructs of how the norms of race and gender are (re)produced and practiced. As uncovered in this study, women leaders come to symbolise, embody, and (re)present racialized and gendered leadership. For example, a global majority senior police officer details how she felt hyper-visible and micromanaged (Buchanan and Settles, 2019) by being scripted in what she could say, how she could wear her hair, and how she should perform her public duties as a 'Poster Child'. Further revealed is how global majority individuals can be reprimanded through material consequences and in more sinister ways through occluded narratives, violence, and micro-aggressive practices and actions normalised by officially sanctioned leaders. For instance, a female church leader spoke of the dehumanizing effect of bullying she would be subjected to by male leaders, to the way she preached, dressed, and her philosophy of leadership, which they considered to be wrong until she eventually became the 'flavour of the month' (Chapter 7.2).
Such experiences re-enforce accepted leadership prototypical behaviour (Koval and Rosette, 2020) as previously discussed in Chapters 2 and 5 by highlighting the devaluation of leadership enacted by global majority people and women leaders due to implicit stereotypes and traditional role incongruence (Eagly & Carli, 2007). As a result, global majority women are left struggling to legitimise their leadership authority, particularly by those who scrutinise their enactments. By showing how women's appearance, particularly Black women's hair, and leadership enactments are regulated, overwatched, and scripted to enact patriarchal leadership models, the study contributes to knowledge by uncovering how marginalised women are assigned to the spheres of reproductive or domesticated labour. An example of this phenomenon is when they are announced as leaders. People, especially White men, look beyond them for their husbands.

I drew on sexualised racism and gendered leadership identity construction to conceptualize the contested spaces occupied by global majority women as part of the group. Contributing to concepts of embodied leadership norms that, for global majority women leaders, includes expectations of conformity and pressure both from within organisations and families to be cultural custodians and models of cultural identity, (Bartol et al., 1978; Fitzgerald 2006; Knight, Hebi, Foster, & Mannix, 2003; Sackett & Dubois, 1991). Furthermore, this can include either being dismissed or being made to feel submissive due to cultural identity expectations (Fotaki, Metcalf, and Harding, 2014). To further illustrate, a senior leader of Indian descent spoke about her struggles with her inlaws, who expected her to bring their son' back into the fold' as a traditional Indian wife and a community leader with expectations of enacting a timid feminine identity construct. She felt this was also part of a leadership expectation that she was supposed to fulfil within Eurocentric organisations, which featured in her experience of White female leadership and stereotypical conformism. Furthermore, she experienced an incident where she was sexualized and objectified when her manager used the prop of a chicken bone.

The findings present a pessimistic picture of how historical and culturally gendered norms continue to pervade western organisations. Extant research shows how women are domesticated and relegated to the role of primary caregivers and, as such, continue to experience oppressive practices in the workplace, (Britten & Maynard, 1984; Fotaki, Metcalf, & Harding, 2014; Ford, 2006; hooks, 1981).
Drawing on critical writers to illuminate how gendered roles leave intact power structures that exclude those labelled as ‘other’ and produce dichotomies of difference and separation, I have sought to show how feminised and masculine gendering has continued to exploit the almost free labour of marginalised groups (Marchand, Runyan, 2000). The example of the retail manager forced to leave her role due to reproductive labour gives a unique example of how the domestication of the subject leaves them in a position of powerlessness, as discussed in Chapter 6 (6.3).

Further qualitative evidence of a complex and often intangible phenomenon is uncovered by this study which reveals how the visibility of gendered and racialised leadership and its material consequences come into being through the interactions of the ‘other’ bodies when looking through a critical race lens and how different groups are racialised differently, (Chemers, 1997; Ladkin and Bridges Patrick, 2022; Mohanty, 2003).

11.4. Contribution to leadership, organisation, and management studies: In what way do global majority individuals respond to the norms of organisational life and practice leadership?

This section discusses how global majority individuals reconstruct leadership to circumvent and respond to dominant norms reinforced through organisation actors' behaviour. The study reveals that identity work (work that relies on reflexivity and contextual instability within an organisation) propels actors into active and conscious behaviour modification (Courpasson et al., 2012) and ongoing activities to construct leadership identities. The UK organisational context subject’s global majority individuals to dominant social norms and leadership discourse enacted through agential interactions and delivered through administrative processes that lead to isolation and exclusionary experiences for marginalised groups. However, using critical race theory to conceptualize this position it becomes clearer that the degree of personal choice available to global majority individuals is highly delimited, (Foldy, Rivard, & Buckley, 2008). Hall (1976, 1986) asserts that identity has history and, like history, is, therefore, subject to constant change and the continuous play of history, culture, and power and shows how leadership identity, when it comes to global majority individuals, can be imposed on them by dominant others through both societal and organisational narratives and expectations as a result of a colonial constraint.
According to the five leadership practices identified in the data (pioneering, responsible, relational, resilient, gendered and faith-based); gendered and faith-based leadership are articulated as enactments of many research participants' leadership practices. The findings also map cultural identity and epidermalism as constant across the practices. However, for many (but not for all) global majority research participants, additional factors such as reciprocity and mentoring were identified that influenced their experience and leadership practice. By analysing personal and professional struggles, the study goes beyond these challenges to draw out the 'creative and resilient ways in which individuals seek to craft their distinctive leadership practices and identities' (Jackson, Smolović Jones, & Vangen, 2018). The personification of leadership amongst the group and how practitioners epitomise, personify, and (re)present leadership in their day-to-day practice (see chapters 5-10) is discussed in the following section.

11.5. The personifications and enactments of global majority leadership.

This section discusses the unique enactments of leadership articulated by global majority research participants and examines their power and agency to disrupt the social and material consequences of occluded and overt organisational narratives.

By drawing on a critical race lens, this study extends knowledge into how complex and entangled underlying structural inequalities, racism and dominant social norms within both society and organisations are, which feed into the identity construction of both global majority individuals and organisation actors. Drawing further on critical race theory, I argue, like Gilroy (2000a), that identity construction is so inextricably linked to political thinking that the normative structures of race, class, and gender are deeply embedded (2000a:155) in both the structure of organisations, policy, and practice. The roots of White supremacy, invisibility, and solipsism underpinning 'the structural dynamics which keep oppression in place' (Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022:5) and extends this argument.

Critical writers argue that it is challenging to reconstruct identity within a closed-circuit society and organisations where taken-for-granted assumptions of leadership are offered as the final phenomenological legitimation for a political claim that reflects an individual's place in a social hierarchy and from which they speak and from which those ‘Othered’ voices are unheard (Ospina & Foldy, 2009). For example, in the case of the female faith leader and senior police officer example above, they retell their dehumanising experiences of having their identity
undone and dominant leadership identity imposed on them. However, while it is complex and
difficult to reconstruct an identity within organisational constraints, research participants
articulated finding emancipatory ways to enact leadership despite these contested societal and
organisational milieus.

The findings show that very few of the research participants’ narratives engaged in or
desired to enact dominant forms of leadership. For example, uncovered is how a great deal of
humour (Gabriel, 1991) is used to disrupt and reshape dominant leadership norms and as an
identity threat defence, especially evident in the narratives of female research participants and
examples of their leadership enactments. Furthermore, while some studies have explored
humour in the workplace, (Gabriel, 1991; Martin, 2007), this has not been extensively
examined in organisational studies concerning marginalised groups (Vinton, 1989). Whilst
there are examples of how humour decreases the social distance between leaders and followers
(Gabriel, 1991), I extend knowledge by analysing how marginalised research participants use
humour to disrupt and reconstitute gendered leadership identity. For example, some female
leaders used humour to highlight patriarchal norms by pointing out imaginary husbands or use
satire to highlight their success and progress in recruiting another woman in an all-male space,
such as racing. Such acts demonstrate that organisations are critical sites for global majority
individuals' engaging in identity work (Brown et al, 2015). However, these findings warrant
further, more in-depth analysis.

Several examples where research participants either accepted, resisted, or withdrew
from racialized and gendered leadership identity norms associated with marginalised groups
through heroic forms of leadership featured highly in their responses. Gabriel’s genre
framework is also extended as the findings show how research participants resisted forging
through pioneering as an epic genre in reconstructing their leadership practice to survive
normative and dominant leadership practices. For example, a significant event that influenced
participants' talk was the murder of ‘George Floyd’ in the USA by uniformed police officers
and the Windrush scandal in the UK, the former resulting in worldwide protests and both
generating activism for change concerning systemic racism. The benefits of using narrative
analysis are evident in its multiplicity in considering how complex cultural, interpersonal, and
other factors shape individual lives, as contended by Riessman (1993) as discussed in chapter
three. A substantive part of my fieldwork was conducted when these traumatic events played
heavily on both research participants' minds and mine. It was clear how this influenced the
feelings of trauma and self-reflections amplified in some research participants' narratives and
what that meant for them in living and experiencing life within colonised and structural inequitable organisations and societies. Different genres can persuade and help shape ‘what is said and what cannot be spoken’ (Riessman, 1993:21). Genres feature highly in organisations and the analysis of the data and are therefore used in this study to unearth the dominant norms and context operating within the contested spaces of organisations. Themes are used to make sense of the underlying and occluded organisational narratives and nuanced experiences of research participants.

I have sought to uncover the underlying genres, and themes that perpetuate feelings of displacement and dislocation amongst global majority individuals. Therefore, opting for a social constructionist onto-epistemological stance was an appropriate research paradigm. It allowed me to centre on the open and occluded narratives of both research participants and organisations in which they are situated. This study gives a deeper insight into how dominant genres are used as a counter-narrative and apply to global majority individuals experience and practice of leadership. A prominent theme in understanding how research participants use genres such as epic, tragedy, and horror is to highlight a moral coda as a counter-narrative against the taken-for-granted sacredness of White leadership; therefore, supplementing Gabriel’s genre framework with that of horror helped uncover what could not be spoken for many of the research participants and as a native autoethnographer. Furthermore, the use of autoethnography enabled me, as a native autoethnographer, to interpret and translate for the audience a rich and meaningful understanding of the lived experiences of research participants.

11.5.1. Relational networks of support

The literature on relational leadership is valuable and gives us a way of theorizing relationally responsible leadership’s dialogical practice in everyday life (Cunliffe & Eriksen, 2011). However, it has not been applied to a better understanding of the workings of race within leadership practice. Enriched is the understanding of relational leadership enactments through networks of support drawn upon in the co-construction of global majority leadership. This study shows that many research participants sought outside support to circumvent career-limiting barriers and hostile organisational terrains. Two types of support are identified. First, peer group support, for example, through Black workers’ support groups that offered psychological and emotional support. The other of material and mutual support to help navigate physical
barriers of progression, such as access to jobs and organisations or mentoring through reciprocal support.

Global majority individuals highly valued the ability to form supportive relationships and networks of peer support as their leadership enactments have relied on rich connections and interdependencies (Uhl-Bien, 2006) of those outside their organisations with people who looked like them and have had the experience of successfully navigating their way through identified barriers. Research participants have long recognised these benefits of co-constructed and relational leadership (Fairhurst & Uhl-Bien, 2012) due to them recognising the organisational phenomena such as dominant narratives and norms in interdependent relationships and intersubjective meanings (Uhl-Bien, 2006). Relational leadership and social networks are considered essential resources consistent with extant research that supports the benefit of support worker groups, such as giving opportunities for raising diversity issues with senior managers (Wyatt and Silvester, 2015).

However, this study raises the possibility that not all experiences of support worker groups are as supportive as they could be. For example, a Local Authority childcare services manager explained that there could be pros and cons to Black workers’ support groups that could be ‘quite destructive.’ In addition, some global majority managers were mindful of the intercultural tensions across the group, consistent with what Friedman & Craig (2004) and Healy et al. (2004) found in their studies that identified that these types of formal networks that purport to support Black workers attracted a backlash due to what they identified as supporting claims that membership of these groups could be career-jeopardising. Showing how intercultural betrayal and intracultural disconnection as a racialised legacy can disrupt enactments of relational leadership within some black-led organisations and, as practised by some individuals adds to research participants’ feelings of ‘rootlessness’, hypercritical spaces, and cultural and community disconnection. These findings partially align with those Wyatt and Silvester (2015) reported. Their study noted that Black and ethnic minority managers are disadvantaged by not accessing informal networks inside organisations due to stereotyping judgments and a lack of homophilous ties (Ibarra & Deshpande, 2007), with those likely to be at the top of organisations, as noted in Chapter 2.4.1. Wyatt and Silvester (2015) also found that Black and minority managers are led to formal networks of support that cannot help them navigate everyday performance expectations.
One reason is that the strategies used to navigate organisational dynamics and narratives are rarely written down. Thus, stereotyping judgements feed into discussions about the leadership experiences of the African and Asian diaspora. However, the dichotomies that surface owing to identity are not recognised in the relational leadership literature. As such different factors (including invisible whiteness) that allow White leaders to progress up and through organisations more quickly than global majority leaders and the organisational processes designed to deny global majority leader’s access to informal support networks are identified as 'the golden thread', (Wyatt and Silvester, 2015: 1262), which takes place within a context and social structure generated by invisible assumptions, (Bradbury & Lichtenstein, 2000; Charles & Nkomo, 2012),

The study shows that research participants could also respond by withdrawing (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008), thereby seeking jobs outside the organisation in which they worked to circumvent internal barriers (glass and concreteceilings) to career progression and (re)presentation. Finally, many of those who resisted identity regulation through engaging in high-risk roles (glass cliffs) felt that they addressed hostile and oppressive regimes affecting their physical and psycho-social health by maintaining a cultural link to their families and communities as well as by developing external networks of informal support with others who had experienced similar challenges. However, as with extant studies viewed from a critical race lens, these responses still leave intact exclusionary practices often 'tied to the long history of racial and group discrimination' (Markus, Steele, and Steele, 2000: 238).

Research participants also appear to benefit from connecting with their families and communities despite perceiving that they had to 'dumb down' or suffer the cost of compensating for the lack of access to networks and informal support within organisations. Consequently, my research contributes to knowledge, showing how reciprocity seems to feature highly in the narratives, specifically for Black women leaders who appear much less ambivalent in providing support and sponsorship than their male counterparts. Again, this is driven by both a need to give back and an expected aspect of relational leadership. This study demonstrates how research participants reduce identity threats by creating psychological and material safety for themselves and relying on relationships and informal support networks with others who look like them. Both relational and reciprocal leadership seem critical in global majority individuals surviving organisation-induced trauma and stress align with social constructionist and critical race concepts of identity work that can only be disrupted within the constraints of existing social norms but can nevertheless be subverted to enact emancipatory forms of agency. This
study reveals how research participants' awareness of the dominant societal and discursive organisational milieus in which they are constrained allows them to reconstruct resistant and alternative identity strategies, not outside these constraints but within them, Bauman, (2000); Cuzzocrea & Lyon, (2011). This study extends the understanding of relational leadership as a process of social construction that allows global majority individuals to negate their socially constructed reality (Balkundi & Kilduff, 2005) within organisations to enact leadership differently.

Critical race theory provides a way for us to understand that reconstructing a more viable identity status holds tension and costs for global majority individuals in the form of organisation-induced trauma and stress, disconnection and internalised oppression. Enriching our understanding of these costs is essential to research and the literature on leadership, identity, and the broader organisation literature. The dichotomies of acceptance/belonging – both are wanting the UK's multi-cultural population to be recognised in organisations and its leadership (leadership needs to be better, more respectful, different, and inclusive). However, at the same time, acknowledging feelings of unbelonging where 'home' is not the UK, hence what rootlessness means in terms of acceptance, (re)presentation and belonging. In navigating these two spaces, belonging and unbelonging, Homi Bhabha contends, 'in occupying two places at once…the depersonalised, dislocated colonial subject can become an incalculable object, quite literally difficult to place' (1986: xxi).

11.6. Limitations and Implications for future research

11.6.1. Limitations

It was a purposive strategy that the study did not include White European individuals as participants, even though such comparisons might be valuable in comparing the personal and professional challenges they might encounter, which would be different from research participants' lived experiences. However, my research strategy allowed for a more in-depth understanding of the research-focused group. The resulting analysis made this justifiable as individuals in the group are problematised by a constructed identity formation that is inextricably linked with the underlying 'boundaries of domination' and world systems of colonial power unique to them, (Horta and White, 2009; Trovao, 2012; Wallerstein, 1991).
Research participants’ time constraints and other commitments are significant limitations when engaging in qualitative research. Due to solo roles and diverse locations in exploring this particular area of interest, access to research participants added to the research constraints. Extant research evidences the additional pressures participants in marginalised groups experience, particularly when engaging in work and postgraduate study. It took a global pandemic and a nationwide lockdown for me to gain a substantial number of participants willing to be interviewed. However, I discovered that it was not due to a lack of interest or an unwillingness to participate. Instead, the additional pressures associated with job roles, cultural barriers, and suspicion of reprisal explain why participants were initially reluctant to voice their experiences. As a native autoethnographer pursuing doctoral study, holding a full-time executive position with family responsibilities, and as the primary income earner and carer, I also experienced additional pressure. I add this not to labour the point but to illustrate its validity as a significant challenge for marginalised groups.

Research in this area from a UK context is still sorely lacking in mainstream leadership and identity literature. However, events surrounding the death and murder of George Floyd, the health disparities highlighted due to the global pandemic and structural inequalities shone a light on the continued racial bias facing global majority individuals today. Through the many empirical examples of the research participant extracts, this study fills the gap in the extant literature on UK-based studies by giving the reader a sense of the silencing and invisibility often experienced by an inside-outsider perspective on race, identity construction and leadership.

11.6.2. Implications for Stakeholders, Leadership Theory and Practice

Implications for research resulting from issues identified above suggests a need for Global Majority individuals from an early age and ongoing need to receive awareness-raising opportunities to prepare them as to the potential barriers and organisation-induced trauma and stress that can occur when working and coming into contact with Eurocentric organisations. The analysis uncovered the segregation and underlying practices of apartheid in schools, the implication of which means that cultural literacy must be an integral part of initial and ongoing teacher and support staff training. The development of education policies, particularly those related to decolonising education curricula such as that recently introduced in Wales, to ensure
world history includes Black history, needs to be taught throughout the UK. Contributions of those from Global Majority backgrounds, particularly those of Caribbean descent born in the UK and their parental contributions, should be further acknowledged, and represented accurately to reduce feelings of unbelonging and rootlessness amongst this group. In addition, racial classification and occluded banding policies based on hypervisibility and entrenched low-level stereotyping are to be rooted out and eradicated as the research evidences the social and material consequences these have on the self-esteem and internalised oppression experienced by global majority children and adults as discussed in 8.2.

My research contributes to the gap in the extant literature and the much-needed voices of global majority research participants to the understanding of the challenges they face. These need to be addressed through broader policy changes for example, at national and local policy levels in education, government, and employment, instead of purely individual or organisational. There is also a need for global majority individuals to have access to mentoring, coaching and sponsorship from White organisational leaders that result in real progression opportunities. Offering initiatives like blind recruitment strategies to reduce inequalities within recruitment processes and engendering a more diverse workforce, specifically targeting senior/board-level roles, may help reduce structural inequality and racism in this area. However, this implication suggests that such initiatives would need to be linked to individual and organisation performance objectives to sustain momentum and reduce ‘oblique resistance’ (Smolović Jones, Smolović Jones, Taylor, & Yarrow, 2021).

Leadership development programmes should also be made available to those from global majority groups, which include White leaders, as access to comprehensive forms of free leadership development programmes are usually costly and only made available to certain people within organisations as a status symbol (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). An example of this is a tendency for leadership development programmes to be used as a means of disciplining people to ensure greater conformity with corporate and organisational norms. Thus, more leadership development that is punitive and disciplinary would merely further entrench racism but also further alienate global majority individuals from their employers.

Furthermore, there is a need for mainstream leadership development programmes such as those provided by national staff colleges to include marginalised voices in the theoretical understanding of leadership from the perspectives of marginalised groups as a counter-narrative to dominant leadership theory, norms, and practice as discussed in Chapter 3. Leadership
development in all settings should be subjected to a process of racialised audit to ensure that it is not further compounding problems of racism. Implications of this research show that organisational norms have troubling racialised assumptions. It would therefore be important for future research to be undertaken with global majority individuals to contribute to the understanding and development of audit standards.

The offer of segregated leadership development programmes to global majority individuals, further compounds their inability to develop social and professional networks with those likely to be at the top of organisations. It is, therefore, important that leadership development is properly supported and that global majority individuals should not have to rely solely on segregated programmes that are not properly supported in person by White leaders but have access to joint leadership development programmes. There is potential for leadership practice to be improved through the diversity of leadership development opportunities, (Fairhurst, 2007; Gagnon & Collinson, 2014). However, it is also necessary to have leadership development activities reserved for global majority individuals, so that they have psychological safety to voice experiences with others who share their lived experiences, specifically for those early in their careers and those promoted to senior level roles. In addition to access, research participants need relational networks of leaders, mentors and coaches that look like them and can aid navigation around invisible organisation force fields.

The implications of this are consistent with extant systematic reviews and empirical studies that suggest that continuing to ignore these social categories means that the understanding of both leadership and identity remains incomplete (Ospina and Foldy, 2009:892). We need more leadership programme developers practicing and facilitating from global majority experiences and identities. We need them to talk directly to managers of all racial identities to convey the consequences and experiences of leadership from minoritised group perspectives. There is an urgent need for scholarship to develop leadership development activities based on the insights of critical race theory. These could be activities to highlight racialised and gendered assumptions and lived experiences, such as case scenarios to support group discussion and stimulated practice exercises.

In summary, and using the words of the late bell hooks, our knowledge and accounts of leadership will be better enriched:
When our lived experience of theorizing is fundamentally linked to processes of self-recovery, of collective liberation, no gap exists between theory and practice. Indeed, what such experience makes more evident is the bond between the two - that ultimately reciprocal process wherein one enables the other… it's not easy to name our pain, to theorize from that location. I'm grateful to the many women and men who dare to create theory from that location of pain and struggle who courageously expose wounds to give us their experience to teach and guide as a means to chart new theorising journeys (hooks, 1991:2-3).
12. Chapter 12 – Conclusion

12.1. Revisiting my research questions and objectives

In this chapter, I first recap my research questions and the primary objective of this research study. Secondly, I offer reflections on what I have learned through my research choices on methodology, including the strengths and limitations. Finally, I offer directions for future research based on the outcomes and gaps in this research study. With this in mind, the primary objective of this research study was to explore how global majority individuals experience and practice leadership in a UK context.

Personal narratives and life stories 'connect the inner world to the outside world' (Plummer, 2001:395), bridging the gap between cultural history and personal biography.

In fulfilling the primary objective, the analysis focused on answering the following research questions:

‘How do global majority individuals experience and practice leadership in a UK context?

In responding to this research question and emerging through a social constructionist approach that relied on the semi-structured interview data of individuals identifying as part of this marginalised group within the UK social and organisational context and my autoethnographic reflections. An iterative process was used to code and develop the themes through critical race theory and a narrative analytical lens.

The findings from the analysis of the data were presented over six chapters 1) a colonised societal context, 2) the cold and frozen side of organisations, 3) the shadowlands of organisations – atrocities and control, 4) the hard knocks of leadership, 5) Intercultural betrayal and intracultural disconnection and 6) Global Majority personifications and enactments of leadership.

12.2. Revisiting my contributions to knowledge

This thesis has explored leadership and identity concepts pertaining to marginalised groups, particularly those of global majority backgrounds within the context of the UK. By
critically analysing the data drawing on social constructionism and critical race theory, I have offered a theoretical framework to structure the analysis of how global majority individuals exercise and practice leadership in a UK context.

The overarching contribution of this research to the small body of knowledge lies in the unique and rich insight into the leadership experience and construction of identity of those from a global majority perspective. In addition, social constructionist discourse and critical race theory have applied to the understanding of how marginalised groups have been dealt with in the experience and practice of leadership within the UK and the leadership literature have been brought in the following ways:

The analysis critically examines how occluded societal, organisational discourse and dominant leadership practice constraints have social and material consequences on global majority participants' leadership embodiments and enactments. I have employed insights from critical leadership scholars and critical race theorists, such as Fanon 1957; Gilroy, 2000, 2002, hooks, 1991; Ladkin & Bridges Patrick, 2022; Liu & Baker, 2016; Mohanty, 2003; Ospina & Foldy, 2009), to explore theories of White solipsism inherent in occluded organisational narratives and the consequences of invisible Whiteness in leadership.

The study also contributes to the limited studies exploring how identity and leadership are constructed amongst marginalised groups in the UK. Knowledge is further advanced as to how the intersections of patriarchy and racism identified as shadism and gendered leadership facilitated through classism, reproductive labour, and domestication are performatively enacted as continued colonialism and oppression.

The study shows how normative leadership and dominant identity enactments are disrupted and resisted by global majority research participants through performative strategies and leadership aligned to their specific cultural and marginalised identities, including self-isolation and faith-based and benevolent leadership.

Another strength of this research is that it includes the voice of global majority leaders in the UK, from a wide range of public and private sector organisations, including social care and health, banking, policing, education, commercial business, sporting, the arts, and religious and faith-based organisations. In addition, individuals recognised as achieving seniority in public life, including those receiving the highest accolades of public recognition, such as honours bestowed by the Crown, are among the research participants.
12.3. The epilogue

Starecheski (2014) argues that when scholars produce knowledge that can be deployed by a movement in which they are allied, they become engaged in an iterative process of testing and refining that knowledge. Thus, engagement and alliance in social activity can provide scholarly rigour. This approach moves away from being a ‘detached researcher’ and community members as our ‘ingredients in our research recipes’ (Dillard, 2000). A native autoethnographer’s role lends itself to this argument and the iterative process long associated with transmitting culture, identity and oral histories and how people narrate their everyday lives, which is in keeping with a long tradition held amongst the Caribbean and Africa Diaspora. Individual stories can challenge and contest assumptions and judgments reinforced through master narratives and explicitly where those stories come from people who have previously been silenced or voiceless.

Autoethnographic Extract

So, I realise that this thesis is me triggering my own ‘article 50’. I chose to be emancipated from the identities I had known and had come to be known by declaring my independence. My independence from the hurt of my childhood. The hurt from my family and community expectations (be the good girl, be obedient, be silent). More profoundly, freeing me from the association of Whiteness and an upbringing of fear that taught me to be compliant through organised education, organised religion, and work organisations, built on underlying stereotypical representations of me that always put me in my place, which taught me I was never enough. It took me until my 50th year to really question why that was. In doing so, I began my inner journey of emancipation. I’ve freed myself from the fear. I no longer judge myself by western standards. I’ve come to realise the naivety in meritocracy, and by doing so, I have freed my mind and am no longer enslaved. My goal is to be the best human being I can be. To help others in a similar position to where I was and to let some of the anger subside and dissipate just enough to be able to love all of my brothers and sisters equally, including those that have wronged me and countless generations before me.

In light of this oral tradition and in keeping with autoethnography and the narrative tradition of my ancestral background, I offer my final investment in the research in the form of a spoken-word poem I wrote whilst reflecting on my experiences and those of the research
participants’ experiencing, practicing, undoing and reconstructing leadership identity in the UK.

If my growth wasn’t stunted.
You say I’m different, changed somehow…
You don’t recognise me. You want to call foul.
You say I should; you wish I could…just be put back in my box.
Where you can close the lid, so you don’t have to deal with the drama.
Or the hidden guilt I see in the back of your eyes,
In the way, you nervously twitch when you realise…
Before you is a whole person, emerging, evolving, transforming.
That you tried to keep small with your unwritten rules.
That caused me to conform to a shadow of my true self
Through the gende(r)ising, racializing, sexualising, objectifying socialisation.
To be insignificant and small, to not being there at all. A Cinderella to abuse.
A body to misuse. But here I stand, unbroken, rooted in the knowledge and grace.
That no matter how pressed, how stressed, how strained…
I have picked up the mantle of those ancestors before me who stood for a cause.
That knew that in spite of it all, through purpose and power.
Through tears, pain, and laughter.
We are loved beyond compare, made beautiful every one of us with our his/she-stories to share,
about the battles we have won and how we have overcome!

Lace Jackson
June 2019
Appendices

Appendix 1 – Interview Guide
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Appendix 1 – Interview guide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Guide</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name:</td>
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<td>Gender:</td>
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<td>Role/Position:</td>
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<td>Sector:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethnic origin:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interview setting: (Quiet, busy, noisy, open planned office etc)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interview start time:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview concluded:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase of interview: (First, second etc)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Prompt Questions:**

A. Identity
- How would you describe your identity?
- Who or what influenced you the most in terms of shaping your identity?
- What if any are the issues or challenges you have encountered because of your identity?
- Where or what place do you identify as your cultural home?

B. Leadership
- What does leadership mean to you?
- In what ways do you exercise leadership? What is your preferred style?
- What would most people say is the leadership style of the organisation in which you work?
- Does this present you with any issues or challenges?

**Probing questions C. Challenges**
- Who or what brings you the most challenges in life?
- Who or what brings you the most challenges at work?
- How do you deal with these?

D. Opportunities
- What opportunities do you feel that you have to progress in your organisation?
- Do you feel limited in any way because of your identity?

General probing
- Can you think of a time when...?
- Tell me, Explain to me, Describe to me?

**Observations:**
(Nervous, other NVC, well dressed/presented)

**Researchers view:**
09 March 2023

Dear Participant,

Exploring the personal and professional challenges of ‘global majority’ individuals

By way of introduction, my name is Lace Jackson, and I am a PhD student studying at the Open University. I am exploring personal and professional challenges experienced by people of ‘Global Majority’ in exercising leadership. ‘Global Majority’ descent is taken to mean anyone from an African-Caribbean, African, Asian, or South Asian background. This letter aims to explain to you the details of the research project that you may have either already expressed an interest in taking part in, or to gain your consent to participate.

Many organisations seem unable to attract ‘Global Majority’ leaders into senior leadership positions or embed cultural literacy across organisations in order to sufficiently develop ‘Global Majority’ leaders. With this in mind, I wish to investigate and understand what might be the personal and professional challenges facing ‘Global Majority’ individuals in exercising leadership within the UK.

The Staff College, your organisation, or Community Interest group, has kindly agreed to support me in contacting you, and you are receiving this letter, either as an alumni member of the ‘Virtual Staff College’s Black and Asian Leadership initiative or because you have been identified as having a relevant cultural background or identity and with the hope that you might consent to being interviewed by me.

I appreciate that this can be a sensitive area for some and therefore, the research will be conducted within the strictest codes of confidentiality and in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998. I will be careful not to identify or make identifiable any of the participants in this study or their organisations. A consent form is enclosed with this letter setting out the parameters under which the in-depth interviews will be conducted.
During the interview session, audio recording will take place, so you will also find as part of the consent to participate, a section asking for specific consent for the recording to be used and kept for up to ten years as part of the data collection.

With this in mind, if you are happy to participate, the only thing you need to do is sign and return the consent form at the end of this letter either to the above email or postal address. Alternatively, simply inform me that you wish to participate, and the form can be signed in person at the beginning of the interview. I anticipate requiring no more than two hours of your time, but this is wholly dependent on how much you wish to share with me.

The interview will form part of my data collection which will be included as part of the final research thesis. This will be made accessible to you on request once published. In order to gather some initial data and to begin to introduce you to some of the concepts we may be looking to explore, I would appreciate if you would complete the online questionnaire prior to our scheduled interview which can be found at the following link: http://goo.gl/forms/yuEBNSGCrH. This should take no more than 15-20 mins to complete.

If you would like to ask any questions about any aspect of the research, please do not hesitate to contact me on either the number above or email me at: Lace.Jackson@open.ac.uk.

Thank you in advance for your support.

Yours faithfully,

Lace Jackson MA., BA (Hons)., PGOD., AASW., CQSW.,
Appendix 3 – Participant Consent Form

Participant Identification Number: GML

CONSENT FORM

A qualitative research study exploring: ‘The personal and professional challenges encountered by ‘global majority’ individuals in exercising leadership in the UK.’

Name of Researcher: Lace Jackson

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information letter/Flyer dated October 2015 for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I agree to take part in the above study.

3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason up until the time when the researcher begins data analysis.

4. I also understand that I can withdraw any information written about me at any time, without giving any reason up to any time until the researcher begins data analysis (usually 10 days following in-depth interview).

5. I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, academic journal articles, general press articles, the Ph.D. thesis, or presentations by the researcher. However, I understand that my name will not appear in any reports, academic journal articles, general press articles, the Ph.D. thesis, or presentations and that my details will remain confidential, except where I have given permission for these to be used and in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

6. I understand that video, audio, and written records may form part of the ways data during the study will be captured and I give permission for this to be used during and after the study for a minimum period of 10 years. The researcher may apply to you for this permission to be extended after this time.

7. Records will be kept securely and only used for the purposes of the research except if an issue regarding risk or abuse to myself or others and/or illegal activity is revealed. If this happens, the information will be passed on as required for appropriate action and this will be discussed with me prior to a referral being made unless it is unsafe to do so beforehand.

_________________________ ________________________ ________________________
Name of Participant Date Signature

_________________________ ________________________ ________________________
Researcher Date Signature

When completed, please return via email to Lace.Jackson@open.ac.uk. One copy is to be retained by the participant and the original to be kept in the researcher’s file.
Appendix 4 - Research Flyer

An invitation for

‘Global Majority’ Leaders

to participate in a research project looking at the personal and professional challenges in exercising leadership in the UK.

Think about this

If you are either:

- African
- Caribbean
- Asian
- South-East Asian

and have been identified as occupying a place of leadership in a public, community sector or faith group organisation then please go to http://goo.gl/forms/vvE8N8gCtH or copy the link to your internet browser, to complete the online questionnaire, and where you will also be able to consent to be interviewed further.

For more information, please contact: Lace.Jackson@open.ac.uk
## Appendix 5 – Illustration of Structural analysis – GMLJO20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line number</th>
<th>Story Structure</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2a</td>
<td>The abstract</td>
<td>Yeah, I mean I’m a grade five and I got the grade five post in 2012 […] since then I’ve applied for two leadership practice leads. […] was successful to interview stage but didn’t get past that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b 3</td>
<td>The orientation</td>
<td>And when I reflect on that, they were unable to give me, I asked for feedback and they were unable to give me any feedback and when I look at who I was up against I mean I’ve got ten years experience in this role,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b 5</td>
<td>The order of events</td>
<td>I’ve got ten years’ experience in this role, I’ve been a line manager before so there was no reason, there was no obvious reason why I didn’t get that job. I mean before my colleagues were going into it like, ‘you’ll definitely get it, definitely get it, ‘there’s no reason why you wouldn’t get it, you’ll definitely get it, but twice now I haven’t got it. So, that has put me off, I will not apply for another management role within […]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 10 12 13 1</td>
<td>The appraisal or evaluation of action</td>
<td>Well I think it is because of my skin colour, I think it is because of my background. […] I mean you’ve only got to have a look round, take one walk around Riverside and there’s probably 7 or 8 BME workers. I’m always aware and I’m always having a look anyway and there were about six. So, were not reflected properly within the organisation and then when you look at our organisation and who’s in those roles, I know for me that I will not get any further than the point I’m at now. You see this is the thing and I think about this all the time, because I don’t think it is about my ability to do the job because I’ve got a very good track record and my PDRs are very good, […] I’ve got line management experience, everything. When you do the tick box exercise against the application for the job specification I tick all those boxes. So, I really struggle to find what, what it is […] Obviously they are not going to tell you that […] but when you do ask for feedback you’re not going to get that but I don’t know what else it could be […]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The final stage</td>
<td>A number of themes are emerging from this data which can be broken down into visible and occluded genres which include Organisational barriers, isolation and lack of communication, Internal conflict, epidermalization Organisational bias/unconscious bias, negative impact of cultural identity, marginalisation, colour-blind, In-group vs out-group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>On a positive side there is some support from colleagues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The epilogue</td>
<td>The story shows the interviewee struggling against organisational barriers which appear to be based on dominant societal power and an in-group vs out-group occluded sub-genre within the organisation. However, there is also evidence of an internal struggle to understand and get to the occluded sub-genre of unconscious organisational bias and epidermalization that seems to be impacting on the interviewee’s access to and practice of leadership.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 6 – Illustration of Thematic Analysis

**Organisations of the dark sides of being**

[Image of a table or diagram showing organisational structures and dark side factors]

**The darksides of**

- [List of dark side factors, possibly related to organisational culture or employee experience]

**Illustration of thematic analysis**

- [Description of the thematic analysis process, including coding and thematic synthesis]

**Organisational Environment**

- [Box with bullet points outlining key environmental factors affecting organisational culture]

**Shaping Cultural Org-ID**

- [Box with bullet points outlining key cultural factors shaping organisational identity]

**Leadership and Opportunities**

- [Box with bullet points outlining key leadership and opportunity factors impacting organisational performance]

For detailed analysis and discussion, please refer to the source document or the attached reference link.

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[Reference link] 2 My8SBrsw861u7UA-PA4owUV_2jsDzyFGZ_IA40Vu0/edit
**Barriers**

The Barriers page appears to be a part of a larger document or presentation, possibly discussing organizational challenges. The page contains a title, a subtitle, and several sections with text and images. The text seems to be discussing various barriers that organizations face, which may include limitations, professionalism, lost opportunities, and other factors. The page also seems to be part of a broader discussion on leadership and professional development.

**Organisational Environment**

This section likely discusses the environment in which organizational activities take place, including factors such as culture, leadership, and organizational structure. The text may explore how these environments influence the effectiveness of organizations and the strategies they employ to overcome challenges.

**Shaping Cultural-Orq ID**

This section might focus on how cultural identities and organizational identities are shaped and how they impact organizational behaviors and strategies. It could discuss the importance of understanding these identities in order to effectively lead and manage organizations.

**Leadership and Opportunities**

The section on leadership and opportunities likely delves into the role of leadership in shaping organizational success and the opportunities that arise from effective leadership. It may explore how leaders can identify and capitalize on opportunities despite the barriers that are present.

**Perform**

Although the specific content of the Perform section is not visible, it may relate to performance management, goal setting, or other aspects of organizational performance. It could discuss how organizations can measure and improve their performance, especially in the face of challenges and barriers.

**RQ: How do Global minority individuals/managers in Western and Eastern Europe perceive leading and working in different cultural climates? (Agency)**

This question likely sets the stage for the discussion by highlighting the importance of understanding cultural climates in global leadership and management. It may prompt readers to consider how cultural differences impact leadership perceptions and practices.

**Sub-themes**

- Cultural mediators and networks of professional relations, identities, self-identity and linkages. Organizational development linked to interconnectedness. ORG.
- Power and control: charisma, authority, power, individual power, systemic pressure, organizational change. ORG.
- Theoretical concepts and understanding. ORG.
- Lack of understanding, recognition, feedback, learning support. ORG.
- Organizational design, culture, and self-regulation. ORG.

**Link to R2**

This section seems to connect back to a previous discussion or key point, indicating a progression in the argument or analysis. It may highlight how understanding barriers and cultural climates can lead to more effective leadership and management practices.
I think this invisible whiteness is some self-protection as opposed to an inferiority. I don’t think it is an inferiority it works both ways and I think its self-protection and self-preservation so that you can achieve as much as you can but still being able to manage the forces against you. I think if you got as an example if you’ve got two or three people against you, you can probably manage that, but if you have ten or eleven or fifteen than I think that’s too much. So, I think our upbringing is still within us...the knowledge and process of survival that we achieve our best or as best as we can. (GMWUO80)
### Appendix 7 – illustration of Genre Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dominant Genre</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Epic Drama</td>
<td>The Epic story centres on battles and contests or good triumphing over something considered bad/evil. It is about the agency of the social actor to personally resolve or avert a crisis. It inspires courage and demonstrates resilience.</td>
<td>“They may knock me off my perch, they may wound me, but I’m not going anywhere, and that’s because I am comfortable with myself. ‘They may [give] you a blow and you get hurt, [but] they see you come back because you want to aspire to leadership’ (GMLBP68).”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tragedy</td>
<td>The tragic story engenders pity for the victim brought about by their misfortune.</td>
<td>I had some really awful racially abusive experiences in the local authority and then went out in the community organisation and then came back in, and I do feel that that kind of really... I allowed that to shape my career in terms of the choices and the decisions that I was making in the positions that I wanted to do. I really do... feel like it was really amazing stuff; that I was able to use that and channel it to that area of work that I got into, but it definitely came at a price, you know, definitely cost me...” (GMLFD05).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>Comedy is used as a way to unearth misfortune and uncover occluded organisational narratives. Occluded narratives that would otherwise be silenced and hidden are addressed by using jokes and humour.</td>
<td>“I soon learnt to laugh off some of that stuff, and if you see my husband tell me – knowing full well I don’t have one (laughs). It was hilarious. (GMLKK40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horror</td>
<td>A genre exposing intense feelings of fear, shock or disgust linked to the agency of poor leaders, organisational norms of dominant leadership behaviour and inhospitable milieus</td>
<td>“I have seen some things, and I’ve heard some things, and I don’t trust the police, never will until I see the people who have committed crimes in the police service held to account or people who have been found guilty of racism have been dealt with. Right and until that happens nothing is going to change and... They abuse their power; they really do abuse their power, and I just and I think that’s what drives me’. (GMLFJ48)</td>
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</table>
Appendix 8 - Online questionnaire

Global Majority Leadership Framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Global Majority'

The following questionnaire seeks to establish if there is a preferred leadership framework or model adopted by Majority descent. 'Global Majority' descent is taken to mean anyone from African-Caribbean, African, Asian, or backgrounds. I would appreciate if you could take 10 minutes of your time to complete it. Thank you.

1. Which of the following characteristics applies to you the most?

Choose all the following options that describes you the most.

- wisdom
- moderation
- courage
- vulnerability
- integrity
- modesty
- trustworthy
- ethical
- self-motivated
- empathetic
- collaborative
- participative
- controlling
- competitive
Leadership Frameworks

This section will explore leadership characteristics, behaviours, and skills.

2. Which of the following characteristics applies to you the least?

Choose all the following options that describes you the least.

- wisdom
- moderation
- courage
- vulnerability
- integrity
- modesty
- trustworthy
- ethical
- self-motivated
- empathetic
- collaborative
- participative
- controlling
- competitive
3. Which of the following leadership framework would you describe as your 'core' leadership style?

Choose one of the following options.

1. Relational - Working with and through human capital
2. Symbolic - Altruistic in the hope of making things better
3. Systemic - Making things together through technological innovations
4. Political - Aligning different agendas for the good of all

4. Which of the following leadership framework would you describe as your 'adaptive' leadership style?

Choose one of the following options.

1. Relational (Working with and through human capital)
2. Symbolic (Altruistic in the hope of making things better)
3. Systemic (Making things together through technological innovations)
4. Political (Aligning different agendas for the good of all)

5. Which of the following leadership 'behaviours' are you most likely to use?

Choose one of the following options.

1. Argue and negotiate
2. Engage and persuade

3. Discuss and decide

4. Command and control

5. Model and empower

6. Which of the following leadership 'behaviours' are you least likely to use?

Choose one of the following options.

1. Argue and negotiate

2. Engage and persuade

3. Discuss and decide

4. Command and control

5. Model and empower

7. Which form of leadership 'power' are you most likely to use?

Choose one of the following options.

1. Legitimate power (derived from status or position)

2. Persuasive power (derived from personal credibility and/or influence over others)

3. Contact network power (derived from who you know not what you know)

4. Information power (derived from access we have to information about others and or the organisation)

5. Expertise power (derived from knowledge and specialism)

6. Referent power (derived from reputation in the organisation)

7. Coercive power (derived from the ability to reward or punish)

8. Which form of leadership 'power' are you least likely to use?

Choose one of the following options.

1. Legitimate power (derived from status or position)

2. Persuasive power (derived from personal credibility and/or influence over others)
3. Contact network power (derived from who you know not what you know)

4. Information power (derived from access we have to information about others and or the organisation)

5. Expertise power (derived from knowledge and specialism)

6. Referent power (derived from reputation in the organisation)

7. Coercive power (derived from the ability to reward or punish)

9. Which of the following skills do you think important to possess as a 'global majority' leader?

Choose all of the following options that apply.

- self-disciplined
- anticipatory
- growth-orientated
- strategic thinking
- flexible/responsive
- positivity
- political awareness
- spiritually grounded
- culturally grounded
- organisational/systematic
- delegation skills
- innovative
- communication skills
- planning skills
- facilitation skills
- coaching/motivational
decisiveness
Independent Factors

This section will ask you to identify unique and independent factors about you that may impact on your leadership preferences and practice.

10. Which if any of the following religion/faith beliefs do you practice? *
   
   Choose one of the following options that apply.
○ Christianity
○ Judaism
○ Islam
○ Sikhism
○ Hinduism
11. What is your ethnic group? *
Choose one of the following options that apply.

- Buddhism
- New Age
- None
- Other...

- White - English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British/Gypsy or Irish Traveler/Any other white background (please describe)
- Mixed/Multiple Ethnic group - White and Black Caribbean/White and Black African/White and Asian/Any other mixed/Multiple ethnic background (please describe)
- Black/African/Caribbean/Black British - African/Caribbean/Any other Black/African/Caribbean background (please describe)
- Asian/Asian British - Indian/Pakistani/Bangladeshi/Chinese/Any other Asian background (please describe)
- Other...

12. What is your country of origin? *
Please state where you were born and where you grew up if a different country.

Long answer text

13. Who or what would you say has influenced your leadership style the most? *

Long answer text

14. What do you think is the most important quality a leader must possess? *
Think about what matters to you most in a leader or as a leader that you could not do without.

Long answer text

15. Are you *
16. On a sale of 1-10 what importance does your faith/religion play in how you lead? *

1 = very little importance 10 = extremely important

very little importance  

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 extremely important

Please explain the reason for your answer?

Long answer text

17. On a scale of 1-10 what impact has your culture had on the way you lead? *

1 = No impact 10 = Significant impact

Minimal impact  

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Significant impact

Please explain the reason for your answer?

Long answer text

18. Is your first language the same as the country in which you are a leader? *

Yes

No (If No, please state if this has had a positive or negative impact on your leadership progression)

Other...

Please state here any positive or negative impact.
19. What is the highest level of academic qualification you possess? *

Short answer text

20. What position do you have in your family? *

e.g. I am the eldest child

Long answer text

21. Do any of the following place expectations on you as a 'Global Majority Leader'?

Please tick all that apply

☐ Family
☐ Partner/Husband/Wife
☐ Community
☐ Work Colleagues
☐ Children/dependents
☐ Not aware
☐ None
☐ Other...

Question

Please state for each choice ticked what you believe are those perceived expectations.

Long answer text

22. Do you have any physical or mental health conditions or illnesses lasting more than 12 months or more? *

☐ Yes
Don't know

I don't wish to answer this question

If yes does your condition or illness reduce your capacity to carry out day to day activities?
- Yes a lot
- Yes a little
- Not at all
- Don't know
- I do not wish to answer this question

Does your condition or illness have an impact on how you lead, or on you as a 'Global Majority' Leader?
If so, please say how

Long answer text

After section 2   Continue to next section

Section 3 of 3  

About your organisation and you

This section will ask you about the organisation in which you work, your role as well as for some demographic information.

23. What category best describes the type of organisation you work in?  *

Choose one of the following

1. Agriculture and environment
2. Business and Energy
3. Children, Education and Skills
4. Government and public sector

5. Travel and tourism

24. What is the size of the organisation?
Choose one of the following

1. 1-24
2. 25-499
3. 500-999
4. 1000+

25. Where is the organisation you work in situated?

1. Town
2. City
3. Rural location

26. What job title best describes your role?
Choose one of the following

- Senior officer/Directors/Senior Manager (Please described)
- Middle Manager/proprietor (Please describe)
- Professional/Supervisor (Please describe)
- Employee (Please describe)
- Interim/Agency/temporary
- Self-employed (Please describe)
- Never worked/long-term unemployed
- Other...
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Chia, R. (2003). From knowledge-creation to the perfecting of action: Tao, Basho and pure experience as the ultimate ground of knowing. *Human Relations 56*(8), 953-981.


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