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Protecting positions of power and privileges
The Racial Glass Ceiling in the UK Civil Society Sector

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Abstract

As institutional racism and the underrepresentation of BAME have become world-wide central issues, the question of equal opportunities for upward mobility in the labour market and social mobility for this particular community are at the forefront, including the UK context. Evidence suggests that BAME have unequal access to opportunities for career progression in the workplace and that upward mobility is inextricably linked to obstacles at every stage of their career in comparison to their white counterparts. The civil society sector is also failing to represent the racial diversity proportionally to the number of BAME community in the UK population thereby creating a mismatch between the diversity of beneficiaries and predominantly white management within the sector's structures. The primary purpose of this study was to unravel the underlying motivations for the racial deficit and the significant underrepresentation of Black, Asian and other ethnic minorities in the upper echelons of civil society sector in the UK. The specific aim of this study was to investigate the exclusionary practices and cultural norms that impede BAME's opportunities for upward mobility and career progression within the hierarchical structures of the civil society sector. The methodology used was qualitative and the data collection was conducted through a combination of semi-structured interviews with 6 organizers and supporters of Charity So white Campaign and lived experiences shared in the twitter platforms of this campaign. The results highlighted that individuals in the sector not only lack equal access to opportunities and rewards but also come across various structural obstacles that impede their possibilities for upward mobility. The implemented practices and embedded cultural norms are driven by homogeneity as a socially ruling value instead of embracing differences and attracting BAME talents. Unlike other sectors, it is concerning that many BAME employees are dropping out of the sector given that these invisible barriers coupled with denial and no action upon it by the groups in power cause a large extent of demotivation to pursuit a career path within the third sector.

Key words: *social closure, cloning culture, everyday racism, obstacles, BAME, career trajectory*

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Abbreviations

CSW	Charity So White
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
POC	People of Colour
BAME	Black, Asian and other Ethnic minorities

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

As institutional racism and the underrepresentation of BAME¹ have become world-wide central issues, the question of equal opportunities for upward mobility in the labour market and social mobility for this particular community is at the forefront, including the UK context. Evidence suggests that BAME have unequal access to opportunities for career progression in the workplace and that upward mobility is inextricably linked to obstacles at every stage of their career in comparison to their white counterparts (Race at Work, 2019:9; Platt & Nandi, 2020:842). A vast majority of BAME employees in the UK claim to have been disregarded for promotion to management positions on account of their ethnicity (ibid.p.3). How race and ethnicity impact one's access to career opportunities has been studied extensively by a large group of researchers highlighting the invisible and informal barriers to advancement, often referred to as the "glass ceiling" (Barreto, Ryan & T. Schmitt, 2009:5). Informal networks, lack of role models, ineffective diversity and inclusion policies, unconscious bias, nepotism- are just a few examples of workplace practices that contribute to and constitute informal barriers impeding BAME's opportunities for career progression.

Over the past century, these data have led to a proliferation of studies that have explored racial diversity in the workplace through multiple angles, predominantly in the private sector, public administration and academia. Recently, there has been renewed interest in investigating racial diversity in civil society organisations with a particular focus on ethnic minorities representation in management and senior levels in the UK context. It is now well established from a variety of studies that the underrepresentation of the Black, Asian and other ethnic minorities in the upper echelons of the civil society sector in the UK is a major

¹ The acronym BAME stands for Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic and is defined as all ethnic groups except White ethnic groups. It does not relate to country origin or affiliation(www.london.gov.uk). Note: The terms BAME (Black, Asian and other Ethnic Minorities) and POC (people of colour) are here used interchangeably.

sectorial issue. The third sector is failing to represent the racial diversity proportionally to the number of BAME community in the UK population thereby creating a mismatch between the diversity of beneficiaries and predominantly white management within the sector's structures (ACEVO, 2018:1; Inclusive Boards, 2018:13; Taken on Trust, 2017:19; GreenPark, 2018:4; ALMANAC, 2019:17).

In their annual report on the state of the voluntary sector, NCVO (2019:20) identifies that the most common reason why people volunteer is to improve things and help others. Regardless of being deemed a sector driven by these different values and as advocates of equal opportunities and access, it has a lower number of employees from BAME backgrounds in comparison to the public and private sector. Concretely, the proportion of employees from BAME backgrounds accounts for 8 %, a lower proportion than both the UK as a whole and the public and private sector 11 % (ACEVO, 2018:1; NCVO, 2019:17; Inclusive Boards, 2018:4). The presence of BAME employees diminishes the more we look into higher-level positions in the career ladders within the sector. In terms of volunteering rates, data indicates that ethnicity has no significance and that both people from white and BAME backgrounds are volunteering at the same levels, respectively BAME with 38 % and white with 36 % (NCVO, 2019:20). On the other hand, there has been a persistent low percentage (6 %) of the BAME CEOs, who have to do with the day-to-day running of the organisation (ACEVO, 2019:6).

Concerning the ethnicity of trustees, which have the role of governing and taking decisions on behalf of the respective organisation, are also extensively white. Taken on Trust report (2017:19) points out that 92 % of trustees in CSOs² are nonetheless white. A broader perspective has been adopted by other reports, which compare the racial diversity among different positions in the charity sector by indicating that BAME community representation is higher amongst Trustees at 9,6 % than the Executive leadership team at 6,3 % (Green Park, 2018:4). In the same vein, the boards as the governing body of the organisations are for the most part white, respectively 62 %, whereas there has been an extensive range reduction of all-BAME boards, ranging from eight all-BAME boards in 2016 to only four in 2018 (Inclusive Boards, 2018:5).

² "Civil Society Sector" or "Civil Society Organization" refer to a broad array of organisations that are essentially private, i.e., outside the institutional structures of government; that are not primarily commercial and do not exist primarily to distribute profits to their directors or "owners"; that are self-governing; and that people are free to join or support voluntarily (Salamon, Sokolowski & List, 2004:3). Note: The terms civil society organisations, third sector and charity sector are used interchangeably.

In a review of diversity in the major 100 UK charities undertaken by GreenPark (2018:4) it was found that ethnic minority leaders held only 8.1% of the senior positions and that 34 out of 100 charities being analysed had only white senior leadership team with a non-existent ethnocultural diversity along with their leadership. Similarly, a report on diversity data of the top 500 charities by income in the UK found that roughly 80 % of the senior leadership teams had an absence of people from the BAME community. Commenting on lack of racial diversity in these top 500 hundred charities, the senior leaders interviewed attributed these to the insufficient resources and lack of awareness on the benefits that diverse leadership brings to the table (Inclusive Boards, 2018:14).

Genderwise, the civil society sector is performing better through a higher number of women representatives in leadership positions, either executive leadership, senior-level or boards. The number of female CEOs in the largest charities of the UK has risen from 57% in 2017 to 63% in 2018 (ACEVO, 2019:6). Notwithstanding, this improvement is still broadly limited to white women (Inclusive Boards, 2018:6; ACEVO 2019:6; Inclusive Boards, 2018:16). The intersection between gender and race makes women of colour “face a double barrier when seeking to take on prominent roles in charities, making them the least likely group to be on a board and/or a senior leadership team”(Inclusive Boards, 2018:4). Explicitly only 2.9% of trustees and 2.5% of senior leaders within the sector were women of colour (ibid.al). Likewise, the same issue of BAME women being less likely to hold a leadership position displays in the social investment sector of the UK, presenting only 2.8% of all directors (Inclusive Boards, 2018:6). Even amongst the minority groups, there is a distinction on their level of representation; for instance, the Chinese and other Asian ethnocultural backgrounds are present far less represented than the black minority counterpart in leadership positions of the largest 100 charities by income, making up only 0.3% (GreenPark, 2018:4).

By virtue of these quantitative data, there is an existing gap between the equal representation of BAME and white individuals in volunteering positions and disproportional representation of BAME in the upper echelons of the sector such as trustees, CEOs, boards, etc. This underrepresentation in leadership positions constitutes a pattern that indicates that BAME encounter barriers for career advancement also in the civil society sector as every other sector. What is less clear is the nature of practices and cultural norms that underpin these obstacles for career progression. Therefore, it is crucial to delve deeper into the workplace drivers of these inequalities by examining how the practices and cultural norms embedded in the CSOs structures can play a role in BAMEs opportunities for upward

mobility. This research angle has been overlooked in the context of civil society sector while extant research in the private sector, public administration and academia has demonstrated the importance and benefits of addressing the underrepresentation of ethnic minorities.

The relevance of exploring civil society sector through the lenses of practices, norms and values embedded both in their structural organisation and culture is three-fold. First, civil society organisations have grown substantially both numerically and politically through a greater extent of involvement in the global political arena. To date, the European third sector is increasingly important to the economic system by contributing to the GDP, creating jobs, income as well as goods and services to buy (Salamon, 2018:54). Second, the trends, which have impacted the structural organisation of CSOs over the past decades, respectively NGOization, professionalisation, institutionalisation, marketisation, have contributed to the establishment of more vertical and hierarchical structures in comparison to the classic flat structures in the past—thereby enabling individuals to strive for career progression within the sector and consequently make it more oriented towards upward mobility as every other sector. Third, the third sector as to other sectors bears on distinctive values that can lead to a different interpretation of the issue of racial deficit, hence posing an ethical problem. One of the main functions of civil society is to advocate and be representative for socio-economically disadvantaged groups, and it is expected to bring social justice for the latter by serving as a linking bridge for increased access to opportunities.

1.2 Research Scope and Research Question

The primary purpose of this study is to unravel the underlying motivations for the racial deficit and the significant underrepresentation of Black, Asian and other ethnic minorities in the upper echelons of civil society sector in the UK. The specific aim of this study is to investigate the exclusionary practices and cultural norms that impede BAME's opportunities for upward mobility and career progression within the hierarchical structures of the civil society sector. In the pursuit of its aim, this study seeks to analyse how these practices and cultural norms turn into obstacles that BAME encounters throughout their career trajectory by gaining access to their accounts and putting their lived experiences in civil society on the forefront of the research. Therefore this thesis aims to answer the following research questions: *What practices and cultural norms hinder BAME's opportunities for upward*

mobility throughout different phases of their career trajectory in the civil society sector? What are the similarities and differences in practices applied in the three phases of career trajectory (getting in, fitting in, getting on)?

To enable a comprehensive understanding of how these practices and norms embedded in the structural organisation of CSOs affect the opportunities of BAME for progression in different phases of their career trajectory, this study sets out a framework under which the career path is analysed through three constituent phases (getting in, fitting in, getting on). The empirical analysis of these three conceptual phases of career trajectory is carried out by employing a comparative perspective, whereby special attention is paid to any particular similarities or differences between the various hindrances and exclusionary practices that BAME experience in the getting in, fitting in and getting on phases. This inquiry intends to explore these interrelated issues through the approach of power relations and structural racism perspective by seeking an answer to the questions of how the power and privileges of the senior management in CSOs are maintained and how this process contributes to the reproduction of inequalities for BAME in accessing, adapting to and progressing in the labour market. It should be highlighted that the barriers are here perceived as both sectorial practices that turn into particular obstacles for BAME to progress in the career ladder of CSOs but also practices, cultural norms and values with racial implications which contribute to the impediment for upward mobility. Therefore, this study has established and adopted an analytical framework where the theory of social closure is combined with the theory of cloning culture in order to encapsulate all the above-mentioned dynamics and the complexity of systematic racism.

1.3 Motivation and contribution of the study

Regardless of endless discussion among the civic actors to address the lack of diversity and inclusion in the sector, the nature of studies remains non-academic, and the reports are primarily conducted by national and local organisations operating in the UK. Academic research into the representation of the BAME community in the third sector assists with carrying out an analysis going beyond the identification of the problem and sets the ground for a deeper understanding of the underlying causes. In addition to this, the methodology used in these non-academic studies has been quantitative with numerical representation as a matter of priority. Therefore a qualitative approach is essential to explore further the lived

experiences of BAME people working in the sector. The particular barriers and difficulties that BAME people go through in the third sector is an unexplored research focus upon which must be shed light.

Moreover, the trends of NGOization, professionalisation and marketisation have led the civil society towards a vertical structuralisation which sets out contemporary hierarchical power structures, renewed social relations within the agency, and theoretically more opportunities for upward mobility which ought to be examined. CSOs as every other agency of society carries its dynamics and represents a “cultural factory” where norms, values, stereotypes, certain behaviours and attitudes are maintained and reproduced as an integral part of the overall societal problems.

Earlier researcher taking a look at opportunities for upward mobility have predominantly focused on the insights of individuals in leadership positions and has been primarily concerned about whether the few people on top management attribute their career progression to meritocracy elements or structural barriers. On the contrary, this study proposes a peculiar approach where the concept of upward mobility is ingrained in a framework through which the career trajectory is broken down into three conceptual stages: “getting in”, “fitting in” and “getting on”. This theoretical distinction between the stages is aimed at bringing a more comprehensive understanding of the prevailing practices and norms, which turn, into particular hindrances with racial implications for BAME. Accordingly, the analysis of the underrepresentation of BAME shall not be limited merely to the outcome of getting promoted but explore other processes effectuating the career path such as recruitment, group dynamics, power relations, cultural control etc.

1.4 Case Study – Charity So White Campaign

The UK context provides a compelling case for research on ethnic and race relations in the labour market since the ethnic minority groups are marked by extensive diversity both across and within the groups (Platt and Nandi, 2020: 842). Although the UK has been among the first countries to adopt a legal framework intended to address racial discrimination (Race Relations Act, 1965; Garner, 2010: 103), still, evidence suggests that in the UK there is a steady employment gap between BAME and the white population (EARN, 2017:53). The third sector in the UK in comparison to many other developed countries is highly professionalised, with a large base of international organisations headquarters, thereby

creating a significant segment of the labour market for career progression. In addition, the UK is the only country, which has initiated a discourse upon the underrepresentation of BAME within the structures of the civil society sector.

The selection of “Charity So White Campaign” as a case study is theoretically and empirically embedded in the research questions of this study. Theoretically, it represents a critical case study due to “the particular features and characteristics that make it an ideal or critical case for the set of issues or concerns in question” (Snow and Trom, 2002:158). First, differently from other anti-racist work in the sector CSW campaign has brought a shift in the paradigm of how to address racism from the dominant discussion of “diversity and inclusion” to questioning the “power and privileges”. Second, it has brought up the issue of racism in the structural levels of the sector by proclaiming that racism is embedded thoroughly in their practices and policies and setting it out as “institutional racism”. Third, unlike other anti-racist work mainly focusing on specific settings and issues of racism, the CSW aims at tackling structural racism in the charity sector as a whole. At last, it has adopted a radical call for action where they are asking other organisations in the sector to acknowledge racism within the sector publicly and within their organisations. All the characteristics, as mentioned above, make this social movement different from other existing anti-racist work within the sector and consequently, a theoretically interesting case to investigate.

Empirically, the campaign is a platform for individuals working or participating in the charity sector to share their lived experiences of discrimination, exclusion or marginalisation due to their race and ethnicity. The value-lived experiences of BAME people working in the charity sector constitute the primary data through which this study seeks to investigate the barriers and difficulties of people of colour for upward mobility and career progression. It is important to stress that more than analysing the campaign itself, this thesis is rather concerned about the phenomenon, which this social movement strives to address, and how both people and organisations working in the sector, the organisers and supporters of the campaign perceive the latter.

2 Background

2.1 Diversity and Inclusion Policies

In order to remedy discrimination and foster diversity and inclusion in the workplace, several initiatives have taken place worldwide varying from legal instruments to diversity management plans undertaken by companies or organisations. Affirmative actions or differently known as positive actions are one of the first means that came about since 1961 and referred to "the proportionate measures undertaken with the purpose of achieving full and effective equality in practice for members of groups that are socially or economically disadvantaged, or otherwise face the consequences of past or present discrimination or disadvantaged" (Archibong and Sharps, 2011:29). The purpose of these equal opportunities policies was initially to tackle discrimination and reallocate access to employment along racial lines and then expanded further by involving gender and other protected characteristics. It is considered to be an immensely conflictual policy, which has generated a great deal of debate amongst several scholars raising questions about its effectiveness and legitimacy. Some scholars regard affirmative action as a legitimate strategy to encounter unequal access among certain groups (Archibong and Sharps, 2011:44; Caven & Nachimas, 2018:5) while other scholars argue that affirmative action is a "counterproductive strategy that brings white backlash and greater racial polarisation" (Taylor, 1995:1385). The UK stands among the nations has not enacted affirmative actions, "positive discrimination" or "reverse discrimination" is deemed illegal. There are no legal instruments in Great Britain that compel the private sector to take affirmative action, and the latter is not authorised to have a policy that treats the minority groups advantageously, on the contrary, the "merit" plays out as the principal value (Humphreys, 2010:5).

More recently, literature has emerged that offers contradictory findings of affirmative actions and instead introducing the business-case perspective for diversity as a more comprehensive plan of action. Differently from positive actions which emphasised, "sameness or uniform practices" (Caven and Nachmias, 2018:5) and "equitable and fair treatment" (Aquino and Robertson, 2018:62) as a solution to inequality, the diversity

management plans focus on recognising and valuing individual differences that exist in the workforce. An overwhelming consensus on the benefits of diversity management plans has emerged, mentioning here increased productivity and innovation, gaining competitive advantage, prevent "groupthink", attract more talent and generate more income. In their investigation of diversity matters in companies, McKinsey (2015:3) discovered that the companies in the top quartile that were most racially and ethnically diverse were 35% had a higher likelihood to have better financial performance in comparison to other companies in the industry. In the UK context, "the potential benefit to the UK economy from the full representation of BAME individuals across the labour market, through improved participation and progression, is estimated to be £24 billion a year, which represents 1.3% of GDP" (ACEVO and Institute of Fundraising, 2018:4)

Diversity management is a continuum, which comprises two indivisible aspects: differences and social justice/oppressions, where the absence of one aspect can undermine the potential benefits of managing diversity. According to Brazzel (2003:), very few organisations engage with both dimensions of managing the differences and tackling forms of oppression, such as institutional racism or sexism. Their level of commitment to putting social justice in place determines the organisation's stance on either maintaining dominance and oppression or eradicating oppression through tackling the roots of injustices within and outside the structures (ibid). Despite all the attempts and the incentives mentioned above to promote equal access and progression to employment, the underrepresentation of the BAME community and other disadvantages is still present within and across sectors in the labour market.

2.2 Civil Society Sector Trends: NGOization, professionalization, marketization

In his review of European third sector, Salamon (2018:54) claims that in the 28 EU countries and Norway the sector accounts for 29.1 million workers (paid and volunteers) or put differently, roughly 13 % of the European workforce. He further argues that with such a level of employment share, the third sector is a massive industry that surpasses in the extent of its workforce trade and manufacturing, construction and transportation, and the financial services industry. In the UK, the sector has generated an income of 50.6 billion and has contributed £17.1 billion to the economy or about 0,85 % of total nation GDP (NCVO,

2019:40). The number of organisations is 166,854, and the public continues to be the most significant income source, followed by government funds (ibid, 19). Differently from the private and public sector, the third sector has a distinguishing feature that is that of the volunteers' mobilisation in the workforce, which is almost impossible to activate in other sectors. "Roughly 9.0 million volunteer workers in the European third sector, volunteer directly to help friends and neighbours outside of their households or families" (Salamon, 2018:56). In the UK, the estimated value of volunteering is £23.9 billion by 2016 (NCVO,2019:7).

Third's sector expansion and its contribution as an economic force have been followed by a set of tendencies and developments, which have, at a great extent, changed the organisations either structurally or functionally. Under the influence of donors' increased demands for accountability, employers demand more financial compensation, and greater commitment to establishing a credible and legitimate image for external actors (donors, government, businesses, etc.), the third sector has been accompanied by the trends which several scholars have referred to as NGOization, professionalisation, institutionalisation, bureaucratisation, marketisation, etc (Lang, 2012: 64; Müller-Stewens, Tami Dinh, 2019:3).

NGOization of civil society "marks a shift from rather loosely organised, horizontally dispersed, and broadly mobilising social movements to more professionalised, vertically structured NGOs" (Lang, 2012:62). Rothschild-Whitt (1986:22) capture some of the main developments of the NGOization, herein: a shift of authority from collective to individuals, an emphasis to delegation and control instead of cooperation, instrumental relations rather than personal trust, hierarchical stratification replacing horizontal stratification, also in the recruitment process prioritised are the competencies rather than shared values.

NGOization brings changes not only in the organisational structure, mission, management or activity but also in their dialogue with other agencies and public (Ungsuchaval, 2016:4). Another accompanying tendency of NGOization is the professionalisation and the orientation towards performance-based management. Through professionalisation or put differently as "institutionalised expertise" and "technocratic control", civil society organisations seek to reduce external criticism, cope with uncertainty and create legitimacy in order to introduce the organisation as a reliable partner at funding agencies and advance their engagement in decision-making settings (Lang, 2010:71; Ungsuchaval, 2016:8).

In the new restructuration of civil society organisations, marketisation has become a central issue not only for the technical matters of a structural organisation but also for the

values which have historically represented an element of differentiating sectors from one another. Civil society organisations have now adopted approaches and values of the private sector due to financial instability and other related constraints in the interest of more sustainable financial resources to ensure their existence in the market (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004:133). These organisations have, therefore adopted values, which stress the importance of efficiency, innovation, competitiveness, accountability, etc.

A considerable amount of criticism emerged towards the adjustment of market values and strategies within civil society structures, said to be a severe threat of the core values that constitute the very foundations of civil society existence. Among other distinctive functions of civil society, stands the "value-guardian role" in promoting freedom of speech, civil liberties or debates about norms and values or debates as society changes (Salamon, 2018:96). To have a comprehensive understanding of civil society's role and impact, the analysis should go beyond economic terms and instead take into account its social, political and cultural functions. Value pluralism is at the heart of understanding the social dimension entailed to the third sector, which serves as a mechanism not only to create but also preserve norms and values such as inclusion, trust, solidarity and public interest (Salamon, 2018:98). Other authors suggest that people working in this sector recognise the importance of ethical and other abstract ideals (Müller-Stewens, Tami Dinh, et.al, 2019:2).

Moreover, the public as the monitoring mechanism of civil society organisations set out certain expectations towards them, which should comply with the overall values of this sector. The latter encounter continuous pressure by the public to show evidence of producing social values, which varies from the values of other sectors (Salamon, 2018:98). In addition to that, "civil society faces special societal expectations, where how the organisation goes about setting and attaining special goals becomes as important as the goals themselves" (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004:136).

2.3 Social Mobility and Meritocracy

Social mobility has been the overriding theme of long-range processes of societal changes, especially during the 60s and 70s primarily investigated by multidisciplinary studies included here sociology, economy, political science, etc. Mobility in social structures and hierarchies has generated much debate and has been divided into advocates that believe in the rise of social mobility and those who argue for stability or even decline in social mobility

(Kaelble, 2001, as cited at Leeuwen and Mass, 2010: 14346). The advocates of the rise of social mobility attribute the general increase of mobile people to the significant social development as a result of the industrial revolution such as a decline in fertility rates, expansion of secondary and higher education, more geographical mobility, expansion of service sector, increased number of occupations, the rise of the welfare state, lifelong training etc. In contrast, the advocates of stability or declined social mobility believe that social mobility is not a reality.

Scholars have made seminal contributions in investigating the types and forms of mobility, which has in a way or another determined their definition and angle of analysis of social mobility. The main distinction being made is that horizontal mobility and vertical mobility. The former is defined as "the transition of an individual or social object from one social group to another situated on the same level" (Sorokin, 1959:133), whereas the latter is specified as the transition of an individual or a social object from one social stratum to another (ibid, p.133). In reference to career mobility, individuals can experience upward or downward social mobility for a variety of reasons. Upward mobility refers to an increase or upward shift in social class or the hierarchy of the organisational structure. In contrast, downward mobility indicates a lowering of one's social class or in their job position.

The mobility processes for individuals, families or households are inextricably linked to the provision of equal opportunities and the intervention of our societies to increase or decrease the chances to access these opportunities that would eventually lead to more social mobility. In the past century, the notion of meritocracy has been referred to as the leading driver for social mobility. Meritocracy relies on the idea of a world where the combination of individual's intellectual talent and efforts lead to rising in the social ladder, where equal opportunities are guaranteed without regard to race, religion, national origin or citizenship status, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, disability, etc. (Young, 1994: 15; Littler, 2017:1). While the concept has evolved and adapted, a growing body of literature has strongly criticised the foundations of meritocracy and its utilisation by the governing elites. Although this term has been highly valorised and been desirable over time (Lipsey, 2014:12), the literature on meritocracy has lately been bombarded by titles like "the meritocracy myth", "the meritocracy trap", "against meritocracy", "the tyranny of meritocracy", etc. The most frequently referred scholar in this debate, Young (1994), is the first author to coin the term meritocracy in 1958 and used it as a satirist criticism of meritocracy in post-war Britain. Scholars, which have been critical towards meritocracy, point it out as a means of legitimisation

of neo-liberal culture and reproduction of the elites' power and privileges (Young, 1994; Littler, 2017:1).

Moreover, Littler (2017:6) designates five main problems with the contemporary meritocracy, where he reinforces the idea that it is just a myth, which perpetuates social and economic inequalities by maintaining the existing power dynamics. She extends her claims by considering meritocracy as a tool for "selective empowerment" which is incapable of addressing broader structural problems such as racism, sexism, economic inequalities, etc. In addition, Essed and Goldberg (2002:1067) suggest, "the myth of meritocracy has served the cloned reproducibility of white, masculine-dominated, elite cultures".

In terms of gender equality, there exists what Schmitt et al. (2009) describes, as a "rosy-portrait" which makes opportunities for upward mobility seem equal for both men and women. Schmitt et al. (2009:50) indicate that there are two processes, which contribute to the belief of gender egalitarianism. First, the process of emphasising the success of a few token women as a way of demonstrating the result of equal opportunities. Secondly, the process of comparing the present situation of gender equality with the past. Among other social categories, meritocracy has devalued the significance of class in explaining inequalities and social mobility by assuming the creation of new classes based solely on meritocracy. Friedman and Laurison (2019:5) in their latest book "Class Ceiling: Why it pays to be privileged?" reclaim class as an essential factor in interpreting the existence of current social inequalities. They suggest that there has been a "premature death of class" and "the end of class" is just a myth.

3 Theory

With the purpose of drawing a theoretically embedded analytical framework in examining the hindrances that impede the opportunities of BAME for upward mobility, this chapter comprises of three interdependent sections. The first section provides an overview of the theoretical discussion about social closure, from the classical Weberian accounts to the Non-Weberian concepts of Parkin and highly critical approach of Murphy. The second section introduces the cloning culture theory with particular attention to the underlying agendas of cultural diversity and the corresponding mechanisms of each of these agenda. The last section sets out the main analytical concepts incorporated into empirical variables in the analytical framework. Hereby explaining what, why and how the selected theories of social closure and cloning culture can be complementary to each other by serving as a tool to empirically investigate the underrepresentation of BAME in the upper echelons of CSOs.

3.1 Social Closure Theories

Power relations and the exercise of power by dominant groups is an integral part of mobility processes that can reduce or overturn one's possibilities to climb the social ladder. Social closure is among the most discussed concepts, which not merely explores how power is structurally organised and maintained but also the accessibility into the system of rewards and resources. The term itself was originally coined by Max Weber, who initially made a distinction between open and closed social relations and further explained the process of monopolising the advantages through the establishment of closed relations.

Open relations refer to a social system where everyone (outsiders) who wishes to participate can unconditionally do so and is kept open when the intention is to improve the overall situation. Diversely, a closed social relation is defined as a system where the participation of certain people is excluded, limited or subjected to conditions and it is kept as closed with the

purpose of improving the insiders' positions by monopolistic and plutocratic strategies (Weber, 1978:128-129). Furthermore, he suggests two consistent stages of the development of all types of social relations, from "expansion" to "exclusion" as a transitioning process. At first, the interest of the relationship is to increase the number of members and legitimise their positions of power. Gradually the expansion tends to shift to exclusiveness at a certain point of time followed by a restriction in the membership criteria's in order to safeguard the value of their monopolistic position (ibid.)

According to Weber, there exist a few interrelated motives for the closure of a relationship, amongst which he emphasises the growing scarcity of opportunities for acquisition; the shrinkage of advantages concerning consumption needs; and the maintenance of quality combined with the interest in prestige and the consequent opportunities to enjoy honour and profit (Weber, 1978:130). The privileged groups (insiders) monopolise the scarce resources with the purpose of closing the social and economic opportunities to less privileged groups (outsiders). In a context of competition for scarce resources, the groups more in power can also use certain characteristics of other competing groups - race, gender, residence, language, etc.- as an excuse for their exclusion. In this sense, social closure also constitutes a process of drawing boundaries and constructing identities aiming at both producing and maintaining the hierarchical order and existing inequalities in society.

These traditional accounts on social closure were further developed by a neo-Weberian closure analysis of Parkin (1979:44) who conceptualised social closure as "the process by which collectives seek to maximise rewards by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligible. Parkin distinguishes two modes of closure, exclusionary and usurpatory closure, which differ from each other based on how and by whom the power ought to be exercised. Exclusionary closure is the attempt by one group to secure for itself a privileged position at the expense of some other group through a process of subordination (Parkin, 1979:45). Whereas, the usurpatory closure comprises "collective attempts by excluded to win a greater share of resources' (ibid). The exclusionary mode of closure is deemed to mobilise the power in a downward direction while on the contrary, the usurpatory mode of closure exercises an upward direction of power. Parkin further asserts that a downward mobilisation of power establishes an exploitable relationship of dominance and subordination of social closure (1979:46). Thereby, he adds "exploitation" as another element in interpreting the closure, unlike Weber that discusses closure by exclusion based on "competition". In addition, Parkin argues that there exists another mode called "dual closure"

where individuals/groups in an intermediate position utilise mainly one mode of social closure and complement it with the opposite mode (Murphy, 1984:550).

Furthermore, Parkin (as cited by Murphy, 1984:550) makes another distinction between the collectivist and individualist criteria of exclusion. On the one hand, collectivist criteria of exclusion denote the transference of privileges to other members of the group across time (for example, family descendants). On the other hand, the individualist criteria of exclusion are created to protect the privileges and are considered as not very efficient in terms of transmitting these privileges to the next generation (Murphy, 1984:550). In his seminal article, Parkin argues that over time the collectivist criteria of exclusion have been gradually replaced by individualist exclusion criteria, which nevertheless only readjusts the political foundation of exploitation instead of eradicating it. Drawing on this crucial distinction suggested by Parkin, other social theorists also highlight that policies and laws regulating race relations among other exclusionary criteria have been switched from collective criteria to individualised criteria which yet have the same effect (Albiston and Green, 2018: 8). Even though the legal framework forbids any exclusion on the basis of race and ethnicity, yet groups in power exercise social closure practices by setting up requirements which attract individuals who share the same characteristics as them, including here the "soft criteria". The latter concerns "behaviour, appearance, or performance that can differentiate out-group members from members of the preferred group and leave out-group members out of opportunities for advancement" (Albiston and Green, 2018: 9).

The classic and neo-Weberian conceptualisation of social closure has been strongly criticised by Murphy believing that both Weber and Parkin failed to take into account the deep structure of closure and he further elaborates the relationship between rules of closure and their structure (Murphy, 1984:547). Murphy thereby proposed an alternative framework to analyse and grasp how the rules of social closure are structured. This analytical framework draws upon three forms of exclusion in society, respectively principal, derivative and contingent, which should be distinguished from one another.

First, the principal form brings about the structural and macro-level organisation of exclusionary rules where the latter is established and sustained by the legal instruments of the state. Murphy (1984:555) refers to the principal form as the decisive element in either accessing or excluding from power, resources and opportunities. Second, the derivative form of exclusion is commonly not written in the state/legal apparatus; however, its' rules are directly derived from the principal form of exclusion but not identical to it. Murphy (ibid.555) regards to it as rules for the monopolisation of opportunities in society, mentioning here

credential requirements or other exclusionary mechanisms, which tend to do so on the basis of race, religion, sexual orientation etc. Third, the contingent form of exclusion includes all the remaining forms of exclusion that are still backed by the legal apparatus. Most of the formal professional credentials fall under this category. The difference between the derived and contingent form of exclusion is based on the set of rules they deploy for exclusion. The derived form apply credential rules of exclusion which are directly derived from the principal form of exclusion in a capitalist system, whereas the contingent form may constitute other credential rules which are not derived from the legal apparatus but yet supported by it (Murphy (1984:557))

3.2 Cloning Culture and Everyday Racism

Essed and Goldberg (2002:1069) have been among the first scholars to criticise the classical social theories, which examine inequalities and social exclusion under the light of differences and identities. They introduced the concept of "cloning culture" as an alternative paradigm of interpreting social injustices and inequalities in terms of "sameness and likeness". Cloning culture is broadly defined as "the systematic reproduction of sameness which is deeply ingrained in the organisation and reproduction of culture and in the racial, gendered and class structures of society in particular" (Essed and Goldberg, 2002:1067). The scope of cloning culture entails two inter-related concepts, namely "cultures of cloning" (horizontal) and "cultural cloning" (vertical cloning). The former points out the reproduction of more sameness at the same time, while the latter refers to the reproduction of more sameness across time from generation to generation by replication of the systems, models, procedure, even ways of thinking. (Essed and Goldberg, 2002:1067).

Cloning culture refers to a socio-cultural context that enables the preference of a certain type over another type, a process considered as "dehumanisation" of those types that are seen as less desirable. As a result, homogeneity turns into a socially ruling value whereas its effects are eventually manifested through intended or unintended forms of racism, genderism. The establishment of a "systems of preference for sameness" not only maintains the existing systems of social injustice and social distinctions but also reinforces the privileges and power of dominant groups (Essed and Goldberg, 2002:1067). Based on the cloning culture, Essed has set out a framework that illustrates how cloning culture takes place in the light of race relations, thereby coining the notion of everyday racism. The latter is built

upon the fundamental premise that racism is a compilation of systematic, recurrent and familiar practices rather than an individual and isolated problem, or as Essed (1991:3) puts it differently "it is not a question of to be or not to be racist". Concretely, it refers to repetitive practices, which are activated through socialised attitudes and behaviours, norms, values that eventually constitute the culture of a given agency. Everyday racism is here seen as a process in which: "(a) socialised racist notions are integrated into meanings that make practices immediately definable and manageable (b) practices with racist implications become in themselves familiar and repetitive (c) underlying racial and ethnic relations are actualised and reinforced through these routines or familiar practices in everyday situations" (Essed, 1991: 52). Unlike other theories and conceptualisations of racism, everyday racism underlies an interdisciplinary approach that relies on lived experiences and the predominant practices in a given agency. Repetitive practices hence insinuate the integration and reproduction of racism through everyday practices in the work environment. The reproduction of structural practices is conditioned by the uniformity of practice in social relations and everyday situations. The latter is thus created through the dominating ideologies that exist in the everyday world concerning race and ethnicity, which are generally problematised.

Everyday racism is located under the framework of power relations and sets forth structural racism in its attempt to explain how everyday racism operates. In the virtue of the latter, Essed (1991:36-37) further explains that the conceptual distinction between the institutional and individual racism is a substantial problem in academia and neglects the power relations and the role of ideology in shaping the notion of racism in society (ibid.al). Individual racism itself places the individual outside of the system where he/she enacts and interacts, by ignoring the influence of socio-cultural aspects engrained in the structural upon the individual and vice versa. Moreover, this theory proclaims that everyday racism shall be perceived as a process that induces various dimensions of racism in micro and macro levels. The micro point of view is regarded as a form of oppression by which the existing structures of racial and ethnic inequality are stimulated by the existing practices. In comparison, the macro point of view brings up the repression element that takes place when these racial and ethnic inequalities are intended to be maintained by preventing any possible opposition by other forces (Essed, 1991:51).

3.2.1 Racism as a conflict-maintaining process

Everyday racism comprises of three areas of conflict that maintain the racial and ethnic conflict integrated into the practices of an agency. First, "the hidden agenda of cultural diversity (culturalization of racism)" which delineates the conflict between the dominant and the dominated group in a cultural dimension by stressing norms and values as the core constituents of it. In addition, it puts forward the hypothesis that the dominant culture (white) is extensively valorised and other cultures are problematised and expected to assimilate with the dominant culture (Essed, 1992:186). This attributed superiority status to the dominant culture is commonly taken for granted and as a result, inherently reproducing social practices and inequalities with respect to race, gender and class relations.

Second, "the basic agenda of racism" is primarily concerned with the notion of fair access to material and non-material resources, where the scarcity of the latter is considered as a structural conflict. It indicates that the competences and other credentials of BAME are underestimated in order to prevent their efforts into sharing equal access to the resources.

Third, "the agenda of agenda of racial and ethnic domination" is equally a cultural conflict but it operates in an abstract level and is essentially concerned with the ideological conflicts over racism and the definitions of social reality (Essed, 1991:187). On the one hand, the dominant groups maintain their power and privileges through the production of their perceptions about race and ethnic relations, which denies the existence of racism. On the other hand, the ethnic minority groups not only accuse the dominant group of denying racism but also for practising an ideology which encourages and tolerates everyday racism (Essed, 1991:187). This ideological conflict produces and reproduces counterviews, which emphasises the denial of racism from the dominant group rather than recognising it.

3.2.2 Mechanisms of Hidden Agendas of Cultural Diversity

Objectification – overemphasis on difference: this is one among various mechanisms that has the tendency of persistently pointing out at individuals which are different from the existing norm within the agency. It is usually exercised through underlying messages with negative connotations communicated to people of colour, such as the classic question "Where do you come from?". This norm is otherwise described by Essed (1991:190) as cultural racism through which BAME are looked upon as either a "curiosity" or as seen as "outsiders". Due to

skin colour (a difference among the dominant group), BAME people are more likely to be overly analysed through the lenses of "fitting in" or "do not belong here". The analysis of these two concepts is culturally defined, and it is extensively impacted by the standards and patterns created over time. In this sense, the presence of BAME people in a given agency or position (particularly leadership positions) will be questioned when the latter are predominantly white people. Essed (1991: 189) defines this process also as ethnization where certain functions, roles and positions are part of a system built upon "ethnic criteria" where commonly the lowest echelons of an organisation are for BAME workers.

Eurocentrism and Whitecentrism: which could differently be explained as the process of valorising western civilisation over non-western civilisations. This dominant worldview is deeply rooted in social relations, behaviours, regulations and policies, language, which eventually effectuates the conditions under which individuals gain access to resources. Essed (1991:193) makes a distinction between being tolerated and accepted, by further explaining that for the most part BAME are only passively tolerated but not accepted in the dominant circles. Passive tolerance delineates "not taking any specific action against the presence or participation of Blacks but not doing anything to support or to facilitate it either" (Esse, 1991:196). Furthermore, the author reveals that the institutionalisation of eurocentrism and white centrism is created and protected to serve the interests and needs of the dominant group which in certain practices comes at the cost of excluding BAME. As a result, the dominant group is frequently incapable of understanding the world from the point view of BAME while the latter has a tendency to assimilate with the dominant culture by being exposed to persistent pressure to blend in.

Legitimation – cultural denigration: The dominant group is not only concerned about monopolising resources and opportunities but also to maintain cultural control by adopting the values of the dominant culture in every initiative which is considered to be progressive. Differently, individuals and groups which do not adopt equal values bear on a cultural disadvantage which is deemed to be a process of cultural denigration (Essed, 191:199) Attributed value orientations such as "uncivilised", "aggressive", "a happy-go-lucky mentality" are some of the forms of how this cultural denigration is carried out. All deviations from the cultural norm are problematized with marginalising effects on BAME community.

Control – Management of Cultural difference: The problem is not merely the culture difference but the associated strategies adopted to manage this cultural difference. The existing indifference towards the experiences of BAME are strengthened through either suppression or isolation of cultural expressions (Essed, 1991: 203). There exist four types of cultural control, which puts forward the ways in which other cultures are deemed inferior by the dominant ideology. First, overruled by the majority is a mechanism through which the point of view of BAME in numerous settings is ignored on the premise of "majority decides". Therefore BAME struggles to overcome the continual cultural and structural exclusion mechanisms in the decision-making processes. Second, nonrecognition concerns the euro-American denial of african heritage, which makes the dominant group "be intolerant of ethnically different styles of behaviour in daily interaction" (Essed, 1991: 207). Third, rejection of ethnic behaviour aims at strengthening the practices through which the outsiders (BAME) and adapt and blend in with the dominant culture, norms, values and even behaviours. When a person of colour manifests behaviour different to the widely accepted norm, then the dominant group exercises and adopts repressive elements, which intends to reject the POCs behaviour and pressure them to adapt to the dominant system (Essed, 1991: 208). Fourth, ethnization brings about the manner how the cultural difference is managed. Essed (ibid) argues that there exists a two folded cultural tolerance where the dominant groups are anticipated to be tolerant while the dominated group is expected to believe in the goodwill of the dominant group. These expectations on both group to be tolerant disregards the power relations encompassed. In addition to that, the cultural tolerance bears on power implication, and it is another form of cultural control where the dominant group has the power to tolerate whereas the dominated group are deemed to wait whether their behaviour is going to be tolerated or rejected.

3.2.3 Mechanisms of Agenda of the Agenda: Problematizing those who problematize racism

Cognitive Detachment of Failing to Take Responsibility: This mechanism is directly linked to the denial of racism from the white dominant group by imposing their version of reality as the only objective truth. As previously mentioned, the dominant group carries a "blindness to racism" consequently followed by a lack of ability to understand the world from the point of view of ethnic minorities. In addition to that, Essed (1991:271) claims that individuals from the dominant group have a tendency to deny any responsibility for the existing inequalities

and racist implications existing in the current practices. Others believe that issues related to racism are either not relevant to be discussed nowadays or that "we should accept things just the way they are" (ibid). Indifference about the needs and interest of BAME is especially present when the working environment is predominately white, and only a few BAME are part of the respective agency. Also, the few BAME working there are usually seen as the experts on diversity and race issues, and everything that has to do with the latter is delegated to them. It is highly relevant to stress that also this mechanism comes down to control. Essed (1991:272) clearly illustrates this by stating, "solo or token BAME are tolerated in some situations because they can be controlled". Individuals from the dominant group in many instances acquire information about the experiences of BAME as a tool of increasing control over them rather than reflecting upon their responsibilities in addressing these issues.

Disqualifying opponents of racism: The positioning of dominant groups as having lack of motivation to understand BAME's perspectives and not willing to share the responsibility for the existing racism, is further legitimised by "questioning the perspectives and personalities of opponents of racism" (Essed, 1991:272). This represents a persistent clash between BAME attempting to push forward the agenda of racism whilst whites contest the latter by trying to depoliticise it. The antiracist stances are dismissed based not merely on the perspective but the person who brings this perspective. Moreover, BAME are generally accused of being "oversensitive about racism" and "partial and unreliable" in their judgements over race issues (Essed, 1992: 272). In certain instances, when BAME are hired as professional advisers in combating racism, their competences and integrity as professionals are questioned by neutralising their functional power (ibid). At last, the author argues that the conflict between the groups becomes more vicious when it comes to the provision of a definition of racism." It is in the interest of the dominant group to mitigate racism because acknowledgement questions racial privileges and calls for responsibility to act" (Essed, 1991: 274).

Tolerance of racism: A crucial problem is not only the denial of racism by the dominant group but also the tolerance towards racism when it takes place. In many occasions, redefining the problem through other attributed elements ignores the racist element of a situation. A racist act is often justified by claiming that there were non-racial intentions associated to it. On the contrary, many whites display strong emotions when they are being accused of racist acts and discrimination. The utilisation of the last two words by BAME towards the dominant group commonly switches the roles where "the opponents of racism are

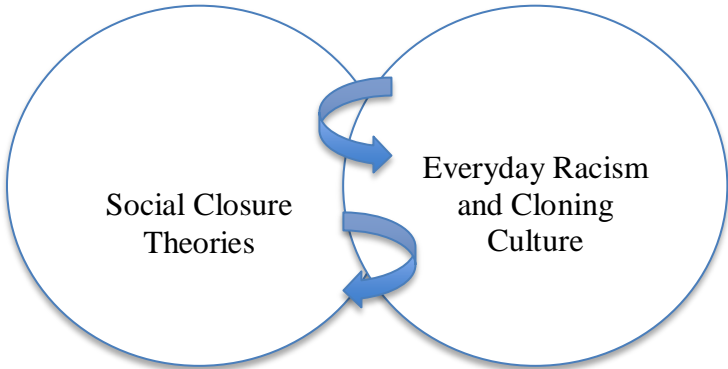
accused of victimising innocent whites" (Essed, 1991:274). Likewise, the reluctance to acknowledge and act upon racism comes also as a result of an agency's attempt to establish a non-discriminatory, inclusive and diverse image.

3.3 Analytical Framework

3.3.1 WHAT theories and theoretical concepts will be included?

The investigation of the career trajectories coupled with the barriers that people of colour working in the civil society encounter will be drawn on multiple theoretical constructs instead of utilising a singular theory for empirical investigation. Notably, this study will rely on two intertwining analytical points, which provide a comprehensive analytical framework for the further analysis of data and interpreting the particular obstacles of BAME. First, social closure theory comprising of practices which determine the extent of access various groups have to economic resources and social opportunities and how the groups in power maximise the monopolisation of the latter. Second, the theory of cloning culture places race relations at the very heart of how the power and privileges of the dominant group are reproduced not only by means of resources but also through the norms and culture.

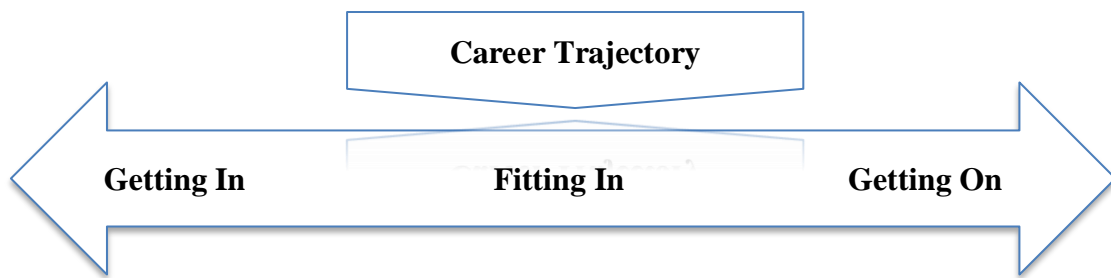
Figure 1. *The two main analytical points of the analytical framework*



These two main analytical points and the accompanying theoretical concepts will be used to explain the barriers that BAME encounter throughout their career trajectory. The latter has hereby been conceptualised as a framework divided in three principal stages: getting in, fitting in and getting on. This model proposed to investigate the career trajectory has a deductive approach, by referring to the latest research of Friedman (2019) where he proposes these three

main theoretical stages to examine social mobility and upward mobility in particular through a class perspective.

Figure 2. *The career trajectory – getting in, fitting in, getting on*



“*Getting in*” stage revolves around the issues of accessibility and means of entering the labour market and in this particular case, the civil society sector. It is of great relevance in this stage to identify how certain practices and norms of civil society sector can turn into specific obstacles for BAME community by impeding their opportunities of having a career in the sector.” *Fitting in*” stage is primarily concerned with the group dynamics and status groups established within the organisational structures that are eventually manifested through social relations. Moreover, it examines the continuous pressures from the dominant group towards the minorities to assimilate and embed the culturally accepted norms and attitudes.” *Getting on*” stage has to do with the visible and invisible barriers to get promoted and have access to the senior management positions. Concretely, “*What it takes to become a leader in the civil society sector and what are the accompanying obstacles for BAME people?*”

It is essential to highlight that the career trajectory should be comprehended not as a linear process with static stages, but the latter should be interpreted as conceptual phases, which can overlap in practice. As will further be elaborated in the methodology chapter, a comparative approach will be adopted when analysing the various theoretical concepts by pointing out the similarities and differences among the stages in terms of social closure practices and cloning culture. It is therefore understandable that some theoretical concepts will be more applicable to particular stages in comparison to other stages.

3.3.2 Convergences and divergences of the analytical framework

The integration of social closure theory and cloning culture bring about common and distinctive elements, which are complementary to one another in exploring various elements of upward mobility. Prior to the explanation of why the constructed analytical framework is relevant in the investigation of this topic, it is fundamental to stress the convergences and divergences that exist between the two analytical points in order to realise how they can be merged both conceptually and practically as a tool for the analysis.

Power relations lie at the heart of both these theoretical constructions by emphasising the similar direction of control and monopolisation of access to opportunities from the dominant group to the subordinates. Although these theories have fallen along the same lines of power composition between the dominant and subordinated group, yet they prioritise different explanations on how these power relations are constructed and maintained. Social closure interprets the systematic inequalities produced by the power relations in the light of class, whereas cloning culture centres race relations in this dynamic although it acknowledges the intersectional perspective into it. This study will draw on an intersectional approach in order to inquire into the composition of multiple layers of inequality in CSOs and the intersection between these layers. Nevertheless, priority will be given to the social identity of "race" in the attempt of fulfilling the goal of this study, which is in part the identification of the particular barriers, that BAME people experience.

Conflict as the cornerstone of the classic social mobility and social justice theories is another element that the selected theoretical concepts for this study have in common. Social closure theories argue that the mobilisation of the subordinated group to gain equal access to the resources and opportunities monopolised by the dominated groups produces continuous conflict. On the other hand, cloning culture position racism as a conflict-maintain process (Essed, 1991:185) where the conflict coexists not only as "a battle for resources" but also as a persisting struggle about dominant ideologies, norms and values.

Social closure theory and cloning culture rely on the same assumptions concerning the process of how power and privileges are maintained and reproduced by the dominant group. They claim that power and privileges are maintained and reproduced through groups and not merely by individuals. As Essed (1991:40) states "power is never a property of an individual, it belongs to a group as long as the group stays together. Power pertains to the human ability not only to act but to act in concert". Therefore, the features of group identity and group dynamics are essential to be taken into account when analysing the power relations

embedded either in practices and culture. Despite the mutual recognition of groups' role in power dynamics, yet the selected theoretical concepts give prominence to distinct aspects of groups. Weber as the sociologist who coined "social closure" refers more to status as a crucial element of groups while cloning culture place ethnicity and colour as one of the primary elements of a group composition and highlights how white supremacy affects the group dynamics.

3.3.3 WHY is it relevant to rely on these two analytical points?

The proposed analytical framework for this inquiry is based on the assumption that the research topic of this study cannot be thoroughly analysed solely from the use of a certain construction of knowledge. Everyday racism entails quite complex dynamics of social relations ranging from practices, micro-level interactions, and power relations to behaviours, norms, beliefs and culture. Accordingly, the application of a singular theory would be circumscribed in its attempt to explain and understand the particular hindrances that BAME people come across during their career path in the civil society sector. Premised on the convergences and divergences analysis, may be construed that the utilisation of a singular theory would be confined to an interpretation of BAME's impediments in their career trajectory as either purely indicated by access to resources (social closure) or as an outcome of the culturalization of racism (cloning culture). On the contrary, the adopted analytical framework relies on three complementary elements derived from the two main analytical points intending to bring into play a holistic approach in understanding the everyday experiences of BAME people and addressing the constraints that each of these concepts bears.

First, practices are the principal unit of analysis of social closure, which hinges on the processes and specific actions that are materialised in the structure of a certain agency to regulate the power and privileges upon resources. On the other hand, cloning culture adds another dimension to social closure, by suggesting that practices are part of broader processes constituting the culture of an agency, activated through everyday situations, socialised attitudes and behaviours, beliefs, norms, values, etc. In this sense, the practices represent both the processes and the outcome embedded and reinforced by the culture of a specific agency. As Essed (1991:3) highlights "practices are not just acts but also includes complex relations of acts and attributed attitudes". Thus, only through an analysis of social closure practices detached from its cultural context the study would not be able to acquire a complete understanding of the experiences and obstacles of the BAME community.

Second, social closure has, for the most part, an economic determinist approach in regards to the persistent conflict between the dominant and subordinated group. In this respect implying that scarce resources are the main driving force for the dominant group to restrict the access of other groups to benefit from the resources. Whereas, the second analytical point puts forward a more structural approach which goes beyond "the battle for resources" by adding not only the aspect of norms and values but also an ideological conflict over perspectives in particular in relation to race and ethnic relations. By the combination of a purely economic approach with the social and cultural dimension, the study introduces an interdisciplinary design of investigating the challenges for upward mobility in career trajectories of BAME in the civil society sector.

Third, social closure theories suggest that social closure rules are intended for class protection rather than class reproduction (Murphy, 1984:550). In addition to that, these theories emphasise that the characteristics chosen as a pretext to exclude individuals (sex, gender, race, class, language, etc) do not particularly matter and are not settled in a hierarchical value in relation to each other (Weber, 1978, as cited in Albiston and Green (2018:5). Social closure practices are first and foremost interested in maintaining the power and privileges without the intention of reproducing the latter for their successors. Contrarily, cloning culture argues that the power and privileges are not only maintained but also reproduced by means of systematic and repetitive practices (everyday racism) and through the systems of preference for sameness. Moreover, it places race and the culturalization of racism as an inherited form of domination, which continually reproduces inequalities for BAME community.

3.3.4 HOW? - The proposed theoretical framework for investigation

Figure 3. *The proposed analytical framework for investigation*

Empirical Variables			
Key concepts	Getting In	Fitting In	Getting On
<i>Quality of relations</i>	Open/closed	Open/closed	Open/closed
<i>Modes of Closure</i>	Exclusionary/Usurpatory	Exclusionary/Usurpatory	Exclusionary/Usurpatory
<i>Object of Control</i>	Individual/Collective	Individual/Collective	Individual/Collective
<i>Reproduction of power and privileges</i>	Cloning culture/Meritocracy	Cloning culture/Meritocracy	Cloning culture/Meritocracy
<i>Object of Conflict</i>	Economic/Cultural/Ideological	Economic/cultural/Ideological	Economic/cultural/Ideological

This analytical framework represents a combination of some theoretical concepts stemming from both selected theories. As regards social closure, this framework draws upon the traditional accounts of "open and closed relations" coined by Max Weber as a tool in understanding the career trajectory as a whole and pointing out how the practices, cultural norms and ideological conflicts designate the openness or closeness of relationships in each of the stages of the career trajectory. On the other hand, the neo-Weberian concepts of "exclusionary practices and usurpatory closure" proposed by Parkin paves the way for the analysis of the relationship between the dominant and subordinated groups and the direction through which they exercise power. From the cloning culture only the mechanisms deriving from the "hidden agendas of cultural diversity" and "the agenda of the agenda" will be utilised since the "basic agenda" is an element already covered by the social closure theory.

4 Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research methods used for this study, explaining the reasons for utilising each of them in order to achieve the primary goal of this study and provide an answer to the research question. Further, this section will reflect detailed information about the research design, including the research instruments, sampling strategies, data collection and analysis, ethical considerations and limitations.

4.1 Design of the study - Case Study

A case-study approach was adopted to capture the complexities of social closure and cloning culture practices as a phenomenon among the BAME community throughout their career trajectory in the UK charity sector. The use of a qualitative case study is a well-established approach in looking into complex social phenomena where the researcher is seeking for an in-depth and holistic investigation through a "real-world" perspective and context (Yin, 2018:4). A case can be nearly any unit of analysis, ranging from individuals to organisations, processes, actions, events, locations or periods of time or as Stake otherwise defines it as "a bounded system" (Stake, 1995 as cited in David, 2013:2). The case-study approach has a number of attractive features, which fully comply with the purpose and outlook of this study.

A distinctive feature of a case study is the intertwining between the phenomena (case) and its context (Stake, 1995 as cited in David, 2013:2; Yin, 2018:16). CSW as the case of this study would lack a more in-depth and holistic understanding if detached from its original context. Concretely, the singularities of BAME community in the UK and the regulation of charity sector are essential contextual conditions in interpreting the existence and operation of CSW. As Stake highlights "case-study research is best applied to research topics where the units of interest to the researcher are best understood in relation to the wider range of processes going on around them" (Stake, 1995 as cited in David, 2013:3). Methodologically speaking, the case-study strategy has the capacity to rely on and deal with multiple sources of evidence such as documents, artefacts, interviews, observations, etc. (Yin,

2018:12). This thesis has counted on two sources of data, the twitter platform of CSW where workers of the charity sector have shared their lived experiences and the semi-structured interviews with the organisers and supporters of the campaign, which were both, converted into a triangulation analysis. Tellis (1997:2) establish that "case-study is known as a triangulated strategy and the usage of multiple methods".

Furthermore, many scholars have recognised case studies as being closely linked to the qualitative research type although it can as well be applied in quantitative and mixed methods (Creswell and Poth, 2017, as cited in Yin, 2018:43). This is primarily due to the common principles they share and their linkage to the interpretive paradigm, relying on the subjective experiences of the individuals and how they construct the meaning based on these experiences (Rebolj, 2013:28). In addition to this, David (2013:3) explains that the case study strategy is principally qualitative in the sense that it aims to explore "complex holistic patterns" instead of statistical relations between variables. To date, the underrepresentation of the BAME community in the upper echelons of the charity sector in the UK has primarily been inquired through quantitative methods whilst this thesis has a qualitative nature seeking to get an understanding beyond the numerical representation. Therefore, knowledge and the creation of reality are here seen as socially constructed by falling under the paradigm of social constructivism. How individuals view and create meaning of their world based on life experiences, societal and cultural expectations, rules and norms stems from social constructivism (Berger and Luckman, 1966:23)

In the interest of acquiring a deep understanding and enriched details on the barriers and difficulties that people of colour encounter in CSOs, this study has chosen a single-case study strategy as opposed to multiple-case study. Stake stands among those scholars who highly encourage focusing on one single-case since it is expected to capture the complexity of the entire case (Stake, 1995 as cited in David, 2013:3). While Yin suggests that this strategy gives the researcher the power to examine subunits within the larger case (Yin, 2003 as cited in Gustafsson, 2017:4). Specifically, a "single-case study with embedded units" will be adopted in order to thoroughly explore the unit of analysis (CSW) by stressing the perspectives and lived experiences of its subunits (organisers of CSW, supporters OF CSW, workers in the charity sector). Gustafson (2017:4) puts forward the single-case study with embedded units as a strategy that enables the researcher to analyse the data within the case analysis, between the case analysis and make a cross-case analysis. Despite being a single-case, this thesis will incorporate a comparative approach while examining the three different phases of the career trajectory. The method of comparison is commonly used when

investigating two or more cases. However, in this thesis, it will be used to analyse theoretically important similarities and differences between the phases of "getting in" "fitting in" and "getting on" in the career trajectory. Notably, the aim is to point out the converging and diverging patterns of closure and cloning culture in these three different phases. The qualitative comparative method suits better with case studies where the combination of both is designed to uncover patterns of variance and invariance (Ragin, 1987:51).

4.2 Twitter Online Campaign

The rise of social media has encouraged the establishment of digital social movements through which many individuals and groups are enabled to publicly share their experiences and engage in virtual interactions with other people. Examining the case of CSW, the first part of the data generated from Twitter as a social media platform relies on two main analytical points. First, this research work aims at understanding how people who are currently working or have previously worked in the civil society sector disclose their experiences of racism and other exclusionary practices in the workplace. Second, the study is also interested in examining how other people and organisations engage in the conversation with their replies on these shared experiences. Twitter is deemed as public, and thereby, tweets are searchable and available to anyone around the world. However, twitter has a clear privacy policy and ethical procedures in relation to data use for research. This social media platform allows Application Programming Interface (API) users to gather public data given that the displaying information is voluntarily shared by the users and the latter has deliberately chosen to do so (Li, Turki, et.al, 2020:5). Subject to this study has been only the tweets made public by users who have come to an understanding of the public nature of tweets and hence agreed to its privacy policy. Another advantage of the Twitter platform is its limitation to 280 characters of a tweet that serves a more narrow analysis (Li, Turki, et.al, 2020:5). In following the principle of a concentrated analysis, this study has applied certain criteria to localise the most relevant tweets:

1. Only the tweets which were using the #charitysowhite hashtag to describe their experience have been retrieved.
2. All the non-English tweets, tweets that did not have interpretable content and tweets which did not include people's disclosure were excluded.

3. Self-disclosure had to enclose some of these two elements to be considered as such: a) the individuals had to use the first-person pronouns like "I, my, me" and b) contain experiences of discrimination, racism, prejudice, or any other exclusionary practice.

4.3 Qualitative Interviewing

The other half of the data were generated through "qualitative interviewing" (Mason, 2018:109), which compress in-depth, semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. As Luke (1989) suggests, "the adequacy of a research method depends on the purpose of the research and the questions being asked" (as cited in Seidman, 1998:5). Gaining access to the subjective understanding of the subjects lies at the heart of in-depth interviews by thereby prioritising the lived experiences of the interviewees and the meaning they build out that experience (Seidman, 1998:3). Therefore interviewing is the best avenue of inquiry for this study since its primary interest is the exploration of the lived experiences of the BAME workers associated with their meaning-making process. Likewise, this thesis aims not only at identifying their accounts of experiences related to exclusionary practices in the journey for upward mobility but also gain a thorough and detailed understanding from the subject's point of view beyond what's visible. In order to attain this, the utilisation of in-depth interviewing assisted this study in producing more authentic data, having access to the hidden perceptions, gaining a multi-perspective understanding and capturing the complexity of interrelated themes (Marvasti, 2004:21)

The interviews were designed as semi-structured, comprising four predetermined broad themes accompanied by a respective number of open-ended questions under each theme or otherwise known as the interview guideline (See Annex A). The theoretical concepts from the theory section and the tweets of self-disclosed experiences served as the basis for the composition of the interview guideline to delve deeper into those topics and experiences, which were lying on the surface. Semi-structured interviews are regarded as flexible and fluid tools by allowing the researcher having both predefined thematic and questions but also develop unexpected themes and follow-up questions along the interview (Mason, 2018:110; Walliman, 2016:127). A semi-structured interview was a major advantage in gaining insights into a topic that is equally broad, sensitive and brings about unique experiences. The utilisation of a semi-

structured format assisted the inquiry to investigate this broad topic by particularly focusing on a set of themes and narrowing its scope in compliance with the research questions within the framework of career trajectory and power relations. In addition, since the experiences of BAME were put at the forefront of this research a number of follow up questions were made to encourage the subjects providing more details on situations of vital interest for the study.

Especially when it comes to social movements, there exist some other benefits of using semi-structured interviews. First, these particular types of interviews are valuable for including the perspectives of the actors and audiences of the social movement (Staggenborg & Klandermans, 2002:92). Second, the researcher gains insights into the perspective of a broader and more diverse group of social movement parties in comparison to what biased documentary sources could offer. Concretely, through semi-structured interviews, the accounts of the organising committee and supporters of the analysed social movement (CSW) were included alongside the lived experiences of the BAME workers shared on Twitter. Third, such interviewing has been especially useful in examining "loosely-organised, short-lived or thinly documented social movements" (ibid.al). Although CSW is now widely known in the UK context, it was launched only last year in August 2019 and has just recently created more comprehensive documents (<https://charitysowhite.org/>).

The interviews took place online over Zoom Video Communications. When conducting online interviewing, Mason (2018:129) suggests the researcher to reflect upon whether the online version is simply a more convenient tool to access the subjects or whether it is a purposeful strategy in exploring online interactions. In this study, online interviewing was employed only by virtue of convenience and unexpected circumstances. Such interviewing strategies can be particularly useful when the researcher and the subjects are not in the same geographical place (Mason, 2018:128). Due to the COVID 19 pandemic and closed borders, the researcher could not follow the initial plan of travelling to the UK and conducting face-to-face interviews. Despite the selection of this strategy under the above-mentioned circumstances, online interviewing through Zoom Video communications represents certain advantages too. Since the interviews were audio and video recorded, this tool facilitates the collection of processual data with high fidelity by enabling the researcher to review the data and specify the interaction more precisely (Johns, Chen and Hall, 2004:18)

The length of the interviews ranged from 60 minutes to 90 minutes, although the majority of them last about 60 minutes. A total number of 6 interviews were conducted while the process of interviewing ended when it reached the saturation. Data saturation is defined as the point at which "no additional data are being found whereby the researcher can develop properties of the category" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:61). Moreover, the saturation represents that point when newly collected data generates little or no new information to address the research question of the study (Guest, Namery and Chen, 2020:17).

4.4 Sampling strategies

A nonprobability sampling such as "snowball-strategy" was adopted in the process of selecting and getting access to the subjects of this research. Snowball sampling is first and foremost practised among those studies in which the researcher is interested in examining "various classes of deviance, sensitive topics, or difficult-to-reach populations" (Lee, 1933 as cited in Berg and Lune, 2012:52). This study analyses a highly sensitive research topic that can evoke intense emotions among the participants, therefore, the localisation of subjects who are willing to participate and openly talk about discrimination and racism they have encountered is hard to be reached through other sampling strategies. According to Berg & Lune (2012:52), the best means to locate the subjects is setting the attributes and characteristics as a prerequisite for the study. Criteria for selecting the subjects are as follows:

Criteria	Explanation
Ethnicity	All the subjects interviewed were from the BAME community since the particular angle of this research was to explore the barriers and difficulties for the career progression encountered by this specific community in the civil society sector. This criterion has been empirically informed by the previous studies which have demonstrated that the BAME community is the most underrepresented in the civil society sector of the UK in comparison to other groups (see the previous studies section in the background chapter)
Gender	None of the genders was excluded since all genders can provide unique experiences coupled with their colour and ethnicity. This criterion is both theoretically and empirically informed. First, this research has incorporated an intersectional perspective where ethnicity is seen as an element combined with other multiple social identities including gender, sexual orientation, age, religion, disability etc. Various groups might experience the workplace differently depending on their ethnicity, sexual orientation and/or class and other social locations (Atewologun, 2018:1). Although none of the genders was excluded, most of the subjects were women. Empirical data has shown that the intersection between gender and race makes women of colour “face a double barrier when seeking to take on prominent roles in charities, making them the least likely group to be on a board and/or senior leadership team”(Inclusive Boards, 2018:4). The exploration of this double barrier has been taken into account.
Position	Only members of the CSW organizing committee and referred active supporters of the campaign were interviewed. This criterion is theoretically informed. As Seidman (1998:4) puts forward “the primary ways the researcher can investigate an organization, institution or process is through the experience of the individual people, the “others” who make up the organization or carry out the process”. This research was intended to involve only these two groups for interviews for three reasons. <i>First</i> , the perspectives of people working in the sector and the reactions of other organizations were captured through the tweets in the CSW’s official platform, whereby the perspectives of those working directly with the campaign were left out. <i>Second</i> , the participants should be willing to participate and openly talk about their sensory experiences. <i>Third</i> , the research aimed at including those individuals who were familiar with the campaign and support the paradigm under which this campaign is framed “power and privileges”.
Experience	The participants had to have at least 5 years of experience in the civil society sector. This criterion was determined based on the element of “upward mobility” where the participants should be familiar with all the conceptual phases of career trajectory (getting in, fitting in, getting on) in the civil society sector. All the participants had been through the recruitment process have stayed in the sector to recognize some elements of its culture, and have also been promoted to a higher position.

The way the snowball strategy operates is by firstly identifying a few members of the target population based on the predetermined criteria and then asks the subjects who have accepted to be interviewed to introduce the researcher to individuals that also fulfil the same criteria. It

is considered to be an especially effective method when using social media such as Facebook and Twitter since it enables the subjects to effortlessly share the study to other people in their circle (Walliman, 2016:16). More concretely, some of the organisers were identified through Twitter and were directly communicated through both Twitter private message and LinkedIn to participate in the study. At first, there was plenty of hesitation, but after the first interview the number of interested people to participate escalated quickly. The first subject interviewed was asked by the researcher to refer to other individuals with similar characteristics. The interviewee helped in spreading the word to other organisers and supporters, which led eventually to a higher number of participants for the study.

4.5 Thematic Analysis and Triangulation

Transcribed data from the interviews and posts shared in the twitter page of CSW were analysed through thematic analysis. The utilisation of the thematic analysis provides a flexible tool to analyse qualitative data and facilitates the process of identifying patterns and themes within the given data. In order to both systematise and interpret the data, the six-step framework by Brown and Clarke (2006:25) has been adopted, namely: familiarising with data, generation of initial codes, identification of themes, review of themes, the definition of themes. Brown and Clarke (2006:12) point out that this type of analysis is particularly useful when the study examines the perceptions, opinions, knowledge, attitudes or values of the subjects as the main informant of the analysis. As previously mentioned, the lived experiences and perceptions of BAME workers are at the forefront of this thesis. Furthermore, Brown and Clarke (2006:84) distinguish between two levels of themes semantic and latent. Semantic themes are perceived as '... within the explicit or surface meanings of the data and the analyst is not looking for anything beyond what a participant has said or what has been written.' In other words, the semantic themes are rather descriptive and merely summarise the empirical data generated. Contrarily, the latent themes add an analytical dimension to data '... starts to identify or examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations – and ideologies - that are theorised as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data' (ibid p.84). This study draws upon the latent type of themes, aiming at interpreting the data as a combination of the empirical and analytical elements of the analysis.

Also, both sets of data (interviews and twitter posts) have been analysed in parallel through the process of triangulation. The latter has served as a tool to increase the

validity of data by bringing about the converging and diverging elements. The triangulation of two sources provided a more comprehensive understanding of the exclusionary practices and cultural norms as perceived by the subjects and encapsulated complex dynamics of this topic, which would have otherwise been inconvincible.

4.6 Reflections on Methods and Limitations

Thus far the focus of this chapter has primarily been to provide explanations about the selected methods and case, sampling strategies and the analysis but it is equally essential to present the limitations and challenges encountered while conducting this research. Selecting CSW as a singular case study certainly affects the outcome of the study to a great extent. The designation of another case could have directed towards a different content on social media, a distinct background of the subjects and ultimately to an entirely different outcome. However, this study aspired to provide in-depth knowledge about this case and thus brings about a particular account about the issue of the underrepresentation of BAME in the third sector and the respective barriers and challenges throughout their career.

Likewise, the snowball sampling strategy with the predetermined criteria may have been biased to a certain extent and have implications in the exclusion of some individuals the insights of which could be of the same value. As (Bhopal, 2000:73) asserts due to the delicate research topic, some subjects chose not to participate or share their personal experiences, and in consequence, the research may have attracted only those subjects who are more vocal on this issue and open to talk about their experiences. Regardless of this, the shared and lived experiences were the central analysing unit, so as a result, the individuals willing to let the researcher gain access to this valuable experience were prioritised.

In terms of interviews, several challenges were encountered, particularly during the stage of building contacts and having the interviews. *First*, in relation to accessibility, the current circumstances of the world pandemic COVID19 made it harder to schedule the interviews. In the UK civil society sector, there is an on-going discussion about the impact of COVID19 on the BAME community and the high risk of Race Equality foundations being shut down (<https://charitysofwhite.org/covid19>). Due to this emerging discussion, many negative replies and cancellation of interviews occurred, and mentioning these issues as the priority of their work now has rescheduled many other interviews.

Second, online interviewing bears the risk of exclusion since it relies on the assumption that the subjects should have both access to the Internet and are familiar with the video-recording tool (Zoom) and possess technical skills to use it. As Mason points out (2018:129) that when approaching our potential sample, the research should not make assumptions on "people's access to and ease of using technologies of online communication". In the case of this study, the subjects were quite familiar with Zoom technology and had access to the Internet since these are their primary tools of work.

At last, in the course of doing the interviews, the researcher noticed that the subjects were quite knowledgeable on the topic and had a tendency to use generalised abstracts terms and a particular vocabulary under the anti-racist framework. This constitutes a challenge to the specific aim of the study, which is more oriented in exploring specific personal experiences for each of the predetermined themes. The utilisation of semi-structured interviews facilitated this process for the researcher by adopting many follow-ups questions that aimed at encouraging the subject to elaborate more on specific cases. Moreover, as Berg and Lure suggest (2012:113), the research should attempt to approach the world from the subject's perspective by adjusting the language to the context of the interviewee. Therefore, the content of CSW's website assisted in adopting their vocabulary in the themes and questions of the semi-structured interviews.

4.7 Reflections on the researchers' role

Throughout this inquiry the reflection process upon the author's role as a researcher has been of great importance in several dimensions: to the relationship that was established between the researcher and each of the subjects, the relationship between the researcher and the process of collection and analysis of data, at last, the relationship between the researcher and his/her background and personal stances. In order to scale down all the potential implications throughout the whole process, as a researcher, I intended to incorporate reflexivity as a tool to constantly reflect on how my personal stances and background could influence the produced knowledge and data (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004:275). Reflexivity as a tool captures all the three dimensions mentioned and Mason (2018:191) reinforces this by stating that "reflexive reading will locate the researcher and their interaction with participants as part of the data generated, and will seek to explore the researchers' role and perspective in the process of generation and interpretation of data".

In compliance with the qualitative paradigm, the researcher in this study takes a more active perspective by acknowledging that her position is continuously interactional, collaborative, and interpretatively active in relation to the process data collection and analysis. As Bryman and Burgess (1999:106) point out, data are unavoidably collaborative, and the relationship between the researcher and the subject naturally contributes to a co-production of interview data. Drawing on the same principles, Mason (2018:114) challenges the classic concept of "data collection" by replacing it with the concept of "data generation", thereby indicating that the neutral role as a data collector is not relevant in qualitative interviewing and that analysing your role as a researcher throughout the whole inquiry process enhances the quality of the data generated. Besides, it is noteworthy to emphasise that the knowledge produced through the interactional and meaning-making process of qualitative interviewing is contextual and situational and the role of the researcher is to make sure that the insights is brought into context.

Apart from the role of the researcher and subjects in the data generating process, another substantial aspect of being aware of is the distinct connection between race identity and knowledge production and that people of colour experience oppression in a way that is different from other groups (Dei and Johal, 2005:5). The research on this particular topic required a thorough reflection process on my position as a "white-dominant" woman researcher exploring sensitive lived experiences of people of colour by acknowledging the accompanying privileges of my position and the power dynamics. Prior to conducting the interviews, I as a researcher have given much thought to my personal stances on racism, power relations and have placed the experiences of the BAME community at the centre of this analysis. In their analysis of Anti-racist methodologies, Dei and Johal (2005:11) highlight that the personal characteristics and particularly the racial identity of the researcher and subjects influence the process of knowledge, the relationship built and eventually the success of the research.

Hence, this research has adopted an anti-racist framework by firstly recognising the existing radicalised power relations' build upon domination and subordination and the systematic inequalities that POC persistently encounter. Above all else, as a researcher, I want to support the underlying idea of "epistemic community" (Dei and Johal, 2005:14) by admitting that the aim of this research is not to identify the existence or nonexistence of racism but rather "seek to understand the nature, extent and consequences of racism and the myriad ways racism and other oppressions play out in the historical and contemporary context".

4.8 Ethical Considerations

This study rigorously relied on ethical principles such as anonymity, confidentiality and informed consent throughout the whole process of both gathering and analysing data (Mason, 2018:). Clarifying the purpose of the study is one of the first elements for ensuring the indemnity of the subjects. Despite the lack of risk for physical damage to the subjects, there existed the possibility of their psychological harm or about affecting their career in that organisation or even identifying with what they have expressed for this study, due to issues that may have spontaneously emerged during the interviews (Atkinson, 2009:12). Although all interviewees were informed that anonymity would be guaranteed, they yet had no problems with being disclosed concerning specific situations where they mentioned either the name of certain individuals or organisations.

Apart from the standard planning of how to handle unexpected situations and adverse consequences, other ethical dilemmas were taken into consideration. An example is, how to respond to personal disclosure that is beyond the scope of our research? It is essential to interact in a humane, non-exploitative manner, while at the same time mindful of our role as a researcher (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004: 264). "Interviews give voice to the marginalised, who do not ordinarily participate in public debates, can in interview studies have their social situations and their viewpoints communicated to a larger audience "(Kvale 2006: 481). He argues that when we are doing a qualitative study of the target group's perception and solutions to a hypothesised problem, it would be unethical as researchers not to make the sample the primary source of producing data. Since we attempt to understand the problem from the "subjects" point of view and give back the voice to the people (Kvale, 2006:481).

A neutral environment in order to minimise the impact of other people present during the interview was difficult to be guaranteed when conducting an online interview. It is hard to ensure privacy issues and make sure that no other person is surrounding the subject when using this particular type of interview in comparison to face-to-face interviews (Mason, 2018:130). However, the situation of COVID19 helped in the sense that all the subjects were working from home and this could at least minimise the risk of being scrutinised by other colleagues or the risk of being identified.

5 Analysis

The analysis chapter will be divided into three following subchapters based on the respective stages of the career trajectories: getting in, fitting in and getting on. As mentioned in the theory chapter, the career trajectory should not be understood as a linear and one-way process; contrariwise, all the phases can be interlinked and experienced differently by various individuals. Besides, the obstacles experienced by BAME can be interlinking explanations for the whole career trajectory, instead of a single phase. Although these major themes are theoretically deducted, all the other themes falling under one of the phases are generated through the insights of the interviewees and other individuals sharing their personal cases of exclusionary practices, discrimination, and racism in Twitter.

5.1 Getting in

5.1.1 Unpaid Internships and Low-paid Entry Level Positions

One of the overwhelming aspects of entering the CSOs not only in the UK but also worldwide is the unpaid internships. Volunteering and internships have long been considered as a valuable opportunity to gain work experience, establish networks for future employment, and as an investment for career advancement. Although it appears like a win-win situation for both the hiring organisation and the intern, the participants in this study regard unpaid internships as highly exploitative and a "luxury" which can be afforded only by economically advantaged individuals. This exclusionary practice can be explained in part by the notion of "exploitation" where the minority groups including here ethnic minority groups have restricted access to opportunities and rewards and are retained in subordinated positions not only due to the competition for the scarce resources of power and privileges (Parkin, as cited in Murphy, 1984:23). Contrastly, the dominating group in power exploits the subordinating groups through structural exclusionary practices such as unpaid internships that obstruct the opportunities of socio-economically disadvantaged groups to enter the sector and restricts to a

great extent their access to rewards and career progression. In the following interview excerpt, this inequality from the start for people of colour is summarised by one of the respondents:

“Most people start through an unpaid internship, so if you don’t have that kind of support and if you are from a lower socio-economic bracket you can even put your foot into the charity sector. So already, you are disadvantaged before you even enter. Trying to go to the next level, you need to firstly have had that entry-level job before” (Interview 1, 2020)

The intersection of race and class comes into play while interpreting the hindrances of BAME entering the sector. The majority of the participants and several personal experiences shared on the Twitter campaign agreed with the statement that the highest proportion of the BAME community comes from a low socio-economic status; therefore POC encounters the lack of means to be able to have unpaid internships as an investment for career progression henceforth. Although this is a general exclusionary practice applied to many individuals willing to enter the sector, yet it has particular implications for BAME as it turns into an obstacle for the latter to access equal participation.

What stands out in the discussion about the job accessibility by BAME is that even when they get the opportunity to enter the sector, the entry-level positions are exceptionally low-paid and they have to work for rather low influential roles for quite a considerable time prior to progressing in any way. Meanwhile, one of the organisers working for the CSW campaign shared her view on how entry-level positions for POC are yet disadvantageous and in most cases is high-ticket.

“For entry-level positions, you don’t get paid very much at all, so either you need to be supported by your parents and that is not feasible for most people of colour and it is much easier for white people to afford it. It is usually white people of upper- middle class to be able to work for 18,000 pounds a year in London. That’s not happening! Haha I mean everyone who wants to be in a house and eat!” (Interview 3, 2020)

Moreover, it was pointed out throughout the data analysis that these exclusionary practices have, in some instances, been overtly discriminating, which two of the interviewed organisers refer to as equally racist and sexist. As Albiston and Green (2018:2) state "when social closure falls along socially salient lines like race and sex, social closure is a form of discrimination".

“And in terms of access, I am incredibly skilled and I know my worth. In three jobs that I have started I received a salary which was lower than the starting salary on the job application, and it wouldn’t have happened if I was a white man and I would have been put at the very top.”(Interview 6, 2020)

“For the same position, at the same time as a woman of colour I was paid less than my white-men colleague with the same level of experience. I felt worthless when I figured that out. When I asked my boss about why this happened, he simply said, “well men are better at negotiating”. (Interview 4, 2020).

The above excerpts demonstrate how BAME encounter particular barrier making it difficult for them to have equal access to employment and career progression within the civil society sector, that are notably linked to their colour, gender and class. The data manifest how the journey for a career start is disproportionately unequal for BAME, and it is highly disadvantageous before even entering the sector. This finding is consistent with that of the annual report in the UK about "Race at Work" (2019:9) stating that BAME in the private and public sector have unequal access to progression opportunities and persistently encounter hindrances at every stage of their career. It is important also to highlight that most of the participants were aware of the privileges that they individually possessed and claimed that their success shouldn't be taken as representative for all other BAME.

5.1.2 Hiring bias

The phrase "good fit" appears to be as prevalent in CSOs as in any other sector. By looking into the statements, the participants assert that either the recruitment agencies or the human resources department are more concerned about finding potential candidates who bear a similar background and features to the organisational structure and staff rather than appreciating the importance and benefits of differences. The vast majority of the interviewees have stated that during the interviewing process, the interviewers have frequently posed the question of how they would fit in the organisations despite the dissimilarities they carried. As one interviewee put it:

“I was one asked if i would be able to blend in with highly-qualified white people and if i truly believed that it was the right place to work” (Interview 4, 2020)

This finding provides some support for the conceptual premise of "cloning culture" which argues for a system where the selection of individuals in various segments of society takes place through the criteria of sameness and likeness (Essed and Goldberg, 2002:1067). This "filtering process" based on the aforementioned criteria and activated through the recruitment processes accounts for homogeneity as the socially ruling value. This poses a contradictory position of CSOs which on the one hand the latter adopts concrete practices such as recruitment seeking to reproduce homogeneity (fitting in concept) and on the other hand, they tend to manifest themselves as appreciating differences by adopting diversity and inclusion policies. Moreover, this is an exclusionary practice, which illustrates not only how the existing systems are maintained, but the way in which reproduction mechanisms of the favourite prototype (white dominant man) is strengthened (ibid.).

Besides, when asked about how they perceived meritocracy and how that is integrated into the recruitment strategies, a vast majority agreed upon the fact that meritocracy is barely propaganda and another mechanism of maintaining the existing privileges of the groups in power. Commenting on these issues, one of the interviewees said "*Meritocracy?! Just another sophisticated word to hide racism and inequalities in the sector. I am not in a leadership position because of the structural barriers, not because I lack the intelligence nor skills*" (Interview 1, 2020) while another interviewee added "*How can meritocracy exist when I as BAME am disadvantaged before even entering the sector*" (Interview 2, 2020). This finding broadly supports the work of other studies in the criticism of meritocracy, particularly Littler (2017:6) that reinforces the idea that meritocracy is merely a myth that upholds the existing inequalities and further strengthens the current power dynamics. In addition, Essed and Goldberg (2002:1067) suggest, "The myth of meritocracy has served the cloned reproducibility of white, masculine-dominated, elite cultures".

First and foremost, who is conducting the interview and their background stands as a crucial point on how the interviewing process can be shaped by the conscious and unconscious bias that the interviewers carry. The participants, on the whole, mentioned that the interviewers are commonly middle-aged white men, which they can barely relate to while being interviewed. When asked about their personal experiences of interviews in CSO roles, the participants were unanimous in the view that in their relatively long experience working in the sector, a POC had never interviewed them:

"And just not seeing anyone who looks like you when having an interview... If I go to an interview, I can guarantee you that there will be no person of colour in that

interview panel. I have never been interviewed by a POC in a charity role” (Interview 3, 2020)

“I have worked in a very well-known recruitment agency in London and I was the only woman of colour who had worked there as a recruiter agent in 10 years of experience” (Interview 6, 2020).

This finding is likely to be related to the concept of "white as the norm" derived by the eurocentrism mechanism proposed by Essed (1991:194) under the framework of everyday racism. The author argues that institutionalised condition or in this case the recruitment practices are constructed in a way that reflects only the interest and needs of the dominant group thereby failing to consider the point of view of BAME and their respective needs.

Another reported challenge by some of the participants was the cost of being vocal about race-related issues and being engaged in projects, campaigns or local organisations, which aim at fostering racial diversity. The civil society sector operates as a large network, where despite the fact that the individuals work in their respective organisations, it is very likely that many people working in the sector know each other. Consequently, the "image" that individuals establish has an impact on their opportunities for career progression not only in the current organisation they are working for but also in the whole sector.

“I once heard my manager saying in a meeting with the rest of the staff that we shouldn't hire X person [referring to a man of colour they had interviewed] since he had a reputation of being highly critical towards the diversity and inclusion concerns and she [the manager] had heard that he had still an open case on trial where he reported an allegation on his previous employer about race-based pay discrimination. She was scared that he would cause problems within our organization” (Interview 4, 2020)

“I know the organization I work for and actually it's going to be a bigger project than me giving a presentation of the Charity So White Campaign (You know what I mean?). I don't want to put myself in a position where my job is at risk. I am one of the few people of colour in the whole head office and it is exhausting “being that person” “the diversity person”. I would rather do that outside of my day job or like in places I feel comfortable too. And I don't think I feel necessarily comfortable to talk about racism in the sector where I am currently working.” (Interview 5, 2020)

“Thinking of my colleagues across the sector who are watching/supporting but aren’t able to publicly share their own experiences of #racism because it puts their jobs and careers at risk.” (Twitter, 20th of August 2019).

On the other hand, many organisations have a genuine interest in building up an external image, which makes them look inclusive and diverse. One individual stated, *“A charity professional I met at a training workshop complained that her organisation's lack of diversity made them look bad in promo photos”* (Twitter, 19th of August 2019). The majority of participants supported this statement by agreeing to the fact that they have encountered the same situations and that this represents a common issue within the sector *“Shocking, but sadly unsurprising. To a lot of organisations, appearing to have solved the problem is more waaaaay more important than actually solving the problem!”* (Twitter, 19th of August 2019)

Although, internally speaking the experiences of the participants demonstrate that when BAME worker had attempted to address the issue of BAME underrepresentation in management positions, it has been ignored and not taken seriously. Talking about this issue an ex-worker in the CSO stated through a tweet that *“In one of the non exec roles I've had, I calmly suggested to the chair that the board should be more diverse, pointing out that I was the only BAME person on it. My advice was ignored and I decided to take my skills elsewhere”* (Twitter, 20th of August 2019). This view was echoed by another informant commenting on this tweet *“Same here, was on a board briefly, decided to walk rather than be there for the decoration”* (Twitter, 20th of August 2019)

5.1.3 Lack of opportunities – Networking and Social Capital

Formal mechanisms of accessing the labour market, such as applications and interviews, are not the leading practices in comparison to other practices as reported by the participants. Although the candidates can potentially get through these formal mechanisms, the employment in CSOs operates first and foremost by informal networks.

I used to work in a recruitment agency in the charity sector, and racism is even there. We hire from our networks and there is so much nepotism. My CEO gave her daughter a job without an interview or anything and she was shitty. At the same time we had posted an official announcement of vacancies and I had to send a bunch of emails to very qualified applicants that they had not been selected. It is so normal to do these things nowadays and nobody really questions it (Interview 6, 2020)

Even the organising team of CSW have been recruited through the utilisation of these informal networks both in the organisation where they are currently working and in the campaign itself. It is explicitly stated in one of the organiser's explanations on how she got engaged as a team member of CSW:

“So i think one interesting thing about the charity sector and who is in it, is that I am lucky I am in London and like i have contacts and stuff but it’s quite small, so i was involved with an organization called XXX and I am actually a Trustee of their charity now. I knew one of the organizers of the campaign because I have been a student activist in the organization and I did lots of work with them and she worked in this organization. So I already had a relationship with her and I found out she is founding CSW and I came on board.”(Interview 5, 2020)

Besides the economic disadvantage of entering CSOs through either unpaid internships or low-paid entry-level position, a prevailing informal mechanism to get access is also networking. Similar to the lack of financial resources, BAME are also likely to lack social capital and are commonly not part of social circles where they can get exposed to the informal information about job opportunities. This aspect is interrelated with the intersectional perspective through which other factors play a significant role on the limited access of BAME in social networks, including here: the education, the social location where they live and are engaged. Commenting on networking, one of the interviewees said:

“The group of people I hang out in X university can’t be compared to the ones who studied in Oxford University who have more opportunities to know the right people, at the right time, in the right place! (Interview 6, 2020).

“As you know you have to pay a fortune to get an education in UK, black people most of the times can’t even afford to get into a university” (Interview 1,2020)

“I come from a very small town in the east side of London where everybody knows each other and there is in not much going on. But if you live in central London, your chances to know people in power whom posses’ information about job opportunities are higher! Well, the town girl doesn’t have enough money for that ahaha! (Interview 4, 2020)

Small-scale circles of power, which perform the function of networking and accumulating social capital, are another exclusionary mechanism for BAME individuals to enter the sector. One of the main practices of how social closure is carried out is through credentialism or otherwise explained as using the educational background as a way of excluding some groups

(Khalanyane, 2012:227). The dominant group is linked to the similar smaller networks which serve similarly as a mechanism to both reproduce their privileged circles getting access to opportunities and rewards and hence reproducing inequalities for BAME (Essed and Goldberg, 2002: 1066).

5.1.4 Ethnization of roles

The numerical representation of ethnic minority groups is not the only indicator displaying the engagement of a given CSO towards a more effective diversity and inclusion strategy for socio-economic disadvantaged groups in general and BAME in particular. Thus, it is essential to look into a more qualitative approach to the positioning of BAME within the hierarchical structures of CSOs and what kind of roles and responsibilities are given to them when entering the sector. One unanticipated finding advancing the analysis of this theme was the emphasis that the participants put into the attitudes and behaviours of the dominant group (usually the recruiters) when individuals with a BAME background had applied for more senior positions.

“I was applying for a job position as a project coordinator in one of the most well-known organizations in London, and once i entered the room for an interview a white pretty lady said to me... You must be the intern working here! Do you feel like you fit in here?” (Interview 3,2020)

A common view amongst interviewees and subjects sharing their lived experiences in Twitter was that racial and ethnic minority groups are often associated with positions which are in the lowest rank of the hierarchy, including here frontline workers, service workers (maintenance, cleaner, etc.), at most as line managers. In their accounts of the events surrounding this practice, some of the subjects indicated that:

“I was asked at an event by someone from another charity, “surely your parents must run a corner shop or a petrol station or something?” She seemed shocked when I said they were both working in the Civil Service.” (Interview 1,2020)

“I’m the director of a national migrant rights charity but people have assumed, on countless occasions, that I’m associated with the organisation as a beneficiary.” (Twitter, 20th of August 2019)

Some felt that this comes as a result of the unconscious bias that the recruiters have for POC where in many cases it results in the recruitment of white individuals with the same credentials as a person of colour or even less qualified than the latter. Whilst others suggested that as a BAME individual, you can enter the sector as long as you don't aspire for positions with higher responsibilities in the career ladder.

“I get the gripe from directors about being mistaken as interns or secretaries, but one of the big problems with the charity sector is that a lot of us POC are in those positions and that it's so hard for us to move ‘up’.” (Twitter, 20th of August 2019)

Essed (1991:190) construes these phenomena through two mechanisms "objectification: an overemphasis on difference" and "management of cultural difference through ethnization which both pave the way for the culturalization of racism to take place. The position and roles within the organisational structures are generally compared with the standard norm which categorises BAME in "belonging to" or "not belonging to" a given position. Therefore, Essed adds, "whites question the presence of POC when their situation script does not include the latter" (ibid). The data shows that BAME are more likely to be associated with positions in the lowest rank of the organisation, thereby leading to an ethnisation of roles and positions embedded in the culture and norms.

5.2 Fitting in

5.2.1 Micro aggressions

In all cases, the participant mentioned that they had experienced constant micro aggressions due to their skin colour and classical stereotypes, which are associated with particular ethnicities such as Black and Asian. Even when BAME manage to gain accessibility to the sector, they yet claim to experience continuous pressure of being assimilated with the white dominant environment and get many questions, which tend to point out that they are not originally British and that makes a difference, which ought to be explained. Some of the following examples were the most repeated situations that almost all the participants had encountered.

“A new starter has just migrated here from Australia so “this person” got everyone who was born outside the UK to stand up. Interesting. Then he asks “x person” (director of finance) where she is from. She is sitting but she is also black. She just says Leicester. It was awful.” (Twitter, 4th of September 2019)

“I had one white woman who kept asking “where are you from, where are you from” and I am always saying like I am from Tottenham which is the area that I live. And she says, “Where are you really from?” And I say I am from Nigeria. She says: Oh I did my gap year in Ghana, can you believe that they all have mobile phones? As there people from Ghana are bloody savages.” (Interview 3,2020)

All aforementioned excerpts explicate a tendency of objectification of racial and ethnic minorities in the working environment by posing to them questions and underlying negative messages such as insisting on knowing their origins (Essed, 1991:190), by clearly implying that their skin colour can't allow them to self-identify as British. Moreover, the participant highlighted situations in which they have been attributed with characteristics, which are not accepted by the white-dominant culture and are consequently problematised. Essed (1991:199) links these behaviours and attitudes as a tendency for cultural denigration, which stands among other mechanisms intending at legitimating and maintaining cultural control. In this regard, if other individuals manifest features and cultural aspects that do not fall along in the continuum of dominant values, they are considered to carry a "cultural disadvantage" (ibid). The following examples illustrate these theoretical concepts:

“I have been called aggressive, confrontational, just for saying that things should be done slightly differently” (Interview 4,2020)

“People think that because I am black my name can't be XXX because that's like a white name so it has to be XXX even though my name is XXX on my email and everything, people insist on saying XXX because I can't have a white name.” (Interview 6,2020)

5.2.2 Socializing activities

The socialising activities constitute a significant part of working life within the agency deemed to play a role in adapting to the culture of the organisation, being part of the group dynamics and also serves as an instrument in establishing contacts with groups in power. Therefore, the way these social activities are organised and whether or not they take into account the interests and needs of all individuals are a crucial indicator in determining the

inclusion and exclusion of the latter. Most of the subjects in this study point out that all the activities in the CSOs they have been working so far are "build for white people", and in many cases, they have felt excluded. Moreover, they stress that British people have an extensive drinking culture; thereby one of the main socialising activities is having a drink with colleagues in pubs which are predominantly white. One of the interviewee's comments on this issue by stating that in many cases she has felt as an outsider:

"I don't to go to those white pubs where everyone stares at me cuz I'm the only black woman in there. That look in their face makes me feel like I don't belong there"
(Interview 5, 2020)

In other cases, the intersection of race/ethnicity and religion has been brought into attention. One of the interviewees expressed that the socialisation by means of alcohol is very excluding for her since she is Muslim. In contrast to that, another subject shared the experience in Twitter describing a situation where he was believed to be a Muslim based on his origin and skin colour:

At a charity event...senior charity leader who I've only met twice: "We are off to the pub but I assume you don't drink, but of course you're welcome to join us" "Why do you assume that?" "Sorry, I just thought cos of your religion" "Yeh, I'm not Muslim." (Twitter, 3rd of September 2019)

Many other interviewees have shared personal and witnessed experiences of overt racism when one of their colleagues was drunk and utilised racist slurs. Being overruled by the majority is one of four mechanisms for cultural control and cultural management through which the needs, viewpoints, and interest of BAME community are often ignored by further legitimising the dominant values and style habits through the majority rule. According to Essed (1991:204) "majority rule may be experienced as tyranny when the oppression of BAME is repeatedly legitimised through majority decisions in everyday situations".

5.2.3 Assimilating to the dominant norms

An additional form of cultural control is the everyday situations where besides the adoption of the dominant cultural aspects, BAME have to "blend in" also through their outfits or the way they present themselves. Many black women interviewed confessed about their daily routines, having to struggle to appear and sound as "white" as they can.

“I have to wake up every morning an hour earlier to prepare my wig, so I don’t end up being stared and teased by my white colleagues” (Interview 6, 2020)

“One day I was talking with my colleagues about random stuff and then she had to leave to call one of the donors and she literally said to me ... I’m gonna use my white voice now to sound more reliable” (Interview 1, 2020).

One of the interviewees highlighted that if a BAME individual does not adjust to the ruling standards of beauty and outfit, then as a non-white person, they are commonly mistaken as a waitress, cleaners, etc.

“I once ran the digital and comms part of a programme for a charity for 4+ years. At an event, a senior rep from a partner of the programme assumed I was a waiter and asked me to bring her drinks - twice.” (Twitter, 4th of September 2019)

*“This #CharitySoWhite tweet sadly resonates with my experience in the UK. When I was a director, I was mistaken for as an administrator, a waitress serving drinks at our own and other's AGMs and whoever it is who is **not** a director.” (Twitter, 19th of August 2019)*

5.3 Getting on

5.3.1 Lack of role models and BAME co-workers

In order to prevent this feeling of isolation and marginalisation, which discourages BAME people from working in the sector, all participants said that organisations needed to have a higher representation of BAME staff, especially in senior roles to provide allies, support networks, and role models. White management and white-dominance were highlighted as the most overt and outright forms of racial exclusion within the civil society sector. In all cases, the participants reported that throughout their entire career trajectory in the civil society they had encountered only white-dominated working environments, including organisations they have previously worked for and the organisation they are currently employed at. Moreover, a common view amongst interviewees was that the majority of them have never had a person of colour as their superior in the sector. As underlined by one of the participants:

“I have never had a manager who is a person of colour in the charity sector ever. Apart from a women's organization, i have never had a director who isn't a white man, even though the majority of fundraisers are women.” (Interview 4,2020)

According to Parkin (as cited to Murphy) an instrument of activating the restriction to rewards for outsiders is the monopolisation of the most influential positions in the hierarchisation of a given agency. The decision-making structures are the primary segments of the CSOs to be monopolised by the groups, which are in power by implicitly drawing the group boundaries of dominant and subordinated groups. A clear finding is that all the participants were aware of these two highlighted issues being spread all over the civil society sector in the UK, not only as an internal racial deficit of the organisation they were working for. Participants explained how, as a BAME, they are more inclined to work in a racially diverse organisation. Thus, we arrive at a circular problem because there would have to be a high level of BAME people in the sector in the first place, especially in leadership roles to encourage more BAME people to apply.

“Having more people in decision making roles and hiring roles, who come from a non-white background is so inspiring! The more BAME individuals you see working in this positions the more optimistic you get to aspire for a career in the charity sector.” (Interview 3, 2020)

“It is not just a matter of having more BAME people in senior roles for encouraging others to apply but it have also to do with them being more influential in decision-making structures and enhancing the opportunities for other BAME co-workers.” (Interview 1, 2020)

5.3.2 Denial of structural racism

A recurrent theme in the interviews was a sense amongst interviewees that the way racism is perceived and defined is not comprehensive; therefore the discussion about the existence of structural racism within the sector of civil society has emerged contradicting attitudes coupled with the resistance of organisations and individuals stating that there is no such thing as racism in the sector. In that sense, the definition that the dominant group (white people) give to racism is predominantly related to overt forms of racism, which are apparent and concrete in the workplace. Whereas the participants strongly underline that racism throughout the career trajectory is associated primarily with covert and invisible barriers, which hinder the career progression for POC. That being the case, the way racism is manifested can be

associated with unconscious bias and exclusionary practices along all stages in the career trajectory.

“I think they are invisible to white people but they are quite visible to people of colour. We can’t say that racism doesn’t exist because people are so fixated on that kind of like “did i see this interaction happen” through which it is very easy to say that no there is actually no racism because I didn’t see it happening” (Interview 2, 2020)

“But the thing about British people is that we are not overtly racist, we don’t say very terrible things out loud but we do terrible things slowly and in the background. But that is not what racism is, not just one acts being visible. I see racism everyday but I don’t see one white person being racist to a person of colour everyday.”(Interview 6, 2020)

Besides the analysis of economic approach built upon the components of resources and competition, the denial of structural racism is a mechanism, which goes beyond that by introducing an ideological conflict on how the reality is perceived by the dominant and the subordinated group. According to Essed (1991:271) "cognitive detachment or failing to take responsibility" is a mechanism of ideological conflict where the dominant group impose their view of reality to the subordinated group through a characterisation of "blindness to racism". When asked about this, the participants were unanimous in the view that white colleagues are unable to understand their realities and also fail to feel responsible for existing inequalities with ethnic and racial implications.

These differences on what individuals perceive as racism and to what extent it is present in the CSO has caused a great deal of discussion. In the Twitter platform of CSW where some individuals have shared their experiences, the interaction among various individuals commenting on particular experiences has served as a good source in identifying and analysing the individuals who are positioned in the denial part and those who support the statements by explaining that they have had similar experiences. Interestingly, the data from Twitter show that those who are sceptical about the validity of racism within the sector are mostly white-men working in leadership positions in the sector. In contrast, women of colour have been more supportive of these public statements by reconfirming that they either witnessed or experienced the same situations themselves. Here is an example of such a particular interaction:

Figure 4 Visualization of online interaction on Twitter. First part.

<p>Shared experience: <i>“In one of my ex roles, as CEO of a small charity, like so many others I also cleaned the office to save money. When I resigned the White Male who took over from me was given a cleaner, a £5,000 pay increase for working 4 days (I worked 5), an assistant”</i> (Twitter, 20th of August 2019)</p> <p>Gender and Ethnicity: Woman of Colour</p>
<p>Reply to this tweet: <i>“It’s very common!”</i> (Twitter, 20th of August 2019)</p> <p>Gender and ethnicity: Woman of Colour</p>
<p>Reply to this tweet: <i>Probably untrue</i> (Twitter, 20th of August 2019)</p> <p>Gender and ethnicity: White-man leading a NGO in the UK</p>
<p>Reply to this tweet: <i>Sir, if you don't mind, I find it rather presumptuous for you to doubt my experience without talking to me. The organisation settled before an employment tribunal</i> (Twitter, 20th of August 2019)</p> <p>Gender and ethnicity: Woman of Colour (the individual who shared this experience)</p>
<p>Reply to this tweet: <i>“Did the white person before you have the same benefits? Did you not consider the possibility that they did this because they saw how difficult the job was for you and didn't want their new hire to leave the same way you did?”</i>(Twitter, 20th of August 2019)</p> <p>Gender and ethnicity: White man working in management position in a NGO</p>
<p>Reply to this tweet: <i>“Any proof?”</i> (Twitter, 20th of August 2019)</p> <p>Gender and ethnicity: White Man</p>
<p>Reply to this tweet: <i>“I think it is important to note that I had been raising concerns with the trustees for some time. There was a handover period, surely if they wanted to make a change and bring in a cleaner they could have done it during the handover. They didn't. They bought the cleaner the first day after I left - they increased his pay during the handover pay, the JDs were identical. I was better qualified than him and had more experience of management. It was his first role as a CEO”</i> (Twitter, 20th of August 2019)</p> <p>Gender and ethnicity: Woman of Colour (the individual who shared this experience)</p>
<p>Reply to this tweet: <i>“This is crappy, but too many in the sector have similar tales, and it is not necessarily about discrimination, but sometimes it is. I'll tell you my story sometime loads worse”</i> (Twitter, 20th of August 2019)</p> <p>Gender and Ethnicity: Woman of Colour</p>
<p>Reply to this tweet: <i>“Why is that not surprising?”</i> (Twitter, 20th of August 2019)</p> <p>Gender and Ethnicity: White woman</p>

The excerpts stated above are an explicit illustration of the "disqualifying opponents of racism" mechanism of ideological conflict. This mechanism relies on the premise that the antiracist perspectives are widely problematized and questioned by the dominant group highlighting that BAME is unreliable sources in providing an explanation of racism thereby seeking to neutralise the functional power of BAME (Essed, 1991:273). A complementary

mechanism in understanding the full picture of this situation is the "tolerance of racism" that stresses how the dominant group tend to justify racist action by claiming that they had non-racial intentions (ibid.275). Besides these sceptical reactions and denial of racism, other exclusionary practices in some other cases demonstrate online hate-speech towards other ethnicities has been noted when individuals from the BAME community working in the sector have attempted to share their personal experience of racism.

Figure 5 Visualization of online interaction on Twitter. Second part.

<p>Shared experience: “Yesterday I gave some examples & some thoughts on #CharitySoWhite - here are just some of the many trolls who stepped in. You can see why shit goes unsaid. All it would have taken is some big charity leaders to acknowledge the validity of the hashtag & discussion. Crickets.” (Twitter, 21st of August 2019)</p> <p>Gender and ethnicity: Men of Colour working in the civil society sector</p>
<p>Reply to this tweet: “No. Disgusting race-baiting scumbag, you want to try to abuse nice people who are trying to do the right thing, trying to be respectful and so on.” (Twitter, 21st of August 2019)</p> <p>Gender and ethnicity: White-man</p>
<p>Reply to this tweet: “The people with the lowest in group preference in the world are getting seriously fucking sick of being slagged off by the people with the highest in group preference in the world. You are pampered protected classes in the west as minorities, when your number in the billion+” (Twitter, 21st of August 2019)</p> <p>Gender and ethnicity: White man</p>
<p>Reply to this tweet: “Never give these chicky third world beggars charity. They’ll only throw it back in your face and call you a racist.”</p> <p>Gender and ethnicity: White man (Twitter, 21st of August 2019)</p>

5.3.3 Lack of career progression opportunities

Participants discerned that the inability for BAME to professionally progress and get promoted into senior management positions was another component causing BAME under-representation, particularly in terms of diversifying white management teams. As pointed out in the getting in stage, BAME employees are centralised in low-level roles, which lack the possibilities for career progression, even when they had years of experience within the sector. This issue of BAME employee's limitation to advance in the career ladder within the civil society sector was underlined in every interview as a challenge to retaining and attracting BAME talent.

“I am always the most senior POC that there is, and I am in a junior role (hahaahha). So that’s ridiculous! I am literally about to start a management role and all my friends are like shit, you are the most senior person of all of us now. And it’s ridiculous to start in a management role after 9 years of experience in the charity sector. We just don’t have the same opportunities as white people, which are basically handed to them by their networks. In order to get there, i feel like you need to compromise a little bit and suck up to white people, and I am just not willing to do that at all (ahahahah)” - (Interview 2,2020)

Even when the participants have been promoted in leadership roles, they have been followed by other situations of discrimination, racism and micro aggressions.

“When I was promoted to a senior management position, I was offered a salary less than a quarter of my younger, whiter, less experienced predecessor.” (Twitter, 20th of August 2019).

“When I got promoted and other colleagues asked me to my face if it was "positive discrimination". The stares I got anytime I interacted with another black colleague. So many times I got "confused" with another WOC colleague.” (Twitter, 19th of August 2019).

5.3.4 A gap between funding agencies and beneficiaries

The most striking result to emerge from the data is the emphasis that the participants put on the underrepresentation of BAME in funding agencies which essentially decide over how the scarce financial resources are distributed to various target groups and programs. Although this problem has become part of the recent discourse, yet in CSOs, the underrepresentation of BAME in senior management positions appears to be more debated. Considering that CSOs rely to a great extent on external funds and are persistently competing for limited resources, the racial and ethnical composition of their hierarchical structures is an essential determinant to understand how the exclusionary practices are exercised through a top-down perspective. A couple of participants who have been working in the field of fundraising in this sector put it:

“Who is able to decide where funding goes? Racism in funding is also one of our biggest issues, the people who are working in trusts and foundations and giving out major donors, they are all white men. They are literally deciding how people in lower socio-economic brackets are going to live basically. What programs are gonna support them when they have never spoken to somebody who is from one of those backgrounds” (Interview 5, 2020).

I think it is in funding and governing bodies. The charity commission has failed to investigate many instances of racism (Interview 2, 2020)

The participants, on the whole, demonstrated that the predominantly white funding agencies have a propensity to allocate their funds for the most part to other white dominated organisations. This process represents a classic social closure practice where the access to resources is circulated among limited groups with a certain degree of similarity and privileges and by closing off the opportunities for access to other subordinated groups, including BAME. Some other participants argue that this brings about a gap of white-led foundations allocating funds to white dominated organisation without taking into account the necessities and demand of the beneficiaries, thereby hindering the main function of CSOs as representative and advocates of marginalised groups. In his attempt to explain how the existing structures are maintained, Weber (as cited in Albiston and Green, 2018:6) argues that these practices endure because the concern in maintaining their privileges and benefits can overcome the concerns about efficient performance. To illustrate the latter, one of the subjects shared on twitter the experience where getting funding conquers any other ethical issue:

“I turned one guy down for funding. Not convinced his org was benefitting all communities equally. His response: ‘do you know research shows that black people were happier when they were in subordinate positions’— #CharitySoWhite (Twitter, 19th of August 2019).

5.3.5 Dropping out of the sector

The constant feeling of being an "outsider" coupled with the barriers in every step of their career path has resulted in BAMEs' demotivation to invest into career progression within the sector, seeking to get employed in other sectors, and eventually drop out of the CSOs. When the interviewees were asked on the reason why they decided to work in this particular sector and if they visualise themselves to continue working there in the future, all of them answered that they would rather invest into a different career direction. Interestingly, the subjects point out that they have experienced a major disappointment in regards to the functions of CSOs. In their words, there exists a gap between what BAME expect the sector to be and how it actually is. The subjects argue that the leading reasons why they have in the first place joined the CSOs was to contribute to a better world grounded on values of representation, equal opportunities and participation. Instead, they found themselves working in a sector, which is business-like and does not take into account the perspectives of the disadvantaged groups.

“I don’t think I see myself working in the charity sector, I’d rather work in the private sector, making more money and less hypocrites! (Interview 2, 2020)

“Nobody enters the charity sector to become rich. You get in as a naive idealist willing to change the world and soon realize that their system is as racist and elitist as every other thing in our society!” (Interview 3, 2020)

“Talented BAME people are leaving the charity sector - I’ve seen them leave and so have I” (Twitter, 20th of August 2019)

In the same vein, as the literature suggests, the civil society sector is expected to bear on distinctive values in comparison to other sectors. Hence, this is reflected in the expectations that the employees have on the abstract ideals and ethical dimensions that the sector should bring about. As Eikenberry & Kluver (2004:136) suggests, these expected values set out some societal expectation through which how the organisations achieve their goals deemed to be as important as the goal themselves.

On a cultural level, there is the pervasive assumption in charities that because you're 'nice people' doing 'good work' that you're exempt from structural discrimination or unconscious bias. #CharitySoWhite (Twitter, 20th of August 2019)

The pattern is usually: I give them some (free) advice and point them towards resources, they put in some effort, find that they're the only person who's willing to do that, the organisation doesn't support them, they get demotivated, and then eventually move on. (Twitter, 20th of August 2019)

6 Discussion

This chapter analyses the career trajectory as a whole by pointing out and illustrating the differences and similarities between the different stages, namely, getting in, fitting in and getting on by systematically referring to the empirical variables of the analytical framework.

6.1 Quality of relations: Open and Closed Relations

According to the data explicated above, it can be clearly noticed that the more an individual progresses into the career trajectory, the more he/she encounters closed relationships. The first stage, getting in delineates a relatively open relationship, in the sense that gaining access to enter the civil society sector is provided to everyone willing to work in the sector. The interviewees and the experiences shared on Twitter gave an explanation to this by relying on two main arguments. First, it is in the interest of CSOs to employ BAME in frontline positions (entry-level positions) since their background is more relatable to the beneficiaries, thereby bringing an advantage for the agency. Second, the presence and inclusion of BAME in the sector regardless of their position are of high relevance to create a favourable image of a multicultural and diverse workplace environment. This view is supported by Weber (1968:128) who argues that a relationship remains open when the dominant group in power believe that the acceptance of the outsiders (BAME) brings a given improvement and benefit to the agency.

The second stage, fitting in shall be defined as a semi-open relationship since it is two-folded. First, the relationship is maintained open for BAME yet with the expectation for them to assimilate with the dominant culture. This relationship is kept open under the condition of adopting the prevailing norms, values, attitudes and unless a BAME worker aspires to progress in the career trajectory. Second, in case BAME workers are striving to get promoted to senior-level management, the relationship tends to become more closed and controlled by adopting invisible barriers which persistently discourage BAME from aspiring and applying for leadership positions.

The third stage, getting on is based upon a closed and controlled relationship driven by the goal of reducing the competition of scarce resources (senior management positions) between the "insiders" (dominant group in power) and "outsiders" (BAME). According to Weber (1968:129), when the number of competitors increases for the equal share of resources, those in power are interested in minimising the level of competition by taking up exclusionary practices. Besides this economic determinant, the cloning culture concepts adds that this is not purely a competition about maintain resources but also a tendency to allow entry to the inner circles of privileged groups only those individuals who share same characteristics or as otherwise defined by Essed and Goldberg (2002:1069) under the criteria of sameness and likeness. The given examples of; networking activities, hiring bias and the pressure to fit in, demonstrates the fall of the paradigm of embracing differences while career progression on the basis of sameness and likeness flourishes.

6.2 Modes of Closure: Exclusionary and Usurpatory Practices

The interviews and shared experiences in the twitter account of CSW, in particular, have served as a platform to analyse the interaction between the dominated and subordinated groups in multiple dimensions. The CSW movement represents a standard case of usurpatory mode exercising power in an upward direction (getting in towards getting on stage) thereby seeking to have an equal share in access to resources, positions, opportunities, benefits and rewards as their white counterparts. They do so by establishing platforms to advance the antiracist agenda and being vocal about the structural racism in the sector. On the other hand, the groups in power exercise this power in a downward direction by employing various exclusionary practices impacting BAMEs' career trajectories both in macro and micro levels. Since the usurpatory mode constitutes a potential threat to the stratification order (Parkin, as cited in Murphy, 1984: 549), the groups in power adopt those exclusionary practices, which lay the ground for the legitimation of their benefits while neutralising the ever-increasing power of the subordinated groups, mentioning here the monopolisation of influential roles, denial of structural racism, tolerance of racism and disqualifying elements of racism.

This conflict between the exclusionary and usurpatory modes is persistent in all three phases of the career trajectory. Individuals, groups or movements in each of the stages of career path simultaneously apply elements of both exclusionary and usurpatory modes.

Commonly, the usurpatory mode is found in the getting in and getting on stage where the struggle for upward mobility lies at the heart of accessing the resources of the getting on stage. Whereas, the exclusionary practices are established by the groups in power, embedding these practices into the structures and hierarchies of the agency which produces particular inequalities for BAME. Unlike the usurpatory mode of closure, the exclusionary one is widely sustained and activated on a daily basis by the processes, actors, cultural norms and values of the other two stages, namely getting in and getting on, thereby ensuring the maintenance and reproduction of their power and privileges. This finding is consistent with that of Essed (1991:50) underlining that practices created in a macro level are reproduced in a micro level whereby integrating these exclusionary practices with racist implications through everyday situations and social relations. Besides these two modes of closure, there exists an intermediate mode named "dual closure" where individuals/groups in an intermediate (fitting in stage) position utilises mainly one mode of social closure and complement it with the opposite mode (Murphy, 1984:550). The data have shown that in all stages of career trajectory BAME individuals apply this dual closure in two different directions. In other words, the interviewed BAME (organisers of CSW) continuously utilised usurpatory closure by advocating for equal access to career progression as their white counterparts. Nevertheless, they complemented it with the opposite mode of exclusionary closure in the sense that in each of the career stages, they advance through the advancement mechanisms build by the dominant group.

6.3 Object of Control: Individual and Collective

This element of analysis brings a comparative approach between the existing structural barriers and the individual possibilities in penetrating the established exclusionary practices in each of the stages of the career trajectory. In addition, it highlights how the level of organisation and group power influences this process. In conclusion, the more BAME's progresses into the career trajectory, the more structural barriers they encounter. Also, the higher one gets into the hierarchical levels, the more one finds the presence of a small group of people controlling and enabling these structural barriers. These results corroborate to a great extent the findings in the previous work of Weber (1968:128) and Essed (1991:40) claiming that power and privileges are maintained and reproduced through groups and not merely by individuals.

The evidence from this study suggests that racial and ethnic minorities working in CSOs come across structural barriers and everyday racism throughout their entire career trajectory. In other words, the exclusionary practices are not segregated. Instead, they are deeply rooted in various structural levels of a given agency, starting from the micro-level such as everyday interactions to macro-level policies in relation to promotion and recruitment. However, it is fundamental to distinguish between exclusionary practices, which turn into impediments for BAME community, and exclusionary practices with racial implications. In the getting in stage, some of the exclusionary practices (unpaid internships and networking) apply to everyone willing to join the CSO, thereby indicating a moderated presence of structural barriers and implying individual barriers. The personal and family socio-economic position play a role in determining whether a BAME person can overcome this structural barrier by entering the sector. On the other hand, this stage is yet highly influenced by the institutionalised practices and norms with racial implications such as hiring bias, ethnicisation of roles, low-paid entry-level positions, etc.

In the fitting in stage, in comparison to other stages of the career trajectory, the structural barriers are principally displayed by means of cultural control and revolve around group identity in setting the boundaries as well as the norms and values that BAME should get adjusted to. The exclusionary practices are contemplated as structural barriers given that the persistent social relations, attitudes, behaviours with racist connotations within the hierarchies of the agency lay the ground for everyday racism. When the latter is integrated in everyday situations through exclusionary practices, it activates underlying power relations (Essed, 1991:50). Furthermore, when overt and covert racism is integrated into the everyday situations in the working environment, racism becomes unquestionable and is further embedded into practices which systematically reproduces everyday racism (ibid).

In the getting on stage, the power dynamics become more complex whereupon the structural barriers are strengthened to a greater extent, given that the group in power seeks to minimise the potential threats from the outsiders (BAME) in their efforts to gain an equal share of their resources, benefits and rewards (Weber, 1978:128). The lack of a proactive approach in tackling structural racism in the civil society sector is one amongst other indicators showing that the dominant group aim to maintain their power and privileges. When the insiders are demanded, by groups of outsiders, to act upon the monopolisation of these resources, they tend to adopt the mechanisms such as the denial and tolerance of racism, hence causing an ideological conflict (Essed, 1991:274)

6.4 Reproduction of Power & Privileges: Cloning Culture and Meritocracy

This study served as a platform in understanding whether its subjects attributed the experienced barriers in different stages of the career trajectory to internal or external factors. The internal factors are here seen as elements of the meritocracy ideology: skills, efforts and capacities, whereas the external factors are related to the structural barriers generated by actors within and outside the sector. The findings of this study indicate that throughout the entire career trajectory, BAME attributed the obstacles they came across to structural barriers while stressing the absence of meritocratic elements. Furthermore, they pointed out that meritocracy is seen as another mechanism strengthening the existing invisible barriers for BAME while establishing an image of a diverse and inclusive sector that provides equal opportunities to everyone regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, sex, class, religion, etc. This finding reinforces what Essed and Goldberg (2002:1067) suggested, "The myth of meritocracy has served the cloned reproducibility of white, masculine-dominated, elite cultures".

The presence of these structural barriers in all the stages of the career trajectory, as perceived by the participating BAME's, shows that cloning culture is not merely an exclusionary practice exempting BAME to attain the opportunities and rewards, but it is deeply rooted in the structures, hierarchies, processes, practices, culture, norms and values of the civil society organisations. All the identified exclusionary practices starting from recruitment policies and socialising activities to promotion constitute a filtering mechanism to reproduce sameness and likeness as the principal criteria. This finding affirms the definition of the cloning culture itself as "the systematic reproduction of sameness which is deeply ingrained in the organisation and reproduction of culture and in the racial, gendered and class structures of society in particular" (Essed and Goldberg, 2002:1067)

6.5 Object of Conflict: Economic, Cultural and Ideological

It is noteworthy to highlight that the exclusionary practices were manifested not merely as a pure competition over resources but also as a battle over cultural control and ideological

conflict. The monopolisation of influential roles, hiring bias, unpaid internships, ethnization of roles, are illustrations of the basic agenda of cultural diversity which Essed (1991:186) summarises as "the pursuit of fair access to and use of resources" or otherwise known as the common concerns of social closure. Notwithstanding, the findings demonstrate how the power relations under the framework of BAME workers in CSOs, encapsulate other exclusionary practices which exceed the basic agenda are strongly related to both the hidden agenda for cultural diversity (norms and values) and the agenda of the agenda (ideological conflict). Microaggressions, socialising activities and assimilation are examples of the hidden agenda of cultural diversity paving the way for the culturalization of racism. The denial of racism is another classical mechanism of the "agenda of the agenda" where the conflict over the definition of realities proposed by dominant and the subordinated group is demonstrated. Nevertheless, some of these agendas are more prevalent in one stage of the career trajectory rather than the other. The "getting on" stage is predominantly characterised by the economic and ideological conflict. Considering that the dominant group is preoccupied with minimising the competition for scarce resources and restricting the access to them for the outsiders, the economic conflict is central to this stage of the career trajectory. Besides, when asked to act upon equal distribution of resources and rewards and to acknowledge the existence of racism, the ideological conflict plays out. In the same vein, Essed (1991:274) points out that generally speaking the agencies acknowledge the importance of embracing diversity by adopting policies to address this issue but in parallel they deny the existence of racism when it comes to recognising it and acting upon it. This author illustrates this argument through the ethnization mechanism, which concerns the management of cultural difference and where the dominant group decides how much of a cultural difference will be tolerated (ibid-208).

The "fitting in" stage is marked by a cultural conflict between the dominant and subordinated group over the supreme or disadvantaged values, norms, attitudes and behaviours. The findings of this study suggest that the cultural conflict is present in all stages of career trajectory, yet it is more peculiar in the fitting in stage where the factors of group identity and cultural assimilation prevail. Some of these invisible barriers are carried out not only through the competitive approach of maintaining the resources but also through cultural control. The latter expresses the power exercised from the dominant group towards the dominated group by constantly pressuring them towards the assimilation with the dominant culture (Essed, 1991:190).

Lastly, the "getting in" stage is characterised by a combination of economic and cultural conflict. The economic conflict from the subordinated groups comes as a response to

the macro level policies established by the dominant group that is aimed at maintaining their power and privileges and reproducing the inequalities for the outsiders (BAME). People of colour claim that the structural barriers they face before entering the sector such as access to education, disadvantaged socio-economic background, etc. are not taken into account when creating the mechanisms of getting access to opportunities and rewards, thereby reproducing a circle of elitist individuals with an equal privileged background. On the other hand, the cultural conflict is also expressed by the means of recruitment policies and the associated unconscious bias of the recruiter in the pursuit of the "perfect fit" into the dominant culture and supreme values. This represents enforcement of the cloning culture that sets out the preference of a specific type over another type through which the less desirable type encounters this process of dehumanisation (Essed and Goldberg, 2002:1067)

7 Conclusions and Final Remarks

The institutionalization of the meritocratic age and egalitarian values has portrayed an image of a postmodernist society where the impact of race, class, gender and other social identities are deemed to be no longer a determinant in one's opportunities for upward mobility in the labour market. Hence, our democratic societies are constructed to envision a post-racial society in which ethnic minorities have equal opportunities for career advancement as their white counterparts and their success is first and foremost attained based on their efforts, capacities and talent. The civil society sector, like other sectors, represents a segment of our society where the myth of meritocracy and post-racial society are incorporated in their structural organization while the inequalities between privileged white and other ethnic minorities persist. As Bhopal (2018:24) argues "white privilege has maintained its dominance in more covert institutional ways that can appear to be non-racial and non-racist".

This investigation was undertaken to draw attention to the obstacles that BAME encounter during their career trajectory, thereby seeking to gain insights into explaining their underrepresentation in senior management positions in the third sector. This study has shown that BAME individuals in the sector not only lack equal access to opportunities and rewards but also come across various structural obstacles that impede their possibilities for upward mobility. The triangulation of the interviews and twitter data revealed the barriers that BAME encounter are not displayed only when they aim for the leadership positions, but they take place throughout out their entire career path within the sector. Beyond the three conceptual phases proposed for the analytical framework, the empirical evidence from this study indicate that in many cases BAME are disadvantaged even before entering the sector and continue to face racism and other hindrances even in cases they get promoted into the upper echelons.

To avoid the trap of falling into essentialism, this thesis has provided a distinction between exclusionary practices and cultural norms, which evolve into particular barriers for BAME due to other interrelated identities of their personal background (class, gender, religion, etc.) and the practices that bear on explicit racial implications. Notwithstanding both forms of practices and cultural norms contribute equally to the creation of impediments for upward mobility, thereby reproducing the on-going inequalities for BAME and further legitimizing the existing structural barriers. The identified systematic

exclusionary practices grounded on race and ethnicities are a validation to the CSW stance on the existence of institutional racism within the sector. Overall, this study strengthens the idea that BAME constantly experience everyday racism activated through the incorporation of racism into everyday situations through various practices in both micro and macro levels (Essed, 1991:50). Taken together, the results of this study suggest that the implemented practices and embedded cultural norms are driven by homogeneity as a socially ruling value instead of embracing differences and attracting BAME talents. Therefore, confirming the widespread presence of cloning culture in multiple levels of the third sector. Although civil society is expected to be the leading actor in fostering the diversity and inclusion policies, in practice they not only display the same level of underrepresentation of BAME in senior management positions as other sectors but also undergo a range of exclusionary and racist practices.

In addition, this study raised important questions about the nature of practices and cultural norms that are comparably different from other sectors. Unlike other sectors, it is concerning that many BAME employees are dropping out of the sector given that these invisible barriers coupled with denial and no action upon it by the groups in power cause a large extent of demotivation to pursuit a career path within the third sector. Civil society operating business-like, not fulfilling its principal functions of advocacy and representative of marginalized groups, and being barely value-driven are other components which led many BAME to consider pursuing a career in other sectors.

This study adds to the growing body of quantitative research identifying the issue of BAMEs' underrepresentation, by adopting an interdisciplinary analytical framework incorporating three fundamental dimensions laying the ground for exclusionary practices: scarce resources, norms and values, ideological conflicts. This inquiry contributes to a holistic understanding of the career advancement obstacles by providing a more in-depth insight into the numerical representation of BAME in the third sector. Within the framework of power relations, the study enhanced the understanding of how the power and privileges of the dominant group are both maintained and reproduced laying the groundwork for future research into the reproduced structural inequalities for BAME in this sector. Being limited to a small sample of participants and referring to a particular socio-cultural context such as the UK, the findings are not generalizable. Notwithstanding these limitations, the study had an exploratory nature and can be further expanded by conducting similar research utilizing the cross-national comparisons. The latter would shed light upon how the power and privilege

positions are protected in various countries and how convergences and divergences play out in relation to the conflict over scarce resources, cultural norms and ideologies.

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Annex A - Interview Guideline

Statement

The interview will be used in my thesis where I am writing about institutional racism and how it is practiced in the charity sector. What I am particularly interested in with this interview is your personal accounts on institutional racism, the approach of Charity So White Campaign in tackling this issue, also challenges and difficulties that you have encountered as an organizer.

Your inputs will be anonymous and confidential and you are certainly not required to answer all the questions. If you have any questions regarding the interview guide, you can contact me at any time.

Theme 1: An introduction to CharitySoWhite Campaign and their call of action^[1]_[SEP]

Q1. What differentiates this campaign from other anti-racist work of other organizations in the charity sector?

Q2. In your values as a campaign you mention that your work is done through an intersectional lens? How does that take place in practice?

Q3. Why have you decided to be a POC led campaign?

Q4 .Why have you chosen to focus only on social justice/power and privilege and exclude diversity and inclusion strategies as part of the discussion?

Q4.1 What are some of the issues regarding diversity and inclusion plans in the charity sector?

Q5. Why have you chosen Twitter as the main platform to collect personal experiences? Has it reached the intended audience?

Q6. How is the perspective of service users included in this campaign?^[1]_[SEP]

Theme 2: Personal Experience with #CharitySoWhite Campaign and the charity sector

Q.1. What is your role/responsibility as an organizer in the Charity So White Campaign?

Q1.1 How did you find out about #CharitySoWhite Campaign and how did you become one of the organizers?

Q1.3 Why did you join this campaign as an organizer? What triggered your decision to actively participate?

Q.2. How have you personally been affected by institutional racism throughout your experience in the charity sector?

Q2.1 Has your participation in this campaign caused you any troubles at your present job?

Theme 3: Institutional racism in Charity Sector^[11]_[SEP]**Q1.** How is institutional racism practiced/manifested in the charity sector?

Q1. What are some of the most prevalent forms of institutional racism in the charity sector?

Q2. Are there any distinguished forms of institutional racism in the charity sector compared to other sectors?

Q3 . Could you give any examples of invisible forms of how institutional racism plays out in civil society?

Q4. Do people within different position within an organization encounter different forms of racism or discrimination?

Theme 4: Challenges and difficulties of the campaign^[11]_[SEP]

Q1. How have other organizations in the charity sector reacted to your campaign?

Q1.1 What has been the main argument against the existence of this campaign from other organizations in the sector?

Q1.2. Have you noticed any difference among organizational reactions to the campaign in terms of their size, subsectors, locations, etc.?

Q2. How have people in leadership positions reacted to this campaign? Has there been any resistance?

Annex B – Participant’s Background

Participant	Experience	Gender (self-identified)	Race and Ethnicity (self-identified)
Participant 1	9 years	Female (LGBT)	Mixed Race (Black and White British)
Participant 2	5 years	Female	British Indian
Participant 3	7 years	Female	Black British
Participant 4	6 years	Female	British Indian
Participant 5	8 years	Male	Black British
Participant 6	6 years	Female	Black British