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"A Raisin in a Box": The Experiences of Racialized Black Males in Leadership Roles in the Non-Profit Sector in Toronto, Canada

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ABSTRACT

“A RAISIN IN A BOX”: THE EXPERIENCES OF RACIALIZED BLACK MALES IN LEADERSHIP ROLES IN THE NON-PROFIT SECTOR IN TORONTO, CANADA

by

Morris Anthony Beckford

Chair: Dr. Jay Brand

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University
College of Education and International Services

Title: "A RAISIN IN A BOX": THE EXPERIENCES OF RACIALIZED BLACK MALES IN LEADERSHIP ROLES IN THE NON-PROFIT SECTOR IN TORONTO, CANADA

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Problem

The marginalization of Black and other racialized bodies (people of colour) has led to the position of a leader becoming so synonymous with Whiteness that it is normalized and naturalized; and worse, there has been limited analysis about why this is so. There is even less analysis of the experiences of the few people of colour who occupy leadership roles in organizations (Berkshire, 2008; Bradshaw et al., 2009; Mills et al., 2010; Nkomo, 2011; Ospina & Foldy, 2009). Astonishingly, organizations in diverse communities also have exiguous conversations about such salient issues like race and gender even though there is considerable evidence that it is White bodies that dominate organizational power structures (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Johnson, 2012; Knight et al.,

2003; Mills et al., 2010). As Hepburn (2015) states, “let’s be blunt: Greater Toronto [Ontario, Canada] is one of most diverse-rich areas in the world, yet it sure isn’t reflected in its leadership.”

Methodology

This chapter provides a robust presentation of the research methodology employed in this study. It encompasses a subject recruitment and selection process and an effective analysis and presentation of the data. To investigate the experiences of Black male leaders in Toronto’s non-profit sector, I have utilized the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) method, guided by Hycner’s (1985) approach, and semi-structured interviews. Together, these approaches capture rich and relevant data. As Kvale (1996) argues, interviews are merely structured conversations with a purpose. IPA provides the best opportunity to analyze the lived experience of Black male leaders and gain insightful knowledge.

Results

The research findings suggest that the men interviewed have experienced various challenges in leadership positions within Toronto's non-profit sector. These challenges include navigating anti-Black Racism, code-switching, performativity, and mental health issues. To cope with these challenges, they have implemented various strategies.

Conclusions

The findings suggest that the construction of race and racialization within systems is experienced by Black men in leadership positions in unique and often challenging ways. The men in this research all experienced significant overt racism. These

experiences of racism were primarily due to their social location as racialized Black men. As racialized Black men, their bodies are positioned in opposition to the prevailing leadership ideologies. They spend significant time working to ensure that their colleagues see them as leaders. The extent to which these experiences' internalization shapes Black male leaders' well-being is profound and, in some cases, problematic. These men have had to develop ways to deal with the mental trauma of being treated as inferior. The coping mechanisms and strategies range from self-medication to simply resigning from their positions. The findings highlight ways the non-profit sector can support these men and the next generation of Black male leaders. The findings also reveal ways Black men can support themselves and each other as they navigate the sector.

Andrews University

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A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

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APPROVAL BY THE COMMITTEE:

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABR	anti-Black racism (often also noted as Anti-Black Racism)
IRB	Institutional Review Board
MAGA	Make America Great Again
MIDUS	Midlife Development in the United States
NSNVO	National Survey of Non-profit and Voluntary Organizations

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I dedicate this work to my mother, grandmother, and grandfather, thank you.

I am grateful for the many people—you know who you are—who helped me with a kind word, an event or activity to distract me or keep me focused, time off work and so many other things, thank you. I am especially grateful for the 8 men who took time out of their very busy schedules to share their experiences with me. I could not have done this without you, thank you.

To my dissertation committee, I could not have done this without you. To Dr. Brand who chaired my committee and provided invaluable advice on things to think about and do, differently, thank you. To Dr. Ongo, my methodologist, thank you for your advice and for helping me to think with a different lens. And to Dr. Bordes Henry-Saturne, thank you for your kind words and meticulous read of my dissertation.

To my son, siblings, nieces and nephew, you know you mean everything to me. I hope this inspires you to do better.

To God, I have come this far only because you allowed it and I will go no further without your say so. Thank you, Lord!

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Introduction and Background of the Problem

An illustrative recent legal challenge serves to introduce this examination of an important yet typically ignored topic. In early 2020, a group of Canadian civil servants sued the Canadian government for discrimination that they argued excluded them from promotion for decades (Ho & Arsenault, 2020). The class action suit claimed that since the 1970s, some 30,000 Black civil servants did not get the same access to opportunities as others (Fraser, 2022). One of those employees, Nicholas Marcus Thompson, a Black man, notes that "our exclusion at the top levels of the public service, in my view, has really disenfranchised Canada from that talent and that ability and the culture that Black workers bring to the table and that different perspective" (Ho & Arsenault, 2020).

This exclusion is so devious that even when Black staff members achieve promotions to leadership roles, it seems the exclusionary tactics shift in a way that deliberately targets the mental health of Black leaders, as in the case of Hentrose Nelson and Jean-Marie Dixon, senior administrators with the government of Ontario, who sued the Ontario Public Service for years of emotional harm (Lee-Shanok, 2019). According to Lee-Shanok (2019), "Nelson . . . says the harassment continued after she returned from maternity leave. She says a manager asked her to perform 'office housework' and that she was mistaken for a member of the janitorial staff." Since Black bodies have been positioned, historically, as the helpers, Nelson being asked to do work that is in line with

this positioning maintains the ideology that Blacks have no place as organizational leaders.

Organizational leadership has not been a position in which Black male bodies have natural ownership. Black bodies have not only been positioned as synonymous with the enslaved—which has profound implications for how inhabitants of said bodies view themselves—they have been systemically and systematically situated as brutish with the inability to hold, generate, or perpetuate knowledge (Anderson, 2016; Calhoun, 1902/1977; hooks, 2004; Hutchinson, 1996; Maynard, 2017; Reynolds & Robson, 2016), which are critical markers of leadership. Black bodies have been, and still are, caricatured and paraded as Halloween costumes. Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's choice of Blackface as a Halloween costume while he was a teacher, is a striking example of the caricaturing of Black bodies. That the Prime Minister, then an educator, and the son of a former Prime Minister who was one of the chief architects of Canada's famed constitutionally enshrined policy of multiculturalism, failed to understand the insidious nature of and historical harm done by Blackface, may well speak to how little Canadian systems value Blackness and Black lives (Maynard, 2017). The Prime Minister has since acknowledged that racism permeates Canadian systems and has had, and continues to have, adverse outcomes for Black Canadians (Maynard, 2017; Reynolds & Robson, 2016; Tasker, 2020). One of these negative outcomes is the deliberate exclusion of Black bodies from leadership positions.

Mills et al., (2010) present a telling allegory of how society has positioned organizations. The story goes like this:

> Once upon a time, there was a little girl called Alice. Alice, with her parents, had recently immigrated from Underdeveloped Land to the United States of

> Industrialization, where she lived in one of the poorer neighborhoods of a major city.
>
> One day something miraculous happened. Alice was walking just outside the city limits when she tripped and fell down a large hole. The fall seemed endless, but when she finally reached the bottom, she was confronted by a strange-looking man with wire-rimmed glasses, a blackboard, and a large, voluminous book. "Hello, little girl," he said, emphasizing the word girl, "welcome to Organization Land." As Alice stared in amazement, the man opened the book, placed it on the floor, and invited her to step into it. Reaching out his hands, the man reassured Alice with these words, "A Willy Wonka world of chocolate this is not, but a land of reality made up of many wondrous things." Alice took a deep breath and stepped into the book, and what she saw was truly amazing. She had stepped into a world where no one talked of class, race, ethnic background, or gender.
>
> Everything was so white, so sanitized, so comfortable, so male that after a while, the Whiteness became too overbearing, and no one seemed to understand Alice. At first, she thought that the people had trouble hearing her, but then it began to dawn on her that no one even noticed her. When suddenly, she heard it. It was faint, but the sound began to grow, "Girl, girl, girl," and as the noise grew louder, it sounded increasingly menacing, Alice began to feel constrained, she could hardly breathe, she wanted to yell. Finally, she was able to close her eyes and let out a loud scream. As she opened her eyes, she found her mother leaning over her bed: "Oh mummy," she cried, "I had a bad dream. I don't ever want to go to Organization Land". "My poor child," said the mother trying to comfort her, "it wasn't a dream" (Mills et al., 2010, p. 1)

One, among several, possible cultural illuminations from the story is that organizations rarely engage in the discomfort of conversations around race and gender and how those intersections make the lives of those who do not identify as White very challenging, especially as they try to lead. Although the brutal murder of George Floyd brought increased attention to the deliberate and continued subjugation of Black bodies, there continues to be limited scholarship on the relegation of Black male bodies in organizations and organizational leadership. As Suarez (2023) notes, "in spite of the salience of race in the experience of leadership, there is not much study of the Black leadership experience" (p. 1) (see also Roberts et al., 2019).

The marginalization of Black and other racialized (people of colour) bodies, for example, has led to the position of a leader becoming so synonymous with Whiteness that it is normalized and naturalized; and worse, there has been limited analysis about why this is so. There is even less analysis of the experiences of the few people of colour who occupy leadership roles in organizations (Berkshire, 2008; Bradshaw et al., 2009; Mills et al., 2010; Nkomo, 2011; Ospina & Foldy, 2009). Astonishingly, organizations in diverse communities also have exiguous conversations about such salient issues like race and gender even though there is considerable evidence that it is White bodies that dominate organizational power structures (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Johnson, 2012; Knight et al., 2003; Mills et al., 2010). As Hepburn (2015) states, "let's be blunt: Greater Toronto [Ontario, Canada] is one of most diverse-rich areas in the world, yet it sure isn't reflected in its leadership." In Toronto for example the 2021 Canadian Census showed that over 55% of the population was non-White with over 9.5% being Black (Government of Canada, Statistics Canada, 2023). The intersection where many leaders are positioned often presents a challenge for them especially if they are in bodies that have not been seen or sought after as leaders.

Intersectionality: The Researcher's Social Location at the Intersection of Blackness and Maleness

Intersectionality as a theoretical foundation—largely because it is rooted in Critical Race Theory (CRT) (Carbado et al., 2013), a central theoretical foundation of this research, was not used to ground this research. Furthermore, another theoretical and conceptual root of intersectionality stem from critical feminist theory, and therefore may not be as relevant as a key conceptual framework for looking at the experiences of Black male leaders. However, its impact cannot be ignored.

The concept of intersectionality became popular in the 1980s thanks to the influential work of Kimberle Crenshaw (1989/1997). Her analysis drew attention to the fact that social movements and advocacy around violence against women often fail to fully consider the vulnerabilities of Black women and other women of color, particularly those from disadvantaged communities (Carbado et al., 2013). Intersectionality contends that examining race, gender, class, and other identity markers in isolation is insufficient because people experience these positionalities in interconnected ways (Carbado et al., 2013; Viruell-Fuentes et al., 2012). For example, as a Black man, my experiences cannot be fully comprehended by looking only at my race or my gender in isolation as both are integral to how I navigate the world and how I am perceived and treated by others.

My experiences of oppression and marginalization—some of which I have written about (see Beckford, 2018)—may be fundamental to researching Black men, Black male leaders, and leadership in the non-profit sector. This has been, for me, a rich yet challenging intersection. My Black maleness and experience in the non-profit sector make me an insider. Such a status carries considerable strengths and potential pitfalls (Badwall, 2016; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). As an insider, I can better understand the experiences of being a Black male leader in the non-profit sector. This status allows me access to the mental trauma that systemic racism causes; namely, the perpetuation of mythological ideologies of Black maleness. The problematic nature of this status however is that it could lead to researcher bias. For example, I have specific memories of racism and understanding of the nature of racism which I need to bracket as I do this research.

The insidious nature of racism presents itself in the most unique and troubling ways. I live in a predominantly White neighbourhood in a pocket of Etobicoke, a suburb of Toronto. One night, against my better judgment, I decided to go for a walk. It was about 8 or 9 pm. The walk started quite normally, except for all the memories of Black people I read about who got their dignity or lives taken away for daring to walk in White neighbourhoods at night in the United States. I gently brushed those memories and feelings aside because I was not in the United States of America and continued my walk. About five minutes into my walk, I passed a White man. He stood in front of a building; I assumed he lived there. I glanced at him rather hurriedly and noticed that he seemed to have a crutch of some kind. He seemed to say hello, I was unsure, and I quickly nodded and rushed along. There was a stop light just down from his building. I stopped and waited for the light. I heard someone limping with a metal walker or crutch as I waited. It made a somewhat jarring sound as it repeatedly crashed into the sidewalk as he came closer and closer. I glanced back and noticed it was the same man.

The light finally changed. I crossed as fast as I could without presenting fear. I was concerned but not yet afraid. The sound of the crutch smashing into the crosswalk told me he was just behind me. As I got to the other side, I started to glance at him from the corner of my eye. He was getting closer. His cane smashing into the sidewalk sent a chill down my spine. I was now afraid. I sped up to put some distance between him and me. There were lots of cars on the road but only a few people. I also remember that cars and people do not prevent racist attacks, so when I got to a second crosswalk, I did a random check to see if he would continue to follow me.

I would continue toward the local shopping mall if I went straight ahead. I deduced that if he lived at the building, he would probably be heading toward the mall to do something. So, I decided not to go straight ahead. One other option was not to cross and turn left. I decided not to do this because it was a predominantly White residential area, not well-lit. A host of media reports on the abuse of Black bodies will tell you that Black people should not go into the dimly lit residential area in a White neighbourhood at night; it is just not smart. I decided to turn left and cross at the light and keep going. To my shock, he did the same. My fear turned into anger. I was not going to let this happen to me. I was not going to be the victim of this overt racism. Covert racism was enough. I slowed my walking so he could catch up, then I turned, and as I started past him, he spoke to me.

"You lost. . . ?" he said, sending my anger through the roof. I detected a tone.

"What. . . ?" I responded with my tone, which I am sure he noticed.

"Are you lost. . . ?" he repeated, with less of a tone but still a tone.

"No, I ain't lost . . . " I said sternly, walking back. I looked back to catch him looking back at me, but he quickly turned around and kept going.

I was seething. However, I was also self-reflecting. I had my phone ready to call the police if he had turned back to follow me, but then something dawned on me. If I had called the police, everything I read about police interaction with Black people and some of my own experiences meant that they would likely have questioned me more than he. What was more interesting was the sinister nature of racism and how it has fused itself onto my psyche.

As I walked home, I started to reflect on what just transpired. On the surface, a man seemed to be going about his business and happened upon another man (me) looking left and right, up and down. On the surface, any rational person would look at a person looking left and right and wonder if he was lost. That man (the White man) then saw another man (me) walk left only to turn around and head back the way he came. Again, clearly showing signs of being lost. So, the man's question, "are you lost"? may well have been a sensible one. However, it was asked in a racially charged world where Black men like me do not have the luxury of assuming that every question asked comes from a helping place. To certain bodies, "where are you from?" is not innocuous. It is a question steeped in racism and racist ideology that assumes that all racialized bodies are from somewhere else and, by extension, do not belong.

"Are you lost?" sends the message that I do not belong in my neighbourhood because the question is transmitted through my experiences of racism lens. This lens changes the message from original intent to fear and anger. My experience of racism takes the question, runs it through my experience, and sends it back to me as a threat. As a demand for me to leave. As a message that I do not belong in that community.

Moreover, I do not belong out after dark if I live here. I should self-regulate and stay indoors as much as possible unless I need to carry out duties that those who naturally belong require of me. For many Black men, their experiences of racism in their everyday lives, in the workplace, both before and after they attain leadership roles, significantly affect how they lead. My own experiences will allow me to navigate their experiences and interviews in a manner that unearths information that will effectively investigate experiences of leadership in the non-profit sector. However, this experience is one that I

remember clearly and I am cognizant of the fact that if I am not careful to bracket it as a researcher, it may well bleed into my research in an inappropriate manner.

There are, however, considerable downsides of having insider status. I must be careful in an essentialized discourse (Badwall, 2016) on Black male leadership. Such a discourse is problematic because it positions the Black male leadership experience as a single narrative, potentially positing Black maleness as one-dimensional. The leadership experience of another Black man may not be the same as mine or that of other Black men, so I must be careful not to position my experience as the experience by which all other Black male leadership experience is measured. The questions I ask, how I ask them, and how I analyze the findings must be ethical and allow for themes to occur naturally from the answers. However, there is no value-free research (see Gouldner, 1962), or as Rose (1985) argues, there is no neutrality; the best a researcher can do is appreciate the power of omission.

I am a Black male who spent over 15 years in leadership roles in Toronto's non-profit sector. I have positioned myself, and have been positioned, as male, espousing the traditional ideology of what it means to be a man. That is, dressing, speaking, and behaving in traditionally masculine ways, the antithesis of that which is positioned as feminine. This performance of maleness in this sector has brought privileged status as "special" (Williams, 1993; Williams & Villemez, 1993) both for my willingness to do caring work and for the fact that there were, and still are fewer men in the non-profit sector. The discursive nature of said status has allowed me greater access and drive to administrative and leadership roles. As Kauppinen-Toropainen and Lammi (1993) note, men in female-dominant fields tend to reframe their roles to make the roles more

masculine. The researchers note that male nurses, for example, tended to move into administrative positions rather than remain as frontline nurses. Thus, for the present investigation, the intersection of Black and male presents the possibility of a rich analysis.

This maleness has also allowed me to navigate specific spaces where masculinity is ideal. Because maleness is ideal for leadership, I have benefitted tremendously by performing and positioning myself as such. For example, I have found it easy to converse with my male colleagues who lead large funding units, allowing me to bring more significant resources to the organizations I have led. It has also been easier to navigate some spaces where there were other Black males, likely because there are so few of us, and we perhaps share similar experiences of navigating oppression. Alternatively, perhaps it is because ours are Black male bodies that have largely been decentered and kept from a mainstream that insists on positioning Black maleness as something to be feared. This Blackness, however, has made it difficult to navigate many other spaces since it is imbued with such hostile ideology.

As a Black male, my Blackness enters every room before I do, carrying with it many negative stereotypes (Fanon, 1952/2008). First are the stereotypes that some White and other non-Black and Black colleagues have of me being brutish and stupid, and so I have over-performed by starting work early and leaving work later than most, including many of my previous bosses. Then there is role incongruity (Bass & Bass, 2008; McGinley, 2008). This concept describes the phenomenon where Blackness, for example, becomes the leader in a system where Whiteness is seen as an archetypical leader, and Blackness is seen as a follower. Knight et al. (2003) argue that one major explanation

relevant to role incongruity is the defilement of typical social roles. Because people expect Blacks to be subordinates and Whites to be leaders, any violation of that norm is punished or viewed negatively. Finally, there is the judgement that I have been drafted into White power structures as a Black leader operating in White spaces (Bass & Bass, 2008; King Jr, 1968), which invariably means that I can no longer be trusted by other Blacks.

To overcome some of the criticisms accompanying such sentiments, I have learned to "code switch" or perform, as former president and CEO of American Express, Kenneth Chenault, the third Black CEO of a U.S. Fortune 500 company found. Chenault notes that early in his career, he learned, seemingly, how to move between the world of corporate America and Black America (Slay, 2003; White, 2017). The complexity for Black men is that leadership is also normalized as a masculine space, and so one would expect that Black men would be able to navigate said spaces; however, Black men who perform traditional masculinity run the risk of being positioned as aggressive because their Blackness is imbued with negative stereotypes. Paradoxically, if Black men course correct too much, they can then be positioned as feminine which consequently presents yet another challenge. For example, Cooper (2009) argues that U.S. President Barack Obama had a "perform a unisex style" (p. 634). Cooper (2009) also notes that " . . . Obama could not be too masculine because that would have triggered the Bad Black Man stereotype but he could not be too feminine because that would have looked unpresidential" (p. 633). This study aims to look at how Black male leaders navigate the leadership space by looking at their experiences, experiences that originate from systems' epistemological positioning of race, masculinity, and leadership.

Controlling for Bias

I am cognizant of the thought that many of the men in this research may have had similar experiences and so as a researcher, I must be careful to ensure that I control for researcher bias in the best way possible. This form of bias comes in three distinct forms. These include confirmation bias, question-order bias, and leading question bias (Shah, 2019). Confirmation bias, the most common of the researcher biases, argues that researchers seek information from the data that will confirm the researcher's hypothesis (Klayman, 1995; Shah, 2019; Villarroel et al., 2016). A common argument against qualitative research is that researchers simply seek out information from participants to draw conclusions and that qualitative researchers simply dismiss data that runs counter to their hypothesis. It is important to understand that there is no such thing as completely unbiased research. Every researcher is influenced by their own individual backgrounds and social positioning. However, this study has taken several steps to minimize confirmation bias, as explained in the methodology section. Shah (2019) suggests that one way to avoid confirmation bias is to analyze all data with an open and unbiased mind, continuously re-evaluating impressions and responses, while keeping pre-existing assumptions at bay. The methodology section follows this approach.

Confirmation bias can arise not only from the researcher but also from the participants themselves. While I acknowledge the possible impact of unconscious bias on the part of the participants, it is highly unlikely that individuals of the caliber of the men interviewed would intentionally misrepresent information to the extent that it can be reasonably classified as biased. As this is a qualitative study, my research does not aim to assess or test the truthfulness of the participants. Moreover, without additional methodological controls, it would be challenging to determine the extent to which the

experiences of the Black male leaders interviewed resulted from unconscious bias and related notions that they may or may not possess. Although it is possible that the responses of the participants to my interview questions may have reflected one or more aspects of their own unconscious bias in the interpretation of others' perceptions and treatment of them as Black male leaders, such a critique is implausible due to the methodological and theoretical controls that underpin this research.

The second form of researcher bias is question-order bias. Shah (2019) argues that in this type of bias, " . . . some questions may influence the responses to subsequent questions. Participants may compare and judge subsequent questions based on their response to the first question resulting in a biased and inaccurate answer." To mitigate this, Shah suggests that researchers order questions in a manner that includes general questions first and places more specific questions after. My research lays out questions in a manner that prevents question-order bias by ensuring that general questions are asked first and all questions are open-ended enough to secure data that does not require participants to compare answers between questions. Furthermore, participants are not provided with the questions ahead of the interview and so are not able to prepare answers.

The third form of researcher bias is embedded in the questions that qualitative researchers ask. Shah (2019) notes that these questions are ones that nudge researcher participants in the direction that supports a hypothesis or a specific outcome, thereby leading to bias. First, this research has no set hypothesis. The research seeks to understand experiences and asks questions aimed at helping participants share those experiences in a manner with which they are comfortable. The questions are open-ended and non-leading.

Purpose of the Study: Research Question and Objectives

This research aimed to investigate the epistemological foundations of how leadership has been traditionally defined and practiced, and within this, how the construction of Black masculinity shapes the experiences of racialized Black men in leadership roles in Toronto's non-profit sector by asking the central question: what are the experiences of Black male leaders in the non-profit sector in Toronto? In addition to the central research question, this research will: (a) examine how Black men in leadership positions experience the construction of race and racialization within systems; (b) study the extent to which the internalization of these experiences shapes the well-being of Black male leaders; and (c) present ways in which the non-profit and leadership sectors can harness and transfer the knowledge gained from the analysis of these experiences to the next generation of Black male leaders and the sectors.

Significance/Importance of the Study: Value Added to Sectoral Praxis

This research was vital for several reasons. Research into the experiences of Black male leaders—who occupy bodies that are erroneously positioned as perpendicular to the epistemological positioning of leadership—was essential because of the significant size and scope of the non-profit sector (McIsaac et al., 2013; Quarter et al., 2009; Shapcott, 2010; Statistics Canada, 2009); increasing diversity in the workplace (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Hepburn, 2015; Johnson, 2012; Mills et al., 2010); the rise of right wing populism (Berlet & Sunshine, 2019; Greven, 2016); increased and heightened tensions and discussions on race and racism (Anderson, 2016; Maynard, 2017; Young, 2011); and the fact that organizations do not exist in a vacuum and depend on their contexts and environments in shaping their form (Alvesson & Deetz, 1999; Clegg et al., 2006; Hannan

& Freeman, 1977/2007; Johnson, 2012; Miles & Snow, 1984/2007; Pugh, 1973/2007; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978/2007). As bell hooks notes, “Black men are the most hated beings on the planet” (hooks, 2004). If this is true—and the literature, the brutal execution of George Floyd and other Black men, the prison industrial complex and mass incarceration of Black men, the criminalization of Black boys that starts as early as pre-school, the school-to-prison pipeline, at least in the North American context (Maynard, 2017; Owusu-Bempah et al., 2021), chronic underfunding of Black-led organizations in Canada (Pereira et al., 2020) and any number of oppressions linked to Blackness, seems to point to this possibility—then providing an analysis of how these bodies can lead in said context would undoubtedly provide helpful knowledge—especially to the next generation of Black male leaders who will be forced to navigate these spaces.

The continued positioning of race as a significant deciding factor in how persons are grouped, how they group themselves, and how persons engage with each other (Anderson, 2016; Maynard, 2017; Ospina & Foldy, 2009) highlights the necessity for this research. From creating social circles to choosing who leads them, people continuously use race as a guidepost and a guiding principle in their everyday experiences. Race is also a significant determining factor in how people engage with systems and systemic oppression (Ospina & Foldy, 2009; see also Ospina and Su, 2009). In looking at Black masculinity among boys in Kirby, England, Ghaill (1994), for example, found that how Black boys pushed back at the oppressive education system that surrounded them was through the formation of their subculture and leadership, which developed because of their shared experiences of racial oppression. If it is true that race plays a substantial role in how persons are grouped (Anderson, 2016; Maynard, 2017; Ospina & Foldy, 2009)

and if it is also true that Black bodies group themselves (Ghaill, 1994), then it is an entirely plausible hypothesis that Black male leaders do the same. What's more, if that is true, then there is considerable knowledge to be gained about the experiences of Black male leaders who do so.

This research will provide much-needed knowledge on how Black male leaders respond to systems of oppression that, as Meehan (2010) claims, have maintained historical exclusionary practices that have deliberately kept racialized peoples from leadership roles. If Black male leaders do, in fact, group themselves together as leaders, then it will be essential to know how this came to be so, the protection it affords, and the challenges it breeds. It is also important to know how their experiences as leaders and their experiences of Blackness and maleness have shaped and continue to shape and reshape them. We need to know how the broader scientific and leadership communities can use the experiences of these men to help shape and reshape the non-profit sector into one that lives its values of valuing people. Of equal importance will be experiences, should there be such experiences, that run counter to the argument that Black male leaders group themselves for protection. These experiences are of equal importance since it is perceptible that not all homogenous groups experience systems the same.

Further, the literature points to leaders having a certain level of intelligence about leadership and the ability to know how to lead (Bass & Bass, 2008; Fayol, 1916/2007; Judge et al., 2004; Silva, 2016; Stogdill, 1948). However, the historical and deeply ingrained ideologies of race-based abilities, inabilities, and hierarchies have been the bases of myths about the intrinsic lack of intelligence and leadership capabilities among persons of African descent. Black male bodies, for example, have been positioned as

inhumane, undignified, inferior, and brutish (Anderson, 2016; Cole, 2015; Cullen, 2002; Fanon, 1952/2008; hooks, 2004; Maynard, 2017; Marquis, 2014; Reynolds & Robson, 2016; Young, 2011). Therefore, they are viewed as lacking the intellect and ability leaders need to be classified as such. Nevertheless, some Black males occupy leadership positions; their living narratives run counter to the historical positioning of their bodies. Knowing the experiences of these men who occupy bodies so precariously and mythologically positioned, is integral to ensuring that the leadership community, non-profit sector, and the wider scientific community can harness this knowledge to support current and future Black male leaders who have been historically maligned.

Highlighting Hypocrisy and Sectoral Complicity

The non-profit sector's work is grounded in the ideology of "helping." The sector purports to aid with everything from individual activities like after-school programs to more sectoral activities like advocacy. Billions of dollars are spent on said activities, yet there is little research on the sector and the role that it plays in perpetuating racist ideologies that plague Black male bodies. There needs to be more research on how this sector has engaged with racialized individuals within its structures. There is, for example, little evidence of the complicated experiences (Wingfield, 2018) of Black male leaders in organizations. What is increasingly being seen is the need for more diversity in the non-profit sector. The research also shows that organizations are not value-free and so there can be no plausible assumption that the non-profit sector does not play a role in the perpetuation of negative stereotypes. The research also shows Black men's negative positioning and so assuming that there is a sanitizing of this experience once Black men enter leadership roles in the sector is at best problematic.

Further, research shows that Black people experience discrimination and oppression, which affects their mental health. One can hypothesize that Black male leaders have experienced oppression in organizations, affecting their mental health. The recent lawsuits for Canada's federal and provincial government's failure to address systemic racism for decades within the federal and provincial public services speak to the treatment. If that is the case, and existing research seems to corroborate it, then an analysis of their experiences will provide rich data that will likely shed light on the hypocrisy within a system that positions itself as a helping profession. Highlighting such hypocrisy is a first step in ensuring that the sector addresses its internal systems of oppression.

New Knowledge

A study of this nature will provide new knowledge about how racialized Black men experience leadership in the vast non-profit sector. This knowledge can help reshape how leadership praxis serves and engages with and within organizations. The work of the non-profit sector is primarily rooted in "women's work" (see Pringle, 1993; Simpson, 2004; Williams & Villemez, 1993; Williams, 1993) and the elimination of oppression (Chapman & Withers, 2019). This project explored how Black male leaders are positioned and position themselves as they lead in said sector. While looking at traditionally male-dominated professions, Wingfield (2018) found that Black men who work in White female-dominated spaces often perform in ways that help them avoid being positioned and repositioned as the "angry Black man" threatening White womanhood. This study of Black men's experiences will highlight how Black male

leaders perform in non-profit workspaces—often White female-dominated spaces—and how these experiences affect their mental health as they perform in these spaces.

The literature shows that Black people's mental health is affected by discrimination (see Sellers et al., 2006; Williams & Mohammed, 2009; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000; Williams et al., 1997). As such, there was considerable need to ensure that those Black men working in the non-profit sector are equipped with the tools necessary to provide the support required to boost the mental well-being of Black people and, specifically, Black male leaders. This research sought to contribute to the literature by addressing scholarly gaps in the professional understandings and misunderstandings of the experiences of non-profit Black leadership, specifically for males.

Problematizing Normative Ideology

This research provides the non-profit sector and sectoral leadership with new knowledge that will address the continued problematization and repositioning of the social serving sector's oppressive colonial legacy (Chapman & Withers, 2019; Fortier & Wong, 2018; Maynard, 2017; Sinclair, 2004; Smith, 1999), and the denial of status—both of personhood and personhood with the ability to know and create knowledge—to racialized individuals like Black men (Maynard, 2017). For example, the non-profit sector's active involvement in removing a disproportionate number of Black and Indigenous poor children from their families (Maynard, 2017; Sinclair, 2004) sends a clear message that such families are an affront to prevailing ideologies of normalcy. Social work's "standard account" (Chapman & Withers, 2019, p. 25), for example, makes little mention of the work of otherized and racialized peoples and thereby positions racialized bodies and their work as not eligible for consumption and reproduction. If

these bodies cannot develop, generate, and perpetuate knowledge—all central to leadership—the task of leadership becomes even more challenging. For example, a significant responsibility of leaders is coaching. Coaching involves understanding a phenomenon enough to effectively guide a team or team members to success. If Black men are perceived as not having the ability to do this, then they will have to first work to overcome this perception before even getting to the work of coaching. This research will provide a voice for Black male leaders to engage the leadership and non-profit sectors, and the intersection of both, in their experiences as leaders. This research provides as space to challenge the racist colonialist legacy of the normative narrative of Black male inferiority.

Theoretical/Conceptual Approaches: Black Masculinity and Critical Race Theory

Masculinity, race, and leadership are the three key concepts that intersect and form the conceptual anchor for this research. The corresponding theoretical approaches are masculinity, Black masculinity, and CRT. These approaches align well with their core ideas, including the analysis and problematization of normalized systems of oppression and structures that create, sustain, and perpetuate dynamics that maintain those systems.

This research will utilize masculinity, and more specifically, Black masculinity, particularly John Henryism and Cool Pose, to examine the experiences of Black men in leadership roles in the non-profit sector effectively. While CRT is effective in helping to identify issues surrounding race, masculinity will help to do the same concerning gender. This paper aims to examine the experiences of Black leaders who occupy traditionally male bodies. Privilege is a traditional marker of such bodies (Clatterbaugh, 1997; hooks, 2004; Kaufmann, 1994; Williams, 1993). Kaufmann (1994) argues that a dominant

feature of present-day masculinity is that being a man involves having authority, which includes the authority, historically, for example, to own land, to vote, and in a sense, to own oneself. However, in the North American context, powerlessness and inferiority have been the historical positioning of Black male bodies. Bodies which, arguably, until the nineteenth century, were synonymous with the enslaved. One insidious nature of enslavement was the emasculation of Black men (Anderson, 2016; hooks, 2004).

Significance of Masculinity, Black Masculinity, Critical Race Theory

As crucial theoretical approaches, masculinity, Black masculinity, and CRT have core concepts that align well. Central to these approaches is an analysis and problematization of normalized systems of oppression, and the structures that create, sustain and perpetuate the dynamics that maintain those systems. All three approaches are grounded in principles of critique of norm and normative ideologies. While masculinity will allow this research to look at how male bodies have dominated certain spheres, Black masculinity will allow a deeper analysis of how Black men experience maleness as they navigate the leadership space. For example, a disciplinary email from a White male leader may be perceived as one not to be ignored because White maleness is the epitome of a leader, so correction from the said body may be understood and accepted as appropriate and perhaps even sought after and valorized. A similar email from a Black male leader may be read differently since imbued in that email is the idea of Black maleness as inferior and brutish. It may be read as either an angry email or an email that can be ignored.

CRT takes this analysis further by looking at how Black male bodies have been positioned historically and how organizations have perpetuated systems of oppression

through racist practices. Taken together these approaches helped the research examine the impacts of conscious and unconscious efforts to keep Black men from leadership positions. For example, the research points to networking as a core indicator of access to leadership. As Bass and Bass (2008) argue, "advancement depends on whom you know as much as what you know . . . " (p. 947).

The "system of prejudice that has built up over the years . . . [a system whose effects] . . . still linger often in subtle ways. . . . " (Bass & Bass, 2008, p. 949) has significantly hampered the progress of Black men. Together, these theoretical foundations will allow the research to tell a compelling story about the experiences of Black male leaders in the non-profit sector and help broaden the research community's understanding of said experiences (Anfara & Mertz, 2006). Furthermore, as Pitcan et al. (2018) found, Black men face considerable overt racist challenges as they navigate the workplace. These acts of racism do not remain at the individual level; they permeate hiring, training, and promotion (Bass & Bass, 2008; DasGupta et al., 2020) and affect how Black people engage with organizations and organizational systems.

Definition of Key Terms

Leadership

Leadership is a contested term. Rost (1993) argues that a significant challenge for leadership research is the need for more consensus on a single definition of leadership. After combing through the leadership literature, Winston and Patterson (2006) crafted what they refer to as an integrated definition of leadership. They argue that

> A leader is one or more people who select, equips, trains, and influences one or more follower(s) who have diverse gifts, abilities, and skills and focuses the follower(s) on the organization's mission and objectives, causing the follower(s) to willingly and enthusiastically expend spiritual, emotional, and physical energy

> in a concerted, coordinated effort to achieve the organizational mission and objectives (Winston & Patterson, 2006, p. 2).

There are, however, challenges with this definition, not the least of which is the length and ease of remembrance. In this definition, little attention is paid to the follower's role in choosing the leader. This definition argues that the leader creates the need to follow.

For Black male leaders, followers are significant because the historical positioning of Black male bodies puts Black bodies in direct opposition to prevailing beliefs of leadership. Many non-Blacks whom Blacks manage see Black bodies as being in positions incompatible as they should be followers and not leaders (Bass & Bass, 2008; Knight et al., 2003). The act of influencing, for example, requires some intelligence and the ability to convince others that a path forward, whatever that may be, is the correct path. Historically, Black male bodies have not been positioned as bodies that can know, or generate knowledge—key markers of intelligence.

Bass (1960) defines leadership as "when the goal of one member, A, is that of changing another, B, or when B's change in behavior will reward A, or reinforce A's behavior, A's effort to obtain the goal is leadership" . . . (p. 14) (see also Bass and Bass, 2008). This definition was dismissed by this study because, as Rost (1993) notes, reducing a complex phenomenon such as leadership to positivistic terminology "reduced leadership to dyadic relationships, which leadership clearly is not. . . ." (p. 74). Furthermore, Bass' definition does not seem to identify the follower's role or context in identifying an individual as a leader.

Silva's definition of leadership better grounds this research and avoids some of the pitfalls highlighted by both Rost (1993) and Winston & Patterson (2006). Silva

(2016) defines leadership as ". . . the process of interactive influence that occurs when in a given context, some people accept someone as their leader to achieve common goals" (p. 3). Silva's definition is particularly relevant because the context in which Black men in North America[1], at least, perform the act of leadership is one of systemic oppression. This definition is crucial because it focusses on the leader, followers, and the system in which the act of leadership occurs. Given the racist ideologies which have framed North American societies, not only do people fail to see Blacks as leaders, but Blacks also face other significant challenges that may, in fact, color or shape the ways they lead. The definition is also challenging because of the need to influence and the historical positioning of Black bodies as not having the ability to engage in such leader-like activities.

Influencing becomes even more difficult because Black male bodies often suffer from what Pettigrew and Martin (1987) refer to as "triple jeopardy" and Greenhaus et al. (1990) refer to as "treatment discrimination" (p. 64) (see also Hayes, 2012). These forms of exclusions leave Black managers feeling less welcomed at their organization. Influencing requires proximity, and if, as the research shows, Black people are not being welcomed in organizational leadership, it is not easy to get close enough to senior leadership to be influential. This lack of accessibility to senior management may lead to less coaching (Bass & Bass, 2008), leading to fewer promotions. Black managers perceive less autonomy in their roles, experience less job satisfaction, are less likely to receive positive job performance satisfaction, and are likelier to plateau in their careers (Greenhaus et al., 1990). While systems allow Black managers to be hired, the

[1] In the context of this paper, North America refers to Canada and the US.

assignment of routinized work not likely to challenge or enhance competencies can lead to lower performance scores. How Black men take up leadership must undoubtedly be defined by how their bodies and skills are taken up in organizations.

While Silva's definition does not explicitly outline race, gender, or any such constructs as integral to the definition, it does allow for a rigorous analysis of the importance of the systems in which ideals and ideas of masculinity, race, racialization, and leadership are constructed. As C. Wright Mills argues, those in authority have primarily been men who move from one leadership position to the next in institutions, political or otherwise (Mills, 1956/2005). Silva positions leadership as a procedural, relational, and contextual matter that falls well beyond just personal (Burns, 1978; Ospina & Foldy, 2010). That is, a person's occupation of a leadership role does not mean that the person, owing solely to their personality, will be able to influence those around them.

Even if the person may be able to influence those followers who espouse a similar belief system, that person may not be able to influence those who do not share those sentiments or culture (Burns, 1978). While masculinity may allow easier access to power in certain spheres (Wingfield, 2018), Black masculinity and what some scholars call subordinated masculinity (Groes-Green, 2009) will limit that access. While it may be easier for Black males to lead other Blacks, it may certainly not be the same in the leadership of others who are not Black due in large part to role incongruity. Of importance to this research is the experience of Black males when they are not leading others who look like them. Further, how Black males lead other Blacks who oppose their leadership will also provide some knowledge on how leadership may be re-defined.

Non-Profit (not-for-Profit, Third Sector)

Although there is a generalized understanding that the non-profit sector provides a social safety net and helps mitigate the effects of the unmet social, political, and emotional needs of individuals often living in impoverished communities (Quarter et al., 2009), there is less understanding of the definition of said sector. The non-profit sector is defined as organizations that govern themselves, including corporations that do not have a share capital, trusts, or societies (non-profit corporations), as well as incorporated and unincorporated associations (Quarter et al., 2009). These organizations are generally separated into charitable bodies like religious institutions, universities, local community service organizations, multi-national organizations like the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and those classified as non-profit but non-charitable entities such as a local service club. The Government of Canada further groups these together into three categories: government non-profits which include universities and colleges; business non-profits like business associations; and community non-profits like local charities (Statistics Canada, 2019).

Some clarification is also needed about the difference between non-profit and not-for-profit. The Government of Canada notes that the main difference is that "Not-for-profit corporations are free to conduct the same business activities as business corporations. In other words, not-for-profit corporations can make a profit. If they do, not-for-profit corporations could have to pay regular corporate taxes under the Income Tax Act" (Government of Canada, 2020). This study will use Quarter et al.'s (2009) definition, which the researchers borrowed and adopted from Humboldt California Foundation. Quarter et al. (2009) define a non-profit as " . . . a self-governing organization, including corporations without share capital, formed not for private gain but

for public or mutual benefit purposes" (p. 68). This definition is used because it differentiates non-profit corporations from for-profit and even not-for-profit corporations. After all, they do not have share capital. That is, it is not possible for the public to buy stocks in non-profit companies. All profits from non-profits go back into the corporation, not to shareholders. Second, these are companies formed to create greater good via work aimed at mutual and public benefit. Because these corporations are made to do work for the greater good, it is entirely appropriate to expect that their structures, including their leadership, are set up to provide maximum opportunity to do work for said public good.

Racialization

This study uses Steckley's definition of racialization, which is also in line with the Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC). Steckley (2017) defines racism as "a social process in which human groups are viewed and judged as essentially different in terms of their intellect, morality, values, and their innate worth because of perceived differences in physical appearance or cultural heritage" (p. 222). When we collectively position Black male bodies as inferior then use cultural reproduction systems—newspapers, radio, television, internet etc.—to systematically fix those ideas to their bodies we effectively prevent any Black man from successfully navigating spaces that are viewed as perpendicular to those ideologies. That is, the system views Black men as monsters. Monsters cannot lead. Ergo, Black men cannot be leaders. As Ahmed (2002) argues, racialization involves " . . . a process of investing skin colour with meaning, such that 'Black' and '[W]hite' come to function, not as descriptions of skin colour" (p. 46). That is, Black men are not Black; the colour of their skins has been imbued with the historical positioning of their ancestors, post-White colonization. Racialization argues that the

Black male body is a site of political warfare where he is constantly being defined and re-defined dangerous.

Racism

Racism is evident at the individual, institutional, and systemic levels in our societies. It is rooted in the idea that some bodies are inherently inferior to others. It argues for example, that White bodies are genetically superior to Black bodies. Such an ideology has significant implications for how those bodies are treated in the workplace. To better ground my research, I used the OHRC definition of racism which identifies it as "an ideology that either explicitly or implicitly asserts that one racialized group is inherently superior to others" (OHRC, 2005, p. 12). This ideology manifests itself in many ways in our society.

Steckley (2017) argues that there are four elements of racism. He argues that racialization is the first. Once a group has been successfully defined and confined to an ideology, there is a move to the second where there is prejudice, which affects all members of the group. Prejudice is the "pre-judgement of others on the basis of their group membership" (p. 230). Discrimination follows prejudice. Discrimination is the action that flows from the ideology that presents certain bodies as inferior and others as superior. It is, for example, differential or unequal treatment of Black men based solely on their positioning as inferior. He positions the fourth as power, which, he argues is "manifested when institutionalized advantages are regularly handed to one or more groups over others" (Steckley, 2017, p. 230). Racism presents covertly as microaggressions, some forms of White supremacy, and some forms of anti-Black racism

(ABR) for example. It also asserts itself overtly as macroaggression, some forms of ABR and other forms of White supremacy.

White Supremacy/White Normativity

This research uses the terms White supremacy and White normativity interchangeably. Whiteness as the norm is the root of White supremacy. Whiteness is so rooted that, as Fanon (1952) argues and Sowell (2005) illustrates, even pieces of the Black identity are rooted in Whiteness. For example, Sowell (2005) argues that Black cultural practices like "jumping the broom," certain evangelical church practices, and "[B]lack English" all have roots in Whiteness. The normalization of Whiteness is sinister, but we, collectively, know how it functions, even if we neglect to acknowledge it. If we are willing to acknowledge it, our collective consciousness now understands that Black bodies get less than others. There is evidence that White supremacy defines how many years a Black man gets for a similar crime committed by a White man. Black people get fewer prescriptions for pain than their White counterparts. Black children are given less support than their White counterparts and are more likely to be removed from their parents. Moreover, we collectively know that skin whitening cream is a multi-billion-dollar industry. While this may seem like a conflation between colourism and White supremacy, the growth of such an industry would not be possible if our collective sensibilities and constant messaging were not so fixed on positioning Whiteness as the ideal and the normal. As Robin Diangelo notes, "we live in a culture that circulates relentless messages of White superiority" (Diangelo, 2018, p. 90).

This paper uses Chapman and Wither's definition of White supremacy, which they argue "refers to the normative and even liberal discourses, practices, and structures

that give disproportionate value to [W]hite bodies, minds, institutions, countries, values, and mores" (Chapman & Withers, 2019, p. 5). White supremacy elevates all White bodies to intellectual significance. It provides the space to position and reposition White bodies as natural and normal leaders, thereby breeding a sense of entitlement to leadership roles. Kimmel (2017) argues, "White men are the beneficiaries of the greatest affirmative action program in world history. It's called world history (p. 8)." Kimmel notes that "being White gives one a boost. In the United States, [Whites] get an additional bonus of 22 percent just for being White, compared to Black men" (p. 8). While it is not clear what Kimmel means by the 22 percent, it could be linked to the wage gap between Blacks and Whites or any number of historically enshrined discriminatory practices that position White bodies as superior.

Anti-Black Racism

ABR is a particularly potent kind of racism that only affects persons identified as Black. ABR rose to prominence after the work of Dr. Lorna Akua Benjamin in the early 2000s. According to Benjamin (2003), the term was coined by "grassroots and working-class intellectuals in Toronto's Black community" (p. 60). It, she notes, "emerged as an analytical weapon in the struggles against racism in policing by the Black community" (p. 60). ABR is a kind of racism rooted in the ideology that Black bodies are not human, as opposed to racism which is "a global hierarchy of superiority and inferiority along the line of the human that has been politically, culturally, and economically produced and reproduced for centuries" (Grosfoguel, 2016, p. 10).

ABR is an ideology that allowed for the creation of

> " . . . Myths and stereotypes . . . [which were] used to justify slavery and the torture of enslaved African people[s], including the idea that Black people were

> biologically different or subhuman, less intelligent, had a greater tolerance for pain and were not to be trusted, among many others" (Dryden & Nnorom, 2021, p E55).

Many of these myths and stereotypes are laid out in this research through the literature review and the experiences of the Black male leaders in this study. As Diangelo (2018) and Maynard (2017) argue, ABR is readily identifiable in how violence is justified when inflicted on Black bodies, regardless of age. These attacks on Black bodies manifest themselves well before Black people are born, starting with how health systems treat Black mothers.

ABR is particularly prevalent in the workplace. DasGupta et al.'s (2020) findings show that Black Canadians are less likely to succeed in the hiring process because of lack of networks that give them direct access to jobs. They found that Black applicants are thirty percent less likely to have access to said networks. When candidates do get access to the jobs, their resumes are screened out because of ideologies that racialize names and attack negative connotations to said names. The researchers found that resumes with Black sounding names get less call backs. In their experiment they found that ". . . the 'White' resume received three times the number of call-backs as the 'Black' resume. When both candidates indicated a criminal record, the difference in call-backs jumped to 12 times more. And perhaps most shockingly—the "White" applicants with a criminal record still got nearly twice as many calls back as the "Black" applicants with no record" (p. 5). Their findings also show that the employee's Blackness is an impediment to progression in the workforce.

Microaggression

Racial microaggressions was first coined by Chester Pierce and primarily focussed on how Blackness was positioned concerning Whiteness (Pierce, 1974; Sims et al., 2021). However, it can manifest as aggression based on gender, race, ability, and sexuality (Yearwood, 2013). Pitcan et al. (2018) noted that "often, those subjected to microaggressions question the validity of their perception, making it difficult for the individual and organization to label and address incidents." This paper uses Sue et al.'s, (2007) definition of microaggression, which is defined as " . . . brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color" (Sue et al., 2007, p. 271). These kinds of aggressions come in three forms: micro-assault, microinsult, and microinvalidation.

Sue et al. (2007) argue that a micro-assault is " . . . an explicit racial derogation characterized primarily by a verbal or non-verbal attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions." This includes referring to Black male leaders as "coloured." Microinsults are those light jabs aimed at demeaning Black men. These include messages like "so how did you get the job?" or " . . . when a White employer tells a prospective candidate of colour "I believe the most qualified person should get the job, regardless of race" (Sue et al., 2007). Microinvalidation is telling a Black male leader that all lives matter. This sends the message that their experiences of being historically positioned as inhuman beings that do not matter are invalid. Microaggression involving race is covert racism.

Chapter Summary

The opening chapter of this study offers an overview of the problem and the rationale for an examination of Black male leaders in Toronto's non-profit sector. The chapter provides insight into my position within the study and addresses the need for academic integrity throughout the research process. Additionally, this chapter highlights the significance that this research will have for the scientific, leadership, and non-profit communities. Finally, it outlines the conceptual and theoretical framework, as well as key terms that will be used throughout the study. The subsequent chapter will delve deeper into the topic with a comprehensive literature review, building upon the foundation established in chapter one.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Search Criteria/Parameters

Historically, the study of organizations has neglected the impact of race and gender and the intersection of these identities in leadership roles (Berkshire, 2008; Bradshaw et al., 2009; Ospina & Foldy, 2009; Mills et al., 2010; Nkomo, 2011). Shockingly, Mills et al. (2010) found that out of 107 major business textbooks published between 1959 and 1996, only seven addressed race and ethnicity in a significant way, and a mere five of those texts discussed gender in a meaningful manner. However, non-profit organizations not only reflect societal values, but can also perpetuate oppressive systems that disproportionately affect marginalized individuals, such as Alice (Mills et al., 2010) and people of color. Therefore, non-profit organizations must actively work to broaden the discussions of leadership to include race, racialization, masculinity, and their intersections, as these issues are of utmost importance in the design and maintenance of an equitable society, a key tenet of non-profit organizations.

The various components of this research project provided access to a vast amount of literature, some of which only peripherally, at best, connected to the problem being studied. To ensure that the literature was apt, germane, and useful, appropriate search terms were used. These terms focused on the core pieces of the research question which includes Black (African American and African Canadian), race, ethnicity, masculinity, Black masculinity, non-profit (not-for-profit sector, third sector), leadership,

organization, and mental health. The terms were searched independently and in combination in various academic databases, including York University's Scott Library circulation, Google Scholar, PubMed, Science Direct, JSTOR, SAGE, and PscyInfo. In addition, relevant and foundational works were identified by citation mining (Pascoe & Richman, 2009). The review begins by examining the non-profit sector before delving into the CRT, masculinity, and Black masculinity theoretical foundations.

The Non-Profit Sector

The non-profit sector is a s significant part of life in North America and is as connected to systems as any other organizational system. Mills' (1956/2005) seminal work is central to the argument that people's lives are deeply connected to the non-profit sector. Mills (1956/2005) argues that there are three key sites of power in America: economic, political, and military. He argues that they all intertwine and support each other in American's daily lives and systems. The religious order--classified as non-profit and charitable—secures chaplains for the army—publicly funded—to make soldiers feel better about killing. Non-profits also work to reintegrate soldiers back into society. Corporations use workers and managers to meet their ends. Where necessary, each of these entities is activated to protect the other. Mills argues that politicians start wars to boost the economy when there is a "bust." Military and political officials get on corporate boards to ensure that corporations maintain connections to the political elite.

Mills is specific in his use of the term "man" when he argues that men are the ones who rise in corporations. Missing, however, is an analysis of whom Mills (2005/1956) categorizes as "man." In the case of Black men for example, the term "man" has not always been one which they have been allowed to own. One historical "ritual

humiliation" (Demby, 2018) of Black men is being perpetually referred to as a boy while Black boys are positioned as men so they can be punished like men. Mills' arguments are intriguing because his position is that politics, the military, and the economy permeate our lives, much like the non-profit sector. However, there needs to be more discussion on the importance of race in the leadership of these spheres, which comprise a significant portion of the non-profit sector. Although not positivist, Mill's argument rests on the classical value-free nature of organizational theorizing, an approach that proves itself problematic especially in relation to the non-profit sector; a sector which purports to focus on matters of equality and fair resource distribution.

Astonishingly, much of the understanding of the share scale of the non-profit sector in Canada did not happen until 2003. In their 2005 report on the non-profit sector Hall et al. (2005) analyzed data collected from Canada's 2003 National Survey of Non-profit and Voluntary Organizations (NSNVO) and concluded that Canada had a vibrant and significant non-profit sector. The NSNVO was a ground-breaking survey that collected data on some 13,000 incorporated organizations in the sector. The report concluded that the sector in Canada is substantial to the Canadian economy.

The NSNVO separated the sector into two major categories. The first includes hospitals, universities, and colleges, separated from other institutions in the survey because they are often associated with greater government control and are, as such, often classified as quasi-government organizations. The report did clarify that even with this classification, these organizations are still identified as non-profits. Furthermore, the definition that underpins this comprehensive analysis does classify these organizations as non-profits. The other category included all other organizations. The report noted that

data on the sector, including hospitals, colleges, and universities, between 1997 and 1999 showed that non-profit organizations hired 2,073,032 full-time equivalent positions. Of those, 1,524,032 were full-time-equivalent-paid positions. Together this accounted for 12.1% of the economically active population and 13.2% of non-agricultural employment (Statistics Canada, 2019). Further analysis done in 2022 by Landry & Nsiala (2022) show that by 2019, " . . . non-profit institutions accounted for 2.2 million full-time jobs and over two hundred thousand part-time jobs in Canada. . . ."

The second report—the National Satellite Account of Non-profit Institutions and Volunteering (Statistics Canada, 2009)—that followed NSNVO was completed in 2007. It too showed that the non-profit sector is robust. Elson (2016) analyzed Canada's non-profit sector using both reports. The first, the 2003 NSNVO, also used by Hall et al. (2005), which provided the first-ever look at the size, scope, and shared magnitude of the non-profit sector in Canada and the second, Statistics Canada's National Satellite Account of Non-profit Institutions and Volunteering, 2007 (2009) continue to be key foundation works to anyone looking to understand the size and scope of Canada's non-profit sector. These reports offer a comprehensive view of Canada's non-profit sector for workers, funders and the wider community. They confirm the sector's significance in the country's economy.

Statistics Canada's National Satellite Account of Non-profit Institutions and Volunteering (2009) is a significant and foundational document that looks at sector data from 1997 to 2007. The data showed that the non-profit sector was a significant force in the Canadian economy which remained the same in Landry & Nsiala's (2022) analysis of the report's data collected from 2010 to 2020. The report also notes that the sector, while

less explicitly defined than other sectors like the manufacturing industry, continues to exceed the economic activity of those industries. The report's methodology highlights the need for more research on the non-profit sector. For example, the report notes that Canada has yet to have a single conclusive administrative data source on the non-profit sector. Numerous different sources had to be analyzed by the report to get usable data. The report compiled data from

> . . . registered charities (the T3010 data file), non-profit institutions (the T1044 file), tax-exempt corporations (from T2 Corporate Income Tax returns and the Generalized Index of Financial Information), and public sector bodies eligible for rebates under the Goods and Services Tax system (the Government Sales Tax (GST) Public Sector Bodies Rebate File) (Statistics Canada, 2009, p. 44).

Like Hall et al. (2005), Landry & Nsiala (2022), and the NSNVO, McKeever (2015) reached similar conclusions for the sector in the United States (see also Mook et al., 2015). McKeever analyzed data from the Internal Revenue Service's 501(c)(3) public charities report between 2003 and 2013 and showed that the non-profit sector in the United States, like Canada, is a substantial part of America's economy. In 2013 the sector's revenues and assets outpaced the gross domestic product. Revenues were 30.7 percent, with assets 32.7 percent, compared to a 14.3 percent GDP (gross domestic product) growth. McKeever notes that these organizations had revenues of 2.26 trillion dollars and assets totalling 5.17 trillion dollars. The report concludes by noting that the non-profit sector continued to grow overall. Between 2008 and 2013, expenses, revenues, and assets grew more than 10 percent.

Golensky's (2016) conclusions align with those of McKeever (2015). In looking at both the definition of a non-profit and the historical roots of U.S. non-profits, Golensky noted that the sector provides a significant safety net for American society. She highlighted the AIDS crisis as an example of non-profits providing much-needed support

to meet the needs of the most vulnerable. Because of the complexity of the sector, Golensky defines the non-profit sector by highlighting what it is not: Non-profits are not a part of any government and do not gain a profit. This idea, however, is problematic because a significant portion of funding for the non-profit sector comes from the government. In Canada especially, universities and hospitals, although identified as non-profits, are so closely linked to governments that it would be difficult to arbitrarily categorize them as not part of the government (Hall et al., 2005). Golensky highlights the historical roots of the non-profit sector as beginning with Harvard's founding of America's first charitable organization to post-civil War expansion of the non-profit sector. While Golensky mentions pre-independence non-profits and charitable works, she does not mention the life-saving charitable support the colonizers received from Native Americans[2].

Unlike Golensky (2016), Quarter et al. (2009) provide a concrete definition of a non-profit. Looking at the Canadian context, Quarter et al. adapted Humboldt California Foundation's (2007) definition of the non-profit sector as " . . . self-governing organizations including corporations without share capital, societies or trust, but also unincorporated associations, formed for private gain but for public or mutual benefit purposes" (Quarter et al., 2009, p. 68). This definition is broad enough to comprehensively analyze the varying pieces of the non-profit sector's enormousness. However, it, like much of the information on non-profits in Canada lacks a comprehensive race analysis and an analysis of oppression in non-profit organizational systems.

[2] In Canada, the most appropriate term is Indigenous Peoples.

Weber's seminal work on legal authority (1924/2012) sheds light on why oppression persists, even when corporations that perpetuate racism and oppression hire individuals from marginalized communities. Weber argues that employees of bureaucratic organizations must possess the skills required to fulfill specific functions within the organization. Unfortunately, historically, Blacks and other people of color have been assumed to lack the necessary skills to perform these functions, which has excluded them from these organizations. Weber's presentation of this approach as value-free is problematic, as it perpetuates the historical exclusion of non-White, non-male bodies from knowledge creation and dissemination.

In his analysis of organizations, Pugh (1973/2007) shares Weber's value-free approach and argues that an organization's context is more influential in determining its structure than was previously understood before 1973. However, Pugh's argument seems paradoxical when considering that his central question is whether organizational context determines form. Notably absent from his argument are discussions of race and gender, which are crucial contextual factors. Pugh identifies seven dimensions of context and six dimensions of organizational structure, but none of them mention race or gender. Additionally, his data collection survey, which includes over 20 sample questions, does not mention race or gender. It is important to recognize that Pugh conducted his research during a tumultuous time in the United States when race and gender issues were at the forefront of societal concerns. His work was first presented in 1973, just a few years following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., which had global implications. Grey and Willmott (2005) note that the positivist mentality that had dominated business

schools began to wane in the late 1960s and 1970s, which is when Pugh conducted his research.

According to Clegg and Dunkerley (2005), there has been a problematic lack of critical analysis in organizations and organization theory. They argue that ideas of sexism and authority have been ignored, while individualism has been emphasized far too much. Additionally, they suggest that organization theory has failed to engage with Marx's critiques of capitalism and has narrowly interpreted Weber's arguments on organizational systems. While their analysis is accurate, they have overlooked race as a crucial theme in the analysis of organizations. Other scholars, such as Nkomo (2011), Ospina and Foldy (2009), and Johnson (2012), have highlighted the importance of race in understanding the experiences of Black male leaders. Therefore, race must be considered central to a comprehensive understanding of organizational dynamics.

Critical Race Theory

The argument put forth by CRT that racism is deeply ingrained in systems (Bell, 1975; Freeman, 1977; Gotanda, 1991; Matsuda, 1987; see also Delgado et al., 2017; Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Johnson, 2012; Nkomo, 2011; West, 1995) allows for a thorough analysis of how Black male leaders engage with these systems. CRT stresses the importance of race analysis at the systemic level and rejects notions such as color-blindness, neutrality, meritocracy, and objectivity. It places the experience of the oppressed, like Black males, at the center of contextual and historical analysis and views racism as a fundamental cause of the disparities between disadvantaged and advantaged groups. CRT also highlights the validity of the experiences of people of color in knowledge-making and aims to end racial oppression and subjugation (Abrams & Moio,

2009; Aylward, 1999; Delgado et al., 2017; Ladson-Billings, 2006; Ladson-Billings and Tate IV, 2006;). Understanding the significance of racism in educational, legal, social, religious, and other systems is crucial to drawing clear links from the current and historical Black male social location to their experiences as leaders because organizations do not operate in a vacuum. As Mills et al. (2010) pointed out, there has been a deafening silence on race and how racialized bodies experience organizational practices (see also Nkomo, 2011, and Johnson, 2012).

In the framework of organization, management, and leadership, a critical approach allows for an analysis and exploration of the epistemic foundations of inequitable distributions of opportunity among those who occupy bodies historically positioned as having an unalienable right to occupy the leader space. Mills et al. (2010) argued that unlike traditional approaches that look at people as a means to an end—usually for profit—a critical approach looks at how pieces of organizations perpetuate systemic oppressions like discrimination (see also Strati, 2000). As Johnson (2012) argues, a critical approach presents a platform where our discourses can question prevailing ideologies that present White male bodies as the preferred and natural holders of the role of leader. For instance, Johnson (2012) notes that organizations that move to a place of diversity training do so by problematizing diversity, not White resistance to diversity in the workplace.

A critical approach permitted this research project to engage in a discussion that unmasks and examines parts of the system that make our society's most dominant and problematic pieces appear natural and normal (Clegg et al., 2006; Johnson, 2012). Such an approach provides the tools to examine why, for example, in Ontario, 87.2% of non-

profit leadership roles are occupied by White bodies--which rises to 89% when controlled for the people who used “prefer not to answer” as their response in a study of non-profit leadership in Ontario’s non-profit labour force—while the same only make up 74% of the general population (McIsaac et al., 2013). The naturalization process has allowed many organizations to fix ideas of Whiteness in leadership as almost central to their existence. Alvesson & Deetz (1999) argue that this naturalization protects racist processes and systems from critique. A critical approach denaturalizes organizations and organizational systems and creates space for analyzing the schemes that protect inequities within those organizations.

The rejection of color-blindness and neutrality by CRT provides a strong foundation for analyzing the experiences of Black male leaders in leadership positions. This is especially important in Canada, where there is a prevalent perception that the country is a haven for the oppressed, and that racism is only perpetuated by a few individuals and not reflective of Canadian society (Aylward, 1999). By utilizing this robust theory, it becomes possible to examine the challenges that Black males face as they climb the leadership ladder within systems that prioritize Canadian politeness, neutrality, and color-blindness, and even multiculturalism as their guiding principles (see also Cappiccie et al., 2012). Through the lens of CRT, questions can be raised about the lessons learned from the experiences of Black male leaders and how these lessons can be used to teach those who are just entering the non-profit sector. This approach will uncover the value-free systems that allow for the maintenance of a racist status quo, which can sometimes be difficult to name and challenge, but is nonetheless present.

CRT advocates for acknowledging the experiences of people of color, as established by scholars such as Matsuda (1987) and Bell (1975), and utilizing these experiences, or the insights gleaned from their scrutiny, to counteract oppression and equip future Black male leaders with validated knowledge to aid in achieving success. By applying this approach to analyze the experiences of Black male leaders in the non-profit realm, non-profit organizations can identify effective coping mechanisms and obstacles faced by both the sector and these leaders. As Duncan (2006) contends, this method will bring to light what is currently in the darkness.

Deconstructing Organizations Through CRT

In her work, Nkomo (2011) highlights the challenge of accurately representing race in research and organizational literature. According to Nkomo, the issue lies in the idealization and normalization of Whiteness, a perspective shared by other scholars such as Alvesson and Deetz (1999), Mills et al. (2010), and Reed (1999). Nkomo suggests that research focused on White subjects often leads to generalizations that are considered universal, while studies involving subjects of color tend to have more limited conclusions (Ospina and Foldy, 2009). For instance, a study on Indigenous leaders may only apply to this specific group and not to leaders in general. Nkomo argues that because Whiteness is viewed as the standard by which race in organizations is measured, non-White individuals are often overlooked, and organizational systems fail to consider the role of race.

Although Nkomo's (2011) argument is that researchers should look again at the positioning of race in organizations, it is unclear what discussions she wants on Whiteness. The first section of Nkomo's work seems to call for the positioning of

Whiteness as a race, but she seems to abandon this line of argument. If the topic of race is not studied in organization or leadership literature or by organization researchers because Whiteness is normalized, then Whiteness should be either positioned and critiqued as a race or at least be problematized more vigorously. Such an approach decenters Whiteness and repositions it as *a* race, not *the* race.

Johnson (2012) argues candidly about the systemic issues that organizations fail to resolve when they do not look at the root causes of the lack of diversity in today's organizations. Johnson calls us, collectively, to use a critical management lens, which will help to look at things like colonial vestiges of oppression. Johnson reminds us that our issues today are rooted in our history and argues that many Whites are unaware of these systemic challenges and often assume issues that CRT aims to challenge. Colonial ideologies of Blackness run through the heart of many organizations that have a meritocratic capitalist mentality at their foundation. Johnson argues that a critical approach, like CRT for example, will help dominant and marginalized groups engage with systems of oppression that lay at the heart of the lack of diversity in organizations.

Ospina and Foldy's (2009) comprehensive literature review on race, ethnicity, and leadership is in line with both Johnson (2012) and Nkomo (2011). The review provides a significant look at the positioning of race concerning leadership. They analyzed 148 pieces of literature on the subject and argue that their research, and by extension looking at the experiences of Black male leaders, is necessary because race continues to frame how we view our world; that it is crucial to understand how context frames our world; that trends in organizations place race as a central player in the leading of those organizations; and that looking at race ultimately conjures ideals of power and power

relations. Central to their conclusion is that mainstream literature on leadership ignores racialized research in mainstream leadership theorizing (see also Calas, 1993; Nkomo, 2011; and Parker, P. S., 2005; Parker, M., 2005). Ospina and Foldy (2009) argue that a critical future space for literature centers on questions that mirror this research.

The Non-Profit Sector Through a CRT Lens

Bradshaw et al. (2009) show that most non-profit executive directors are White. The report surveyed 240 non-profit leaders across Canada. Most of these respondents were from organizations with a median of eleven full-time employees and a budget of just under one million dollars. The research finds that over 90% of executive directors were White, and less than 1% were Black. While the study notes that most executive directors were White, it does not provide an analytical breakdown of the percentage of males and females within the race categories. It also needs to provide a breakdown of the percentage of diversity based on the organization's size. Cukier et al.'s (2021) findings of the lack of diversity in university leadership corroborates Bradshaw's findings. Cukier et al. (2021) noted that less than 2.55 percent of university senior leadership positions (president, vice president, provost, and vice provost) are held by Black people. In fact, most of the universities they study in Canada had no Black leaders in those roles.

A report of the HR Council on the Nonprofit sector (2012a) corroborates Bradshaw et al.'s (2009) work on the lack of diversity in leadership. In 2011, the HR Council used a sample size of 1,251 non-profit leaders to research diversity in Canada's non-profit sector. While the HR Council's report cautions that the sample size may not be statistically representative of the sector, the findings are note-worthy, especially when read in tandem with Bradshaw et al. (2009). The report shows 93% of respondents were

White, and 2% were Black. What is also interesting, and the Bradshaw et al. (2009) data show similar findings, is that the boards tasked with hiring showed similar racial makeup. Neither report, however, draws any conclusion or causal link between the board composition and the lack of diversity in leadership.

Despite its size and the oft-stated objective of working toward a more just society, the non-profit sector needs more diversity, especially among its human resources. In a piece on the lack of diversity in the non-profit sector in the United States, Hayes (2012) analyses a report by the Commongood Careers and the Level Playing Field Institute. Hayes outlines employees' concerns about the lack of diversity, the obstacles the sector faces in diversifying itself, the consequences of the lack of diversification, and strategies to help non-profits create a more diverse and inclusive workplace. Employees note that their primary concern is that diversity is a purely theoretical concern for the non-profit sector. While the majority agreed that organizations care about diversity in theory, only 25 percent of employees surveyed said that their organization took an active role in implementing diversity strategies and approaches to diversify the workplace.

Hayes (2012) notes that a challenge for the non-profit sector is a need for more understanding of how many organizations present themselves to candidates. Hayes highlights that the report noted that over 70 percent of job candidates of colour monitored the interview systems, processes, and organization's personnel for lack or presence of diversity when deciding to work for an organization. When candidates of colour accepted a position, many left because of a lack of diversity and feelings of exclusion (see also Pettigrew and Martin, 1987). As a result, non-profits tend to feel fearful of spending the resources to hire candidates of colour. While Hayes notes that this was the case for some

60 percent of candidates surveyed, her piece fails to provide an analysis, critical or otherwise, of this somewhat cyclical phenomenon. One point of concern that requires some analysis is the idea that many people in the hiring process are, in fact, deliberately acting as back-door gatekeepers to maintain systems of oppression. That is, while some candidates of colour may be able to get in through "the front door" via formalized hiring processes, gatekeepers shove them out the "back door" through deliberate racist tactics, such as microaggressions, aimed at making them feel unwelcomed.

It will be essential to see how Black men in leadership positions experience this lack of other Black male leadership colleagues with whom they can build out advancement and collegial networks of support. The research into their experiences of navigating these homogenous spaces where concepts like a community of practice are integral to growth will be necessary for the sector, leadership praxis, and current and future Black males. Berkshire (2008) provides a glimpse into the sector in the United States, the sector's lack of Black male leaders, and one of the reasons why the sector remains with so few Black males. Berkshire's article uses information from interviews with Black male leaders in the non-profit sector in the United States. These interviews highlight the challenges of being one of only a few Black male leaders in the sector. Berkshire (2008) argues that although the sector's excuse that the reasons for the lack of Black males is a consequence of the limited number of qualified Black males, the broader, relevant reality is far more complex and involves issues of access and opportunity. The article points to other issues, such as recruitment failures and compensation challenges that limit Black men's access.

A core part of the non-profit sector is environmental organizations. These organizations are particularly important as we navigate the climate emergency that is disproportionately affecting places where racialized peoples live. Taylor (2014) notes that the call for a more diverse non-profit environmental sector is urgent because, by 2030, the environmental sector will create some 40 million jobs. The report surveyed 350 environmental organizations in the United States. The report noted that the research team excluded 155 surveys as respondents did not answer questions on diversity in their leadership ranks. The data collected from the surveys were analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences 21 (SPSS). The analysis showed that most leaders were White men. Of 1,723 respondents in leadership positions in the conservation/preservation organizations, 1,528 or 88.7 percent, were White and 80 or 4.6 percent were Black. The report states that the data were similar across other environmental entities, with White males dominating leadership positions. One exciting piece that lacks analysis in the report is that of the human resources positions in the conservation organizations, 92.3% were women, yet men led most of the organizations. There appears to be little analysis of the systemic barriers when a significant percentage of hiring managers hire people of a different gender. This, however, does not seem to hold for race, as the most significant number of the positions are held by White leaders.

Epistemology: The Root of Organizational Oppression

Generally, epistemology is the branch of philosophy that speaks to questions of what we know as humans and how we come to know (Anastas, 2002; Hunter, 2002; Williams, 2001). Williams (2001) provides an analysis of epistemology and notes that there are five problems the field expects to address. His first is the analytical problem,

which he classifies as the space for addressing what is meant by "knowledge." Second is the problem of demarcation, which he classifies as the space where two pieces are addressed: the external, looking at the sorts of things we might be sensibly expected to know about, and the internal, which asks whether there are boundaries within the realm of knowledge. The third problem is the problem of method, which has to do with how we seek or gain knowledge. Fourth is the problem of skepticism, which concerns whether we can gain knowledge at all.

Furthermore, the fifth is the problem of value, which is self-explanatory. Our epistemologies guide and fix our conceptual frameworks. For example, a bottle is a bottle because we conceptualize it as such, and because we do, it now has its properties, i.e., bottles are round, oblong objects that can hold things, at least in the North American context. This bottle remains confined to said positionality even if we remove its cover, or its bottom, or smash it. In the case of a removed cover, it becomes a bottle without a cover. In the case of a non-existent bottom, it becomes a bottle without a bottom. And even when smashed it remains a broken bottle. While not impossible, it is difficult to reconceptualize a bottle as anything but and certainly even more challenging to re-imagine it as a table. Once we conceive and fix a thing in a certain way, it becomes challenging to reconceptualize said thing.

Another far more sinister example is the idea of a Black man. Black men, at least in North America, have been positioned and conceptualized as exclusively linked to brutality and enslavement; and as those who cannot lead. Being conceptualized as such by racist societies for hundreds of years has made it somewhat difficult for some to redefine Black men as leaders. Oppression's strategic reliance on value-free systems has

positioned certain bodies negatively (Bernal, 2002; Goitom, 2019). The sources of cultural production—writing, films, and schools, for example—have all played an ominous role in re/creating an image of the Black man as something to be feared (Anderson, 2016; hooks, 2004; Kimbrell, 1995; Marquis, 2014; Maynard, 2017; Reynolds & Robson, 2016). Delgado and Stefancic (1995) argue that these negative images thrive and endure despite continuous attempts to reposition them. Producing such a fixed image of the Black man is directly connected to our epistemologies.

Hunter (2002) argues that knowledge production connects directly to how we come to know. Like Gouldner (1962), Hunter contends that value-free research is a myth. She looks at several epistemologies, including a Eurocentric epistemology and argues that these ways of knowing guide the research design, from the questions that researchers ask to how data are analyzed and presented. Taken together, she contends, these processes produce and reproduce power relations. The reproduction of these relations and the classifications of certain human bodies and bodies of knowledge as inferior are often engrained in the transactional pieces of educational transmission. Hunter's argument and research note that organizations must seek experiences that counter the narratives perpetuating White supremacy.

Mills and Hatfield's (1995) review of selected business school textbooks analyzes how organizations perpetuate White normativity. They argue that these texts essentially perpetuate a " . . . white, male, liberal American view of reality . . . " (p. 2) by deliberately failing to include race or gender in either text or pictorial representation of either the ideal worker or the ideal manager. They note that one popular text from the 1960s had over 30 images, but not a single woman or person of colour. The

homogenization presented in these texts perpetuates the myth that only White male bodies can occupy specific organizational spaces (Calas, 1993).

Notable in Calas' (1993) look at charismatic leadership is the questioning and positioning of said kind of leadership as dangerous. Calas (1993) argues that Black male leaders are often classified as charismatic leaders, allowing scholars to position charismatic leadership as dangerous. Ergo, Black male leaders are dangerous. If the system fails to prevent Black men from becoming leaders, it must reposition them, through their approach/es to leadership, as dangerous so they are not followed. Where they are followed, those followers should be positioned as either weak-minded or foolish (Calas, 1993). The same twisted narrative is performed when it comes to intelligence.

Judge et al.'s (2004) meta-analysis shows that the perception that leadership is synonymous with intelligence is stronger than the results from pencil-and-paper tests of the connection between the two phenomena. If there is a perception that leadership correlates with intelligence, and the research points to this as the case, then the positioning of Black bodies as unintelligent sends the message that those bodies cannot occupy the role of leader. Furthermore, if Whiteness is positioned as intelligent, the message, invariably, is that White bodies can occupy the role of leader. This perpetuation of ideologies that run counter to fair and equitable distribution of resources maintains and perpetuates systems of oppression that keep leadership positions homogenous. The experiences of those who remain at the margins, like Black males, in this milieu present an opportunity for the research to learn ways to dismantle or reimagine systems.

Masculinity and Black Masculinity

This research project will utilize masculinity, specifically Black masculinity, as it examines the experiences of Black men in leadership roles in the non-profit sector. This paper aims to study the Black leaders who occupy traditionally male bodies. Privilege is a traditional marker of such bodies (Clatterbaugh, 1997; hooks, 2004; Kaufman, 1994; Williams, 1993). Kaufmann (1994) argues that a dominant feature of present-day masculinity is that being a man involves having authority. This includes the authority, historically, for example, to own land, to vote, and in a sense, to own oneself. However, in the North American context, powerlessness and inferiority have historically been the positioning of Black male bodies as, until the nineteenth century, those bodies were synonymous with the enslaved.

Modern society's emasculation of the Black male bodies continues through the mass incarceration of said bodies and police, school, work and other forms of violence against Black men. Furthermore, the non-profit sector in which many of these men work is situated as "women's work," which, arguably, questions their masculinity. The non-profit sector comprises social work, nursing, childcare, education, and generally work classified as caring for others (Applegate & Kaye, 1993; Bradley, 1993), and most workers are women. Driving Change: A National Study of Canadian Non-profit Executive Leaders, a 2012 study by Canada's HR Council for the Nonprofit Sector (HR Council, 2012a), shows that of some 1,200 non-profit executives who participated in the study, nearly 70% were women. It will be essential to examine the experiences of Black men in this sector to see how they navigate these largely female-dominated spaces that could question their already diminished masculinity and performances of hegemonic masculinity.

Hegemonic masculinity, a term popularized by Raewyn Connell (1994) (see Edley, 2017; Groes-Green, 2009; Wedgwood, 2009), provides a framework for this study and a framework against which all masculinity is measured. Ontologically, it is defined by what it is, not by what it is not. That is, hegemonic masculinity is not femininity, homosexuality, Black masculinity, or Asian masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is " . . . a normative male ideal in a society which supports the gender hierarchy and subordinates marginal masculinities and men who do not comply with it. . . . " (Groes-Green, 2009, p. 292). It is the ideal of *the* quintessential man, not just *a* quintessential man. Kimmel (1994), quoting psychologist Robert Brannon, describes this archetypal man as one who does not engage in "sissy stuff"; one who is a "big wheel" having affluence and prestige; one who is a "big sturdy oak," emotionless and can be depended on in times of crisis; and one who takes risks and being bold and forceful. All characteristics are the antithesis of the non-profit sector. Edley (2017) calls the nature of hegemonic masculinity a "way of being" (p. 44).

This form of masculinity is prevalent in many of our systems of cultural reproductions. In films we see ample examples of men who espouse this ideology. Many of these characters show love not with tears but with violent revenge. These men are usually tall, fit, and handsome. Rhodes and Westwood (2008) look at the display of masculinity in organizations by analyzing the film Glengarry Glen Ross (Glengarry). The film chronicles the workings of a group of New York City real-estate salesmen when they are told that only the top two salesmen will remain with the company by the end of the week. In their critique, Rhodes and Westwood (2008) focus almost exclusively on men and masculinity. The critique is decisive on the systemic corrosions fueled by

capitalism's need to nurture greed and oppression. They argue that there is a nurturing of a "linguistic code" of violence and homophobia that men use to claim their masculinity. Absent from the critique, however, is a more meaningful analysis of what they refer to as "the non-male Other."

While the researchers make a point of identifying hegemonic masculinity's positioning of homosexuals as "less than male," they neglect to provide further analysis into the reasons why White males portrayed these characters. Further, there is no analysis as to how all White men escape being pigeonholed as the characters they play who fall outside of prevailing ideologies of manhood. Rhodes and Westwood's (2008) race-neutral analysis presents as problematic, not only because it presents White maleness as the archetype of the capitalist organization and confirms much of the literature, but it also presents Whiteness as the only ideal against which questioning of masculinity can be discussed. Black men are different from other men, especially White men, in how they are measured against the idea of hegemonic masculinity. Before being measured against hegemonic masculinity, Black men are first measured against the idea of what it means to be a man; and, more troublesome, what it means to be human.

Black men position themselves—and are positioned—against such an ideal in different ways and, in so doing, create forms of Black masculinities (Clatterbaugh, 1997; McGuire et al., 2014; Totten & Berbary, 2015;). One such positioning, or resistance method, is "cool pose." Black men employ "cool pose" as a form of resistance to oppression, which permeates every facet of Black male life. Cool pose is a performance of masculinity that requires Black men to act in ways that position them as strong, proud,

and in control (Clatterbaugh, 1997; Majors & Billson, 1992; McGuire et al., 2014; Totten & Berbary, 2015), yet non-threatening (McGinley, 2008).

Other types of performativity include conformity to hegemonic masculinity. However, as Slay (2003) argues, one fundamental exclusion in the hunt to be like the "ideal man" seems to be race, as an impediment, or success marker, for some men. Some Black men perform ritualistically by "playing the game" to "get ahead." "Playing the game" seems to be a performance that allows Black men to position or reposition themselves in certain circles. Former president and CEO of American Express, Kenneth Chenault, the third Black CEO of a U.S. Fortune 500 company, notes that early in his career, he learned, seemingly, how to move between the world of corporate America and Black America (Slay, 2003; White, 2017).

Another such resistance is "John Henryism." John Henry is a Black male folk hero said to have died with a hammer in his hand after winning a competition against a machine that drilled steel into rocks (Tracy, 2008). He is said to have worked so hard as a steel driver that he had a heart attack. Neighbors et al. (2007) and Pitcan et al. (2018) describe "John Henryism" as a coping mechanism that involves working harder, longer hours, and maintaining a surgical-like focus on their work which Black men use to engage with racial macroaggressions at work. Pitcan et al.'s (2018) analysis of the experiences of twelve professional Black men in the early stages of their careers uncovers their degradation and the effects on their well-being. One participant, identified as Participant 7, noted that a Black manager told him,

> . . . Yeah, that's how it is over here. We have to work three times . . . I never thought I would have to work three times more than the next man. But, um, I mean three times at a job already 60 hours a week? . . . (Pitcan et al. 2018, p. 309).

Participant 2 reported that " . . . 'because you're Black you get, ah, I think there is always going to be that bias against you, that you're not working hard enough or maybe not smart enough or something like that.' . . . ." Pitcan et al. (2018) argue that these expectations of extraordinary performance affect Black men quite negatively.

Pitcan et al. (2018) claim that performing in this manner affects Black men internally and externally. Internally, there is cognitive, psychological, and affective harm. These Black men's experiences with systemic oppression resulted in their negotiation between conflict and safeguarding themselves as they tried to reconcile the shock of "what just happened?" after experiences of macroaggressions. One participant from the study held that he was often left not knowing what to say. He explained,

> [I am] not going to stand here . . . get on my desk and start quoting Malcolm X, you know? I could, though. They ain't ready for that . . . they don't want that . . . I still need to get paid; you know what I mean?" (Pitcan et al., 2018, p. 307).

He noted that these experiences left him feeling a sense of "hopelessness" and "helplessness." If the men in Pitcan et al.'s study feel this way, then it will be crucial to learn if the men in this study share experiences that corroborate Pitcan et al. or if the experiences run counter.

Then there are those Black men who abandon the idea of conformity and perform their kind of hegemonic masculinity. In so doing, as hooks (2004) and Clatterbaugh (1997) indicate, they become pimps and gang leaders, doing as they please to ensure they secure "a piece of the pie." Others give up, retreat, and take refuge or become addicted, yet others engage in movements demanding a fairer society. Jackson & Dangerfield (2004), albeit writing before Pitcan et al.'s study, argue that missing from the literature are meaningful analyses of the experiences of the kinds of Black men on whom this study aims to focus; i.e., the Black men who were able to secure leadership positions and are

demanding a fairer society. They argue that educated and driven Black male leaders are often absent from mainstream ideas and analyses of Black maleness and Black masculinity. While it focuses on the experiences of Black men in one sector, this study aims to provide much-needed data that can be used to help fill this void and can be helpful in all sectors that aim to engage or engage with Black male leaders.

Re/Constructing the Black man

Anderson (2016), Hutchinson (1996), hooks (1990), hooks (2004), Maynard (2017), and Kimbrell (1995), to name a few scholars, have all shown that Black men have long been positioned as something to be feared. Hutchinson (1996) calls it the Black "universal bogeyman" (p. 16). Hutchinson argues that this positioning continues and is unrelenting. The re/creation of the Black male image started during colonization, where Blackness was positioned as a beast and not in the image of God (Calhoun, 1902/1977). Black men were positioned as sexual deviants and creatures to be feared, especially concerning White, respectable womanhood and the threat thereto (Anderson, 2016; hooks, 2004; Maynard, 2017). When slavery failed, pseudo-science, like that presented by Calhoun (1902/1977) and the Eugenics movement, ramped up fabricated theories that presented the Black man, and other non-Whites, as inferior.

While the Eugenics movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was rampant in Canada and the government's official policy of "Indian [Indigenous peoples]" extermination and preventing Blacks from entering the country well into the 1950s (see Marquis, 2014; Maynard, 2017; Reynolds and Robson, 2016), in the United States, people like Charles Carrol (1900), author of *The Negro: a Beast or in the Image of God?* and William Patrick Calhoun's *The Caucasian and The Negro* were busy presenting

incendiary images of Black men as a threat to White normalcy. Calhoun states that " . . . scientific research shows that some of the brains of the negro are very simple–in fact, as simple as those of the primates. . . ." (Calhoun, 1902/1977, p. 21). As Hutchinson (1996) notes, the concept of "the Black man as inferior" ran deep into the roots of the sciences with magazines like *Popular Science Monthly*, the Annals of the *American Academy of Political and Social Science, Medicine, and the North American Review*, all presenting volumes of works that positioned Blackness negatively. Vestiges of this value-filled Eurocentric ideology remain locked into the knowledge production systems of the social sciences (Goitom, 2019). Collectively, we need not look further than the savage execution of George Floyd to understand that this position continues.

The media, where they could profit or gain, continues the assault on the Black male image (Delgado & Stefancic, 1995; hooks, 1990; Hutchinson, 1996), continues to perpetuate this image. Perhaps the most popular assault on the image of the Black man was orchestrated by Thomas Dixon and D. W. Griffith. In 1905 Thomas Dixon wrote his viral novel *The Clansman*, which depicted a Black man as a sexually insatiable beast—bent on violating White women—whose "flames" could only be doused by White men, determined to protect White womanhood. So popular was the book that it was made into an even more famous play, and by 1915, D.W. Griffith had made it into a movie called *Birth of a Nation*, which spread the image of the Black male beast. By 1916, the movie was so popular in Canada that it played to sold-out audiences in almost every major city, including Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, and Saint John (Marquis, 2014; Reynolds & Robson, 2016). Marquis (2014) argues that White Canada's acceptance of the devious messages of Black inferiority and the attack on Black maleness

suggests that Whites in Canada had internalized such messages (Cooper, 2006). It is important to note, however, that the precarious positioning of Black bodies did not depend on *Birth of a Nation* since this nation's enslavement of Blacks and systemic racism had laid a foundation for such portrayals (see Cooper, 2006; Henry & Tator, 2005; Henry & Tator, 2006; Maynard, 2017; Nelson, 2008; Reynolds & Robson, 2016).

Using narrative theory, Delgado and Stefancic (1995) provide a solid analysis of the positioning of Black male bodies across different media and texts. Their analysis argues that narratives implanted in the mind are challenging to eliminate. Planting "Black equals danger" in mind is not easy to remove, no matter the attempts to do so. However, missing from theirs and much of the literature is an analysis of the positioning of Black male bodies as not just as dangerous but as less than human. While many other men are positioned as dangerous, they are not positioned, by and large, as subhuman or less than human. Furthermore, the positioning of the hegemonic, ideal man is that of a cis-gendered male who never cries, is competitive, is a risk taker, and is boisterous (Clatterbaugh, 1997; Delgado & Stefancic, 1995; hooks, 2004; Kaufmann, 1994; Williams, 1993). Yet when Black male bodies fulfill this definition, they are positioned as dangerous things that must be policed, par excellence.

Both Anderson (2016) and Maynard (2017) chronicle the systemic nature of how the positioning of Black male bodies wreaks havoc on Black males in current society. Anderson (2016) argues that what she calls "White rage" is not about the kind of violence associated with individualistic racism, such as calling someone a "nigger"; it has become far more insidious. It is ingrained in our systems, policies, and bureaucracies (Anderson, 2016; Cooper, 2006; Maynard, 2017; Young, 2011). Maynard (2017) provides an

analysis of this new and far more dangerous type of racial attack, which permeates every facet of many Black men's lives in Canada, from positioning them as brutes to be feared; to placing them in poverty; to put them in jails or group homes where they can be controlled and tamed or destroyed. However, our society is expected to assume that this positioning of Black male bodies does not permeate how deans or directors or managers, or professors in academia or other non-profit organizations experience the act of leadership. Such a position is tantamount to willful blindness. These assumptions have led to little research on the experiences of Black men in leadership positions. Moreover, given that Black men occupy these roles in contexts where oppression is systematized, there will continue to be a gap in our curricula if we ignore their experiences.

hooks (2004) provides the best illustration, arguably, of the positioning of Black male bodies in her seminal work *We Real Cool: Black Men and Masculinity*. In it, she argues that Black males are in a crisis of the perpetuation of extensive dehumanization by a system that continues to place Black men outside the class of humans. Instead, Black male bodies are constantly being positioned as animalistic and beastlike. hooks notes that our systems are constructed in a truth with which we have a hard time. There is a neglect or refusal to understand that " . . . this is a culture that does not love Black males, that they are not loved by white men, white women, Black women or girls and boys. . . ." (p. xi). It is in this context that Black men must lead. Nevertheless, there is little analysis of their experiences in spaces like leadership, where they are expected to influence and engage with systems and people who hate them.

McGuire et al. (2014) echo the sentiment that Black masculinity is positioned as one-dimensional. They argue that there needs to be more research about progressive

Black masculinities. Their critique begins by critically analyzing the literature about Black masculinities on college campuses in the United States. Their investigation highlights the lack of gender analysis regarding Black males as "gendered beings." While they propose that scholars utilize a Black feminist approach to researching Black progressive masculinities, there does not seem to be any analysis of the potential challenge of using a feminist approach to try to understand hegemonic Black masculinity, which sometimes directly opposes progressive masculinities. However, many people and systems position all Black maleness as sameness.

Fanon (1952/2008) argues that a lived experience of a Black man is a lived experience of all Black men. Class, place, and space are important, but only as far as a Black man does not make a mistake. For example, the mistake of one Black doctor or one Black CEO is the mistake of all Black doctors and all Black CEOs. However, there is little analysis of the uniformity of experiences regarding Black males leading organizations. There is a deficient examination of how other Black males are positioned and repositioned based on the successes or failures of one Black man. Russell-Brown (2017) highlights studies that show that Black bodies can prompt thoughts of criminality and lead police officers to shoot Black men more disproportionately. If this is so, what if thoughts of criminality are not present in the hiring process for Black male leaders; this seems problematic. Fanon argues that as a Black man enters the world, he is greeted by the "White gaze," which happens to be the "only valid one" (p. 95). This gaze follows, essentializes, and fixes Blackness as static (see also Goitom, 2019). As these bodies enter spaces classified as "women's work" or "women's spaces," one can only assume that the

complexities are compounded based on the ubiquitous nature of how they have been historically positioned.

According to prevailing ideas of masculinity, male bodies that enter the realm of the non-profit sector, which due to its association with caring work, is often identified as "women's work," are not perceived as "real men" (Allan, 1993; Williams, 1993). Black males—already classified negatively—enter a sector that further delegitimizes their claim to masculinity. However, areas in the non-profit sector position hegemonic masculinity, a performance that is diametrically opposed to caring work, as a necessary act. Allan (1993) found that male teachers who enter the sphere of elementary education are, due to their maleness, allowed considerable, unearned social capital with parents and teachers who seek a male role model for elementary students. The male teachers must act out the role of hegemonic masculinity. The men experience teaching and being male in unique and exciting ways. This research project will seek to uncover and analyze the complexities involved in how Black men can navigate the place, space, and expectations of leadership in the non-profit sector by using the concepts of masculinity and Black masculinity,

Black Masculinity and "Women's Work"

The non-profit sector comprises work such as social work, nursing, education, and generally any work classified as caring for others (Applegate & Kaye, 1993; Bradley, 1993), and in keeping with the gendered nature of caring work, most workers are women. Driving Change: A National Study of Canadian Nonprofit Executive Leaders, a 2012 study by the HR Council (2012a), shows that of some 1,200 non-profit executives who took part in the study, nearly 70% were women. Kaufmann (1994) argues that ". . . the

common feature of the dominant forms of contemporary masculinity is that manhood is equated with having some sort of power" (p. 145). However, powerlessness and inferiority have been the historical positioning of these Black bodies. Since this is also the case for Black women—who are assumed to be among the 70% mentioned above—the gendered nature of the work is also an important issue.

However, Black men are positioned by some with whom they work as males, and the literature argues that men in female-dominated professions often benefit from ideals and ideas of hegemonic masculinity (Simpson, 2004; Williams, 1993). Kauppinen-Toropainen and Lammi (1993) present an overview of men's experiences in largely gender-specific occupations, albeit in Nordic countries. While men were less active in crossing into female-dominated professions, when they did, men predominantly focussed on positioning themselves into leadership roles, or role redefinition, within the sector (Kauppinen-Toropainen & Lammi, 1993; Pringle, 1993; Simpson, 2004; Williams, 1993). This positioning was made more accessible because of their maleness and privileged status as "special" (Williams, 1993; Williams & Villemez, 1993) both for their willingness to do caring work and for the fact that there are usually fewer men. Within the broader non-profit sector, this "special" status and the experiences that come with said status present a gap that needs further analysis. There is little analysis of whether Black men's experiences point to benefit from their status as males or if that benefit is erased by their status as Black. Given the power of the non-profit sector and its opportunities to reposition Black maleness as something to be supported rather than feared, our praxis will be severely lacking until there is meaningful analysis.

Work is constituted as a gendered sphere. Allan (1993), Applegate and Kaye (1993), and Simpson (2004) all present similar experiences and arguments from men who enter gender-atypical fields. Allan (1993), looking at male elementary teachers through interviews, notes both advantages of being a man in a female-dominated field. Allan (1993) interviewed 15 male elementary teachers in the United States. According to Allan (1993), men who enter "women's work" are perceived by some women and other men as non-conforming to gender stereotypes. Allan's (1993) research shows that males were automatically "suspect" in those caring positions because they were men. Male teachers, like the nurses in the study by Kauppinen-Toropainen and Lammi (1993), moved into administrative positions. Men also tended to reframe their roles as teachers into coaches to make roles more masculine. The question becomes whether this paradigm plays itself out in Black men becoming leaders in non-profit organizations. Their experiences will be invaluable in helping to understand further how they corroborate or refute this research.

Applegate and Kaye's (1993) research presents men's perception of caregiving work as women's work. The research examines a study with 30 men and presents how they perceived caregiving. The study found that men, and those they cared for, saw the role as a female role. In their report, Applegate and Kay (1993), like Allan (1993), Kauppinen-Toropainen and Lammi (1993), and Williams (1993), argue that the gendered nature of work has much to do with societal and structural systems. Their study shows that some men tried to reframe their role as caregivers. Instead of seeing their role as caregivers, they reframed it as their right or their duty as men. An analysis of the importance of race in the framing of male caregiving needs to be added to this. The researchers note that only one of the caregivers in the study was non-White. However,

there is no analysis as to why this was so or if his experiences were like or different from those of the White men. Further, if so, we need an analysis of whether race played a role.

Simpson's (2004) findings mirror those of both Allan (1993) and Applegate and Kaye (1993). Simpson interviewed 40 men in gender-atypical careers traditionally classified as women's work. These include nursing, teaching, librarianship, and cabin crew (flight attendants, flight directors, and stewards). Her findings show that men profit from being in the minority. This benefit came from perceptions that they were more authoritative or fulfilled the role of an authority figure. The men were also treated differently from their female counterparts and given preferential treatment and "special considerations." Simpson, however, fails to provide an analysis of the effects of race on either the "special considerations" or the perceptions of authority. Such an analysis could provide rich data on whether or not Black men are beneficiaries of said "special considerations."

Based on the prevailing scholarship, in much of North American societies, the fixed and fallback position of the Black man is that of a savage beast, an angry, violent, sex-crazed idiot (see Hutchinson, 1996; Henry & Tator, 2005; Henry & Tator, 2006; hooks, 2004; Maynard, 2017; Reynolds & Robson, 2016). Ferber (2007) argues that systems continue to stress and position Black bodies as fundamentally angry, over-sexual, and ferocious. North America's neoliberal society is concerned with domesticating and monitoring Black males, all while naturalizing and normalizing Whiteness and White privilege (see Hayden, 2002). In essence, North American society has, by and large, invested heavily in naturalizing and normalizing Black maleness as dangerous. A deep and rich analysis of the leadership experiences of said bodies will

provide data. For example, while it is certainly possible for a Black man to perform his way to a leadership position, if that performance ends, he jeopardizes all other Black men (Knight et al., 2003). Further, there is very little research on the effects of the performance. It is an act that Wingfield (2018) calls the "complicated dance," where Black men manage their reactions to White people so as not to appear threatening or angry.

Roadblocks While Leading

Knight et al. (2003) research provides some concrete insights into how Black male leaders may be treated. Their study included 156 White undergraduate students. The researchers provided scenarios to the students in which the students were to act as managers. Each student was then an employee, "Mark Turner," a subordinate or manager. Researchers changed Mark's race, status, and the degree of his mistake in each scenario. Their findings showed that despite the degree of the mistake made by the employee, Black leaders and White subordinates were viewed more undesirably than Black subordinates and White leaders. Knight et al. (2003) argue that one primary explanation for the findings is the defilement of typical social roles. Because participants expect Blacks to be subordinates and Whites to be leaders, any violation of that norm is punished or viewed negatively. The researchers highlight that a critical limitation of their research is the need for more analysis of the impact of masculinity on perceptions and findings.

Workplace hostility is not new to Black people. The lawsuit by Canada's federal and provincial employees is only one example. The research is also clear that this phenomenon is readily available to anyone willing to do the research. Pettigrew and

Martin (1987), cited in Knight et al. (2003), assess the structural exclusionary practices at the heart of organizational systems and prevent Blacks from advancing (see also DasGupta et al., 2020). The researchers use a social psychological analysis to argue that the key exclusionary tactic is "triple jeopardy," described as (a) the negative racial pigeon-holes into which Blacks are placed when they enter organizations; (b) being solo, where there is only one Black person on a work team and; (c) the token equity hire. Note the subtleties, which I would argue is an attack on the oft repeated trope that the Black person is the token equity hire. Here the researchers make it clear that they are separate. Taken together, these tactics create an antagonistic atmosphere for Black employees who can either shy away from continuing to advance in organizations or, as the literature shows, become ill. While there is a solid analysis of the effects of aversive racism and the homogenizing effects on organizational systems because of the lack of role models, Pettigrew and Martin (1987) do not provide an analysis of the effects of being male on perceptions of leadership. (In Canada, the term most commonly used is employment equity (EE), which refers to the acknowledgment and requirement of remedy for the systemic imbalance of access to employment (see Mills et al., 2010). In the United States, the EE term is referred to as *Affirmative Action*.)

What Pettigrew and Martin (1987) refer to as "triple jeopardy" Greenhaus et al. (1990) refer to as "treatment discrimination" (p. 64) (see also Hayes, 2012). The researchers looked at the experiences of 1,628 managers—half Black and half White. After examining the effects of race on job performance in organizations, the researchers found that in comparison to their White counterparts, Black managers felt less welcomed at their organization, had a perception of less autonomy in their roles, experienced less

job satisfaction, were less likely to receive positive job performance satisfaction, and were more likely to plateau in their career. The researchers note that, for example, while systems allowed Black managers to be hired, assigning routinized work not likely to challenge or enhance competencies can lead to lower performance scores.

Black Male Leader's Well-Being

In her 2012 report for the Wellesley Institute in Toronto, Nestel (2012) examined the connections between race and health. Nestel's (2012) literature review showed that although there is no direct link between race and health as a stand-alone phenomenon, there is a connection when racialized peoples experience racism (see also Williams et al., 2022). This link is both direct and peripheral. For example, experiences of racism cause stress which causes psychosocial responses, sudden illness and death (Williams & Mohammed, 2009; Brondolo et al., 2009). Toronto writer Desmond Cole, who writes about his experiences of racism in Canada shared a telling story that highlights the ways that experiences of racism affect Black bodies. Cole states that

> . . . I had my first face-to-face interaction with the Kingston police a few months into my second year when I was walking my friend Sara, a white woman, back to her house after a party. An officer stopped us, then turned his back to me and addressed Sara directly. "Miss, do you need assistance?" he asked her. Sara was stunned into silence. "No," she said twice—once to the officer and once to reassure herself that everything was all right. As he walked away, we were both too shaken to discuss what had happened, but in the following days, we recounted the incident many times over as if grasping to remember if it had really occurred. The fact that my mere presence could cause an armed stranger to feel threatened on Sara's behalf shocked me at first, but the shock quickly gave way to bitterness and anger. (Cole, April 21, 2015)

Cole's (2015) experience caused him serious psychological trauma that, as he noted, stayed with him for days and transformed from shock into resentment. Racism also

leads to and maintains systemic barriers that position racialized bodies negatively and prevent those bodies from accessing care (Brondolo et al., 2009; Hyman, 2009).

Kessler et al.'s (1999) study used the results of the Midlife Development in the United States (MIDUS) instrument, which surveyed 3,032 individuals aged 25 to 74 across the United States. They hypothesized that self-rated perceptions of discrimination explain part of the association between mental health and disadvantaged social status. Although they concluded that their data did not correlate with perceived discrimination and mental health, they did show that perceptions of discrimination were higher among people with more education. Although Kessler et al. (1999) did not study men exclusively, there is a potential likelihood that the men whom this study aims to analyze will have experienced discrimination. While the researchers could not identify a correlation between mental health and perceptions of discrimination, they conceded that the evidence gathered by MIDUS does show that discrimination may be an essential aspect of the population's mental health. If so, how Black men are treated may adversely affect their self-rated health status.

In examining the literature on racism as it contributes to health inequalities, Brondolo et al. (2009) argue that racism is a compelling psychosocial stressor brought on by both the blocking, deliberate or otherwise, of economic opportunities and the overt—calling a Black man a "nigger" for example—and covert and aversive (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2017)—the wearing of a Make America Great Again (MAGA)[3] They concede

[3]MAGA hats have become potent symbols of hate because America has only ever been remarkable for certain people (Young, 2011). That greatness has primarily been for White, wealthy, cis-gendered, non-disabled men. As several areas of this comprehensive review show, America has never been great for Black men. It was insignificant when Black bodies were loaded on boats and brought to its shores in chains. It was not great when Black persons were sold like chattel, legally. It was not great when White communities terrorized those Blacks who dared try to move their families into White-controlled

that racism's far-reaching intersectional effects make it difficult to disaggregate racism from other stressors and analyze it as a key driver of health inequities. However, others like Hyman (2009), Krieger (1990), Krieger (2014), Sellers et al. (2006), Williams et al., (1997), Williams et al. (2003), Williams & Mohammed (2009), and Williams & Williams-Morris (2000) have all presented compelling evidence of the link.

The men whose experiences this study aims to analyze will likely have experienced discrimination. The scholarship shows that experiences of discrimination have adverse health effects. To examine the connection between perceived discrimination and health, Williams and Mohammed (2009) looked at 150 articles published through PubMed between 2005 and 2007. They note that even after controlling for things like socioeconomic status, there were racial differences in health. One large study among those they highlighted showed that even after adjusting for demographics like age, gender, and income, Blacks had greater scores on health challenges such as blood pressure and inflammation. They note that some 48 studies showed either a conditional, inverse, or positive association between mental health and racial discrimination.

Sellers et al. (2006), cited in Williams and Mohammed (2009), studied 399 middle-class, Black males. Like those of Kessler et al. (1999), their findings showed no

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neighbourhoods (Anderson, 2016). Wearing a MAGA hat sends the message that the wearer yearns for a time when certain bodies were tormented, and others were respected or made to be respected.

Furthermore, while the hat at its genesis may have, arguably, represented some foreign policy, albeit problematic, and conservatism, it has morphed into something far more nefarious. It now represents racist, sexist, and homophobic ideology pushed by White supremacists, stoked and legitimized, primarily by President Donald Trump. Its wearers now use it to deliberately taunt crowds of marginalized people while performing what Iris Marion Young calls respectability (Young, 2011). That is, a racist, sexist, homophobe, for example, will walk into a crowd of marginalized people, don the hat, and stand there looking "professional" and stoic, all while the marginalized peoples get more and more exasperated and begin to express themselves in "unrespectable" ways because they know that the hat represents a threat to their very existence.

connection between physical health and discrimination. Unlike Kessler et al. (1999), they found a link between mental health and the discrimination experienced by Black men in their study. While the men in Sellers et al.'s (2006) study were not identified as leaders, they share similar educational attainment to the men whose experiences this research aims to explore.

Chapter Summary

This comprehensive examination of the literature on the experiences of male leaders of Black males highlights a few gaps in the research this study aims to fill. The construction of race and racialization within organizational systems and the experiences of racialized Black male bodies in those systems are largely missing from the literature. While there is considerable research on the ways that colonial concepts and discourse on race permeate the everyday lives of Black people (see Anderson, 2016; Maynard, 2017; hooks, 1990; Reynolds & Robson, 2016), there is little evidence on how these concepts are performed in non-profit organizational leadership and their impact on Black male leaders of the same. Furthermore, there is minute research on the experiences of people of colour when they get into leadership roles (see also Ospina and Foldy, 2009) in the non-profit sector. This research will provide data to help fill this gap.

The ways knowledge is colonized has resulted in the marginalization of certain knowledge and knowledge systems, as demonstrated in studies by Goitom (2019), Smith (1999), and Sinclair (2004). This marginalization has enabled organizations to appear impartial by endorsing a single ideology (as also discussed by Lumby, 2006) that is predominantly based on Whiteness as the standard and ideal of leadership and the types of bodies that are deemed suitable for this role. While there is extensive research on the

negative portrayal of Black men, there is insufficient evidence on their experiences with leadership in this context.

Evidence on such performance is vital, especially for non-profit organizations and their systems, as they play a significant role in not only the lives of those whom social support systems aim to help but also in the systems that are perpetuated and challenged. As Mills et al. (2010) claim, organizations infiltrate almost every facet of daily life. Non-profit organizations shape the ways people live, the way people think, the way people are valued, devalued, and revalued, and the way people are governed as they include places of worship that guide our religious practices that are at the core of our very existence; they include educational, healthcare, justice institutions, all of which care or punish in an unfair manner. Together the sector accounts for billions of dollars in economic activity. Furthermore, Canada's legislative work (Charter of Rights and Freedom and Canada's Multiculturalism Act, to name a few) demands a meaningful analysis of matters of equity and fairness in an increasingly diverse country (HR Council, 2012b). However, there is little research on the sector and even less on how oppression is naturalized. In Canada, for example, until the implementation of NSNVO, very little was known about the sector (see Hall et al., 2005 and Elson, 2016).

Knowledge gained from this research may help reshape current practices and improve Black male engagement within organizations, while simultaneously working toward normalizing Black males as leaders. For instance, research shows that discrimination negatively impacts the mental health of Black men. If this holds true for those working in the non-profit sector, it will highlight the importance of equipping the industry with the right tools to provide support and aid in the healing and growth of Black

male leaders. With the scholarship gap bridged, the profession can design the necessary tools to empower Black male leaders, provided they are suitably motivated. Chapter three of the study outlines a methodological framework to achieve these goals.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides a robust presentation of the research methodology employed in this study. It encompasses a subject recruitment and selection process and an effective analysis and presentation of the data. To investigate the experiences of Black male leaders in Toronto's non-profit sector, I have utilized the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) method, guided by Hycner's (1985) approach, and semi-structured interviews. Together these approaches capture rich and relevant data. As Kvale (1996) argues, interviews are merely structured conversations with a purpose. IPA provided the best opportunity to analyze the lived experience of Black male leaders and gain insightful knowledge.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

IPA is a methodology that aims to help qualitative researchers examine and explore lived experiences (Eatough & Smith, 2017; Smith, 1996). Eatough and Smith note that "IPA avows a phenomenological commitment to examine a topic, as far as is possible, in its own terms" (p. 1). IPA is rooted in the work of phenomenological philosophers like Husserl, Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, and Sartre but was made popular by the work of Jonathan Smith (Alase, 2017; Miller et al., 2018; Smith, 1996; Tuffour, 2017). Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger are widely viewed as the fathers of phenomenology. Their work ". . . seek to study the lived human experiences and the way things are perceived and appear to the consciousness" (Tuffour, 2017, p. 2). IPA's break

from Husserl is rooted in Husserl's need for the researcher to completely bracket themselves and look at the experience as an independent phenomenon. As previously stated, such an approach is not entirely possible because phenomena are rooted in our epistemologies. Tuffour notes that "IPA has emerged by identifying more strongly with hermeneutics traditions of Heidegger. . . " (p. 3).

As a methodology,

> IPA aims to grasp the texture and qualities of an experience as it is lived by an experiencing subject. The primary interest is the person's experience of the phenomenon and the sense they make of their experience rather than the structure of the phenomenon itself" (Eatough & Smith, 2017, p. 3).

This makes it an appropriate methodology for exploring the experiences of Black male leaders. Furthermore, IPA's call for a non-Husserlian bracketing of the researcher's experience fits well with Hycner's (1985) method because Hycner proposes an apt method that researchers can use to bracket without removing themselves as a part of experience making. As Eatough & Smith (2017) note, "IPA researchers acknowledge the inevitability of biases, preoccupations and assumptions when conducting research" (p. 6). Furthermore, although IPA has procedures for conducting research, these guidelines are not rigid (Miller et al., 2018).

Data Collection: Semi Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews fit well with IPA (Alase, 2017; Smith, 1996; Tuffour, 2017) as they provide space for an unscripted process of collecting data with participants. Study questions will guide each interview, but allow significant space for interviewees to verbalize their experiences (Groenewald, 2004; Wambeam, 2016; Yin, 2011) as interviews go well beyond regular daily conversations and act as spaces where

knowledge is generated through detailed conversations between interviewer and interviewee (Kvale, 1996). The interview plan appears in Appendix A

The research will utilize semi-structured interviews as its research method for two main reasons. First, semi-structured interviews provide the space to fully explore the knowledge that participants share about their experiences of their worlds. Semi-structured interviews do this by allowing the research to respect the experiences of Black male bodies as they interact and engage with the phenomenon of leadership in bodies traditionally positioned as not having the ability to attain, retain, or generate knowledge. Second, questions in semi-structured interviews are open-ended, which allows the research to collect detailed and in-depth information on interviewees. An integral part of IPA is ensuring that participants have the space to speak about their experience without judgement (Alase, 2017).

Constructing and asking workable research questions is vital to a practical and valuable interview (Kvale, 2007; Turner, 2010). As such, this research has constructed questions using three key elements to find the data needed to provide deep and meaningful analysis. The first few questions will allow the interviewee to feel at ease. As Moser and Korstjen (2018) note, the first few minutes of an interview are crucial, and so they suggest starting with "open questions related to the topic, which invite the participant to talk freely . . . " (p. 14). Interview questions are open-ended and non-leading. Such an approach allows interview participants to ". . . choose their terms when answering questions . . ." (Turner, 2010, p. 758). Open-ended questions allow the researcher to engage in dialogue and seek clarification. Interview questions are short and pointed to allow the interviewee to focus on the topic at hand, thus allowing for a timely,

streamlined interview. Kvale (2007) argues, ". . . current research interviews are often too long and filled with idle chatter. If one knows what to ask for, why one is asking, and how to ask, one can conduct short interviews that are rich in meaning. . . ." (Kvale, 2007, p. 78).

The interview process will borrow from Yin's (2011) suggestions for effective interviewing. These recommendations include speaking significantly less than the research participants, which allows participants to tell their stories; being less directive and increasing flexibility. All interviews require boundaries to ensure that the research stays on task, but the participant must be the one to provide "colour" to the conversation. According to Yin (2011), the researcher should maintain a connection with the interviewee. For example, if the participant is sad when telling a story, the researcher should ensure that their body language reflects that emotion. Finally, researchers must ensure the usage of a research protocol (Groenewald, 2004; Wambeam, 2016; Yin, 2011).

Data Analysis: Guiding Process

Data from interviews will be captured through audio recording and what IPA refers to as diary or note taking (Alase, 2017; Miller et al., 2018) and what Matthew Miles and Michael Huberman, as quoted in Groenewald (2004), call "memoing." Groenewald (2004) notes that "memoing" involves the ". . . researcher's field notes recording what the researcher hears, sees, experiences, and thinks in the course of collecting and reflecting on the process. . . ." (p. 48). These notes include observation notes, theory or reflection notes where I will reflect on the experiences, methodological notes, and progress or analytical notes (Groenewald, 2004).

Although NVivo will aid the data analysis by way of coding, Hycner's (1985) method, also used by Groenewald (2004), will guide the process. Final analysis and data elucidation will be done using thematic analysis, as prescribed by IPA. Hycner (1985) proposes that the analysis of that data starts with bracketing, in line with IPA, after the interviews have been conducted and transcripts written and stored. During this phase, the researcher immerses themselves into the interviewee's world to ensure that the researcher understands what the interviewee is trying to convey. At this point, the researcher must bracket, as much as possible, their own views and perceived notions (Groenewald, 2004). This process, also required by IPA (Miller et al., 2018; Smith, 1996), asks the interviewer to listen to the tapes multiple times to ensure that the researcher becomes attuned to the non-verbal forms that the interviewee uses to convey their messages and meanings (Groenewald, 2004; Hycner, 1985).

Hycner (1985) refers to another critical step as outlining pieces of meaning both generally and specific to the research question. To do this, the researcher must go through the transcript and identify what Hycner calls "units of general meaning . . ." (p. 282). These are the " . . . words, phrases, non-verbal or paralinguistic communication which express a unique and coherent meaning (irrespective of the research question) clearly differentiated from that which precedes and follows" (p. 282). Once this is done, the researcher then begins the process of addressing the research question concerning them. The researcher must identify which of the units of general meaning is a component of pertinent meaning to the research question (Groenewald, 2004; Hycner, 1985). Whether the data collected is relevant to my research question or contradicts or highlights my assumptions, it is "noted as a unit of relevant meaning . . ." (Hycner, 1985, p. 284). Here

redundancy is eliminated (Groenewald, 2004; Hycner, 1985), and error on the side of caution is practiced (Hycner, 1985). To err on the side of caution is to include responses and reactions that the researcher thinks may only be peripherally connected to the research question (see Hycner, 1985 and Groenewald, 2004).

The third step involves grouping, or clustering, of components of related meaning within interviewees' responses. During this phase, themes begin to emerge (Groenewald, 2004). During clustering, the researcher gathers the clusters related to the research question and makes them into a single cluster. Once the clustering and theming are complete, Hycner (1985) and Groenewald (2004) suggest summarizing each interview, including the themes.

The final stages involve participant validation and the final report of findings. During this phase, the researcher will, as Groenewald (2004) and Hycner (1985) suggest, use the interviews and themes to write a summary and present this summary back to the participant to engage in a validation dialogue. Unlike Hycner, however, I will present the complete raw interview data to participants, including all possible coding, and have participants provide permission allowing me to move ahead with the research. Although some of these codes will be removed once I begin to group units of meaning together, it will allow participants to see every possible code that this research could use, thereby providing an additional level of ethical clearance as no additional codes will be added. If participants are satisfied with the data, I will use this validation to move to the final writing stage, where I will do final coding and the analysis of the findings using inductive thematic analysis (Patten, 2009), which will be presented in the form of a final research/ dissertation report. If the participants do not validate the summaries, the process will start

over from the beginning to ensure that the participant can validate the findings. Should a participant decline to participate in a second interview and process, a new participant will be chosen, and the information from the previous participant will be excluded from the final report. The central research question will largely be explored through a critical analysis of the literature from the literature review and the data collected from eight interviews. This report will include actions or recommendations to help the non-profit and leadership sectors move beyond oppressive praxis.

Sample Size

For this study, I will conduct interviews with eight individuals who are actively involved in the non-profit sector as leaders following the definition of leadership. My selection will be based on the Government of Canada's categorization of the sector, which includes education, charitable organizations, and government entities. By drawing from a diverse range of groups, I aim to gather a broad and insightful collection of experiences from within the non-profit sector. The study aims to keep the numbers of participants low to ensure that the research is in keeping with IPA as a research methodology and ensure a more manageable data set.

The number of participants in qualitative research is contested terrain. In their review paper for the National Centre for Research Methods, Baker and Edwards (2012) posed the question of sample size to several seasoned and novice researchers. Baker and Edwards asked 14 experienced and five early career researchers, "How many interviews are enough?" when conducting qualitative research. Based on the wide range of responses they received from the researchers, Baker and Edwards concluded that the number depended on "whether the focus of the objectives and analysis is on commonality

or difference or uniqueness or complexity or comparison or instances" (p. 42). The reviewers note that researchers should ponder requirements like available time, requirements of the researcher's institution, and how the broader research community will receive the research. One researcher from the study noted that ". . . she came to realize that it was the quality of the analysis and the dignity, care and time taken to analyze interviews, rather than quantity . . ." (p. 5). However, IPA guidelines call for no less than two and no more than 25 research participants to ensure that the data is manageable and allows the researchers to engage, deeply, with the data (Alase, 2017). IPA calls for researchers to limit participant numbers.

This research looked at the experiences of a homogenous group with shared traits. Participants were all Black males who are leaders in the non-profit sector. Alase (2017) notes that participants should be from a homogenous pool. Alase argues that "the essence of conducting an IPA research study with homogenous participants is to get a better gauge and a 'better understanding' of the overall perceptions among the participants 'lived experiences'" (p. 6).

In line with IPA, this research will use non-probability homogenous purposeful and snowball sampling to select research participants. Patton (2002) notes that "purposeful sampling focuses on selecting information-rich cases whose study will illuminate the questions under study" (p. 230). Purposeful sampling (Babbie & Roberts, 2018) allows me to select the Black male leaders based on my experiences as a Black male leader in the non-profit sector and connections to the same. The research group's homogenous nature is essential to the research question because, as Patton (2002) notes, it will allow for focused research and simplified analysis.

That said, there were still some requirements for choosing these men. All eight men were chosen because they were familiar (more than five years as a leader) with the leadership role, and their current leadership role was also not their first one. Of the eight male leaders, two (2) will be from government (regional and municipal), four (4) from the charitable sector, two (2) from organizations with budgets under 2 million dollars, two (2) from organizations with budgets over two million dollars), and two (2) from education (college and university). Depending on the years the men have been in the sector, some men will have or are about to work across sectors. All will be from the Greater Toronto Area. As noted above, the non-profit sector is vast, so ensuring that the men are from across several parts of the sector provided an opportunity to understand the experience of these men in different areas of leadership across the sector. The experiences of Black males in different-sized charitable organizations may differ from each other and those in education and government. These experiences may provide additional data to help Black males and their perspective sectors clarify the challenges faced by Black male leaders within non-profit organizations broadly.

Although I do not anticipate difficulty using my networks to secure enough participants, leaders in my network may not want to engage in research. As such, snowball sampling, as prescribed by IPA, will help to secure additional participants as needed. Babbie and Roberts (2018) define snowball sampling as ". . . a nonprobability sampling method often employed in field research whereby each person interviewed may be asked to suggest additional people for interviewing" (p. 150).

Data Storing Methods

Data in the form of recordings, recording transcripts, and scanned notes will be stored according to York University Library's Open Access and Open Data Steering Committee suggestions (the committee). The committee suggests a ". . . 3-2-1 back-up rule" (York University, n.d.). The committee advises that researchers have at least three copies of their research. These copies should be kept on two diverse media platforms, with at least one copy stored externally. To comply with this suggested protocol, I will ensure that my data is stored on a portable password-protected USB, on a password-protected laptop, and on my password-protected Microsoft Office security-protected system. Groenewald (2004) notes that field notes are secondary data storage for qualitative research. These field notes and recordings must be stored securely. Field notes will be kept in a single notebook. These notes will be uploaded per the 3-2-1 backup rule. Once uploaded, the hard copy of the notes will be stored at my home in my office. My office is located in a building only accessible by security or security card, and my home has a locked door.

Each participant will have a file opened per 3-2-1 storage. As suggested by Groenewald (2004; see also Hycner, 1985), each file will have the following:

1. Signed Consent
2. Interview notes
3. Field notes
4. Participant written notes or any other materials participant wants to add
5. Interview transcript
6. Interview recorded
7. Transcript validation by a participant

8. Any follow-up interviews and validation

Validity

Valid research produces an account that is both acceptable and accessible (Patton, 2002). Babbie and Roberts (2018) note that validity includes face validity, ". . . a term describing a measure that accurately reflects the concept it is intended to measure . . ." (Babbie & Roberts, 2018, p. 132) and construct validity, an analysis grounded in the data (Patton, 2002). While validity in qualitative research is contested, as it is a term deeply rooted in positivism and quantitative research, this research must be valid because it is rooted in the experiences of racialized bodies that continue to be positioned at the margins and not having the ability to generate knowledge. Ensuring the validity of this research ensures that the experiences of these men are given the respect that they deserve by the scientific community. By validity, this research borrows from Leung (2015), who argues that ". . . validity in qualitative research means 'appropriateness' of the tools, processes, and data" (p. 5).

The theories and methods that underpin this research are widely accepted as appropriate tools that also provide processes for describing, classifying, and connecting (Dey, 1993) validated by the scientific community. For example, critiques of interviews as research methods do not call for eliminating interviews as a research method or their eradication as a valid method for collecting data; instead, they call for approaches to strengthen said methods. Two such vital critiques come from Silverman (2017) and Qu and Dumay (2011). Silverman (2017) and Qu & Dumay (2011) present compelling challenges and mitigation strategies for said challenges to interviews as a research method.

Silverman (2017) argues that "much contemporary interview research pursues commonsensical derived phenomena ('perceptions,' 'motives,' 'experiences') and that a common attempt to claim a credible philosophical or social science heritage for its work is misplaced or implausible" (p. 149). It is important to note, however, that Silverman (2017) does not argue for eliminating interviews as a method. As a result, Silverman presents strategies to improve the method. These strategies include transcribing interviews in a manner precisely as stated by the interviewee, including ". . . tokens ('mmm), pauses and overlaps . . ." (p. 149).

Silverman's (2017) approach to the interview is to focus on a conversational analysis of the interactive process of the interview, that is, how the interview is produced via the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, how they are positioned with respect to each other that shape what is said and not said, what is taken up and not taken up, and so on. In other words, the interview is produced between the interviewer and the interviewee and is not to be taken for granted as the "experience" of the interviewee. Thus, the turns of the conversation in the interview—between interviewer and interviewee and between topics in the interviewee's narrative—are as important as the content of the interview. These turns of conversation signal the "production" and "co-production" of the data/narrative/story.

Although this research will not deliberately take up Silverman's interview approach, it is important to note that it does not dismiss the interviewer as an instrument of the research process. On the contrary, as a researcher using an IPA approach, I have positioned myself in relation to the research to ensure that there is an understanding that there is no value-free qualitative research and that, as a researcher, my views will seep

into the research. That said, the research has implemented control mechanisms to prevent inappropriate contamination of research results. Furthermore, the men in this study are likely not as vulnerable as the public in the ways that the public may perform in an interview. The men in this study are seasoned leaders who are reasonably expected to know the ethical implications of not challenging their memories of experiences. They are also not likely to capitulate to any form of manipulation by me to capture data that fits with any predetermined findings. Their experiences of racism are not readily forgotten, and as CRT argues, the experiences of racialized people are valid.

Interviews, nevertheless, are performances and may not always capture what happened in the stories the interviewees tell. However, this research has employed several control mechanisms to ensure the data collected is replicable. This research will ensure that there are varied questions. The semi-structured interview methodology allows researchers to do follow-up questions and go back to interviewees if clarification is necessary. The sample size allows for more engaged interviews, re-interviews, and even deeper data analysis. Qu & Dumay (2011) argue that the interview as a method ". . . offers great benefits for qualitative researchers . . . there is a danger of simplifying and idealizing the interview situation based on the assumption that interviewees are competent and moral truth-tellers . . . " (p. 238). Quoting Alvesson's (2003) work on the critique of interviews, Qu & Dumay (2011) argue that researchers may get better data by questioning differently and ensuring an ongoing reassurance of confidentiality.

Second, research participants will receive a copy of their interview summaries to confirm that it accurately represents their views and ideas in the interview (Groenewald, 2004; Patton, 2002). Such an approach will ensure that participants can have a second

look at what they said. This “second look” will allow participants the time and space to digest and recall information they may have left out. It will also allow them to ponder on information that may not be accurate and ensure that said information is changed. Third, findings from the research will be presented and scrutinized by a team of fellow researchers to test for agreement with said findings. And finally, findings will be presented at conferences and in print form (journals, books, and scholarly Internet platforms) for further scrutiny from the broader scientific community.

Ethical Considerations

Four core principles guide the ethical considerations of this research. The first principle is the care and protection of participants and their experiences (Babbie & Roberts, 2018; Roger & Mignone, 2018). To do this, the researcher will ensure that all participants are informed about the research. Each participant must sign a consent form (see Appendix B), a copy of which will be given to the participants and a signed copy saved securely. This consent will inform participants of their withdrawal rights and anonymity, for example. Participants will also review and validate the summary and themes from their interviews.

The second is compliance with Andrews University’s research protocols (Andrews University, n.d.) and the Government of Canada’s Tri-Council Policy Statement on ethical conduct for research with human participants (Interagency Secretariat on Research Ethics, 2014), which includes ethics committee approval of research before proceeding with the research and ensuring data security (Appendix C). Third is ensuring compliance with ethical research standards, including informing the ethics officer of structural changes to the research that may or may not need additional

ethics approval. This also includes ensuring that the researcher presents the value added by this research to the broader research community, non-profit and leadership praxis. The fourth principle is research mobilization. I will do this by ensuring that results from the research are presented to the broader scientific community so that they can be scrutinized, thereby providing further validation of the study.

Benefits and Risks

This research poses both benefits and risks, albeit minimal, to the participants. One main personal reason for engaging with this kind of research is the disillusionment with the lack of spaces where Black male leaders can share their experiences. This research will provide a space for Black male leaders to discuss their experiences. Helping to tell participant stories will allow me to support the findings of the literature needed to fill the gap for both non-profit and leadership sectors and future Black male leaders. Participant experiences will allow me to examine the prevailing narrative of Black male inferiority. Their experiences will provide data to explore the implications of oppression at both the systemic and individual levels. This information will also allow me to collect data that will be analyzed and used to help the next generation of Black male leaders.

While there is a minimal anticipated risk to this research, Babbie and Roberts (2018) argue that research can be harmful in the subtlest of ways and as a result, researchers must be careful to guard against such delicate dangers. For example, I have never forgotten my first conscious experience of racism. Each time I recall it, it creates bits of anxiety and anger. However, because of the nature of many of my previous employment roles and my years accessing resources to help others, I am fully aware of, and can access, resources to help myself and research participants. However, since I am

now aware of race-specific resources across the city of Toronto, I developed a list of resources that respondents can access should discomfort arise from retelling their experiences (Appendix D).

Chapter Summary

This chapter presents the methodological framework that will guide the study, outlining IPA as the approach for participant selection, data analysis, and research dissemination. Additionally, the chapter presents a rationale for the utilization of Hycner's (1985) method and semi-structured interviews in the data collection and analysis process. It presents the data storing method to ensure privacy. The validity of qualitative data is addressed, with approaches to ensure accuracy. Ethical considerations, benefits, and risks for participants are also discussed. Chapter four will provide results, beginning with an overview of study participants.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The Men in the Study

The results were presented following the methodology outlined in chapter three. To gather data, eight Black male leaders from Toronto's non-profit sector were interviewed. Seven of these leaders have over ten years of extensive leadership experience, while one has between five and ten years of experience. The leaders were identified as M1, D1, O1, A1, S1, B1, P1, and N1. M1 has over 20 years of experience in various roles in government and currently leads an organization with a budget of over 2 million dollars. D1 has over 20 years of experience, with over five years in government. O1 has the least experience and is the youngest leader among the eight. He works for a non-profit with a budget of over 2 million. A1 works for a local college and a charity with a budget of over 2 million. S1 has over 20 years of experience and recently left the government to work for a charity with a budget under 2 million. B1 founded a charity with a budget under 2 million and works for the government. P1 works for the university system and recently left a charity with a budget of over 2 million. N1 has extensive experience in the charitable and college sectors and recently resigned from a senior leadership role at a college.

These interviews were transcribed and filtered using Hycner's (1985) process. Once each interview was transcribed and the first two steps of Hycner's method were applied, there were 34 units of related meaning with 34 possible codes and themes. I then applied

Hycer's third step, which calls for grouping units of related meanings together. The application of this step reduced these units significantly. I then further grouped units of related meanings and discarded the ones that did not relate to the research. Once this was done, I merged or deleted all units that had only a single participant referred to them. For example, participant A1 referred to gaslighting in their interview concerning racism experienced at work. A1 noted that

> . . . she was sort of like gaslighting me and having conversations about how staff had been making complaints about me, and I'd be like, well, what are the complaints? Who are they? She wouldn't really necessarily tell me, and it was just sort of the guise of protecting the anonymity of people . . .

I decided to group this experience with racism rather than as a single experience of "gaslighting," as it could easily be referred to as a form of racism. By way of another example, participant P1 talked about microaggression. P1 stated that

> I think there's, you know, extra labour, certainly, all kinds of extra labour that is exhausting. I think White folks, in my experience, like women, especially in the sector, you know, who may feel like next in line after the White men have left, are angry sometimes with Black leadership, with my leadership, and I see it play out through microaggressions. [For example] [when they axe] me out of work, out of conversations, you know, connecting directly with my counterparts and other organizations, saying things that they've heard me say and meet one on one meetings with them, [things] that they found compelling, but restating those things as if it was their original idea. I've been reflecting on this a bit, especially after my experience of [organization name deleted for anonymity]. That, you know, White women have a really interesting way, sometimes, of displaying their disappointment with the fact that they're not leaving, and in the culture and the context that we're in now, you know, sometimes these are the folks that pretend to be the most progressive, and the most aware of their privilege, and all of these things. But at the end of the day, you know, those same folks are often the same people who are very upset and are very jealous, that they're not leading. But they also don't realize I find the huge risk involved within the vulnerability that goes with leading and being a Black person or being a Black man that leads. I was on the news, on Canadian Television (CTV) [specific show removed as it may be used to narrow participants] the other day and, you know, some angry person sent me, you know, some email. [It was] about how he's, you know, about me being so woke, and this is the end of the world wildness. And, you know, he's married to a Black man and bla bla, bla, bla bla, you know, I don't want to read that shit. I

> don't want to start my day looking at that, you know. And so I think a lot of folks don't always realize the kind of risk involved with being out there and claiming leadership spaces and roles . . .

Instead of having a separate category for microaggression, I decided to also merge this with racism, as the microaggression that P1 mentioned clearly had to do with racism. Once completed, this process revealed five major themes: (a) racism and ABR, (b) code-switching and performing, (c) mental health and Black masculinity, (d) survival strategies, and (e) leadership re-defined. These themes collectively illustrate Black male leader experiences in the non-profit sector in Toronto and provide the information needed for the sector to provide support to ensure the success of current and future Black male leaders. The following is a robust presentation of the research findings.

Racism and Anti-Black Racism

The results show that racism, specifically ABR, has negatively affected Black male leaders in Toronto's not-for-profit sector. The data analysis showed that among the eight men, there were some 43 references (instances) of experiences with ABR, the most of all the themes, and 36 references of racism. The research shows that race was one of the most potent stimuli in shaping the experiences of Black male leaders. In recounting one of his recent leadership experiences, S1 notes that he has never experienced ABR like he has experienced in the sector at his new role. The racism came from staff, the community and the board, to which S1 reported. S1 notes that on ". . . quite a few occasions, I had to call out the ABR, that was very prevalent in the way they addressed me, the way that they respond."

All eight participants recounted experiences of racism and ABR in their past and leadership roles. In many instances, these experiences made their leadership roles

untenable. D1 remembers his first-time experiencing racism. An experience that stuck with him. According to D1,

> . . . identifying racism in [placed removed as it may be used to narrow participant] was difficult because it was almost a way of life. And it was normalized. And we just didn't [think about it]; I didn't think about it. You know, I didn't think about it in any respect. But I remember when I was working at [organization name withheld], I was an assistant buyer . . . And we bought like commodities; [for example], we would buy raw materials that made food or soap or whatever. And so I was a buyer. And I think I was a buyer in the engineering department when this happened. I remember I'd make appointments, people would come to meet you, and you go down and pick them up at the reception, bring them up to the meeting room, on your floor, or wherever. And I remember I've been having this conversation with . . . . this organization that sold whatever they sold for months and months and months. And then we'd set up a meeting for them to come and meet with us and chitchat. So, the meeting comes, I go downstairs . . . . And I go to reception. [I tell them] I'm here to see Mr. [name withheld], and the guards [pointed him out]. And so I go walking toward him, and the guy doesn't even pay any mind. And I go, [name withheld], and he's like, yeah, I go, I'm [D1]. And you could see the shock on his face. That was the first time I felt discriminated against so distinctly. That was the first time I thought. So, you know, he had no idea that it was a Black person. And because we just talked on the phone . . . right. And people who could Google me now, but you couldn't do any of that [back then]. Right? So, he [had no] idea that it was a Black person. And you could see the shock in his face . . . like the hesitance, like I'm gonna have to talk this, you know, and I'm the same person who [was] talking to you for the last four months on the phone. So That was my first experience. Now, I don't know if I was necessarily a leader. But it was the first time that I was aware that people noticed my skin colour.

S1 shared similar sentiments and noted

> . . . [I] will have these amazing conversations on the phone with individuals. And once you meet in person, you automatically see that that wall, that resistance, gets put up. And so I think that's how I've experienced, you know, that where the colour of my skin is what folks see whether it's before whether it's, you know, over the phone. That assumption, but the minute they are able to identify that you're Black, then there is that automatic shutdown, or the lack of communication after . . .

One finding that was evident is the fact that Black male leaders feel a level of disrespect that they do not feel is unique to them as Black men. While the disrespect is not unique to Black leaders in relation to White staff, M1 notes that among the White

staff that he has hired, he notices that ". . . the first thing is they [White staff] want to tell me how to do the job. It's immediate, you know, it's immediate . . . " M1 further notes that

> There is a disrespect . . . You know, I, I had one maintenance worker before. I won't name him, but he was the same fellow who said, or you know, something, but he used to complain bitterly. All the while about the fact that people would just stop him from wanting to do things. You know, because there's that mentality about Operation staff, right? But as a White person, he would not because [there is a mentality of] "who are you [to tell me what to do]?" Yeah. But my non-White staff, they just want to be helpful, and they [White maintenance staff] won't do it. And so there is a fundamental difference there as well. So, the [racialized] staff get almost abused because they are willing to help people out. Whereas the, you know, the White staff would not do it. And it gets to a point where people just didn't even bother to ask him [because they know] he would not do it. Whereas with the other staff . . . they know they will do.

This finding is in line with the "extra labour" that P1 mentions. This extra labour causes both mental and physical stress for Black people at work. Not only do Black staff work physically harder to ensure that they are not seen as lazy as their bodies are often positioned as such, but there is also mental stress that happens when they see that their White counterparts are not being treated the same or are not being asked to do the same level of menial tasks. M1 notes that he is ". . . pretty sure it happens with others because I've spoken to some other persons of colour [racialized] who work in the field. And I hear the same story. You know, we work more hours than we should. . . ." According to M1, whose sentiments are corroborated by existing research and the experiences of other men in this study. He notes that ". . . sometimes I'm like, the number one expert in the room, but like, it feels like, you are always second guessed. . . ."

P1 notes that

> . . . I think, based on my journey in the sector, I think at first, I think there was a lot of when I first became an executive director, this sense that I should be happy I should be, I should be grateful that I've been given this opportunity, as opposed to, you know, I've worked very hard.

M1 echoed similar sentiments in one of his experiences where he felt dismissed, "ignored," and erased. M1 states that

> . . . and, or even the response I get sometimes, you know, and I tend not to want to, you know, make things an issue. But at times, I've twice had to, you know, speak to my boss about, you know, I went to [supervisor name withheld] at one point because a new staff was being hired, was hired, and was being toured around, you know, the building, and I happen to be in a building where, you know, this tour was going on. . . . At that point, I was still, you know, the manager and the director, giving the tour, saw me, and in front of this new person, basically asked, why wasn't X done? You know? [Well I thought to myself,] I'm sorry, but you do realize that my job is to prioritize work. And that's not important. That's not very important in the list of things we have right now. So it will, it will be done when it's time comes. And she proceeded to berate me because this new person needed this. And, you know, I was stunned; I went to my boss and said, you know what, this was totally unprofessional and uncalled for. You know, we have the regular meetings every two weeks, the issue is on the meeting, and everybody knows this, the status of it, and where we are. So, you know, to go and do this to me in front of a new person who is still below me, in the overall scheme of things. It's rude.
>
> But you know, you have to, and even to this day, I, the person still works here. And I found that conversations between us are always strained. Because I don't think I've been forgiven for doing that. Right. You know, but I should not have to, you know, nobody should have to deal with this. No matter what I think about how someone does their work, I'm not going to do that to them in front of, you know what I mean? So I find that certain, certain sort of norms get ignored when dealing with me. . . . You know, like, I don't exist.

According to B1, "I think what's coming up for me, there's just, there's my general experience, being in this body walking around is that I'm feared by folks who don't know me and so forth, you know what I'm saying? . . . "

D1 notes that "there's not a lot of room for us to do, to be subpar. Or not great. In that space. Like there's not a lot of forgiveness for us."

The experiences of racism and ABR were largely covert and compounding. Each time these men experienced oppression, their masculinity seemed to force them to bury their feelings and "carry on." Left unchecked, these experiences seem to build on each other and became triggering in many instances. S1 talked about their accent being used as

a proxy to determine their race. S1 states that

> . . . I remember clearly applying for this job, after I was not the successful candidate, I met with the team and just asked, and the thing that one of them said to me was that your accent, you know, we're concerned that, you know, your accent will give off your race on the phone. And, you know, at that point in time, again, we were not talking about anti-Black racism, we were not talking, you know, and I did not have the understanding that I have now because I'm telling you, the results would have been very different. And just knowing that there is that assumption that because I am, I have an accent, that people will assume that I'm Black, and if they assume that I'm Black, then they will not want to provide me with certain financial information. And this, for me, said that, well, all Black people are thieves because they were going to be stealing that financial information.

S1 further notes that he felt ". . . the pressure of having to work twice as hard as your colleagues" and that "one mistake, and you're out when your White counterparts can make 10 or 12 of the same mistake, and they're given a slap on the wrist. . . ." A1 notes that his experiences of racism were compounded by the response, which treated his experience of racism as in need of coaching rather than direct anti-racist action to eradicate the behaviour.

The research shows that the racism experienced by these men not only affected them mentally, but in a few cases, they decided to resign from their jobs. A1 notes that "actually, I left [organization name withheld] due to anti-Black racism. . . ." S1 notes that he left a position because of extreme ABR. N1 started the interview by saying he had resigned from his senior role at a higher education institution. I had worked with N1 for about two years before he left for a more senior role. I always thought of him as a trailblazer, and so I was rather surprised when he shared that he had resigned from the role. N1 states that

> . . . I was always, almost always, the one Black guy in the room, right? Whether it was a committee or as an administrator, I was very, I grew to be very comfortable with being the one Black guy, maybe there was a Black woman as well, but I was always the one Black guy. The one Black guy. So there's the

> official read of you being there, which is being celebrated. Being celebrated, it's actually being promoted and celebrated, and that's why the opportunities come. But when you realize that to actually make substantive change, as a leader, you need support you need you need others to be backing your decisions, it becomes very isolating after a while. . . . I know many instances where I would put forward a position, and it wouldn't be challenged, but it would be questioned. Right. And often, you know, If you don't have the backing to do what you want to do, right? So it's, yeah, I'll leave it there. And so it's an odd, it's an odd place. If you're working in institutions, it's odd.

These experiences of isolation and being the only Black person in often White spaces lead some of these leaders to perform and code-switch for various reasons.

Code-Switching and Performing

According to McCluney et al. (2019), ". . . code-switching involves adjusting one's style of speech, appearance, behaviour, and expression in ways that will optimize the comfort of others in exchange for fair treatment, quality service, and employment opportunities. . . ." The results from this study show that Black male leaders code-switched in several different contexts for numerous reasons. B1 code-switched when he entered community meetings so that he did not take up too much space or exude too much power. B1 notes that

> . . . I'm cognizant of going into community meetings and like how much space I take up, how I dress, and how I interact with folks. And it's again, it's not; you can't take away the power, the badges, the power, but I don't want to move in a way that feels inequitable. And I don't know. . . .

B1 continued to code-switch even as the COVID-19 pandemic moved most services to the online environment. Even in the online environment, Black men seemed cognizant of the ways in which their bodies are taken up and code-switch to ensure that others feel safe enough to engage. B1 notes that in

> . . . when someone turns on the screen [in Zoom meetings for example], I start with a check-in right away. Before any meetings, I go in, and I and I've told them things like, what's the loudest part in your body? Or, you know, what's your

> energy level that people will smile, and it disarms them because they're like, Okay, like, this guy, this is the story. I'm telling you Morris, I can ease down, I can see the drop, like, and I think I need that dropping from the other person. So they're not in their heads. And we're not engaging from that place alone. . . .

B1's sentiments and experiences were corroborated by N1, who notes

> . . . In a certain way, and you have to just be really, really self-aware. You know, I remember things like making decisions, like, never having interviews, one on one, or, you know, positioning myself in a one-on-one setting, where I'm making sure that my body is not being seen as intimidating or provocative, like, just super hyper aware of my body in proximity to others, particularly women. Yeah, absolutely. I have to; I have to think that that comes out of the tropes. And, you know, whatever thinking around Black men. . . .

N1 noted that he is

> . . . constantly navigating official and unofficial, formal and informal. Whereas with non-Black staff, I'm formal; I just don't have that same sense of duty that might be too strong. I'm not compelled to go informal as much. I make a set of assumptions that, you know, formal is good enough. But yeah, I'm my whole career. I've been having sidebar conversations.

B1 noted that code-switching not only happens in the leadership space, it happens in many other spaces as well. As the interview continued, B1 stated that

> . . . and it's interesting as you're talking, I feel like there's, as you talked about telling jokes, or so I feel like me saying that I have to do the check-ins, I feel like there's a way that I there's a necessity of becoming or seeming as quickly as possible, non-threatening. You know . . . I was talking to a couple of two gay Black men the other day, and one was talking about, like, when they go into certain White spaces, how they will turn up the flame, so to speak on the gayness, just so they know, like, the White folks know that, hey, they're not straight. . . because it's like this idea that gay Black man is not as . . . potent as like, a heterosexual Black man, you know, what I'm saying? Or viol or whatever you want to insert?

P1 notes that code-switching may be a necessary performance for many Black male leaders and Black male employees in general because

> . . . I think it's about it's about a lot of things, you know, it's about survival. It's about, you know, how we, you know, access, job security, how we access, you know, promotions, and our work is often, I think, for a lot of people modelling the behaviours of White men. And that is the thing that leads a lot of people to success and those that don't model those behaviours or are very removed from

> that experience, you know, are prevented from accessing, you know, I think, power in lots of ways within institutions.

S1 notes that code-switching and performing is

> . . . very sad, very sad, because so much of bipoc [Black, Indigenous, People of Colour] members, especially Black folks, had to put on, you know, a false pretense, in order to be seen, as the true leader, that they are, you know, folks having to, you know, change what the way they speak, change the way they dress, change the address, you know, in order to be seen as a leader.

The findings suggest that there are mental health consequences for Black men in leadership roles. Much of these are tied to the ways in which they must bend and, at times, break to fit into the normative ideology of leadership and the expectations of Black men.

Mental Health and Black Masculinity

The study points to the conclusion that Black male leaders experience mental health issues in the workplace. This may be because of the ways in which they perform and conform to the normative ideology of masculinity and the idea that, as Black men, they have a duty to perform in ways that run counter to the ways their bodies have been traditionally positioned. Yet there were those who performed in ways aimed at countering the narrative of performativity and code-switching. However, even in those performances, there were issues of mental stress. All the men in this study acted in ways that corroborate Wingfield's (2018) findings of Black men performing in ways that run counter to the angry Black man narrative. B1 states that "for Black men, I think we have to like be really cognizant because we've worked super hard to get in those positions, recognize that it's, there are all these different things that can like impact it, you know." These things include racism and other forms of sabotage that make it difficult for Black

male leaders to function effectively. And there is often no "space for Black men to navigate these things" (B1). B1 further notes a key tenet of masculinity that

> . . . there's a push for self-reliance. And there's a push for us to sort of go into this place of like, oh, no, I'm gonna say numbness. I'm gonna say numb. This could mean having sex. It could mean smoking; it could mean drinking. But not necessarily feel it, not to sit with that pain of like, Yo, like, I hate my job. You know, I remember one day when I was building up the business near the end, I was a friend of mine [name deleted]. . . . he was talking about, like, how to move energy, exert energy, and I was practicing one day I was in traffic. . . . that morning, I was in traffic, and I was just, you know, the thing [process] was just [about] letting the word out and letting the negative thing out. And more or less, I got, I turned on [street name deleted for anonymity] coming down and I started to bawl [cry]. I just started to bawl . . . uncontrollably. I had to pull off on the road. And I think for me, what that indicated was that, like, a lot for a lot of Black men, we have to stay up in our heads, we have to stay from a practical place, and then we'll need to be dropped like that activity that gave me showed me, and I have dropped me into my body. And I wasn't. I wasn't prepared, you know what I'm saying . . . what my body was telling me was that I was broke, you don't want to go to work, you hated this job, you didn't feel valued at this place, you're gonna have to put another eight hours into space around with folks who, you know . . . So I think from even a mental health standpoint, when we see that, like in Canada, like the level of Black men who are navigating either suicide, or just even more mental health crisis, but even suicide is because there's lack of spaces for us to talk.

A1's experiences of marginalization and oppression seems to have affected them to the point of addiction. A1 states that

> . . . So, it definitely affected my mental health, in the sense that when I was at [organization name withheld] in particular, I was seeing a counsellor or seeing a therapist, and a lot of what I was processing was work stuff. Right? I still process . . . I see a counsellor now once a month, and a part of it is just a regular catch-all for all the stuff that comes up. And a lot of it still is focused on work. So I think that mental health in that way was a big impact. Yeah, I had, like, again, I want to send transparent like I had drug and addiction issues as well. That was very much linked to the stress I was having at work.

B1 notes that not only does he internalize these experiences of oppression, these experiences become triggers. Black men feel this aggression. "Yes, I feel it. I feel triggered whenever I see another Black man, whether it's here or in the States get

marked, but it also gets internalized as like, again, when I saw Eric Garner, I saw myself."

N1 recounts his experience of being the only Black man in leadership at his higher education institution. He notes that it was "an isolating experience" where his ". . . presence is being used. . . " These experiences, he notes, will

> . . . eat into you. And, and it, it is, so it is so sophisticated, that here's the thing, when you're the Black leader, the Black guy in the room, if you start to form a critical analysis, you start questioning your own pessimism. And you start wondering if you're now getting in the way of hope, possibilities for change. So it's maddening in that way. Because now you say to yourself, Well, I'm here, I'm in this office. . . .

N1, like a few of the other men in this study, decided to leave his senior leadership role because the weight of oppression became too much to bear. He notes that his experiences

> made my continuing along that trajectory untenable. Because the weight of having to reflect constantly on how I was being brought into these systems, and what my presence was doing to perpetuate the system, that that that was too much for me."

For P1, leading in the Black body often requires "additional labour." When asked to explain what that meant, P1 presented the following example:

> . . . Oh, it means the labor of I'm just one idea, one thought is coming to mind. You know, sitting at a meeting, you know, when you run an organization, there's often partnership meetings of some sort, some sort of coalition where you're sitting with your counterparts. And for me, I remember being at this table that I that I said that as the as the executive director of [organization withheld]. And the only other person of color that was at the table was somebody who was taking notes, somebody who was the assistant of one of the other folks, and you know, a Black woman, and to see that is so sad. And so it's so tough to have to navigate and just, you know, as you walk into this space, recognizing how pervasive White supremacy is, but then also hearing these women talk about their grandbabies, hearing these women talk about, you know, the cottages or their summer plans, you know, these are not, these are not things that I would be talking about, necessarily, if I was getting together with other black leaders in the sector, you know, sure, some of them may have grandchildren. But the kind of experiences that these folks were talking about, you know, I have to listen to that I have to feel the discomfort of feeling excluded, I have to try and find a way to still, you know,

> do the work or transact, whatever it is we need to do. But often it's in the absence of those kinds of relational relationships that are so essential to advancing work period. So I think that's, that's additional labor, I sometimes have to seek out groups to partner with outside of the structure that may be imposed as a result of the organization in terms of partnership. I have to, you know, be. Yeah, do extra work to find other people to partner with that I can build trust with that I can share fears and concerns with because those folks, aren't it.

This "additional labour" seems to point to the idea of doing more than his counterparts who may not be Black. This additional work seems to not just be physical, such as seeking out new partners. It seems to also be mental. The physical portion of this kind of labour seems to lay in work such as seeking out different and differing partners. Non-profit work relies heavily on working together in different kinds of partnerships. According to P1 there is added labour when he must seek out new kinds of partners that normally do not get attention. But it clearly seems to require more mental work having to engage in spaces where Black bodies are doing the work that is congruent to their social location and positioning and where stories are being told to which he cannot relate.

For S1, the additional stress and emotional strain brought on by experiences of oppression at work has affected his mental wellness. S1 notes that

> . . . we put on a good front, as Black men in leadership roles, you know, I can speak for myself, you know, I don't talk about the days, the long days, the long nights, you know, when I just wish that I had someone to talk to, because it's not something that we do, and it has definitely affected me personally, my mental health. . . . because of the added stress, you know, there, you burn out a lot faster. . . . that, that additional pressure. And so again, it's those added pressures that put so much pressure on us, and sometimes do cause us to break . . . you know, it [self-reflection] was a moment of, you know, reality checking for me, to remind myself that, you know, we may have been free as slaves, you know, and we ourselves, do not consider ourselves slaves. But does the average Joe, that is not Black, see us as non-slaves?

These men are not just in bodies deemed inferior; they perform a masculinity that White supremacy has positioned as illegitimate and inferior (Hutchinson, 1996; hooks,

2004; Kimmel, 2017); a masculinity steeped in sex, drugs, and thuggish gangsterism. However, they are survivors.

Survival Strategies

The findings show that although these men have resigned jobs because of racism, turned to drugs, and continue to experience significant mental attacks in current leadership roles because of the same, they are survivors and have implemented several survival strategies to help them navigate White supremacy's constructed "fraudulent masculinity of the 'other'" (Kimmel, 2018, p. 257). Three of the men—D1, O1, and S1—identified authenticity as a key strategy and was one of their main suggestions to the next generation of Black male leaders. D1 states that

> When I was young, young, young in [country deleted], my brother's girlfriend was a hairdresser, and she used to cut my hair. And I remember one day I went to the hairdressing salon for my haircut. And I had this moment of madness. And I go, [name withheld], could you colour my hair red, like a red streak my red from the front of the back? . . . And she's like, Yeah. . . . She was excited because she always wanted to do something different with my hair. So then, so she, I remember she had to bleach it. . . . I was there for ages to get this perfect thing, and it was White at the front of it. And it was just the coolest thing ever, man-like, because I was a little edgy, right? But I worked. I worked for [organization name withheld]. It's a suit-and-tie organization. And this was, like, a long, long time ago. . . . it was an organization where you called the bosses by their last name. So it was like Mr. Cartwright, or Mr. Johnson, or Ms. Penrose or wherever. . . . Like you call them by the title, and you didn't say Johnny or whatever. . . . I remember when my dad raised his eyebrows. I didn't say because, you know, I was weird anyways, so, but I like, and then that was on a weekend. And then I go to work on the Monday. And my, you know, the reaction from my coworkers. . . . [back] then, I had a couple of different bosses because I did a couple of different things. But I think it was my boss's boss. And I could talk to my boss's boss about getting a promotion. Right. And I wanted I was; I wanted to be; I was a byers assistant, I worked in the buying department, I was a buyer's system. And I wanted to be an assistant buyer. And I will say that, like every admin, I'm always getting good performance reviews. When am I going to get promoted to assistant buyer? And he is going to just be patient that he was always saying stuff like, that is my boss's boss. So I remember . . . after my head, I went into his office for some reason. And then we talked . . . We did what we had to do business. And then he goes, "Oh, D1, one more thing. . . ." Well, and he goes, "this thing [boss

> points to the hair], what's that all about?" And I go, "you don't like that." I'm like, it's so cool. It's like, like, I was trying to just be me, right? Then he goes. . . "if you get rid of that colour, you get your promotion. . . ."

Like D1, many of these men have had to "rid themselves of this colour" and perform in ways that make it difficult for them to remain in their employment. D1 continues,

> . . . That's what he said to me. Right. . . . and I remember leaving his office. And then I got [the hairdresser and told her I have to change the colour]. Can you make it back to natural? I can do whatever. But she's begging me not to anyways, I go into Saturday, and I did the colour back to brown, dark, my hair isn't Black Black. It was dark, dark brown. . . . And then I go to work the next week, and sort of within about two or three weeks, I was promoted to assistant buyer. What I would tell my younger self is don't fold, don't buy the bullshit. In other words, I was promoted to assistant buyer because I'm really good at that. . . . you don't want to ever live your life with regrets. That's a huge regret. It's so simple. But it spoke to . . . I . . . you know, ... no one is going to tell me to do that anymore. Ever, ever, ever. Like, you know, when the colour came out of my head. It's like a part of me was missing. It's like I did this because I wanted to do and it didn't hurt anybody. And in order for me to get something, I kind of sold a part of myself. I wouldn't ever do that again. So I would tell my younger self, and I would tell young people as well, just be yourself . . . Don't pull your pants up and wear pretty shoes. Because [anyone] has a problem with it. Right? Be yourself because inside, you're perfect. You're terrific. You're intelligent enough to You know, don't like what you look like has nothing to do with it. . . . my hair has nothing to do with my ability to build a system.

When asked what advice he would give to his younger self, O1 said

> . . . Just be you. Like, you gotta love yourself of the day. Right? Right. So you like you, you came into this world, you're gonna lead us, be yourself. So you be accountable yourself, be responsible for yourself, and just be you explore; it's okay to cry; it's okay to experience joy. It's, it's okay to express your love for another person. Whether it be your friends that are males, or, you know, another a woman, like, you know, so or, boy, right. So it's a, we, we are more than just what they put on us. We are a vast spectrum of many different things. And it's okay to dabble in each. That is, you're right about being a human citizen. You're a human. And that's it.

Authenticity ideology is a key piece of leadership literature. Bass and Bass (2008) argue that authentic leaders are "true to themselves and others" (p. 223). These men have held true to who they are and readily present this as a strategy that the next generation

should use if they are to survive systems of oppression that are bent on forcing Black males to confirm or perform to advance within systems. This finding seems to run counter to the idea of Cool Pose which calls for men to act in ways that run counter, to act in a manner which positions them as in control, even if they may not be.

This research shows that the men also call on several other strategies to help them survive. B1 talks about the need for mentorship and the fact that he started his own program to find mentors as a parent. D1 talks candidly about actively engaging in spaces where he was not entirely comfortable. When he came to Canada, he signed up for boards where they "were talking about making statements and all these kind of things. I'm like, totally lost." He notes, though, that he absorbed ". . . every single thing that was going on there. And I was building my network. And that's the third thing, I had no idea that was building a network at the time." He also notes that he was later able to access those networks for promotions even though they bore little fruit at the time of creation. M1 implemented a strategy of holding people and organizations accountable using their own policies. M1 recounted a time when he did just that. He notes that

> . . . You know me, I work nine to seven, nine to nine. Yet somehow, this one department because they start at 7 am. They believe I'm available at 7 am. At 7 am is when I wake up. So when they're calling me at seven, I'm not answering the phone; I'm sorry. If you call me if I see a ring two, or three times within a couple of minutes, then I'd suspect something is really wrong. And I will answer that third call, but I'm not answering it. That's because they're calling me every morning. And it's not just that they're calling me. Oh my God. [they call about the silliest things] We're here, and sort of coffee has spilled. Can we get up? Mops are in a mop closet; go and mop it up yourself; why are you calling me? You know, and this was a type of foolishness that would happen. So I stopped answering the phone [then they] take [it] right into [CEO name withheld] and complaining about me. I said, [CEO], you can take whatever action you deem necessary. But I will tell you right now, I am not answering that call. Because I do not, I do not ask for payment. I would never submit overtime . . . And you'll notice almost every evening you leave, you leave me here. Have you seen me bank any overtime? No. Yet still, you want me to talk to them? What was earlier?

> I tell you what, I will do it. And I'm going to bank every one of these hours. And so I started banking them. Then I get the auditors. Then [CEO] calls me and says the auditors are saying you need to start using these [hours] because you're way over the limit. Because they had unlimited, like 70 hours. I was like 200 and something, you know. . . .

In this scenario, M1 decided rather than fight; he would simply implement a strategy to use the systems he had at his disposal that allowed him to bank all the hours he was working. The strategy allowed him to eventually take a significant amount of time away from work because he was documenting all the hours he was working, as he was legally allowed to, and the organization was not able to pay him for it.

Both D1 and O1 employed similar strategies. They emphasized the significance of having clear goals, a vision, and a plan. These two participants appear to have adopted strategies that align with the concept of Cool Pose, maintaining control to execute their vision and plan effectively. D1 notes that when he inherited his organization, the core funder was close to shuttering or merging operations, and so his survival hinged on having a clear plan with clear goals. He notes that many did not "buy in" at first, but he was able to convince many frontline staff who became early adopters. These early adopters became managers. O1 noted similar sentiments and that the importance of having a goal and a plan that he could clearly articulate worked well for him even if everyone did not "buy in" at first. Having a clear plan in place seemed to help the leaders focus on something tangible and concrete and less on the microaggressions happening around and to them. According to O1, ". . . how I get things done is like, I set the vision . . . and that's why that's been working for me. . . ."

P1 implements several different strategies and presents those he has learned about as strategies for the next generation. His strategies include sharing new postings in non-

traditional spaces so that he can get other marginalized people in spaces that have been kept deliberately White. He notes that

> . . . I think one of them is when one of those folks retires, every now and again, they do some of them stick around forever. When one of those folks retired . . . doing everything I can to share the job postings with folks that aren't White, you know, doing everything I can maybe to help that organization recognize that it's time to think about leadership within our organization a little bit differently.
>
> What else do I do, you know, sometimes there isn't much to do. But I am really grateful to you, I think, to be able to connect with other folks who have similar experiences. And I think that's where I've felt a real source of strength. And have felt seen when I connect with other folks who, you know, there are very few of us who want to connect with other folks who have those types of experiences, and we can talk about them, and we can laugh about them. And sometimes, actually, in some spaces, actually there, in some spaces strategize about that, you know, I remember having very, very real conversations with another Black leader in a predominantly White space about how important it was that we not sit together because we could be easily dismissed as the, you know, the group of Black folks who are just, you know, causing a ruckus and trying to derail the work. So, you know, intentionally sitting in other parts of the room, so that it changes the way that our, even our curiosity is received. . . .

I found P1's conversation about sitting in separate parts of the room to be interesting because I also had a conversation with a Black colleague who argued that we should sit together as a way of fighting the narrative that we are problematic when together. She notes that White people sit together and disrupt all the time, yet their disruption is not seen as such. In fact, it may well be positioned as an interesting addition to the conversation.

Despite their decisions to leave some roles, all the men seem to have one thing in common; they all have a sense of who they are and a sense of what I can only describe as Black pride. According to S1, although he understands and has experienced significant racism in his lifetime, he takes his Blackness with him and carries it with pride because he believes it ". . . will empower another young Black person, not to repeat some of the

historical, you know, pieces that many of our fore-parents went through, where, you know, they had to deny who they were, in order to succeed."

P1 notes that

> . . . I remember once when I worked at the first organization, I was executive director, and I thought, Oh, my, one day I just thought, I'm the wrong person for the job. I was driving home. And I thought, you know, I feel like not only am I wrong, the wrong person with a job, but people are not welcoming me. And it feels incredibly stressful. I said I should just keep driving; why don't I just keep going south to Mexico, not hold back And that really was a real thought for a moment. But you know, I then started to think about, you know, what some people call impostor syndrome and how I, how I navigate being in spaces when I'm feeling like I'm an impostor. And now I think that's nonsense. And I think it was a waste of time because it put too much onus on me, again, to contort and to have conversations with myself and remind me that I deserve to be in these spaces. You know, when really we feel what some people describe as impostor syndrome because of White supremacy, because of patriarchy, because of all of those things. So I prefer to, you know, spend my energies acknowledging those things and doing what I can to deconstruct them dismantle and defund them, perhaps in our spaces, then trying to constantly be giving myself pep talks and convincing myself of my skill level, I think when I when I put myself in that position, it encourages me to stop and think about my skill level, where no, I'm very good at what I do. And there's no reason that I should be, you know, certainly not from the cues of those folks. Should I be questioning my skill level? You know, what I should be questioning is why it is that me and folks like me have not felt welcome in these spaces.

These men all know that they are talented and skilled, and their education and years of service show this. In their early experiences with leadership, they may not have had the language to describe their experiences or the power to make risky decisions, like leaving their jobs, or the power to challenge systemic oppression, but their years in the sector have allowed them to collect and hone those tools, and they readily use them to try and make the leadership and non-profit spaces better for the next generation of Black leaders.

Leadership Re-Defined

The final key finding from the research is the men's opposition to the traditional definition of leadership and their call for a re-imagined leadership. They all have similar understandings of the current epistemological positioning of leadership. According to A1, ". . . people still see leadership as White men, right. So the qualities of being loud, being in charge, being aggressive. Those still are seen as leadership qualities." For B1, we collectively see leadership as ". . . like a hierarchical standpoint, like this person is on top. And that's the focal point. . . ." Even though N1 sees leadership as having much to do with language and one's ability to influence, he notes that he

> . . . know[s] that race comes into play in terms of in this sort of, you know, White, Eurocentric White supremacist context, we see the White, the White male, tall, White male, you know, silver hair, suit, that comes to mind immediately as the trope right so, so, we're talking CEO, corporate, right.

O1 notes that leadership is still seen as ". . . very like, the Eurocentric . . . [and] . . . very individualistic. . . ."

P1 notes that capitalism, patriarchy and White supremacy have been allowed to define what leadership looks like. And S1 notes that ". . . when they think of leadership, they continue to see White cis men, as leaders, you know, and they're also folks that define leadership. . . ."

All research participants call for a move away from a Eurocentric definition of leadership to one that is more reflective of the unique experiences of Black male leaders. According to B1, leadership needs to move away from being the realm of just a single person. And certainly needs to move away from being exclusively Eurocentric. In one of his recounts, B1 states that he

> . . . was talking to a friend of mine, who is in Uganda he is a German dude in Uganda doing this project. And when I met him, like, he had a goal, and the

> project was really about, like, they use old garbage to build like houses, right? But when I went on his website recently, and we had a chat earlier this year, just a check-in, it was like, it just expanded. And I was like, it was, you know, he's like, a White passing dude with dreadlocks. You know, when I, went on the website, I was looking at, you know, the first project, which I knew, which was the housing project, you know, it said, like, the founders, it was this guy's name, and like, another person and like a bunch of different projects. And what I was expecting to see, what I usually see, was that his name would be incorporated in some of those aspects. But what stood out to me was like these different names, and it was, it was Ugandan names. . . . it speaks to, like, leadership coming from, like, it's coming from everyone. It's coming from you share that leadership, you share the power, and I thought it was like, really dope. I want to learn more about that sort of because I feel that, yeah, I think that the kind of community that I'm interested in co- creating is something like that.

D1 notes that as a leader, he has ". . . to be able to do that I have to balance that I have to balance being a leader, you know, expect high expectations and, and sort of shedding those pre-judgements that I have adopted from my colonial background." He illustrates what he means through one of his experiences. In this experience, he found himself slipping into a space where he judged a young Black person based on what the person was wearing, much like D1's leaders did when he wore red hair to work. D1 states in the past he

> . . . was asked to do to lead this group that this presentation thing at [university withheld] and, and I think . . . I forget what it was about. But I remember, we're all sitting somewhere. And I don't remember where it was. There's like a bunch of us. And it was something to do with Black people because it was all these Black kids. And I just don't remember exactly what; what I do remember is, at some point, some Black dude shows up with Timberland and saggy jeans. And, and I was like, Oh, my God, if it [the event] wasn't for Black people, it was a mixture of people, because I remember thinking to myself, Oh, Lord, you know, why the Black guy has to be late. And then he shows up dressed like that. And I was, I was just like, so annoyed, like, I was almost wanting to say, pull him to one side, in the break and go, guy, you need to step up a bit. That was one of the first times I thought, you know, [D1] you got to stop being judgemental. Because the women were having this conversation in this in this group, that young man was so articulate and so intelligent, like, what he wore had nothing to do with anything. And I had to scold myself about that. . . . So I have to stop doing that. I have to stop. Because if anything, that's a White supremacist norm that I have adopted. . .

For M1, leadership requires action and operationalization; it is not just about

charisma.

For N1, context matters. He notes that if leadership was being discussed in

> . . . a Black Caribbean context, I'm suddenly I'm seeing women very strongly. I'm seeing people who are storytellers very strongly. I'm seeing people who are elders. You know, my whole conception of leadership shifts if I move away from that kind of capitalist, Eurocentric CEO-type model. And I think I think of a different context. So, you know, I, my mind flips between the two; when I hear leadership in the corporate context, I think of that CEO. And I know that Black people racialized people are often not thought of in that in that light, although something weird is happening around that to equity, diversity and inclusion (EDI) and performativity, and all that, so we can get into that, but that mold remains. . . .

Although the definition of leadership used to anchor this research has room enough to cover many of the pieces that these men identify as missing from traditional definition of research, the findings here point to a realization that even Silva's (2016) definition does not do enough to incorporate the issues of race and how Black male bodies are positioned and repositioned. Such a definition would need to include masculinity, race and the implication of the same and the consequences of the unique intersections at which the Black male leaders in this research find themselves. O1, for example, sees leadership as "self-sacrifice. Leadership is about the collective, putting the collective first, leading by example, putting up your sleeves working, like coming from the ivory tower working with the folks in the trenches," which is similar to M1's sentiments.

For P1,

> . . . one of the ways that I make space for other people is not necessarily by telling them how to contort themselves in such a way that works with White supremacy or that works with patriarchy and all those pieces; it's about showing up as myself and helping people recognize that leaders aren't all White, aren't all straight, aren't all wearing ties, and all of those things, you know, and speaking that, whether they do and thinking the way that I do, and not feeling like I have to know all of the answers, you know, I think that these are all the things that have, you know, the ways in which, you know, I think capitalism and all of those things have taught us that taught us about leadership.

S1 notes that

> . . . people tend to equate leadership with power with money with gender, you know, and for me, it is a complete opposite. You know, because some of the most powerful individuals that I've encountered were not millionaires. They were not the cisgender[4] White men . . . Some of my strongest leaders were individuals that would work in the community to ensure that some of the challenges had that the folks that were coming after them would not have those challenges. So, I mean, money is important. You know, being a CEO, being an executive director being a Vice President is important. But how does that come down to you, leading within a community? So you can be a CEO, but you have no connection with community, including your own community. And then you can be, you know, the person that is working at McDonald's for minimum wage, but you have a commitment to community, the young people in your community see you as a leader, they want to even emulate some of the things that you were doing. And for me, that's what I see as leadership, using less power-grabbing or that corporate leadership.

Chapter Summary

The results suggest that the men interviewed for this research experience leadership in Toronto's non-profit sector in interesting ways. Their experiences included bouts with ABR, code-switching and performativity, and mental health challenges. To combat some of the challenges they face as Black male leaders, they have implemented many different coping strategies, some of which are deeply problematic. Chapter six provides a comprehensive discussion of these findings.

[4] Though not a key term, it is important that the reader understands what S1 means by cisgender. According to Aultman (2014), "the term *cisgender* (from the Latin *cis-*, meaning "on the same side as") can be used to describe individuals who possess, from birth and into adulthood, the male or female reproductive organs (sex) typical of the social category of man or woman (gender) to which that individual was assigned at birth. Hence a cisgender person's gender is on the same side as their birth-assigned sex, in contrast to which a transgender person's gender is on the other side (trans-) of their birth-assigned sex. . . "

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This research explores the experiences of Black male leaders in the non-profit sector. The research aims to investigate the epistemological foundations of how leadership has been traditionally defined and practiced and, within this, how the construction of Black masculinity shapes the experiences of racialized Black men in leadership roles in Toronto's non-profit sector. The research results show that although these men did not come to leadership the same way, they all shared similar experiences.

These experiences include experiences of racism and ABR. These men were quickly able to share specific examples of covert racism that continue to colour their leadership experiences. The results also include experience with code-switching and performativity. Many men changed how they engaged when they entered certain spaces. These changes were essential to help others feel comfortable and to make their bodies seem less threatening. S1 notes that he, and many of his Black colleagues, was not always comfortable being himself in White spaces. This finding aligns with Fanon's (1952/ 2008) observations, who argue that Black people's racialized status as inferior goes before them in all spaces where they enter. The findings also align with research by Slay (2003) and White (2017) about how Black bodies perform in different spaces so that they can fit.

These experiences affected their mental health. The leaders used many different strategies to cope, including taking drugs. Despite all their challenges, it is also clear

from the research that the men also implemented many successful coping strategies to help them survive. Ultimately, they call for an epistemological reframing of leadership to one that decentres Whiteness and Eurocentric ideology. Reframing is necessary as the prototypical leader is perpendicular to the Black male social location.

Furthermore, Slay (2003) argues, "in the leadership process, prototypicality provides access to influence" (p. 5). If leadership is epistemologically positioned as a White male sphere, then Black male leaders must perform as White male leaders to be influential. This performance as White men, however, is punished in prototypically Black spaces, where such performances are positioned as co-optation by White power structures (Bass & Bass, 2008; King Jr, 1968), and so Black male leaders must learn how to navigate to survive, at least mentally.

Toward a Re-Definition of Leadership

When asked to share how they think leadership is defined, or seen by people, all men could articulate what they understand to be the traditional positioning of leadership. Their understanding of leadership is in line with the literature which notes that leadership is centred on Whiteness. More specifically, they talked about White cis-gendered male bodies being the ones that are traditionally seen as leaders. Nkomo (2011); Ospina and Foldy (2009); Johnson (2012), and Calas (1993) all argue and present data that it is White male bodies that are the archetypical leader. These Black male leaders clearly understand that they are in bodies that contradict that narrative. They argue that theirs are bodies that are not naturally seen as leaders. Their experiences present an image of Black bodies that have struggled and continue to struggle to attain and retain leadership positions. This

understanding forces these men to call for a less Eurocentric understanding and positioning of leadership.

These men call for a definition of leadership with which they can identify as Black men. They call for an approach that repositions their bodies as an idea for leadership, much like CRT's demand that Black bodies be seen as bodies able to generate and perpetuate knowledge. However, they want a decentering of individualism. They want leaders to be people who take part in the work and "get their hands dirty" in operations. Leadership for many of these men is more than just cerebral. Thus, to build on Silva's definition that leadership is ". . . the process of interactive influence that occurs when in a given context some people accept someone as their leader to achieve common goals" (Silva, 2016, p. 3) and based on what these present as guiding principles for repositioning leadership, I would argue that leadership should be re-defined as the *process of influence that occurs, through one's social location, when some people trust someone to help them reach a goal*.

This definition respects the research, corroborated by my findings, that Black men's social location as the "universal bogeyman" (Hutchinson, 1996, p. 16) is paramount to how they lead or are forced to lead in some cases. For example, S1 has had to manage how he leads some non-Blacks, fearing they may somehow harm his reputation. He notes he is extra hard on Blacks, so their promotions are never questioned. How others interact with Black male bodies is directly linked to the brutality with which their bodies, in some cases literal, have been forced to reconnoiter because they have been historically positioned as something to be feared and hated. These bodies are not seen as ideal for leadership, so Black men constantly fight to have others not only notice

them without the markers of fearmongering but also perceive them as leaders. A repositioning of leadership to one that acknowledges the uniqueness of how Black male leaders must contort themselves to fit into the Eurocentric ideology of leadership allows Black male bodies to be taken up as having the ability to occupy leadership spaces. The Black male leaders in this research have experienced leadership in negative ways, thanks in large part to racism.

Leading in Racist Spaces

A core piece of this research looks at how Black men in leadership positions experience the construction of race and racialization within systems. The research shows that Black male leaders experience leadership in ways framed by racism, ABR, and White supremacy. These men presented numerous stories of how covert racism and covert ABR twisted, shaped and reshaped their leadership journeys. These stories and experiences align with how Black bodies experience racism in organizations. S1, for example, notes that there were times when he was assumed as not the leader when he went to specific meetings with his subordinates. N1 shared experiences of having his ideas questioned, unlike the ideas of others. However, more importantly, the findings on the ways Black male leaders experience racism in an organization help to fill the gap that Berkshire (2008), Bradshaw et al., (2009), Ospina & Foldy (2009), Mills et al. (2010) and Nkomo (2011) identify that exists in organizations.

These Black male leaders were forced to resign from jobs because of racism and what racism did to them. N1 recently resigned from a senior leadership role in the sector because of his experiences with covert racism. He was also the only Black male in that space, and so his resignation leaves the space with no Black male leadership example.

This exclusion means that Black men in non-leadership roles have no example in that space. This lack of examples limits the possibility for advancement for Black people. If one cannot see what is possible then there is less likelihood of it happening. Furthermore, depending on the messaging following N1's exit, Black men may come to some understanding that they are not welcomed in the leadership space at that organization. This finding corroborates several pieces in the literature review, including Knight et al. (2003), whose research found that Black staff are treated differently when they are supervisors, mainly because their position violates typical race roles where Blacks are expected to be subordinates.

Experiences of oppression seems to have driven one participant to take drugs to cope. Other men in the study note that they know of men who may self-medicate in other ways. While this is "hearsay" it does present an opportunity for the sector and future research. Furthermore, A1 noted that what was further distressing was that he had issues accessing care because of racism and systemic oppression. These findings align with Nestel (2012), whose literature review showed a link between race and mental health challenges. They are also in line with Williams and Mohammed (2009), Brondolo et al. (2009), and Hyman (2009), who show a link between mental well-being and race and the challenges that racialized bodies have seeking care.

Many study participants were forced to sanitize themselves to help people around them not feel afraid of them. Some men did this by changing the way they dressed or talked. Some men were forced to create other ways to do their work. These bodies were, and still are, to a great extent, ". . . scientifically classified as degenerate. . . " (Young, 1990, p. 129). This finding is in line with works by Ferber (2007), Hutchinson (1996),

Henry and Tator (2005), Henry and Tator (2006), hooks (2004), Maynard (2017). Reynolds and Robson (2016) argue that Black bodies are still positioned in negative ways. This positioning has seeped into the psyche of subordinates. So Black men must contort to be suitable for "women's work" where White woman's fragility is easily threatened by their presence. After all, deploying White women's fears (Diangelo, 2018) is a powerful call to action to protect White supremacy.

In this research, some leaders noted that they were forced to do double duty while engaging in racist spaces. In these spaces, organizational partners, for example, were usually White. So, if Black male leaders wanted to change systemic oppression, they would need to begin by seeking out other equity-deserving people. For example, an organization that does community programming may want to hire a consultant to review its programs. In many cases, these consultants are White. For a Black leader to move the work of equity forward, they will need to do the extra work of trying to find a Black or racialized consultant. This means posting requests for proposals in non-traditional places. There needs to be research on what these places are because they will likely need to be more readily available. According to the leaders in this research, this meant additional work for them, so they had to work harder than their colleagues who may have different issues.

This extra labour finding is in line with Tracy (2008) and Neighbors et al. (2007), on John Henryism, and Pitcan et al. (2018) on how Black men had to work harder than their colleagues doing the same work. S1's feelings of having to do more work to ensure his leadership is not questioned align with Participant 3 from Pitcan et al.'s study. In Pitcan et al.'s study, Participant number 3 states, ". . . if you're like, you might have to be

especially thorough [with your work] to earn that respect in the beginning." Furthermore, I would argue that these men also had to support equity-deserving groups further, as many are often underfunded and under-supported, thereby forcing them to work even harder.

Racism's discursive nature renders Black bodies both visible and invisible. S1's note that he gets ignored in specific spaces is not dissimilar to the research respondent identified as personal experience #1 in Otuyelu et al., (2016). Personal experience #1 stated that

> . . . The realization of how other professionals "see" me came alive while employed by a State's Office of Court Administration. In 2008, when originally scheduled for a day off, I received a phone call advising me that there was a work-related emergency that needed attending. Riding my motorcycle at the time and in the interest of expediency, I decided to ride to the courthouse as opposed to going home to change into more appropriate business attire. Understanding that a lack of transparency in treatment court proceedings could erroneously lead to the beginning of a termination of parental rights filing, it was prudent for continued ethical program development and client relations to address an escalating or unresolved issue.
>
> Upon arriving and speaking with the court officers, to which I showed my secure work identification, I boarded the elevator toward my third-floor office. I was met by a Support Magistrate I had spoken to daily for years, in part due to a common refrigerator and water cooler located right behind my desk in a common area shared with other court staff.
>
> I greeted the magistrate and was immediately rebuffed as she mumbled a response, shifted toward the farthest corner of the elevator and clutched her pocketbook tighter after shifting it to the arm furthest away from me. At the time, I didn't have a name for what I was feeling in response to this behaviour, and it wasn't apparent to me that there was anything wrong with it at that moment, irrespective of how I felt.
>
> The next day, when in full business attire and costume, the magistrate greeted me as warmly as she always had and stopped for a brief conversation as she retrieved her lunch. I asked her if she was feeling ok, considering I had seen her, greeted her, and she was out of sorts with her response. She admitted never seeing me. It was then that I recognized that in professional settings, the same level of intentional invisibility that affects homeless persons might marginalize people of

> colour. She hadn't recognized me out of "uniform" and only saw racial categories. (Otuyelu et al., 2016, p. 432–433).

Dangers of Internalizing Racism

While the research shows that the racism experienced by these men also makes them careful in certain spaces, what is also, and perhaps more, interesting is how some of these men have internalized racism and how it presents itself in their leadership. As Bivens (1995) argues, internalized racism is not about self-hate; it is about how the systems with which Black male leaders, for example, interact, maintain White supremacy and ". . . undermines the power of people of colour and teaches us to fear our power and difference. Seeing internalized racism as systemic oppression allows us to distinguish it again from human wounds like 'self-hatred' or 'low self-esteem' to which all people are vulnerable" (Bivens, 1995, p. 244). This was most evident in S1's experience working with other Black staff.

The research found that internalized racism forces enhanced accountability for Black leaders. When asked what it is like leading Blacks versus working with non-Blacks, S1 stated that he held Black staff more accountable but was more "careful" around non-Blacks because he has been accused of ". . . anti-Brown, or anti-Asian, or anti-White. . . " He explains that these accusations have made him "push a little bit harder" with Black staff because he does not want to leave any room for doubt that Black staff have earned any promotion they get under his leadership. The challenge here is that this fear may keep Black male leaders from holding non-Black staff just as accountable as S1 over-holds Black staff, thereby upholding fundamental tenets of White supremacy. S1 is, however, cognizant of this and understands the roots of this kind of oppression. According to S1, ". . . it's one of those tricky things that as a Black male in a leadership

role, I cannot just have my two eyes, in front of me on, I'm constantly my eyes at the back of my head." For other men, however, it was the opposite. More research is needed on how leaders treat members of the groups with which they identify concerning the groups with which they do not identify.

When asked the same question about leading Blacks, other men deliberately fought this internalization of racism, actively and self-reflectively, by treating Black staff in opposite ways. For most men, leading Blacks involved familiarity from cultural convergence. N1 notes that he reads Black staff ". . . both as a colleague and as a Black sister, brother . . . " this comes with a responsibility that does not get extended to other races. However, while that lack of extension may seem unfair, the Black men in this research point out that often these Black colleagues get maltreated, and so this treatment is simply a "righting of wrongs," or, as some of the men argue, they have a responsibility to do more because they have shared experiences of oppression and understand how systems function to impact the lives of Black staff negatively. N1 calls it a "sense of duty," something he admits may be too strong. For N1, in his leadership, there is the "official business" and the "unofficial business," "formal," and "informal." Unofficial and informal business is reserved for Black staff. He calls these "sidebar conversations" where he takes the time and energy to alert Black people to how they are being read or perceived by the work power structures. He argues that he sees himself in the students and people who look like him. The discursive nature of this "sense of duty," of course, is that it is an addition to the "mental gymnastics" that plague the life of Black male leaders. This constant alertness to everything and everyone around them has caused Black male leaders mental stress.

Black Male Leader's Mental Health

The research is clear, Black male leaders' mental health is affected by the overwhelming challenges they face as Black men who lead. These challenges start because of how their Black bodies have been historically positioned. Each of these men had experienced racism and the impacts of racism even before they entered the leadership space. Many of them carry these experiences with them into the leadership space. Their journey to the leadership space is riddled with racism and deliberate attempts to keep them from gaining access to leadership. They carry these experiences to leadership. Once in leadership roles, they experience oppression that pushes them out of those roles. They also work harder than many of their colleagues because many often must engage with their colleagues in ways that require a more nuanced level of engagement. When working with other Black staff, they are often careful to ensure that said staff are afforded protection that these men never experienced. All while working to ensure that they watch how they are being read by non-Black staff. These challenges forced these men into difficult decisions.

The experiences of these Black male leaders pushed them to engage in activities that were not healthy. Some of the men in this study have left leadership roles. A1, N1, and S1 all recounted stories of leaving roles because of racism. N1 noted that he had to leave to protect his mental well-being. A1 coped with using drugs. Others, like B1, have told stories of others they know who have coped with drugs or alcohol. B1 had an emotional breakdown while forcing himself to continue coping with a job harming him mentally. P1 noted that while others can be emotional and sick, Black men are not afforded that opportunity because they must constantly overperform not to be perceived as "lazy." Together these men have presented options that they suggest the non-profit

sector implement to ensure that future Black male leaders are successful without engaging in the kinds of performativity that have affected their mental well-being.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presents the key findings from this comprehensive qualitative research. Using IPA as an approach, this research unearths significant data that will help the non-profit and leadership sectors to create and recast systems to help rather than harm Black male leaders. The chapter begins with a call for a new definition of leadership that considers Black men's social location. It calls for a definition to which these men can relate. The chapter also presented the findings surrounding Black men’s experience of leading in spaces that are inherently racist. It also shows the impacts of the internalization of these experiences. Chapter six is a culmination of the research. It presents the limitations, recommendations, and conclusions.

CHAPTER 6

LIMITATIONS, DELIMITATION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Limitations

My study included a few limitations aimed at ensuring the validity and reliability of the findings from the population under study. While Silva's (2016) definition implies that anyone can be a leader, this research includes leaders employed by non-profits, as defined in this research, in the capacity of paid manager, executive director, director, leadership staff and managing director or similar. This research excludes unpaid community or volunteer leaders. The research excludes community and volunteer leaders because they, in many respects, have little to no fiduciary responsibility and administrative functions to the organizations to which they lend their support. The organization also has less legal responsibility to volunteers and vice versa. For example, if a volunteer happens to be a Black male leader and experiences oppression while volunteering, the volunteer can likely leave the position. The volunteer's decision to leave is not dependent on personal finances and organizational policies or procedures. Furthermore, the volunteer is not legally required to remain in the position for any period; they can leave in any manner they choose and need not wonder about the potential repercussions of leaving a position. As a paid employee, however, that Black male leader has legal responsibilities to the employer and vice versa.

Delimitations

As with any study, this study has delimitations to ensure accurate findings. Firstly, it is limited to Black men who work as leaders in selected areas of Toronto's non-profit sector, making it difficult to generalize findings to the entire non-profit sector. Secondly, the study was limited to theoretical foundations that were chosen, which means that the questions were broad and did not specifically inquire about elements such as leadership style, income, ability, or sexuality. Second, while this research focuses on masculinity, it is essential to recognize that not all men identify in the same way. One aspect that the study does not explore is sexuality, even though it has the potential to impact how Black men perform masculinity and how they are perceived. Future research can investigate how non-masculine performances may affect how Black men are perceived and whether non-masculine or feminine performances impact perceptions of Blackness in different workspaces. This opens up new and exciting possibilities for exploring fresh stimuli that influence the ways Black subordinates are viewed. Fourth, my study does not have leadership style, type or kind, as a foundation, nor does it refer to a leader's style as integral to how they experience leadership. While I think it may be true that a leader's style or type does affect how they experience leadership, this study is limited to the experience of leaders not the phenomenon of leadership. Finally, the study deliberately does not look at transnational and transracial trauma as they relate to Black men's lived experiences as descendants of enslaved peoples. While I understand this is important, I do believe this is another study unless the men in the study identify this as relational to their leadership experience.

Future Research Recommendation

One outlier finding presents an opportunity for future research. While all men were able to present information on experiences of racism, one man was not able to readily identify experiences of racism in his leadership role. I looked deeper into the data to understand why this man seemed an outlier. He was more optimistic and seemed less frustrated and affected by racism in the workplace. Two things stood out. First, he had worked almost exclusively with Black teams and Black-led teams. His current CEO is a Black woman, and his entire team is Black.

Furthermore, he was younger than all the other participants. He seemed to be flourishing. I started to wonder whether a strategy for ensuring mental wellness for Black leaders was to ensure they spent a significant amount of their formative leadership years working with other Black people. Such an approach is, however, not likely or even possible since much of the leadership space is White. Such an approach would also assume that all Black teams are good for all Black people and that all White people perform racism, both problematic. However, this outlier finding reminded me that leadership could be a positive space for Black men if we invest in ensuring they do not experience racism in the workplace. This finding presents an opportunity for future researchers to look at what Black men receive from working in spaces that reflect them. It also presents an opportunity to understand whether it is universal that Black men who work with exclusively Black teams are happier than Black male leaders who work with heterogeneous teams.

Sectoral Recommendations

When asked what they wanted to see from this study, Black men wanted three things. N1 and P1 want a challenge to the leadership praxis. N1 wants Black men to move away from using Whiteness as our reference point in our discussion on leadership. N1 states that he'd ". . . like for us to sometimes move away from that and talk among ourselves, about how we see ourselves, how we feel about ourselves, what we're experiencing, but not always have Whiteness as the preferred." S1 and D1 are approaching retirement and would like to see more focus on young and future Black male leaders. They hope that the study will help the next generation of Black leaders. The other men in the group would like to contribute to the literature that validates their experiences as Black male leaders. As P1 notes, "I hope your research sheds light on an experience that many of us have, but that's not often talked about." The following five recommendations are a combination of their collective experiences

This research and these leaders suggest several ways in which the non-profit sector and organizations that hire Black male leaders can support the same to be successful. First, the sector and organizations must invest in ABR training that helps Black male leaders better understand how to process episodes of ABR. A1 notes that he had to pay for these sessions with his funds but that they helped him "talk through" moments when he was triggered.

Second, the sector and organizations need to invest in helping Black male leaders to connect with a community of practice that understands their unique experiences at the intersection of Blackness, maleness, and leadership. Approaches include investing in conferences, for example, where Black male leaders gather and, where there are none, invest in helping to make them happen. B1 notes that until he heard other Black men tell

their stories of exclusion and not "feeling smart," he felt isolated and alone. Moreover, as P1 notes, there needs to be an investment in initiatives that allow Black male leaders

> time and space to grow and to connect with the community because that isn't something that comes naturally to us, or that isn't something that we've had the opportunity to do as much as White folks in leadership have had.

Third, invest in Black leaders while they are young, ensuring organizational spaces reflect a viable future. D1 shared a story where he spoke to a few young Black men who walked into his organization and saw a picture of D1 highlighting D1 as the organization leader. He notes that the young men immediately asked him how he got to his current role. The sector and organizations must understand that ". . . young Black men are looking for role models" (D1). These images are a source of cultural reproduction. It includes the habits that permeate our unconscious (Young, 1990), like having images of only White male leaders in our spaces have done for hundreds of years. Such images have presented Whiteness as normal and ideal. Visual images of Black male leaders convey that being a Black male leader is possible. It also sends the message to young Black men that the organization understands them and how their bodies are perceived daily by those in society who fail to take the time to unlearn prevailing racist ideologies of Black maleness. These men want the thought of leaders being Black males to become a part of the culture; to be normalized.

Fourth, organizations and the non-profit sector must invest in mentorship for Black male leaders. These mentors must be men who share similar challenges. M1 notes that the "problem is, if you don't have enough Black male leaders to provide mentorship, then we're really starting from such a deficit position. . . ." Providing mentors allows Black men direct access to a source where they can go for support when they face issues like microaggression at work. These are deliberate spaces where they can go to

understand how their bodies respond to the racism stimuli and how they can control and change narratives bent on pigeonholing them. When they face a lack of support from leadership, as D1 did in one of his first management roles, Black male leaders need someone so they do not have to engage in self-medication or resign from their jobs to ensure their survival.

Fifth, Black male leaders need time and space to make mistakes and not fear unequal punishment or that their mistakes will be the mistakes of all other Black males. Black bodies have not had the opportunities to grow into a cultural identity that positions them as natural vessels of leadership. The research shows that they have been positioned as the exact opposite. As P1 notes, "so many of us haven't had family members that have occupied these paid leadership roles. So, I think it's really important to have time and space to make mistakes. . . ." When we naturalize Black male bodies as leaders, we no longer need to fear that our Blackness is "fixed" (Fanon, 1952/2008, p. 95).

While Black male leaders should expect that their organizations implement recommendations to ensure that Black males are well in their workplace, history and current trends make it clear that Black men will need to take an active role in ensuring strategies are in place to secure their leadership. To ensure that they protect their mental well-being, the findings from this research make it clear that Black men need to implement strategies to protect themselves. S1 notes that these range from bringing your own metaphorical food when the system refuses to invest in making food that meets your needs. U.S. Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm (Quote Investigator, 2022) famously said, "if they don't give you a seat at the table, bring in a folding chair."

Conclusion

The historical positioning of Black male bodies in very negative ways continues to shape the current social location of said bodies. Black males continue to be the most incarcerated. And as numerous researchers argue, the continuous violence against many Black bodies can be traced back to plantation slavery. If these bodies continue to experience the oppression in everyday life, it is unlikely that they are also not experiencing the same oppression in organizations. At work, Black bodies need to be extra vigilant, especially where it intersects with the work or lives of other Blacks (Chapman & Withers, 2019).

As men who perform masculinity, Black men benefit from the patriarchal system set up by men to meet the needs of men. In some instances, Black men can navigate White spaces that allow them to link with their colleagues through traditionally masculine activities like sports. In spaces classified as women's workspaces, these men have been positioned as unicorns, unique and different and may rise to administrative positions because of this uniqueness. In these same spaces, Black men may do as other men and deliberately seek administrative roles to maintain masculinity.

These men, however, are Black and, as such, must contend with the socio-political and historical positioning of Black bodies as inferior. They likely struggle with the underrepresentation of Black male bodies in leadership, often very White, while at the same time navigating Black spaces that make up their entire existence. These men may also be required to over-perform for fear that their failures will symbolize the failure of all other Black men. Because as Fanon (1952) argues, the failure of one Black man is the failure of all Black men.

This study examines racialized Black men's experiences in leadership roles in the non-profit sector. It provides appreciable data to the non-profit sector and on leadership praxis. How Black men in leadership positions experience the construction of race and racialization within systems will provide a candid look at how legacies of oppression and subjugation affect Black male bodies. This research also provides considerable data on how the performances of Black masculinity shape Black men as leaders. The study concludes by examining how these experiences and performances shape and affect Black male leaders' well-being and provide ways the sector can learn and plan for the next generation of Black male leaders.

Non-profit organizations play a significant role in Canadian society. However, the organizations have limited conversations about important issues like race and gender (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Johnson, 2012; Mills et al., 2010). There needs to be a more significant analysis of the normalized and naturalized ideology of what bodies have traditionally been positioned as leaders. There is even less study looking at the experiences of racialized Black men, for example, as they move through and occupy leadership positions.

Using CRT and Black masculinity as the main theoretical foundations, this research examined Black male leaders' experience in the non-profit sector in Toronto, Canada. In doing so, this research interviewed eight Black males who are leaders in the non-profit sector. These interviews were analyzed using the interview as a principal research method and inductive thematic analysis to code and manage the data. The findings from these interviews provide meaningful information for this research and essential information for the non-profit sector, leadership praxis and research at the

intersection of race, Black maleness and leadership, a critical missing piece in the literature (Otuyelu et al., 2016).

The findings show that Black men in leadership positions experience race and racialization within systems in unique and often challenging ways. The men in this research all experienced significant overt racism. These experiences of racism were mainly due to their social location as racialized Black men. As racialized Black men, their bodies are positioned in opposition to the prevailing leadership ideologies. They spend significant time working to ensure their colleagues see them as leaders. The extent to which these experiences' internalization shapes Black male leaders' well-being is profound and, in some cases, problematic. These men have had to develop ways to deal with the mental trauma of being treated as inferior. The coping mechanisms and strategies range from self-medication to simply resigning from their positions. The findings present ways the non-profit sector can support these men and the next generation of Black male leaders. The findings also present ways Black men can support themselves and each other as they navigate the sector.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview Questions List

General questions—these questions are aimed at helping the interview participant to become at ease.

1. Tell me about the work you do?
2. Why did you start doing this work?

Central research question; Research Question/Aim (1)—how the construction of race and racialization within systems is experienced by Black men in leadership positions. The central research question will largely be explored through a critical analysis of the literature from the literature review and the data collected from eight interviews.

Interview Questions:

1. How do you think people see or define leadership?
2. Can you tell me about what you have read on leadership and race and what you think about what you read?
3. Can you tell me about your experiences as a Black male leader in the non-profit sector?
4. How do you think your race gets "taken up" or positioned by others in the workplace and in the sector?
5. Can you remember a time when you felt your Blackness "went before you." . . . can you tell me about it?
6. How do you think your Black maleness shapes or not shapes who you are as a leader?
7. Tell me what it's like leading Blacks vs leading non-Blacks?

Research Question/Aim (2)—the internalization of these experiences and their impacts on the wellbeing of Black male leaders;

1. How have experiences of oppression and marginalization affected or not affected you?

2. How do you think Black men who experience oppression manage or deal with these experiences?

Research Question/Aim (3)—the ways in which the non-profit sector can harness and transfer the knowledge gained from the analysis of these experiences to the next generation of Black male leaders.

1. What do you hope to see from this research?
2. What do you think the non-profit should do differently when it comes to nurturing and supporting Black male leaders?
3. If you could tell your younger self some words of wisdom to help them what would you tell him?

APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Andrews University

Research Title: “A Raisin in a Box”: The Experiences of Racialized Black Males in Leadership Roles in the Non-Profit Sector in Toronto, Canada

Please read this consent document carefully before you decide to participate in this study.

Principal Investigator: Morris Beckford

Research Advisor: Dr. Jay Brand

Statements about the Research: This research study is part of my doctoral project, in partial fulfillment for my Doctor of Philosophy in leadership at Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan. Your participation in this study is greatly appreciated.

Purpose of Study: The purpose of this research is to find out the experience/s of Black male leaders in the non-profit sector in the Greater Toronto Area in Ontario, Canada.

Procedures: This research is a qualitative research. It will utilize open-ended interviews to allow participants to share their experiences freely. Participants are asked to take part in an initial interview which can last up to 1 hour. Participants are also asked to take part in at least one 30–45-minute follow-up interview if the researcher deems it necessary. Participants are also asked to validate the interview (approximately 1 hour depending on length of interview and participant’s review pace) summary by confirming that what the

researcher has written in the interview summary is an accurate reflection of what the participant said.

Duration of participation in study: Participants are asked to allow the researcher 1 month from initial interview to validation of data. However, the total time that participants will be required to directly engage with the researcher and the research process is up to approximately 3 hours.

Risks and Benefits: We do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research above normal. You have the right to not answer any questions. Your data will also be kept securely and will not be identified in any analysis. However, in the unlikely event of injury resulting from this research, Andrews University or the principal investigator and advisor/s are not able to offer financial compensation nor to absorb the costs of medical treatment. However, assistance will be provided to research subjects in obtaining emergency treatment and professional services that are available to the community generally at nearby facilities. My signature below acknowledges my consent to voluntarily participate in this research project. Such participation does not release the investigator(s), sponsor(s) or granting agency/agencies from their professional and ethical responsibility to me.

Voluntary Participation: Participation in this study is completely voluntary, refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you may otherwise be entitled.

Privacy/Confidentiality/Data Security: While data in the form of participant identifiers, recordings, recording transcripts, and any field notes will be stored together, they will be

safely stored according to York University Library's Open Access and Open Data Steering Committee suggestions (the committee). The committee suggests a ". . . 3-2-1 back-up rule" (Quick Links Menus, n.d.). To comply with this suggested protocol, the researcher will ensure that data is stored on a portable password protected USB, on a personal password protected laptop, and on the researcher's password protected, Humber College Microsoft office security protected system. Access to these files is limited to the researcher, researcher advisor, the researcher's dissertation committee, Andrews University's IRB, and any other entity required to by law.

Confidentiality: Your identity will be kept confidential to the extent of the law. There will be nothing linking you to the study. None of your identifiers, if any, will be used in any report or publication.

Whom to Contact: If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, contact my advisor, Dr. Jay Brand at brand@andrews.edu or the principal investigator, Morris Beckford at beckfordm@andrews.edu, 416 320 4046. You can also contact the IRB Office at irb@andrews.edu or at (269) 471-6361.

Statement of Consent: I have read the above information, and have received answers to any questions I asked. I Consent to take part in the study.

Your Signature _____Date_____

Your Name (printed)_____Date_____

Signature of person obtaining consent: _____Date_____

Printed name of person obtaining consent: Morris Beckford _____Date_____

APPENDIX C

Institutional Review Board (IRB) APPROVAL

Andrews University
Office of Research & Creative Scholarship

January 31, 2023

Morris Beckford
Tel. 416-320-4046
Email: beckfordm@andrews.edu

RE: APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL OF RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS
IRB Protocol #:22-157 **Application Type:** Original **Dept.:** Leadership
Review Category: Exempt **Action Taken**: Approved **Advisor:** Jay Brand
Title: "A Raisin in a Box": The experiences of racialized Black males in leadership roles in the non-profit sector in Toronto, Canada.

Your IRB application for approval of research involving human subjects entitled: *""A Raisin in a Box": The experiences of racialized Black males in leadership roles in the non-profit sector in Toronto, Canada"* IRB protocol # 22-157 has been evaluated and determined Exempt from IRB review under regulation CFR 46.104 (2)(i): Research that include interview procedures and in which information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects cannot readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subject. You may now proceed with your research.

Please note that any future changes made to the study design or informed consent form require prior approval from the IRB before such changes can be implemented. Incase you need to make changes please use the attached report form.

While there appears to be no more than minimum risks with your study, should an incidence occur that results in a research-related adverse reaction and or physical injury, this must be reported immediately in writing to the IRB. Any research-related physical injury must also be reported immediately to the University Physician, Dr. Katherine, by calling (269) 473-2222.

We ask that you reference the protocol number in any future correspondence regarding this study for easy retrieval of information.

Best wishes in your research.

Sincerely,

Mordekai Ongo, PhD.
Research Integrity and Compliance Officer

APPENDIX D

RESOURCE LIST

Resource List

While there is minimal risk to this research, Babbie and Roberts (2018) argue that research can be harmful in the subtlest of ways and as a result, researchers must be careful to guard against such subtle dangers. To that extent, I have assembled the following resources that you can access should you the need to access resources for support:

211 System
211toronto.ca
211ontario.ca

Taibu Community Health Centre
Located in: Malvern Town Centre
Address: 27 Tapscott Rd #1, Scarborough, ON M1B 4Y7
Phone: (416) 644-3536

Access Alliance Community Health–various locations across the city of Toronto
Phone: 416-324-8677
Fax: 416-324-9074
Confidential Fax: 416-324-9490

Across Boundaries
Address: 51 Clarkson Ave, York, ON M6E 2T5
Phone: (416) 787-3007

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PUBLICATIONS

Beckford, M (2023) [Review of the book Equity: How to design organizations where everyone thrives by M. Bopaiah]. *The Journal of Applied Christian Leadership, 17*(1). https://jacl.andrews.edu/?s=Beckford

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