

ETHICAL SELVES AND GLASS CHAINS

A COMPLEX UNDERSTANDING OF CAREER EXPERIENCES THROUGH
THE VOICES OF BRITISH PAKISTANI WOMEN

Shehla Riza Arifeen

Supervisors: Professor Caroline Gatrell and Professor John Burgoyne

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Declaration

I declare that the thesis is my own work and has not been submitted by me in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

Shehla Riza Arifeen

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I begin my thanks with God, who brought me to this point, in my life. While I attempt to unravel knowledge, I acknowledge that Allah is where knowledge resides. The first words of God to the Messenger, Prophet Muhammad (*salla Allahu `alayhi wa sallam: peace and blessings be upon him*) are:

“Read! In the Name of your Lord, who created (all that exists); created man from a clot. Read! And your Lord is the Most Generous” (Qur’an 96:1-3).

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Abstract

This thesis begins with an intellectual puzzle (Mason, 2002): why are there so few British Pakistani women (BPw) in managerial and professional positions in organizations in the UK? (EOC, 2007:9). A literature review based on the context: gender, ethnicity, religion and nationality, as well as the social phenomenon: career experiences, revealed a number of blind spots. These blind spots were theoretical, methodological and empirical. I theorize for an approach that links structures that create intersecting identit(y)ies to organizations, and then further. I posit that as identities are under construction, the identity of ethnic minority women in managerial and professional roles can be shaped in organizations and by organizations. However, *being a woman* is still an area of concern (Calas et al., 2014). Thus, gender needs to be in the forefront among all social categories (Broadbridge and Simpson, 2011).

The research findings reveal three insights. The first is linked to the discussion on choices that women make with respect to careers and employment (Hakim, 2002). The participants' in this research make choices based on **ethical selves**, borrowing on Foucault's technologies of self and ethical subject. Ethical selves focus on **both** structure and agency as playing a role in choices. The second insight is linked to the notion of free choice. Underpinning ethical selves is the insight of **glass chains**. The *glass chain* is a metaphor I am using to elucidate *invisible links* to a moral code. I posit the individual is never free from Discourse because she is linked to moral codes (Foucault, 1991a). While disciplinary power gives *no room* for manoeuvring, I

propose that glass chains do. It is *self-exercised* by an individual to *keep herself within her moral codes*, yet allows her freedom, although limited. *Glass chains* allow individuals to see themselves as ethical subjects and transform their lives ethically. The third insight is linked to the literature that postulates that identity is *in process* and the argument of Ely and Padavic (2007) that identity work continues in organizations. I demonstrate the identity of an individual is affected by organizations and their “inequality regimes” (Acker, 2006a). In addition, intersecting identities and glass chains working simultaneously within inequality regimes result in *invisible barriers* (**the inability to fit in or merge and become invisible**), further reproducing feelings of being the other. This creates a situation that perpetuates and reproduces inequalities.

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List of Abbreviations

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Black and Minority Ethnic.....	(BME)
Pakistani and Bangladeshi.....	(P&B)
British Pakistani women.....	(BPw)
British Muslim women.....	(BMw)
White British man.....	(WBm)
Biographical Narrative Interview Method.....	(BNIM)
Gender and Organization Studies.....	(GOS)
Management and Organization Studies.....	(MOS)
British Pakistani Origin.....	(BPo)
British White Majority.....	(BWM)

Chapter 1: Introductory Chapter

1.1 Chapter Synopsis

The purpose of this chapter is to set out the context for my thesis. This includes my personal context and my motivation for the study. I introduce the research context and present an overview of my assumptions and my expectations when my research journey began. I also present where I expect my contribution to knowledge would be situated after completion of this thesis. I acknowledge that my life experiences influence this research in various ways (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009). I thus bring to the fore my position as a researcher, conscious of the need for reflexivity.

1.2 Thesis Overview

This thesis begins with an intellectual puzzle (Mason, 2002): why are there so few British Pakistani women (BPw) in managerial and professional positions in organizations in the UK? (EOC, 2007:9). The Pakistani diaspora comprises the bulk of British Muslims in the UK (Werbner, 2004). The Muslim angle is important in the UK as within the next ten years, Muslims will account for one quarter in the working age population (Bunglawala, 2008). However, research (EHRC, 2011) contends that a substantial number of second-generation Muslim women remain economically inactive. Second generation refers to women who are born in the UK. I am venturing into relatively unexplored territory in academic research, as there is inadequate focused research on highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women in managerial and professional positions in MOS.

As will be demonstrated, gender, race/ethnicity/nationality and religion are all important categories of difference, identified *ex-post* (Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012). ‘*Ex-*

post' is where a number of salient categories of difference are identified, based on the specific context of the investigation: BPw. However, the extensive literature review of gender in MOS consistently and clearly points to gender still being an issue for women in management (Ely et al., 2011; Broadbridge and Simpson, 2011; Sabelis and Schilling, 2013; Calas et al., 2014). Accordingly the spotlight is on **'being a woman' within social categories, leading to a gender with position** (Broadbridge and Simpson, 2011). In addition, this large body of academic literature asserts *organizations themselves* are a hurdle to women's progression in the workplace. Thus, the broad research question: **How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers in professional and managerial contexts?** Importantly, "Experience is understood as the correlation between fields of knowledge, types of normativity, and forms of subjectivity in a particular culture." (Foucault, 2000:360). Foucault's works are the foundation on which this thesis resides, as I use the truth axis, the power axis and the ethical axis as an analytical framework.

Multiple social categories result in complexity. A method is required that would capture the complicated nature of the context. Intersectionality as a method has been suggested by a number of researchers. However, how it can be empirically used is still an open question. While Nash (2008) suggests "re-thinking intersectionality", Calas et al. suggest intersectionality as a social process (2014:41). Although intersectionality varies in the literature, there is a consensus that the focus should be on "multi-dimensionality of marginalized subjects' lived experiences" (Crenshaw, 1989:139). The literature positions P&B/BMw, as a socially marginalized group, within the context of the diaspora (because they are women) and country (because they are an ethnic and religious minority). Thus if marginality exists, it should be

visible in their voices. This led to the sub-question: **How are *intersections of gender with ethnicity, nationality and religion revealed in their narratives?***

The CMS literature review also renders organizational routines/practices as disciplinary devices to turn employees in the long run into compliant individuals. Thus, if an employee does not comply/ is not the norm/ does not fit in, the likelihood *that the employee* will progress in a career is lowered. Fitting in is essential for career progression. Fitting in is particularly problematic when it comes to women in careers. This has been demonstrated in research on butch lesbians who are expected to conform to gender norms in the workplace (Woodruffe-Burton and Bairstow, 2013). Research on ethnic minority women in careers in the UK demonstrates ethnic women struggle for corporate acceptance and progression (Fearfull and Kamenou, 2006). This leads to the sub-question: **How does the *BP woman* find the experience of being a manager/professional in the workplace?**

In addition, the career research review reflects a wide range of career models chosen by women. For ethnic minority women, career is complicated as they encounter both sexism and racism in the form of prejudices and discrimination in the workplace (Kamenou et al., 2012; Kamenou and Fearfull, 2006; Fearfull and Kamenou, 2006; Kamenou, 2008; Hite, 2007; Atewologun and Singh, 2010; Pompper, 2011; Bhatt, 2013). Indeed, the life component becomes more important for ethnic minority women (Kamenou, 2008). Hence the sub-question: **How have *BPw's careers progressed (developed/ evolved over time)?***

The above questions are addressed in this thesis with a focus on *process*. While I had a repository of information based on my literature review as knowledge in my brain, I wanted the data to 'speak' to me. I wanted to remain true to my study purpose, 'to

give voice' to the participants. For this reason, I focused on "what else" do they say, that is different from what I have read in empirical studies. Accordingly, I did "not restrict" myself to "a priori defined theme for study" (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2011:113). The findings were a surprise, as they led to a complex understanding of career experiences through the voices of British Pakistani women. I discovered that Discourses of gendered nurturing and otherness create the norms, expectations, beliefs and value systems of these BPw. I demonstrate each British Pakistani woman, though visible as a whole, in reality is intersectional identities (Werbner, 2013a) because, in each case, the identity carries a stigma. The internal dynamics of self-processes create the *ethical self*, which chooses careers as a means of resistance to hegemonic Discourses and transforms the self using Foucault's technologies of the self (Foucault, 1991a). The participants make choices based on ethical selves.

These individuals venture into the corporate world and encounter another power that expects compliance: the organization. I discover individuals are bound to the Discourses by *glass chains*. Individuals are never Discourse-free. **Adherence to certain moral codes is the *glass chain*.** Glass chains underpin ethical selves. *Glass chains* (imperceptible links to our moral codes (Foucault, 1991a)) allow **us limited movement**, but not complete escape from disciplinary power. *Glass* because they are invisible, and *chains* because they hold us back or constrain us without our being aware that *they even exist*.

I also demonstrate that the identity of an individual is affected by organizations and their "inequality regimes" (Acker, 2006a), further reproducing feelings of being the other. Based on the literature review, I expected to find more formal/informal barriers. I discover *invisible barriers* to progression; **the inability to fit in or merge**

and become invisible. The inability to fit in is a consequence of intersecting identities and glass chains, working simultaneously within inequality regimes. The invisible barriers create a situation that perpetuates and reproduces inequalities.

1.3 Personal Context

I classify myself as a second-generation Pakistani woman. My parents migrated to Pakistan in 1947. They trace their lineage to Persia, and until as recently as my mother's generation marrying outside the community¹ was unforgivable. My father originates from Banaras (India). I am therefore not a daughter of the soil and not indigenous to the region now called Pakistan. I do not have a feudal or rural background. My father was a senior government servant, and my mother was from an old business family with an established reputation. On reflection, I think I grew up as a privileged child. My parents sent me to a missionary school, where I learnt to read and write fluent English. Fluency in the English language is not the norm for the average Pakistani, where one-third of the population lives below the poverty line, and only 30 percent can just manage to write their names. I lived a sheltered life, with either paid help or family members doing things for me that were in the public domain. I have lived all of my adult life in one particular city. It was expected that I would go to college and then get married. I however was keen to have a job and had decided while in school that I wanted to get an MBA degree and be an executive in a multinational company. Consequently, when I was told by my father one day that my husband would be the one to decide whether I was *allowed* to work after graduating with the MBA degree, my reality was shaken. While my father expected me to follow

¹ By this I mean the diaspora from 'Isfahan'

the norm of being a housewife only and complying with my husband's wishes, I wanted the freedom to make a choice.

After completion of the MBA, I got married. I worked, full-time, part-time and then again full-time. Many years later, I was introduced to the field of women in management by my mentor², who encouraged me to carry out research on women managers in Pakistan. I wrote some Harvard Business School-style case studies and conducted some quantitative research on Pakistani managerial women.

I have experience as an assistant manager in a bank, and then a mid-level manager in a university reporting to the rector (I was in charge of job placements with two people reporting to me). Later I was CEO of a family business with a million dollar sales turnover, all in Pakistan. I bring all these experiences with me as a researcher (Presser, 2005) into my research.

1.3.1 The Intellectual Puzzle

While researching for a book chapter on Pakistani immigrant women in Britain (Halkias et al., 2010), I came across some information which made me wonder why there were so few British Muslim women in the workforce in the UK. This was my intellectual puzzle (Mason, 2002), given that these were *British* women. I knew that Pakistani women in management positions faced societal structural issues (Arifeen, 2012). I had assumptions based on my reading of predominantly Anglo-Saxon research on women in management and the research I had conducted so far (Haque and Arifeen, 2008; Arifeen, 2010a; Arifeen, 2010b; Arifeen, 2011; Arifeen, 2012). I assumed that British Muslim woman should be in higher numbers in management

²Dr Ehsan ul Haque, Lahore University of Management Sciences

positions compared to women in management in Pakistan (also Muslim). I assumed that as these women were living in a society/country (the UK) which allowed them the freedom to choose if they wanted to work, they would exercise that choice. Why were they not exercising that choice? In particular, the following quote troubled me most.

“The glass ceiling that most women experience is lower for ethnic minority women, with only 6% of employed Pakistani women and 9% of Black Caribbean women working as managers or senior officials, compared to 11% of white British women.”(Equal Opportunities Commission, 2007:9).

The glass ceiling is a phenomenon that women in managerial positions have to contend with globally (Ely et al., 2011), although it is harder for women of colour. Fearful and Kamenou (2006), based on a study conducted in the UK, contend that ethnic minority women continue to struggle for corporate acceptance and progression. It raised questions in my mind. Are organizations discriminating against this group despite laws? In particular, why are Pakistani-origin women the lowest among the BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) group in managerial positions, and why is the glass ceiling lower? Is the lower glass ceiling itself becoming a barrier to progression for these women?

1.4 Research Context: British Pakistani women

I began my journey by looking at some statistics in the UK. The first area that troubled me was that all ethnic groups appeared as BME. Within BME, statistics categorized them as Black and Minority Ethnic. BME implied there were two large minority groups: Black and an ‘other’. The ‘other’ comprised mainly South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi) in some reports, and British Muslims (Pakistani and Bangladeshi) in others. The number of Muslims in England and Wales is

2,706,066³. 43% of British Muslims in the UK were of Pakistani origin.⁴ The population of England and Wales on Census Day, 27 March 2011, was 56,075,912 (ONS, 2011), with British Pakistani at 1,124,511. The Pakistani diaspora constituted a significant portion of the BME (Institute, 2009). Secondly, there are around 2.3 million ethnic minority women in the UK (Government, 2008). They are of different religious and ethnic backgrounds. However, they have generally been lumped together in government statistics (the exception being ONS, 2011), as well as in management studies.

1.4.1 A blind spot in the literature

I next examined academic literature and found there has been some academic research (Dale et al., 2002b; Dale, 2002; Dale et al., 2002a; Bhimji, 2009; Dwyer, 1999a; Dwyer, 1999b; Dwyer, 2000; Hutnik and Street, 2010) on British Muslim women (BMw). 'British Muslim' has been assumed or implied as one category, even though there are many cultural differences between groups within that category (BMw): Pakistani and Bangladeshi. The same research has focused on finding out the different concerns and challenges which British Muslim women face in the UK. While much of the debate centres on identity in this body of work, there is a blind spot in this literature. Most of the research has focused on second-generation British Pakistani women, who are young girls still in school (Dwyer, 1999b, Hutnik and Street, 2010; Dwyer, 2000). Second-generation BPw refers to women born of Pakistani origin parent(s). They are either born in the UK or came to the UK as

³ <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/about-ons/business-transparency/freedom-of-information/previous-foi-requests/people--population-and-community/statistics-of-the-muslim-population-in-the-uk-for-2011--2012-and-2013/index.html>

⁴ <http://www.1stethical.com/about/british-muslim-statistics/>

infants. They went to primary school, secondary school, high school/college and university in the UK. Adult second-generation BPw and specifically *highly educated* adult BPw in professional and managerial positions have been largely overlooked (the exception being Fearfull and Kamenou, 2010). In Fearfull and Kamenou's 2010 study, BPw (11 managerial and non-managerial women) have been subsumed under BME. The implication is that since BPw are part of the ethnic minority group (BME), their problems would be similar. Conversely, their study demonstrates that culture/religion plays a role, even *within* BME women.

Most research on ethnic minority women has been carried out in the USA, the UK and Europe. Most management studies research in the USA suggests that ethnic minority managerial/professional women generally carry a double burden of gender and race (see for example Combs, 2003). Certain research implies that ethnic groups could be further marginalized because of their religion, thus making it a triple burden. Two different studies in the UK (Bradley et al., 2007; Bunglawala, 2008) have claimed that there is an added 'Muslim Penalty' for some ethnic groups, namely Pakistani and Bangladeshi. Some academic research suggests that British Pakistani women with higher educational qualifications (A levels and higher) are more likely to be economically active (Dale et al., 2002a). However, government reports suggest that the percentage of Muslim women in managerial and professional jobs is the lowest (EHRC, 2011), and there are comparatively few Black Caribbean, Pakistani or Bangladeshi women in management roles (Bradley et al., 2007). The government has made considerable efforts to focus on understanding inequality regimes in the workplace (Bhavani and PTI, 2006; Botcherby, 2006; Bradley et al., 2007; EOC England, 2006; EOC Scotland, 2006; United Kingdom, 2007). However, progress in increasing the numbers of BPw in the workforce seems limited.

While academic research could assume that BPw could be doing just as well as other BME women or British white women, it is just an assumption. Despite being a sizeable group among BME women in the UK, BPw are under-researched in UK-based academic research and in management studies in particular. As EHRC (2011:401) states, there are one in four Bangladeshi and Pakistani women working compared to nearly three in four White British women. The question automatically arises: why? EHRC (2011:406) cites Bunglawala's (2008) research to suggest that

“despite high levels of education, positive attitudes and family support to work among (this) second generation of Muslim women, just under half remain economically inactive, almost three times the rate of second generation Hindu women.”

This implies that within the South Asian context, religious differences (Hindu vs. Muslim) may play a part. In addition, as an employee, one faces a different set of challenges with a number of matters outside the control of the individual. Organizational cultures and practices are a ‘given’, and the individual has to work around them and fit into them (Grey, 1994). Therefore, while there has been some conjecture, focused research on highly educated (university educated) *second-generation* British Pakistani women who are employed at managerial and professional levels has not been carried out.

1.5 Research Purpose: *My intentions*

The GOS literature clearly points to gender still being a major matter (Broadbridge and Simpson, 2011; Calas et al., 2014). The purpose of this research was to talk to BP **women** who were in employment and had a career in order to understand career progression, to give voice to their experiences in managerial and professional positions and to detect barriers that could be creating the low numbers in management/professional roles. The intention was to highlight the issues and

challenges they were facing as *women* who have careers. This includes their perceptions of what they are and how they have reached where they are and where they think they would be going. This entailed taking an all-inclusive view of the social/culture/religious/ as well as the organizational context, as academic researchers argue that it is organizations which create inequality regimes (Acker, 2009). **Thus, the idea was to focus on multi-level exploration while keeping a focus on ‘gender with’** (Broadbridge and Simpson, 2011). My focus was also to produce excellent qualitative research (Tracy, 2010:840; see Annexure 1): worthy topic, rich rigour, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, and ethical and meaningful coherence.

1.6 Research Positionality (Rose, 1997): *My assumptions*

In this part, I explain why I draw on a primarily sociological approach to explain a phenomenon (career experiences), within sociology why I draw on feminist sociology and why I adopt a critical viewpoint, embracing feminist post-structuralism (Weedon, 1996). I draw on Alvesson and Kärreman (2011:25) and attempt to lay bare (myself and my research journey) to show how “researchers construct their constructions.” Throughout the thesis, a reflexive approach is used (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009).

1.6.1 The research discipline and the research field.

Within the field of gender, diversity and organization studies, Metcalfe and Woodhams (2012) critique MOS researchers for overlooking sociology as an orientation paradigm and for the lack of focus on inequality regimes that operate in a *society*. Metcalfe and Woodhams (2012) also argue that the focus on internal processes (by which they mean psychology) has been at the expense of structural

forms of in-equality, socio-political regimes and cultures (all areas of sociology).

They conclude (that

“a relational organizational social praxis should therefore be attuned to intersecting processes at micro, meso and global levels of organization and organizing.” (Metcalf and Woodhams, 2012:136)

This view is echoed by Syed and Ozbilgin (2009:2436), who argue for a relational framework that includes macro, meso and micro level and by Ely and Padavic (2007), who argue for linking micro and macro. They contend that in gender and organization studies (GOS), researchers have focused on studying whether sexes differ and not why they differ. If they differ, then Ely and Padavic state that feminist social psychologist literature talks about

“gender identity as a process negotiated in context but they have not explicitly considered organizations as a context” (Ely and Padavic, 2007:1121).

They argue that while feminist sociologists do consider organizations, they focus on inequality, while there is a need to link gender identity and organizational structures and see if organizational structures shape gender identity as well. They cite House et al. (1995) to argue for “meso level theorizing, which focuses on the interplay between organizational features and individual processes” (ibid.:1121). *So while all these theorists talk about different parts of the gendering process, linking all of them is underexplored. Thus this thesis ends up addressing a blind spot in the gendering process in organizations by linking three levels: micro, macro and societal, and by linking identities, organizations and culture in relation to BPw.*

My literature review of the field of careers in MOS reveals certain blind spots. I concur with Schein’s (2007:573) criticism on the over-emphasis of treating careers as “individual phenomena” rather than “as a social phenomenon”. There is an **over-dominance of quantitative research in career** studies, mainly in North America (Bujold, 1990). Most of these studies are in the areas of vocational psychology

(Inkson et al., 2012), which may have led to the lack of a focus on *lifespan* in terms of careers. I view the positivist approach to careers as contradictory to the basic premise of careers - “individually perceived sequence of attitudes and behaviours associated with work-related experiences and activities over the *span of the person’s life*” (Hall, 2002:12, emphasis added). There have been various calls for expansion of **context in career research** (Mayrhofer et al., 2007) and to explore societal culture. Most of the career literature under-explores culture, particularly the value systems expressed in cultural patterns (Chudzikowski et al., 2012). This has been suggested by researchers on ethnic minority women (Kamenou, 2007) as well. Some researchers have discussed the structure/agency perspective in careers as a duality (Duberley et al., 2006; Tomlinson et al., 2013) and life choices for women (Marshall, 1994; Hakim, 2002). However, they have not done so in-depth and have not fully explored **the process** or the reasons as to **why** individuals, particularly, in this case a particular ethnic group in the UK, choose to exercise (or not to exercise) agency and **how** that social phenomenon (career) occurred. For women, the life approach is crucial as “women’s careers are embedded in women’s larger-life context” (O’Neil et al., 2008:727).

The **link between culture-identity-choices** is underexplored. A major critique of the research in the field of careers is that there is a restricted perspective on the relationship between individuals and the social systems they face (Arnold and Cohen, 2008; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). As Schein (2007:573) suggests,

“the concept of career is itself a bridging concept between the individual and the occupation or organization.”

While I draw primarily on the discipline of sociology to study a “social phenomenon”, *career experiences*, I incorporate the role of culture and society in the

creation of identity. This research ends up addressing life choices while in careers. Arthur (2008) has repeatedly called for interdisciplinary research to help understand careers. Thus, a blind spot identified in the research is fulfilled in the field of career and diversity (Metcalf and Woodhams, 2012) by using a holistic, processes-centred approach (Lee et al., 2011; Zikic and Hall, 2009). This addresses the development of the individual and changing contexts (Vondracek, 1990), as well as taking into account the constraints that people face (Inkson et al., 2012) that could affect the agency. This research also attempts to make a methodological contribution to the field of career by using social constructionist epistemology and qualitative research methods.

My review of the career literature reveals that the theoretical focus on how women's careers evolve is limited, and career theories are largely built on male models. While some researchers have attempted to suggest certain theories (Pringle and Dixon, 2003; O'Neil et al., 2008) and models (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005; Sabelis, 2010), there are blind spots in each. My literature review of the field of gender/diversity and ethnic studies reveals there is a lack of academic research on a career model for ethnic minority women or marginalized individuals. The publications on ethnic minority women focus on barriers and challenges rather than pathways. While this research is not building on a theory of careers, *it will attempt to explain how this group of women has evolved their careers. It presents a perspectival micro-theory (Qin, 2004)* which has the potential for application in different contextual groups.

Like Qin (2004:307-8), I argue for micro-theories, which are situated:

“Such micro theories are useful to address questions of specifically how social relationships especially of culture, race, class, gender, and power are exercised and transformed..... Essentializing these experiences is a denial of inequality in relation to culturalism, racism, classism and other dimensions of diversity. Experience based

on any interactions between critical cultural elements may vary from one individual to another.”

While the research context is confined to an ethnic minority group in the UK, the findings/insights in this thesis could be used for future research in other countries and population groups. Indeed, with globalization taking centre stage, the possibility of bi-cultural individuals as part of a growing workforce is probable (Brannen and Thomas, 2010). In addition, there is little research on career development and race (Cornileus, 2013), with 46% of certain major career journals not reporting race or ethnicity at all from 2000 - 2007 (Wells et al., 2010).

1.6.2 The research perspective

Feminist sociology is an attempt to look at society in a critical way from a woman's perspective.

“It is an organization of inquiry that begins with where women actually are and addresses the problem of how our everyday worlds are put together in relations that are not wholly discoverable within everyday world” (Smith, 1987:47).

Feminists challenge the status quo (unlike Functionalists), and want to bring about a change in society (Kidd, 2012). However, there are varieties of feminist sociology. Within the broad area of socialist feminism lies Black feminism. Collins (1990), for instance, talks about economic oppression as well as cultural oppression from the standpoint of Black women, while Crenshaw posits a theory of identity, namely *Intersectionality* (Crenshaw, 1991), as it is the **location** of black women at the **intersection of the structures of gender and race that creates a unique site of oppression**. As every culture is unique, post-modern feminist seek to give voice to invisible groups of women and to focus on plural identities. Hooks (1981) and Hall (1992) discuss plural identities within ethnicity, and researchers have used words such as ‘cultural identity’ (Hall, 1992), ‘hybrid identity’ (Mishra and Shirazi, 2010), ‘diasporic identity’ (Ramji, 2003) and ‘bicultural identity’ (Hutnik and Street, 2010).

“Critical feminists also try to avoid the privileging of one axis over another, seeking instead complex multiple locations and identities of women’s lives..... a notion of situated selves determined by the contingencies of different women’s social/political/economic/racial/sexual contexts” (Qin, 2004:302).

Post-structuralism is a blending of ideas from structuralism and postmodern thinking (Kidd, 2012). Thus post-structuralism, while retaining fluid identities, attempts to give voice to invisible groups and focus on power, particularly “hidden dimensions of gendered power” (Lewis and Simpson, 2012:141). I therefore draw on a feminist post-structuralist perspective (Weedon, 1996) to explore the narratives of my research participants. The feminist post-structuralist perspective is defined as

“a mode of knowledge production which uses post-structuralist theories of language, subjectivity social process and institution to understand existing power relations and to identify areas and strategies for change.” (Weedon, 1996:40)

All the participants have three categories in common: gender, ethnicity and religion. They are *located at the intersection* of these three social identities. *Intersectional identities* (Werbner, 2013a) imply oppression and marginalization, due to the application of power by certain groups over others. It is also context-dependent. For example, being a Muslim in Britain is different from being a Muslim in Pakistan. For this reason, in my view, the focus of *intersectional identities* is on identity that is produced in a context of oppression and domination. I am conscious that power operates differently for each, within each category, making at times one identity more salient than another. I view each participant as a unique individual having multiple identities that operate simultaneously (Holvino, 2010), resulting in tainting life experiences. So while each is separate, within a similar group they may have similar experiences that might make certain interpretations and propositions “plausible” (Alvesson and Karreman, 2011:27). Based on suggestions by Holvino (2010), I use a feminist post-structuralist perspective to unpack intersectionality. Based on Weedon (1996), I use Foucault’s work to help analyse the data and elucidate feminist post-

structuralism. Indeed, Foucault is the most influential theorist in critical management studies on identity (Thomas, 2011).

1.6.3 Critical feminist standpoint and situated knowledge

The intention of this research is to highlight the issues and challenges BPw are facing as *women* who have careers and who are part of an *ethnic minority* and a *religious minority*. I draw on Broadbridge and Simpson (2011) to focus on the relationship between gender and other categories of difference, in particular ‘gender with’. Women are still invisible (Lewis and Simpson, 2010) in management and organization studies despite a claim to the contrary. The debate is still about inequality in organizations because of sex/gender (Calas et al., 2014). Indeed, Fouad and Byars-Winston (2005) have already made a case through their meta-analysis of career choices that race and ethnicity do create differences in perceptions of opportunities and barriers. Thus, social reality is viewed through the participant. The individual is a means to understand **shared views** of that group (Harper, 1992; Alvesson and Sandberg, 2011). Therefore, this research is from the standpoint of *British Pakistani women*.

“A standpoint may indicate a gender or racial identity or a national or civilization identity, as “Western” or “African” or “East Asian”. A standpoint shapes how we see society- whether we focus on the individuals or the group, whether we consider class or race or gender or colonization to be important, or whether we focus on the isolated society or a network of societies.” (Seidman, 2013:343).

The knowledge that this research will glean is “situated knowledge”.

“Approaching knowledge as situated does not deny the possibility of social truths. Rather, it suggests that we can only know the social world from specific standpoint. A standpoint makes knowledge possible, but it also means our social ideas are always partial and perspectival.....social truths both reveal and obscure reality. If we approach knowledge as situated, we should be attentive to the ways that knowledge shapes ourselves and social life.” (Seidman, 2013:344).

Some readers may find it contradictory that while stating I want to avoid privileging one axis over another, I am indeed privileging gender. I do so because recent research

still maintains that **inequality in organizations is because of sex/gender** (Calas et al., 2014) Hobbler et.al., 2011) contend that being female signals family first in organizations.

1.7 Defining key terms and criteria

1.7.1 Social categories

This research is about a group of women who are located at the intersections of a number of social categories. Sex is biological, while gender is socially constructed (Powell, 2011; Gatrell and Swan, 2008; Caplan and Caplan, 2009). Race is also a socially constructed category, and a means of categorizing people (Proudfoot and Nkomo, 2006). Along with class, it is a means of classifying and hierarchizing, and a means of creating a difference (Brah, 1994). Categorization can be extended to nationality, religion, and sexuality and depending on the context, can take on negative connotations.

1.7.2 Discourse

Alvesson and Karreman (2000) suggest that the word discourse should be clearly defined, as ambiguity results in creating confusion and calls into question the rigour of the research. My focus is meaning-making “meaning here signalling a relatively stable way of relating to and making sense of something, a meaning being interrelated to an attitude, value, belief or idea” (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000:1128). Throughout my research, I refer to Discourse (with a capital D) as “general and prevalent systems for the formation and articulation of ideas in a particular period of time” (ibid.:1126).

1.7.3 Voice

I draw on research (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1255) to focus on both levels of voice: surface and deep.

“We can accordingly distinguish between voice as the ‘surface’ act of speaking and being heard, as discussed by the broadly liberal feminist ‘women’s voice’ perspective (e.g. Belenky et al., 1997; Ferrario, 1991; Gilligan, 1982; Rosener, 1990; Tannen, 1991) and the processes that lie behind silence as, from a post-structuralist standpoint, discursive practices eliminate certain issues from arenas of speech and sound, voice and invisibility.”

1.7.4 Social marginality

I view British Pakistani women as marginalized (see Chapter 3) on two fronts: as women within their diaspora and within organizations, and as an ethnic/religious minority in the UK Social marginality is

“legitimized ideologically, culturally, and cognitively.....and is often justified in the name of science, bureaucracy, efficiency, growth, ethics, patriotism, or faith.”(Hosseini, 2013:471).

As the literature review will demonstrate, patriarchal ideology is used to marginalize women in the diaspora and justified in the name of faith. Within organizations, women encounter gender bias (see Chapter 2). Within UK society, anti-Muslim sentiment (Ryan, 2011; Bilge and Denis, 2010) and colonial ideology (Mirza, 2013; Modood, 2005) serves to marginalize this group further.

1.7.5 Second-generation British Pakistani women

This includes all women who are either born in the UK or came to the UK as a child. They went to primary school, secondary school, high school/college and university in the UK. They also had to have at least one parent who migrated from Pakistan after 1947. They also have to be employed as professionals or managers in organizations.

1.7.6 Careers

I view careers as defined by Sullivan and Baruch (2009:1543), as it brings attention to a number of factors which have been missing from career research:

“An individual’s work-related and other relevant experiences, both inside and outside of organizations that form a unique pattern over the individual’s life span. This definition recognizes both physical movements, such as between levels, jobs, employers, occupations, and industries, as well as the interpretation of the individual, including his or her perceptions of career events (e.g. viewing job loss as failure vs. as an opportunity for a new beginning), career alternatives (e.g. viewing limited vs. unlimited options) and outcomes (e.g. how one defines career success). Moreover,

careers do not occur in a vacuum. An individual's career is influenced by many contextual factors such as national culture, the economy, and the political environment as well as by personal factors such as relationships with others (e.g., dual career marriages)."

1.7.7 Experiences

As indicated before, the purpose of this research is to give voice to the experiences of British Pakistani women (BPw) who are in careers. For this reason, this research will attempt to make visible social reality (experience while in a career) as articulated by BPw. Later on, I draw on Michel Foucault to explain the experience in detail, drawing on his definition of experience as

"Experience is understood as the correlation between fields of knowledge, types of normativity, and forms of subjectivity in a particular culture." (Foucault, 2000:360).

This definition of experience is the foundation on which I analyse the empirical material, and make sense of the participants' sense-making.

1.8 Contribution to knowledge: Aims

My research aims to contribute to a number of fronts. I aim to undertake a complex understanding of career experiences, linking gender, ethnicity, religion, nationality and identity to gendered regimes. I break away from a hegemonic view of career research and gender in management research by taking a holistic view. I use a multi-level approach to studying diversity (Tatli, 2011; Syed and Ozbilgin, 2009). I take an approach that pulls together culture-identity-organizations (Fagenson, 1993; Ely and Padavic, 2007). My research responds to a call from Sullivan and Baruch (2009), who suggest that more research is needed on underrepresented populations and minorities. It also answers a call from Arthur (2008:180) when he cites Schein (2007) and Savickas (1993) to argue that we should "become better at hearing other people's voices.....and in pursuing greater variation in the methodologies we use to highlight career phenomena."

1.9 Thesis structure

Chapter One sets the context for my thesis.

SECTION ONE covers the literature review and includes four chapters.

Chapter Two gives an overview of gender and MOS and discusses inequality regimes and argues for a *gender with* approach, leading to the sub-question: **How does the BP woman find the experience of being a manager/professional in the workplace?**

Chapter Three presents British Muslim women and British Pakistani women and concludes they are a socially marginalized group, leading to the broad research question: **How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers in professional and managerial contexts?**

Chapter Four discusses the major debates in identity studies and links gender with ethnicity while discussing intersectionality, leading to the research sub-question: **How are intersections of gender with ethnicity, nationality and religion revealed in their narratives?**

Chapter Five specifically talks about ethnic minority women in careers, leading to the research sub-question: **How have BPw's careers progressed (developed/evolved over time)?**

SECTION TWO covers the research design and includes two chapters.

Chapter Six explains the methodological considerations of the research.

Chapter Seven describes the execution of the research, the data collection process and my emotions.

SECTION THREE covers the main findings of the research in seven chapters.

Chapter 8 documents the initial attempts at immersion (stage 1 to stage 4), and presents an overview of the careers of the 37 participants.

Chapter 9 presents immersion 5, leading to the discovery of narratives. The practices and *Discourses of gendered nurturing* create truth regimes and eventually the creation of a subject. I use Foucault's work to explain the subjectification process.

Chapter 10 presents the part played by *Discourses of otherness* and the impact they have on the creation of identities, which are stigmatized/negative/intersecting identities. It also answers the sub-question: **How are intersections of gender with ethnicity, nationality and religion revealed in their narratives?**

Chapter 11 presents ethical selves and Foucault's later works: technologies of self. The BPw have 'transformed themselves' becoming *ethical subjects*. It also answers the sub-question: **How have BPw's careers progressed (developed/ evolved over time)?**

Chapter 12 presents glass chains. I propose that we constrain ourselves through *glass chains* (imperceptible links to our moral codes). I explain how the individual is never free from Discourse

Chapter 13 looks at career experiences of British Pakistani women whilst working in organizations in the UK, and demonstrates how *some* of their career experiences are the consequences of intersectional identities and glass chains working simultaneously within inequality regimes inside organizations. These result at times in *invisible barriers* to progression. It also answers the sub-question: **How does the BP woman find the experience of being a manager/professional in the workplace?**

Chapter 14 pulls together the previous chapters. I use the narratives of one participant to illustrate the entire process and answer the broad research question: **How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers in professional and managerial contexts?**

Chapter 15 is the last chapter of the thesis. It presents the central arguments and discusses the contribution and limitations, and future research projects.

1.10 Final Thoughts

I wish to make clear that I am not using heuristic inquiry (Douglass and Moustakas, 1985). I am not using myself as a participant nor is my research centred on me. I am involved, as it is my questions and my interpretations. While my participants and I may share some experiences; this thesis is about giving voice to the experiences of British Pakistani women (BPw) who are in careers. *It presents a perspectival micro-theory (Qin, 2004)* which has the potential for application in different contextual groups. Like Qin (2004:307-8), I argue for micro-theories which are situated.

I therefore attempt to make myself visible through reflexivity, while the focus of the thesis is to make visible social reality (experience while in a career), as articulated by BPw. Consequently I attempt perspectival reflexivity (Bettany and Woodruff-Burton, 2009). I acknowledge that my sense-making of the data is based on my interpretations and my theoretical perspectives. I try to make myself visible in all the sections of this thesis.

While this thesis is written with the examiners as the primary readers in mind, I am aware that there is a secondary audience: other Ph.D. students who read doctoral theses as a learning process. I wish to point out to them that, even though the thesis

may appear linear, what you see is the final product. The process producing the final product was non-linear, iterative and messy. While I will attempt to make visible all points in my Ph.D. journey, on reflection the journey *feels* far messier and fuzzier than it appears in this thesis.

SECTION ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

The broad research question was: **How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers in professional and managerial contexts?**

Nkomo and Stewart (2006:520) define diversity as “a mixture of people with different group identities within the same social system”. I thus focus on the “different group identities” of BPw for the *literature review*, in order to understand career experiences among British Pakistani women (BPw) and the factors that might impact them. Four bodies of literature, namely gender, ethnicity, identity and careers within MOS, and within them multiple areas, were reviewed, synthesized, and summarized.

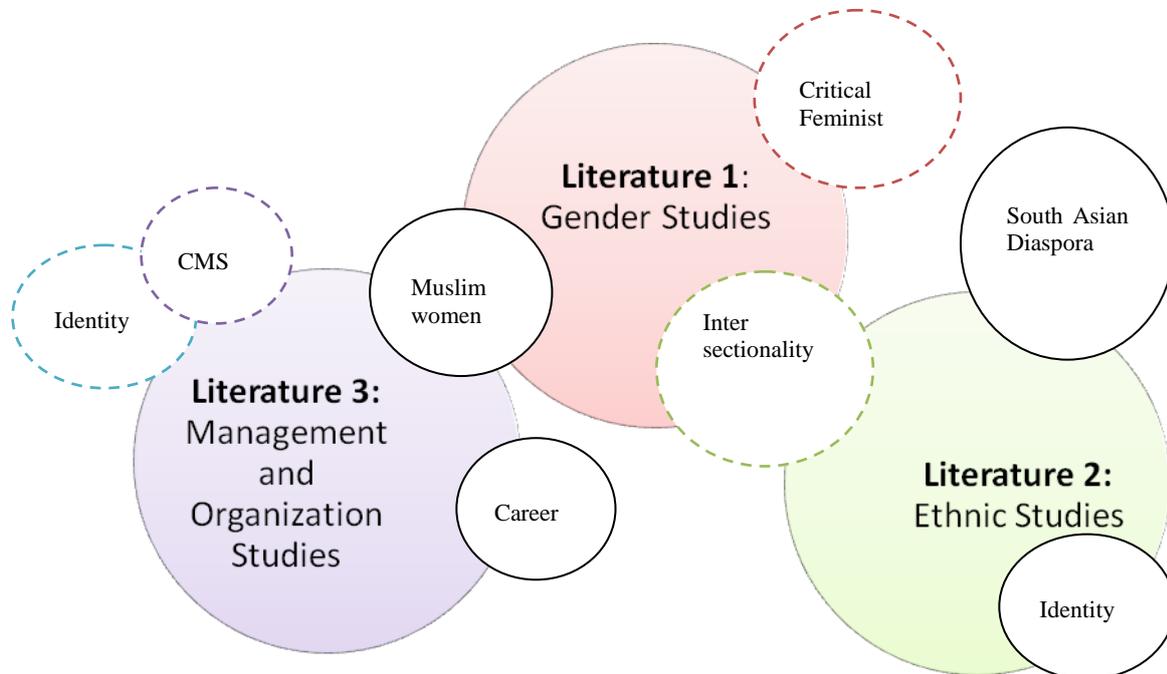


Figure 2: Stage #1 in the Literature Review process.

The stages I went through in the literature review are Stage 1 to Stage 7. It was an iterative and messy process. Consequently, my expectations of what my literature review was going to be and what it ended up being (Stage 7 in the diagram below) were different, in terms of both breadth and depth.

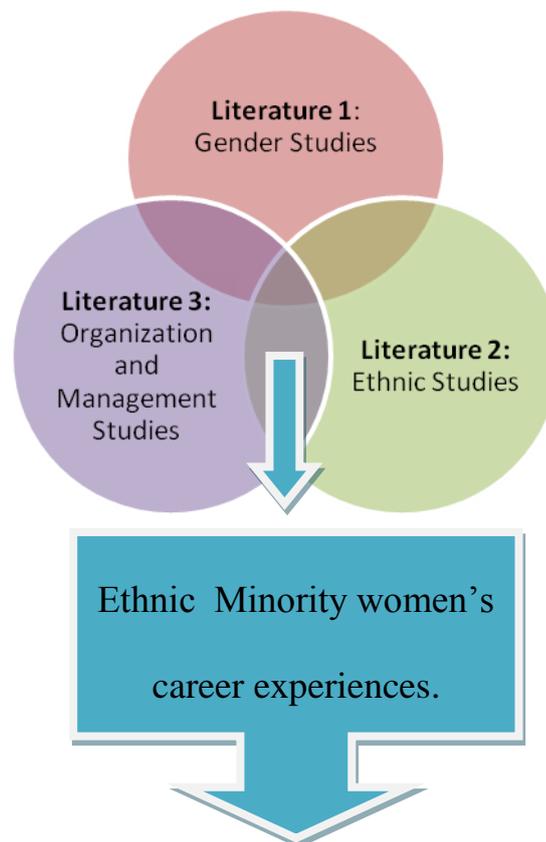


Figure 3: Stage #7 in the Literature Review process.

I was aware that the literature would help me refine my broad research question. I was also aware of criticisms of gap spotting (Alvesson and Sandberg, 2013:128) as the “primary reason behind” a shortage of influential theories. I was, for this reason, looking for *limitations* in the research conducted so far and use the word ‘blind spots’ in research, instead of *gaps*. The four chapters on the literature review focus on synthesizing and identifying blind spots in what I learnt from the initial literature

review in year one, as well continued updating in years two and three. It also led to the following sub-questions:

How are *intersections* of gender with ethnicity, nationality and religion revealed in their narratives?

How does the BP *woman* find the experience of being a manager/professional in the workplace?

How have BPw's careers *progressed* (developed/ evolved over time)?

Chapter 2: A Review of Gender in MOS.

2.1 Chapter Synopsis

The purpose of this chapter is to familiarize the reader with assumptions and blind spots in gender studies and gender in MOS. I draw on research on experiences of women in organizations and experiences of ethnic minority women in work to create a framework which led me to the sub-question:

How does the BP woman find the experience of being a manager/professional in the workplace?

The extensive literature review of gender in MOS consistently and clearly points to gender still being an issue for women in management (Ely et al., 2011; Broadbridge and Simpson, 2011; Sabelis and Schilling, 2013; Calas et al., 2014). Putting the spotlight on ‘being a woman’ is crucial. It is especially true as Ely et al. (2011:475) claim that the lack of women at the top is due to an increase in *second-generation forms of gender bias* as “an invisible barrier to women’s advancement”, and Hobbler et al (2011) argue that being female signals family first in organizations. I thus conclude gender matters and needs to be at the forefront, and argue for a ‘gender with’ approach, borrowing on Broadbridge and Simpson (2011).

2.2 Gender studies overview: Major assumptions

In this thesis, I draw on some major building blocks that dominate gender literature and affect the assumptions in gender studies and consequently gender in management and organizations, addressed in this thesis from now on as GOS.

Firstly, gender literature focuses on **gender as a category**, and a means for creating difference and hierarchies. ‘Gender’ is built on the creation of differences and

categorization, just like class and race. Gender is a structure, with a dual aspect (Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz, 2013:297) with

“widely shared cultural stereotypes of men versus women, whites versus various peoples of color...”

There is always a history of such categorization. For instance, both Powell (2011) and Wharton (2005) link traditional gender roles to industrialization. However, traditional gender roles predate this period in South Asia, and are linked to ancient patriarchy traced back to the arrival of Aryans around 3000 B.C. (Bhasin, 1993).

Secondly, gender literature focuses on **gender as a social construction**, and differentiates the word *gender* from sex (Powell, 2011). Wharton (2005) however considers both gender and sex interdependent and inseparable. The difference between sex and gender (See Caplan and Caplan, 2009; Archer and Lloyd, 2002; Korabik, 1999) is the central thesis in gender studies. While sex is biological, gender is learnt.

“Gender and other social differences are thus seen as processes rather than as given traits or essences.” (Gatrell and Swan, 2008:4)

Thirdly, **gender is viewed as a system of social practices**. This is also labeled as ‘Doing gender’ and critiqued for being used ceremonially and falling short in analysis (Nentwich and Kelan, 2014). Much of ‘doing gender’ research draws on West and Zimmerman (West and Zimmerman, 1987, 2009). Wharton (2005:23) views gender as a ‘system of social practices’. Ridgeway (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004; Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin, 1999) has published on “the gender system”. Ridgeway and Correll (2004) define gender as:

“An *institutionalized system of social practices* for constituting people as two significantly *different categories*, men and women and organizing social relations of *inequality on the basis of that difference*.....Like any other system of difference and inequality such as those based on race, or class, gender *involves cultural beliefs* and distributions of resources at the *macro* level, patterns of behaviour and

organizational practices at the *interactional level*, and selves and identities at the *individual level*” (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004:510-511, emphasis added)

Ely and Padavic (2007) argue that the sociological view of gender as a system is because gender appears in all areas of social life. Even though Eagly and Diekmann (2003) claim that gender roles are malleable, research still demonstrates that being ‘feminine’ is at times a handicap for women in management. For example, Ross-Smith and Chesterman (2009) demonstrate that their participants identified with the feminine identity and thus could not comply with the dominant or ideal worker model aligned with male senior management. Fourthly, **gender is a process**. Wharton (2005:23) also emphasizes gender as a *process* occurring *at all levels of the social structure* and as a critical dimension on which social resources are distributed. Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz hold a similar view, (2013:294) and consider “macro, meso and micro-level social processes that jointly create gender inequality”.

Socialization underpins gender as a process and plays a key role.

“Socialization refers to the process through which individuals take on gendered qualities and characteristics and acquire a sense of self.” (Wharton, 2005:31)

This sense of *self* is fine-tuned by what society expects from that individual in terms of gender-appropriate behavior. The biological sexes, children (boy or girl, *the input*) are the targets. Children undergo socialization (*the process*) by agents (parents, etc.), and gender-differentiated personalities are produced (*the output*). As Wharton (2005) explains, there are *three main theories of socialization*. All these three views (as explained by Wharton, 2005) have to do with the individual and the social practices that produce that person. The first theory is the social learning theory, where gender roles are *learnt* by children, ultimately resulting in gender-typed behavior. Wharton labels this view as “from the outside”. The second theory discussed by her is the

cognitive approach or the “inside out” view. Here children’s’ thought processes are taken into consideration. Wharton also highlights the role of culture in explaining that

“because children are motivated to become ‘competent’ members of their culture, they will learn to use the tools their culture provides (and values) to regulate their own behavior and interpret the world around them.” (Wharton, 2005:35)

The third theory discussed by Wharton is identification theory or the psychoanalytic perspective. This view explains *how gender identity is formed* as a result of unconscious psychological processes that are initiated at childhood. **However, my position is that the process does not end with childhood.** For example Yuval and Davies (1997b, 1997a) make a case for gender relations being an important part of nationhood, citizenship and culture. Tienari, Soderberg, Holgersson and Vaara (Tienari et al., 2005), conducted empirical research on male senior executives and demonstrate that they construct and re-construct particular gendered identities within national contexts. Indeed, Ely and Padavic (2007) critique GOS for not considering women’s identity as *in process* within organizations.

2.3 Reflections on themes in Gender and MOS studies.

I found that research on *career experiences of women* focused largely on organizations. This is in keeping with the dominant discourse of organization studies, of keeping life issues (and consequently family) away from work issues. Thus I found themes which were central to work-life balance literature largely absent from organization studies. Specifically, there were two elements that are in the background in MOS studies on women, while they play a part in work-family literature.

Cultural factors as elements

Ozbilgin et al. (2011:183) argue that a weakness of work-life research is that the focus is on the ‘individual’ rather than ‘power imbalances and social structural

factors'. This critique is applicable to GOS as well. One of the missing elements is **cultural expectations and cultural roles, which are linked with sex, yet largely under-researched in MOS**. Social structural factors usually refer to culture, family and relationships, not just organizations. Culture is visible as the dominant values in a society and linked to gendering processes. As Ely et al., (2011:475) contend, gender arises

“from cultural beliefs’ about gender, as well as workplace structures, practices and patterns of interaction that inadvertently favour men.”

Culture plays a role in the creation of norms and expectations regarding what it means to be a man or woman and thus gender identity. In some societies, the notion of a ‘good’ woman is wrapped in cultural associations (Moghadam, 1993; Predelli, 2004; Predelli, 2008). Indeed, a recent study (Schmitt and Wirth, 2009) highlights the role of socio-contextual forces, including patriarchy, in the creation of gender differences. One cannot separate the society/culture in which the meaning of gender is created from gender. For instance, some research in the USA demonstrates being a woman interacts with femininity and influenced areas like work-family (Powell and Greenhaus, 2010a). They suggest the development of culture-sensitive theories in work-family research (Powell et al., 2009b). Harding et al. (2013) argue that the ideology of patriarchy still produces the norms that guide the differences between the sexes. **For this reason, cultural, contextual gender creation needs to be highlighted**, especially given the huge body of literature devoted to highlighting that women and men are different because of socialization gender differences. Organizations are one of the playgrounds on which inequality is played out (the other being family). A major critique is the neglect of the role of culture in the study of inequality (Massey et al., 2014). While much economic and social inequality is structural in nature, Lamont et al. (2014) discuss how the human experience of

inequalities is strongly grounded in the cultural process. Linking culture, organizations and individuals simultaneously is vital for exploring inequalities. Though roles and expectations play some part in the work-life research literature, they are often missing in women in organizations research. For instance, Peus and Mattausch (2008) investigate the effects of a larger societal context (the value and norms of two cultures, the USA and Germany) and the legal frameworks on the individual's ability to balance work-family. Their qualitative research demonstrates that *dominant values in a particular society have a stronger influence* than legal frameworks on the ability of an individual to balance work-family. In a study of ethnic minority women (Kamenou, 2008:99) concludes that while both white and ethnic minority women struggle more than men to balance work and personal life, "ethnic minority women often had to deal with additional cultural, community or religious demands". A recent study has demonstrated the negative relationship between work-family conflict and collectivism (Mortazavi et al., 2009) on work-family conflict across three countries (the Ukraine, Iran and the USA). Omar and Davidson (2001:53) postulate that "women's experiences are characterized by complex interdependencies, an overlap of public and private spheres" and "to consider the impact of cultural and traditions on the experiences of women in management". For this reason, while culture plays some role in work-family research, it has been under-explored in MOS regarding women. The under-exploration is odd, given that gendering involves cultural beliefs (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004; Ridgeway, 2009; Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz, 2013; Wharton, 2005)

Gender identity as an element

Alvesson and Billing (2009) argue that identity plays a major part in the creation of perceptions for the individual, and

“it is vital to appreciate the significance of the self-definitions and self-views of individuals for understanding the role of cultural masculinity and femininity.....expressed, as people act based on a sense of who they are and what they want...How individuals and groups think, feel, relate and act is crucial, and here identity is a key aspect.” (ibid.:96).

I find it odd that while there is a huge body of literature on identity in organizations, there are few empirical studies on women’s gender identity and organizations (Ely and Padavic, 2007). The underexploration may be because the sex differences research (predominantly in my blue diagram: Stream 1 Appendix 1) does not talk to the gendered organization literature (predominantly in my red diagram: Stream 2). Another reason could be that researchers are ontologically and epistemological bound, and therefore cannot see beyond a certain perspective in which they are grounded (Calas and Smircich, 2006; Arthur, 2008).

Research postulates that how women perceive work and family is also linked to gender identity. For example, Powell and Greenhaus (2010b) while conducting empirical research on full-time managers and professionals found that femininity (a variable based on notions of gender rather than sex (ibid.:526)) was positively related to family role salience. Their review implies that women are more constrained as compared to men regarding decisions of how many hours to devote to work. They claim that women are more likely to quit for family-related reasons than men. They also propose a model (Powell and Greenhaus, 2010a:1033) incorporating the construct femininity and family role salience and suggest a link between national/societal culture and cultural expectations to gender identity.

The absence of identity in GOS and the predominance of identity in ethnic studies led me to investigate the area of identity studies in MOS. I concur with Ely and Padavic

(2007) when they contend that a weakness of GOS is the assumption that socialization takes place outside the organization and pre-dates organizations. Research demonstrates socialization can persist throughout a life span, affecting identities in organizations (Collinson, 2003; Cooper and Thatcher, 2010; Foldy, 2012) as well as gender identity (Bendien, 2013). Ely and Padavic (2007) argue that GOS assumes “that adult workers are static, fully socialized, autonomous human beings...” (Ibid.:1124). In reality, the process of *gender* identity formation continues as identities are rooted in a social structure (Nazar and Van Der Heijden, 2014).

In addition, the dominant discourse in the papers I have cited is about organizations playing a major part in the construction of inequality regimes for women. However, the **focus on the interplay between identity and inequality regimes**, particularly the influence of **inequality regimes on intersectional identit(y)ies, is under-explored**.

Thus, I draw on Ely and Padavic (2007:1121) and focus

“on concepts from feminist theory about gender as a system, as identity, and as power, (we) outline how greater attention to the links between gender identity and organizational structures and practices would enrich the field”.

There were also certain methodological blind spots in GOS. While there is a large body of theoretical papers in GOS, the empirical research papers have used mainly quantitative studies in stream 1 and qualitative research methods in stream 2 (Appendix 1). Stream 2 has largely drawn on interpretivist/social constructionism as ontology/epistemology. Most of that research has focused on one level of analysis, which may have to do with the field the researcher belongs to (Arthur, 2008). For example, the individual (micro) perspective is seldom combined with the organization (macro) and the society (meso) to see the overall effects of one level on the other. Consequently, researchers rarely capture the **complexity of a woman working in an organization**. Despite an early call from Fagenson (1990) and later by O’Neil et al.,

(2008) to use an all-inclusive perspective that takes into account the interplay between the individual-organization-society, the all-inclusive perspective is missing. I thus argue for an approach that looks at multiple levels (Tatli, 2011), especially as Kirton (2011) also found that race/ethnic identities are formed at individual, interactive and institutional level.

2.4 The experience of being a *female* manager/professional in the workplace: Inequality regimes

While the number of women in management has grown in the UK, women still face an uneven playing field (Wilson, 2011). Walsh (2007) concludes that there is an under-representation of women in management, and this fact remains resistant to change. Indeed, some researchers classify women as ‘other’ in organizations (Prasad and Prasad, 2002). This otherness compels, for example, women engineers to undertake various strategies that ‘undo gender’ (Powell et al., 2009a), in order to gain male acceptance, inadvertently contributing towards maintaining stereotypes and thus reproducing gender.

The seed for the ‘**gendered organization**’ was planted by Kanter (1977) in her seminal work. This brought to attention that women were in a minority in organizations, and as such had to ‘toe the line’ laid out by the majority (men). Kanter tried to demonstrate that sex differences in organizations were due to numbers and power structures, which created disadvantages for the minority member. Kanter’s (1977) and Tsui et al.’s (1992) work brought the organization into focus with their discussion of numbers - minority and majority -, and the consequences of being in either category. Later, Omar and Davidson (2001) describe the structural perspective (organizational characteristics and organizational culture), shaping prospects in a way that the organization creates more opportunities for men to be successful.

Fagenson (1990) also suggests focusing on the structure of the organizations that women work. Meyerson and Fletcher (2000:126) assert a decade later that discrimination faced by women is not overt but subtle. They argue that discrimination against women has taken the form of “common work practices and cultural norms that appear unbiased”. Bendl and Schmidt (2010), echoing this sentiment, suggest a new metaphor, namely ‘firewall’, as they feel that the glass ceiling metaphor cannot capture the embeddedness or discrimination in organizations, involving the whole structure.

2.4.1 Joan Acker’s work

A major theorist in gendered organizations is Joan Acker (1989; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1994; 2004; 2006a; 2006b; 2009). Acker holds organizations as largely responsible for the creation of inequality in industrialized countries, and defines inequality in organizations as

“systematic disparities between participants in power and control over goals, resources, and outcomes; workplace decisions such as how to organize work; opportunities for promotion and interesting work; security in employment and benefits; pay and other monetary rewards; respect; and pleasures in work and work relations.” (Acker, 2006a:443)

Acker (1990) identified **five processes** that reproduce gender in organizations; division of labour, cultural symbols, workplace interaction, individual identities and organization logic. Later Acker (2006a) asserts that the shape and degree of inequality in organizations is dependent on the type of **organization structure**. The steepest hierarchies exist in bureaucratic (tall) organization structures. Top positions are almost always occupied by white men in the Anglo-Saxon work environment where ‘male is norm’ stereotype of on job behaviour. This creates complicated work environments for women. Teams are not a means to reduce inequality at gender or race levels either. In organizations, because of the hierarchical setup, class is present.

Class and gender were also completely integrated, with managers always men and low-level white collar workers always women. Race (“based on physical characteristics, culture and historical domination and oppression, justified by entrenched beliefs (ibid.:444)”, was also integrated, with people of colour who in the USA are confined to low level jobs.

Acker also states that **gender and the race segregation of jobs** exists as well as **occupations** and a reduction in either is actually a re-configuration. Organization structures also play a role in wage differentials; the taller the structure, the higher the pay, with white men earning the highest salaries. Acker articulates that in case the power balance is disturbed, women may be labelled “witches or bitches” (ibid.:447).

Organizing processes also produce inequalities. Acker (2006a:448) states that

“gender, race and class inequalities are simultaneously created in the fundamental construction of the working day and of work obligations.”

Thus the decision of organizing the work day and work obligations (how many hours to work, how to work, etc) is all designed keeping the ‘white male’ in mind. The non-white or non-male requirements of life, and consequently work, are under-researched.

She argues that class hierarchies are also established, with inequalities produced formally and informally with the roots of the practice, lying in policy or “textual materials” (ibid.:447). She points specifically to **job descriptions, wage gaps and job evaluation criteria**, which create inequalities. She also asserts that the process of the creation and re-creation of inequalities is dynamic.

“Gender and sometimes race, in the form of restricted opportunities and particular expectations for behaviour, are reproduced as different degrees of organizational class hierarchy and are also reproduced in everyday interactions and bureaucratic decision making.” (Acker, 2006a:449)

Recruitment and hiring are another practice area where inequalities are created. The ideal worker varies from job to job and processes/procedures are created to encourage the hiring of that ‘ideal’ worker, at times to the detriment of gender or race. Similarly, wage setting and supervision are affected by what the organization (in other words its managers) appropriately assume about skill requirements and fair wage with respect to women and race. Acker (2006a:451) states

“What is appropriate varies, of course, in relation to the situation, the organizational culture and history, and the standpoints of the people judging appropriateness.”

As a result, she argues **informal interactions between workers are affected by these assumptions** and “are often subtle and unspoken, thus difficult to document” (ibid.:451).

Organizations also differ in the **visibility of inequality and legitimacy of inequality**. By visibility, Acker means how aware the organization is, towards the existence of inequality. Lack of awareness can be intentional (asking subordinates not to discuss wages with others) or unintentional. Sometimes, it simply has to do with the position holder. From his/her position of privilege, the boss does not see the inequality, or the practice is so minor that it is difficult to see. Acker states that class and gender tend to be invisible, race is usually visible but “segregated, denied and avoided” (ibid.:452). By legitimacy, Acker means organizational justification of the existence of race/class/gender inequalities due to economic or political reasons, e.g. Acker claims class is legitimate in US organizations as “it is seen as inevitable at the present time” (ibid.:453). She also argues that basic beliefs about race/class/gender affect the legitimization of inequality, which in turn affects the internalized/invisible controls in an organization (a belief that this is the way things normally are), resulting in an

unquestioning attitude to organizational control practices that re-enforce inequalities and result in employee compliance.

Acker (2009:214) concludes that

“beliefs, images and stereotypes based on gender, race and class shape actions, policies and practices and though inequality regimes may vary between organizations, a commonality is found across a national population of organizations.”

Acker’s (2006a:443) inequality regimes “are linked to inequality in the surrounding society its politics, history, and culture”. Acker argues that the foundation for inequality in organizations can usually be found in class (practiced through employment and wages), gender (practiced through gendered jobs and gendered occupations), race (practiced through confinement to low level jobs or exclusion from certain organizations, e.g. the military) and sometimes also through sexuality, (heterosexuality as the norm and homosexuality as a stigma), religion (being a minority religion) age, (being ‘too’ old), and physical disability. Healy et al. (2011a) have used Acker’s conceptual framework to explore inequality regimes in three public sector areas in the UK for Bangladeshi ⁵, Pakistani and Caribbean women. They found evidence of inequalities in organizations despite the organizations’ explicit commitment to equal opportunity. The inequality regime at times left no choice for the women but “to adopt individual strategies of resistance.....reproducing the stereotype” (Healy et al., 2011a:483).

Williams et al. (2012) extend Acker’s theory and identify three mechanisms that reproduce gender inequality in today’s dynamic organizations: teams, career maps and networking. Salin and Hoel (2013) add to this debate by arguing that workplace

⁵ This was based on a project conducted by one of the authors for the Equal Opportunities Commission: *Moving on up?*, 2007

bullying is also a gendered phenomenon, particularly in how targets and third parties make sense and respond to workplace bullying. While organizational structures (Acker, 1990) and organizational cultures (Aaltio-Marjosola and Mills, 2002) are gendered, it is important to uncover the source of the practices that reproduce this discrimination (Mills, 2002). The discourse of gender in organizations discusses the barrier to women reaching the top as the glass ceiling. Indeed, the literature acknowledges masculinities and motherhood as two major impediments within managerial women's progression.

2.4.2 Glass ceiling

The expression “the glass ceiling” first appeared in 1986 (Woo, 2000) by Hymowitz and Schellhardt (Dreher, 2003; Massey et al., 2014) in the *Wall Street Journal*. It was then used by Morrison, White and Von Velsor in a book published in 1987, “Breaking the Glass Ceiling: Can Women Reach the Top of America's Largest Corporations?” The metaphor is used to focus

“on invisible barriers qualified women have to deal with, in order to access to the highest professional positions.” (Buscatto and Marry, 2009:170)

Powell (2011) argues that despite the global trend that the numbers of women in managerial ranks is increasing, women are found mainly in the lowest layers in organizations. The *glass ceiling*, or the restriction of women to top management because of their biological trait, is an impression that is echoed and re-echoed in reports published in the USA (see Catalyst, 2010), the United Kingdom and Europe (see EOC, 2007; Sealy et al., 2009; European Commission, 2007), and Australia (EOWA, 2008). Ragins (2011:x) affirms that between 1988 and 2011 “we have made

precious little progress toward that goal⁶” and describes the glass ceiling as made of kryptonite. There are numerous management and organization studies that have focused on ‘reaching the top’ (van Vianen and Fischer, 2002; Hoobler et al., 2011). Eagly and Carli’s (2007) exploration of the ‘obstructions’ in women’s work lives, is a repeat of what the women in management literature has at various times pointed out. These include prejudice in the form of higher wages for men (with marriage and parenthood associated with higher wages for men but not women), and slower promotions for women - including those in women-dominated occupations, where men are using *glass escalators* (see Hultin, 2003). They also found a strong bias against women at all hierarchical levels and a general resistance regarding women’s authority. Eagly and Carli thus call career progression for women a *labyrinth*, because of the many twists and turns in the route to the top.

2.4.3 Masculine as a norm in organizational culture

Mumby (1998:164) claims that masculinity(s) is a “phenomenon that is both central to, and invisible in, organizing processes”. This position is echoed by Knights and Kerfoot (2004). Connell describes hegemonic masculinity (1995:77) as:

“the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.”

The concept is still valid (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) and mainly revolves around white males (Mumby, 1998; Hearn and Collinson, 2006). Hearn and Collinson (2006) critique masculinity studies for underestimating the significance of organizations as a site for the production and re-production of masculinities, while Knights and Kerfoot (2004:435) assert that “masculinity conditions representational

⁶Of receiving equal status in the workplace

knowledge, yet it remains tacit and unspoken”. Men reproduce patriarchies (Collinson and Hearn, 1996) and discriminate against women (Collinson and Collinson, 1996; Collinson et al., 1990). Indeed, Hearn and Collinson (2006:304) assert that “masculinities operate in contexts of patriarchy or patriarchal relations”. I argue that if their assertion is correct, then organizations are also embedded with patriarchy. A large body of research supports the view that masculine is the norm in organizations and women have to become masculine/appear masculine in order to fit in.

A number of researchers have highlighted embedded gendered cultures, by which they mean ‘**masculine norms**’, as *the norm in organizations*. For example, Herman et al. (2013) in France, the Netherlands and Italy, Hatmaker (2013) in the USA and Watts (2009) in the UK demonstrate empirically the masculine cultures that women engineers have to face. Walsh (2012) demonstrates that cultures in law firms and Haynes (2008a; 2008b) in accounting firms are gendered. Butch lesbians are also expected to conform to gender norms in the workplace (Woodruffe-Burton and Bairstow, 2013).

While the discussion on ‘**think manager- think male**’ (Schein, 1973; Schein, 1975; Schein et al., 1996) has been around for a while, empirical evidence suggests that the stereotype is still alive cross –culturally (Sczesny et al., 2004). A recent meta-analysis “establishes a strong and robust tendency for leadership to be viewed as culturally masculine” (Koenig et al., 2011:637). This creates a double bind for women who are managers (Heilman et al., 1989), with penalties for women's success in male domains. They result from the perceived violation of gender stereotypic prescriptions (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007). They are expected to behave like women and *male*

managers, resulting in role incongruity (Eagly and Karau, 2002). In order for female leaders to be perceived as effective, they need to demonstrate both sensitivity and strength, although male leaders only need to demonstrate strength (Johnson et al., 2008).

Earlier works (Kanter, 1977; Gherardi, 1994) demonstrated how women ‘fitted in’, and while being accepted as people were devalued as women. This body of research also holds **masculine organizational culture** as an explanation for the lack of women in top positions. Masculine organizational culture (van Vianen and Fischer, 2002:316) is defined as:

“Masculine cultures, or masculine subcultures, consist of hidden assumptions, tacit norms and organizational practices that promote forms of communication, views of self-approach, approaches to conflict, images of leadership, organizational values, definitions of success and of good management, which are stereotypically masculine.”

Hoobler et al. (2011) argue that the dominant thinking in organizations does not facilitate being a woman. The dominant thinking in organizations revolves around ‘think manager - think male’ and work structures that are built around a male worker, who is unencumbered by family and has a wife at home. They conclude that “the think leader, think male stereotype is alive and well” (ibid.:153). Kirchmeyer (1998:689) had claimed “there was little more for women to do personally” as employers assumed women were less committed to careers because of external factors and stereotypes. Recent research supports this view. Peus and Traut-Mattausch (2008) posit that managerial cultures, since they were originally designed for men, are unfriendly for women, particularly as women’s childbearing years and traditional career paths are incompatible. The demands of managerial cultures include early mornings and late evenings devoted to being in the office. Their research demonstrates that balancing a managerial career with the demands of a family is

difficult in the USA and Germany. Cahusac and Kanji (2013) also demonstrate that women's experiences within hegemonic masculine cultures play a key role in pushing mothers out of organizations. There is also research that supports that masculinity is associated with drinking alcohol (Mullen et al., 2007), with drinking being symbolic of masculinity, as men affirm masculinity by drinking.

Hearn and Collinson (2006) also contend that **masculinities shape managerial practices as well as vice versa**. This includes authoritarianism, careerism and paternalism that could be understood as managerial masculinities/hegemonic masculinities. Martin (2001) concludes that men at work routinely mobilize masculinities and conflate masculinities and work dynamics involuntarily. This results in women experiencing masculinities mobilization, especially when conflated with work, as harmful. Alvesson (1998) demonstrates how the "feminization" of the work and client relationships in an advertising agency puts some strain on (gender) identity for men, and they have to work to restore feelings of masculinity. Lupton (2000) examines the ways in which men manage their gender identity in female-dominated occupations. Stobbe (2005) reveals dominant ideals of manhood in Argentine society. These images are the authoritarian image, the breadwinner image, the virility image and the chivalry image. Castro (2012) shows how paternalistic masculinity and the father figure appear to characterize management control in the Mexican context. The link between nationhood and masculinity and femininity has been highlighted before as well (Yuval-Davis, 1997a). Therefore, **women have no choice but to fit in**. Dryburgh (1999) explains that the fitting in is essential to the internalizing of professional identity, which is dependent on the culture of the profession. Hoobler et al. (2011:153) contend that while outright sexism is hardly visible in the workplace, subtle biases remain due to the "deeply held perceptions"

about what constitutes a good leader/manager. This has “profound implications for women’s career trajectories and career progress.” Similar to racism (McConahay, 1986; Dovidio and Gaertner, 1998; Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986; Dovidio and Gaertner, 2000) within racial/ethnic studies, sexism remains an issue within organizations (Glick and Fiske, 2001; Glick and Fiske, 1996; Glick and Fiske, 2011; Glick et al., 2000; Masser, 2004).

Some researchers argue that many of the factors that preclude women from occupying executive and managerial positions also foster sexual harassment (Bell et al., 2002). While Murrell et al.’s (1995) findings supported the notion of sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination that contributes to a hostile and intimidating work environment, new terminologies have been introduced since then.

“Benevolent sexism (a subjectively favorable, chivalrous ideology that offers protection and affection to women who embrace conventional roles) coexists with hostile sexism (antipathy toward women who are viewed as usurping men’s power).” (Glick and Fiske, 2001:109)

In addition, workplace sexual harassment continues to be experienced by many women and some men in a variety of organizational settings (McDonald, 2012). Sexual harassment can be viewed differently by different groups of women (Welsh et al., 2006).

2.4.4 Motherhood

Goodwin and Huppertz (2010:4) assert that “the *category* ‘mother’ has been established as a social category, whose meaning is historically and culturally specific” (emphasis added). In workplace settings, motherhood carries a devalued status characteristic (Correll et al., 2007), with women facing harsher standards in hiring. They also assert that “the motherhood penalty appears robust both internationally and historically” (ibid.:1333). Succumbing to the dominant discourse

of organizational perspective as the only perspective, the parenthood and work-life literature looks at parenthood as problematic, rather than enriching (Gatrell et al., 2013). Some researchers (Scott et al., 2008) claim that a large percentage of mothers with dependent children are working in the UK. Kanji (2011), however, states that the UK has had one of the lowest rates of mothers in full-time work in Europe, with most mothers in part-time work. Guillaume and Pochic (2009:33) claim “The persistent inequality in family responsibilities constrain women’s involvement in work.” Most of the literature talks about women quitting jobs because of work-family pressures or ‘opt out’ (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005; Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006) and choosing self-employment (Mallon and Cohen, 2001; Patterson and Mavin, 2009). The ‘opt out’ revolution was coined by Lisa Belkin of the New York Times (Hewlett and Luce, 2005). Hewlett and Luce’s research clearly points to women leaving jobs for mainly child and elder care (ibid.:45) while men leave jobs for repositioning of careers. While Craig and Sawrikar (2009) assert that full-time work is stressful for the mother of children of any age, Haynes (2008a) claims motherhood as an identity.

A major critique of MOS in my view is the bifurcation between work and family. Empirical research suggests that “‘life’ goes on at work, and ‘work’ goes on at home” (Ford and Collinson, 2011:269). However, as Gregory and Milner (2009) posit, organizational cultures tend to re-in force the traditional separation of gender roles. Research generally confirms that women carry most of the responsibilities of family and consequently suffer from work-family conflict (Albrecht, 2003; Brown and Jones, 2004; Guillaume and Pochic, 2009; MacInnes, 2005; Ozbilgin and Woodward, 2004; Pocock, 2005; Rapoport et al., 2002; Watts, 2009). It is still largely women who adjust their time to family, as compared to men, and women have more responsibility than men to care (Craig and Sawrikar, 2009). Women are still carrying

the bulk of the responsibilities of the family, i.e. of domestic and child-care nature (Eagly and Carli, 2007; Grady and McCarthy, 2008; Peus and Mattausch, 2009; Craig and Sawrikar, 2009; Bianchi and Milkie, 2010), with mothers curtailing employment when confronted with role overload (Rubin and Wooten, 2007) resulting in a continuation of gender inequality at home and in the labour market (Bianchi and Milkie, 2010). Valcour and Tolbert (2003) assert that having more children increases inter-organizational mobility for women. Van Vianen and Fischer (2002:318) claim “female managers are more likely to be unmarried and childless than their male colleagues”. Eagly and Carli (2007) consider the demands of family life for women as “fateful”, as women negotiate work/family responsibilities while carrying the bulk of domestic/childcare work ensuing in ‘the most destructive result’: no time to invest in socializing and building networks. Gatrell (2011) also demonstrates through her review how once women come back to work after having the baby the biases do not disappear. Although Gatrell’s research is on highly educated women in the U.K with young children (Gatrell, 2007a; 2007b), it echoes the research carried out in the USA (Corell, Benard and Paik, 2007; Rubin and Wooten, 2007) and Ireland (Grady and McCarthy, 2008).

While Li et al. (2008) suggest that highly educated women pay less of a parenthood penalty, Correll et al. (2007) demonstrate that mothers suffer a wage penalty and actual employers discriminate against mothers but not fathers. The bulk of the literature contends that one of the barriers towards women’s career progression is the conflict between the work role and family role, or work-family conflict (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). Women suffer from lack of promotion-seeking behavior and conflict between senior management jobs and parenting (Liff and Ward, 2001).

It should be noted, however, that with older children the stress/conflict reduces (Craig and Sawrikar, 2009), and balancing work and family becomes easier. Eby et al. (2005) regard a number of variables, for example, stress, coping, the husband's role, number of children, careers, intention to work after child birth, with respect to women. They assert "that gender differences in WFC have been repeatedly found", particularly in stress, and "gender role issues also repeatedly emerge (181)". Even ambitious women perceived work-home conflict as an important barrier to career advancement (van Vianen and Fischer, 2002). Research suggests that the probability that women will drop out of work depends on two factors: culture and gender identity (Mortazavi et al., 2009). The role of family is different based on gender differences (Kirchmeyer, 2006). This difference towards family is reflected in women's and men's definitions of success and ultimately career progression, with women highlighting balance and relationships (Dyke and Murphy, 2006).

In certain contexts, the focus on motherhood increases as motherhood and marriage are social imperatives. In Asian contexts, women really have no real choice between having careers or families (Omar and Davidson, 2001). Grady and McCarthy (2008) demonstrate that mid-career professional Irish women had a deep sense of motherhood, with children as the priority. Goodwin and Huppertz (2010) and O'Reilly (2010) present multidisciplinary perspectives on motherhood and conclude that motherhood continues to be an area of conflict for women in careers. They argue that the motherhood discourse is still alive and regulated by 'good mother' ideals, even in countries like Australia (Goodwin and Huppertz, 2010) and the USA (O'Reilly, 2010). Goodwin and Huppertz (2010) argue that the discourse and ideology of a good mother powerfully shapes women's lives. They argue that

“The good mother is known as that formidable social construct placing pressure on women to conform to particular standards and ideals, against which they are judged and judge themselves. The good mother is also recognized as institutionalized in social arrangements and social practices, and hence operating beyond belief systems or choices of individual women....it is implicated in the subordination of women....women may know she is a hegemonic form, and be aware of her part in the re-production of gender inequality, yet remain very much subject to her.” (Goodwin and Huppatz, 2010:2)

In addition, the view that motherhood is something to be avoided may have been the view of first/second-wave feminists, but the view of third-wave feminists is different. Indeed, third-wavers pay attention to “own version of feminism that addresses their different social contexts and the particular set of challenges they face” (Snyder-Hall, 2008:178). Snyder-Hall (2010:255) argues that third-wave feminism exhibits not a thoughtless endorsement of "choice", but rather a deep respect for pluralism and self-determination. Furthermore, not all women consider being a mother a means of re-producing inequality (Sandberg, 2013). Some highly educated mothers opt to stay at home (Rubin and Wooten, 2007). Sometimes women weave intensive mothering with self-employment and become ‘mumpreneurs’ (Duberley and Carrigan, 2013). Boone et al. (2013:230) suggest personal priorities hold a greater influence over career advancement for women. They call these self-imposed barriers: “the most common self-imposed barriers involved family and household responsibilities holding a higher priority”.

The literature also offers some positive (Dreher, 2003) and mostly negative effect of work-life policy initiatives by organizations on women (see Ford and Collinson (2011); Glass (2004); Drew and Murtagh (2005); Peus and Mattausch (2008)). For example, Drew and Murtagh (2005) found that both men and women in senior management positions recognize that their careers would be seriously and negatively affected if they availed work life balance arrangement in their organizations. Den Dulk et al. (2013) find that organizational policies are influenced by the national

contexts in which they are embedded, while some organizations are more sensitive than others. Herman et al. (2013) also found across three European countries and three organizations that women scientists' and engineers' professions were shaped by corporate cultures as well as the national contexts.

2.5 The experience of being a *female ethnic minority manager / professional in the workplace*

There is limited research in this area. Fearful and Kamenou (2010), in a guest editorial on the work and career experiences of ethnic minority men and women, state that persistent inequality remains, even in current times, despite laws to avoid inequality. Black women's work experiences were the starting point of this body of research (Bell, 1990). It has extended to other women minority groups in the USA context: Asian Americans (Woo, 2000), Hispanic women (Hite, 2007) and Indian women doctors (Bhatt, 2013). Some work has been carried out in Europe on ethnic minority women (Essers and Benschop, 2007; Essers et al., 2010; Essers and Benschop, 2009), limited research in Australia (Syed, 2007) and some in the UK (Kamenou and Fearfull, 2006; Fearfull and Kamenou, 2006; Bhavnani and Coyle, 2000; Rana, 1998; Atewologun and Singh, 2010; Ozbilgin and Woodward, 2004; Sang et al., 2013). Unlike the work in the USA, the body of work in the UK concentrates on 'ethnic minority women', as opposed to different groups within. Holgate et al. (2012) recommend that equality and diversity in employment relations should be context-specific. Kamenou et al. (2012) also assert that employers need to understand that there are diverse groups in employment, and each group faces its set of issues.

There has been some research on British South Asian women managers. Rana et al. (1998) found five themes: cultural influences on domestic responsibilities, additional

responsibilities towards extended family and community, work-family priorities, stereotypes of roles and responsibilities and discrimination at work. Rana et al. (1998) found that South Asian women not only had to struggle with oppressive cultural traits at home, but also deal with stereotypes at work. They felt pressurized to act English, wear English clothes and appear confident and outspoken. Some also found it difficult to work with English men. They also assert that these women face 'triple discrimination': class, gender, and ethnicity. They had problems asserting their professional status, and their work was not given the same priority. Some felt they had to work harder and also felt taken for granted in the workplace. Overall, being Asian was a negative trait that was assumed to be possessed by them.

Kamenou has conducted research on the work experiences of ethnic minority women in the UK (Kamenou et al., 2012; Kamenou and Fearfull, 2006; Fearfull and Kamenou, 2006; Kamenou, 2007; Kamenou, 2008; Kamenou, 2002). The findings suggest that ethnic minority women were required to fit into the existing white male culture by appearing and behaving through dressing, hair style, and mannerisms. This was problematic when cultural and religious aspects/norms were different (Kamenou and Fearfull, 2006). They also found that while companies espoused equal opportunities policies, there was a gap between policy and practice. The ethnic minority women felt a lack of organizational support. They also encountered problems in networking, career strategy and progression. Kamenou (2008a) also argues for reconsidering work - life balance, as the role of family and community is dominant in the lives of ethnic minority women and that creates a greater distance for these women between the work and non-work worlds. The authors conclude that

“predominantly white male culture of organizations can hinder advancement opportunities for ethnic minority women, by stereotyping them and excluding them

from influential ‘old boys networks’ on the basis of their gender and their race.” (Fearfull and Kamenou, 2006:896-7)

Wilson (2011) claims that obstacles were greater for ethnic minority women because of direct discrimination. While most of the literature cited below points to issues (opportunities and barriers) in the experiences of ethnic minority women, it does not draw on any theory to explain these experiences. For example, in Flanders, ethnic minority women encounter subtle discrimination in the workplace (Van Laer and Janssens, 2011b). Ariss et al. (2012), while examining the career experiences of skilled ethnic minority workers in France and Germany, focus on their choices. They demonstrate that both, men and women, skilled ethnic minority workers, exercised agency within the confines of the discriminatory structures they were facing. On the other hand, Van Laer and Janssens (2011) demonstrate how hybrid identities are constructed in a limited way because social and political processes do not allow individuals (second-generation professional ethnic minority men and women) to reconcile their different identities successfully. Tomlinson et al. (2013) demonstrate how BME men and women and white women experience careers in the legal profession. They use Archer’s work on structure and agency to explore how their participants tried to overcome biased opportunity structures. Bhatt (2013) documents the experiences of first- and second-generation Indian (South Asian) American women physicians and concludes that gender discrimination is dominant in American medicine. Essers and Benschop (2009) claim they contribute to theory development on the interrelationship between work, gender, ethnicity and religious identities, but do not present any theory. While the *hijab* is demonstrated to be a means of confirming Muslim identities (Ruby, 2006) and a means to negotiate space, some researchers demonstrate it serves as a means to discriminate due to religion (Ghumman and Jackson, 2009; Ghumman and Ryan, 2013; Ghumman et al., 2013).

Atewologun and Singh (2010) present identity construction of three ethnic minority females and four males, and conclude that women use strategies of protection/restoration of identities in professional jobs. Again they do not use or present any theory, just themes. Essers et al. (2010) focus on understanding *female* ethnicity and present stories and complexity of identities, but no theory. Healy et al. (2011a) draw on Acker's (2006a) conceptual framework to demonstrate the persistence of inequalities (production and re-production) in public sector organizations. Their findings suggest that informal work cultures play a role in producing inequalities. Thus, the above literature points to an unanswered question:

How does the BP *woman* find the experience of being a manager/professional in the workplace?

2.6 Final Thoughts

My review of the literature on GOS highlighted certain shortcomings. I argue for a systems approach that links structures that create intersecting identit(y)ies to organizations with their inequality regimes and then further.... Based on the above reflections, my aim is to undertake research with *gender as a primary lens* within the multiple social categories. This led to the sub-question: **How does the BP *woman* find the experience of being a manager/professional in the workplace?** I argue that as gender is a category that is socially constructed and gender is viewed as a system of social practices, created through a process, then other social categories are also *in process* and constructed. I aim to use a multi-level approach and to explore identit(y)ies constructions and re-constructions during interactions with organizations. Borrowing on Ely and Padavic (2007), I also posit that the identities of ethnic minority women in managerial and professional roles can be shaped in organizations and by organizations.

Chapter 3: A Review of Ethnicity in MOS.

3.1 Chapter Synopsis

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader to ethnic studies literature, British Muslim women and British Pakistani women. I draw on these bodies to create a framework that led me to the broad research question:

How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers in professional and managerial contexts?

I debate the race/ethnicity and MOS literature and put forward some of the critiques. I then present research on British Muslim women and British Pakistani women to suggest BP women, as a socially marginalized group, within the context of the diaspora (because they are women) and country (because they are an ethnic and religious minority). As will be demonstrated, gender, race/ethnicity/nationality and religion are all important categories of difference, identified *ex-post* (Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012). ‘*Ex-post*’ is where a number of salient categories of difference are identified, based on the specific context of the investigation. This results in complexity and requires a method that would capture the intricate nature of the context.

3.2 Categorization

This research is about a group of women who are located at the intersection of a number of social categories. Categorizing has been heavily critiqued as a means to reify/simplify individuals so that we do not have to make an effort to understand people as individuals and can cast them (Czarniawska-Joerges and Höpfl, 2002) through comparison as the ‘other’ (Czarniawska-Joerges and Höpfl, 2002), simply

because they are different from the norm. However, the purpose of this research is to give voice to the participants. They happen to be an ethnic minority in the UK. They are all Muslim, and they are all women. The categories (and the subsequent literature reviews) were chosen “by identifying what is salient in that specific context” (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012:182). As the categories of gender and race/ethnicity/ethnic minority are socially constructed, it is important to focus on the historical and structural perspectives (Zanoni et al., 2010) and on the construction of race/ethnicity, religion and diaspora, and how they were ‘cast’ as the other (Czarniawska-Joerges and Höpfl, 2002) in the UK *context*. I use categories as a lens through which the majority population sees the participants (minority population). In addition, the view is different (Jones and Stablein, 2006) when one stands at the centre of power (majority group) and if one stands at the margins (minority group). The purpose of this research is a view by the minority or the ‘other’, as they are not the norm in the UK context. Borrowing on Ozbilgin (2009:5), context is viewed “as a relational construct rather than an essential conception of social reality”.

3.2.1 Race/Ethnicity/Ethnic Minority

Race is a contested term, and there is much debate in the literature over whether this word should be used (Mason, 2000). However, race is a way of categorizing people (similar to gender). Brah (1994:810) asserts that categorization was one way in which ‘Europe’ tried to produce “classificatory hierarchies”. It is a way to assert its hegemony over ‘others’, mainly the developing world - a view that has been called Post-Colonial in western research. This categorization (that can be extended to religion, nationality and sexuality) is a means of creating difference (Brah, 1994). However, since race/racism is a reality of life in the UK context (Modood, 2005), I will borrow on Mason (2000) and consider race

“as a social relationship in which structural positions and social actions are ordered, justified, and explained by reference to symbols and beliefs which emphasise the social and cultural relevance of biologically rooted characteristics.” (Mason, 2000:9)

Proudford and Nkomo (2006:325) attempt to trace the origins of ‘race’ to a social constructionist view, in which *race* exists for social reasons. Ethnicity is also viewed as a social construction (Anthias and Yuval Davis, 1992). Race generally focuses on biology, while **ethnicity** is defined as “a set of people who share *common cultural background that is often embedded in language and religion*” (Proudford and Nkomo, 2006:325, emphasis added). However, that definition is too broad and homogenizing. Even within an ‘ethnic identity’, there can be many “dimensions of their social location as well as their meanings and experiences” (Anthias, 2011:206). For example, the Black ethnic group in the United Kingdom may have Caribbean nationality, Nigerian nationality or Kenyan nationality as origins. Nationality matters, as it can have an influence that is enduring enough to overwhelm even the influences of parent multi-national companies (Khilji, 2003). Brah (1994) traces the origins of *minorities* in Postwar Britain:

“The term, [minorities] became a code for British citizens from Africa, the Asian subcontinent, and the Caribbean, and their British born children.” (Brah, 1994:810)

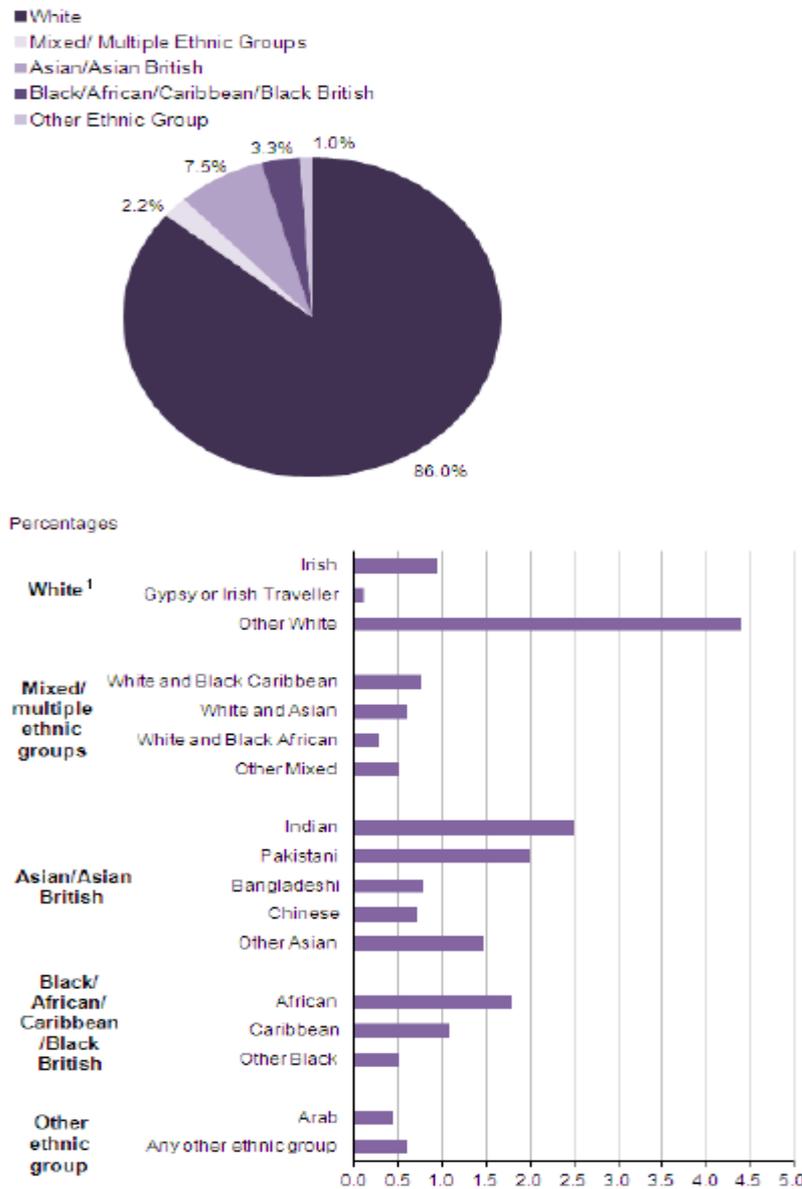
Ethnic minorities imply history and power in their creation (Oikelome, 2011). British Pakistani women are categorized in the UK under BME (Black and minority ethnic). The BME population in England and Wales is 14.1% ⁷ and in Scotland 4% ⁸. Clair et al. (2005) divide demographic diversity into two types: visible and invisible. They consider race, sex, age, ethnicity, language and speech pattern as visible, and

⁷ http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_290558.pdf

⁸ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/People/Equality/Equalities/DataGrid/Ethnicity/EthPopMig>

religion, sexual orientation, national origin, occupation and illness as invisible. These markers serve as cues and help us make sense of others.

Figure 1: Ethnic groups, England and Wales, 2011



Source: ONS 2012

Asian in the UK means mainly the south Asian community. Again this group has been treated as one in academic research, homogenizing the groups within them (Ahmad, 2003; Bhimji, 2009; Bhopal, 1997; Brah and Shaw, 1992; Brah, 1999; Rana, 1998; Werbner, 2004; Wigfield and Turner, 2012). Modood suggests that South

Asians in Britain have a strong feeling of otherness, as “South Asians were treated as [the] undesirable other” (2005:5). Asian/Asian British comprise 7.5 % of the UK population (see Figure 1 above). However, they can further be divided by religion. In research in the UK, Pakistani and Bangladeshi have been subsumed under British Muslims, whereas there are other nationalities among British Muslims as well; all with marked differences in culture. Within British South Asian Muslims, there are Pakistani Muslims, Bangladeshi Muslims and Indian Muslims. However, some researchers (Hutnik and Street, 2010; Bunglawala, 2008; Ramji, 2007) study British Muslims without considering that Bangladeshi and Pakistani can be different even if they have the same religion. I have therefore introduced **nationality** as a means of clarification and refining ‘ethnicity’.

3.2.2 Diversity

Diversity is a word that is used to signal an all-encompassing description. This is a major weakness (Anthias, 2011:206) as it disguises “difference or otherness”. Noon (2007:774) critiques the concept of diversity as it is used today and explains that the ‘valuing difference’ approach “acknowledges the importance of ethnic identity.” Nkomo and Stewart (2006:325) state that diversity refers to

“identities based on membership in social and demographic groups and how differences in identities affect social relations in organizations..... a mixture of people with different group identities within the same social system.”

While there is a debate about essentializing and giving primacy to demographic categories in research (Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012), there is also empirical evidence to demonstrate that biases based on demographic categories do exist (Oikelome and Healy, 2007; Pringle, 2008; Jyrkinen and McKie, 2012; Ghumman and Ryan, 2013). Metcalfe and Woodhams (2012) posit that diversity research is multi-layered, multi-paradigmatic, mainly social constructionist and qualitative, while other scholars

lament the absence of an emic (Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012), multi-layered (Tatli, 2011) approach in diversity research.

For this reason, demographic categories still hold important in diversity research, although they vary contextually. One way of handling the problem of essentializing is to draw on strategic essentialism (Prasad, 2012:567).

“Strategic essentialism serves as a means by which management scholars can tentatively engage with the research and the discourse that is reliant upon identity binaries, yet without reifying ideologically bifurcated identity classes.”

Grouping, categorization and identity play an important role. Foldy (2004:530), posits that

“cultural diversity refers to identities such as race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, gender and other dimensions of difference derived from membership in groups that are socio-culturally distinct.”

The problem it seems is not so much in the use of categorization but in the use of stereotypes associated with a particular category. Healy et al. (2011b:2) contend that a basis for discrimination is having “complex and mutually constituted identities....example...a woman, who is black and Muslim”.

As the purpose of this thesis is to give voice to BPw experiences in managerial and professional positions, and to detect barriers that could be creating the low numbers of BPw in management/professional roles, I use a “valuing difference approach” (Noon, 2007). For this reason, I aim to retain each of the social identities.

3.3 Themes within Race/Ethnicity and MOS studies

Given the context, BPw in careers, I draw on ethnicity literature in MOS. Within empirical research on ethnic minorities, two themes dominate: identities and prejudice/discrimination. For a visual view of ethnicity research, see Appendix 1: Race and Ethnicity in organizations. .

3.3.1 IDENTITIES: Cultural identity

The research on race in UK has been dominated by Stuart Hall. He has been a major influence in racial and ethnic, culture and identity studies (Alexander, 2009). He introduced the notion of **cultural identity** arguing that cultural identities are also *in process* and are subject to “continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power” (Hall, 1990:225). However, he argues that

“The ways in which black people, black experiences, were positioned and subjected in the dominant regimes of representation were the effects of a critical exercise of cultural power and normalization”

reducing ‘non-west’ people to see themselves as ‘the other’, in the categories of knowledge of the West. “This inner expropriation of cultural identity cripples and deforms” (ibid.:226). Thus for him a cultural identity is

“as framed as two axes or vectors, simultaneously operative: *The vector of similarity and continuity* (Diaspora grounding us in the past ⁹) and *the vector of difference and rupture* (subjugated, colonized and inferior ⁹).” (Ibid.:227, emphasis added)

As a result, he argues that ‘we’ belong to the marginal. Clarke (2008) argues that cultural identity is created in relation to another culture or cultural *other*. It has to do with a way of life. He further asserts that cultural identity is not just socially constructed but also psychologically constructed.

Foldy (2002:531) states that cultural identity groups

“tend to be associated with power differentials, in that some groups have higher status and greater access to resources.”

The argument about access to resources as a means to exert power and stratify has been echoed by other researchers (Anthias, 2011; Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz,

⁹The phrase in the parentheses is an elaboration of the phrase provided by Hall.

2013). Thus while Hall argues that cultural identity belongs to the marginal, Foldy argues that power operates to create them. Slay and Smith (2010:85), borrowing Goffman's (1968) term: *stigmatized* cultural identity, categorize African American journalist or being Black as **stigmatized** (due to group membership), as "Stigmatized persons are often accorded little prestige and/or privilege because their identities are tainted".

3.3.2 Stigmatized identity and social marginality

Stigma is socially constructed (Devers et al., 2009; Manzo, 2004), resides in the social context and effects the feelings and behaviours of those targeted (Major and O'Brien, 2005). Goffman (1968) suggested the notion of stigma and within that, *stigma* that arises from notions of race, nation and religion. Stigma is a relative phenomenon, as it is context dependent (Clair et al., 2005). Stigma is associated with a devalued category. For example, in the current post-9/11 and -7/7 climates, having a Muslim name or looking Middle Eastern is a problem in the USA but not in Saudi Arabia. Stigma, with respect to Islam, has been academically debated (Gole, 2003) and has been empirically demonstrated (Ryan, 2011).

"Stigmatized individuals possess (or are believed to possess) some attribute, or characteristic, that conveys a social identity that is devalued in a particular social context." (Crocker et al., 1998:505)

Social stigma is carried by minority groups (Ferree, 1979) in a society. Link and Phelan (2001) conceptualize stigma as a convergence of components: labelling human difference, linking to negative stereotypes, separation of us and them, all leading to unequal outcomes/discrimination. It is crucial that they "co-occur in a power situation that allows the components of stigma to unfold" (Link and Phelan, 2001:367). Research also points out that not all racial minorities encounter the same prejudice, with strongly identified minorities (who emphasize the role of their racial

group in their self-concept) bearing the impact of racism (Kaiser and Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). “Stigmas play a key role in shaping stigmatized individuals identities” (Ragins, 2008:196).

People cope with stigmatization in various ways (Clair et al., 2005), as a devalued category can have an effect on an individual. Some theorists argue that a stigmatized group may protect self-concept by attributing negative feedback to prejudice against their group (Crocker, 1989; Crocker et al., 1991). On the other hand, Slay and Smith (2010) explore how stigmatized cultural identity influences professional identity construction, as they view professional identity as embedded in personal identity. Most importantly, they point out that it

“may be quite different for a Black person who may receive different messages about appropriate role behaviour from those *inside* and outside one’s cultural group.” (Slay and Smith, 2010:88, emphasis added)

This is crucial, as it refers to the dominant discourses of a particular culture, particularly for people who have bi-cultural identities and who face at times conflicting discourses.

Prasad et al. (2007:170) refer to social marginality as

“those who are excluded from society largely because of their collective identity rather than because of individuals characteristics or individual acts of deviance.”

They elaborate that it carries elements of stigma because there are negative attitudes or stereotypes associated with them which reduce them to one-dimensional characteristics. “Otherness” or not belonging also makes people feel marginal. As the literature will demonstrate, BMW face racial discrimination and religious discrimination in the UK.

3.3.3 Bi-cultural/hybrid/diasporic identity

The minority experience has been framed as being bi-cultural (Thomas and Aldefer, 1989). The word bi-cultural was defined by Bell (1986) in her Ph.D. dissertation as “socio-cultural repertoire of [racial minorities], as they move back and forth between the black community and dominant culture.” (as cited in Thomas and Aldefer, 1989).

Bell explains later that black professional women

“lie in a bicultural world that requires shaping careers in a white world, while maintaining other aspects of personal life in the black community. The challenge for black women is to manage the tensions between these two cultural worlds.” (Bell, 1990:461)

Thus bi-cultural identity refers to an individual who simultaneously inhabits two cultures. Bell (1990) contends that there is a similarity between social marginality and bicultural experience, as both concepts state that an individual requires a deep understanding of both cultures. However, there is a major difference in the bi-cultural perspective and social marginality perspective (Bell, 1990) as well. The bi-cultural perspective does not consider any group culturally inferior, while social marginality assumes that the dominant group has superior cultural characteristics and the subordinate group is deviant. Thus while ethnic minority individuals are inhabitants of two cultural worlds (bi-cultural), they are also socially marginalized because they do not have the social skills or “the patterns of interaction that are the exclusive characteristics” (Bell, 1990:463) of the dominant group.

This struggle to manage both worlds is a common feature for ethnic minority individuals and is sometimes referred to as hybrid identities as well (Mishra and Shirazi, 2010; Pichler, 2007), and at times as diasporic identities (Dwyer, 2000). McDowell (1999:205) describes diaspora as “people who are in transit, whose identities are unfixed, destabilized and in the process of changing”. Hall (1992:310)

describes diasporic individuals as “must learn to inhabit two identities, to speak two cultural languages, to translate and negotiate between them.” Werbner (2004:896)

describes diaspora as,

“a permanent condition of ethnic and communal living.....they are cultural, economic, political and social formations *in process*” (emphasis in original).....culturally and politically reflexive and experimental; they encompass internal arguments of identity about who ‘we’ are and where we are going. Diasporas are full of division and dissent. At the same time they recognize collective responsibilities, not only to home country but to co-ethnic in far flung places.”

For example, British South Asian Muslim women aged 16-18 years negotiate diasporic identities in their everyday lives, and these “diasporic identities are always configured through gender” (Dwyer, 2000:475). Her major findings were that they felt they had both Asian and British identities and had to “prioritize one aspect of their compound identities”. This was due to pressure they faced from their parents to “retain strong allegiance to Pakistan” and the fact that racism encountered ‘at home’ made them feel ‘not at home’ resulting in another ‘place’ as fixing identity. Huang et al. (2000) emphasize the *identity negotiations* of diasporic subjects, as the focus of individuals to re-affirm themselves.

Some researchers term this feeling of belonging to two worlds as hybrid. However, the interpretation and use of the word ‘hybrid’ varies. Hall (1992) links it to ‘new ethnicities’, Gilroy (1995) uses Du Bois’ notion of ‘double consciousness’. For this reason an individual experiences “two souls, two thoughts” and double consciousness. As explained by Bell (1990), the term was used by Dubois “to describe both the external world and the internal intrapsychic dynamics that resulted in living in an oppressive society”. She cites Dubois (1903:45),

“.....a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of other’s, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.”

Bhaba (1994) sees it as a voice that speaks from two places at once and inhabits none. Not belonging means ending up occupying multiple spaces (Puwar, 2004).

I view hybridity as switching over or changeable; to be able to switch from one to another as opposed to just having a foot in both worlds. Werbner (2013b) also explains that the migration creates in a person double consciousness. **The underlying assumption** in this body of research is that power exercised by the majority population over the minority population results in the feeling of being an outsider. Accompanying feelings of being an outsider, of difference and discomfort, is resistance (Thomas and Davies, 2005). Empirical evidence indicates that religion (being Muslim) can also construct feelings of being ‘Other’ (Essers and Tedmansson, 2014). A number of researchers have echoed this feeling of being an outsider. Bell and Nkomo (1999:70) borrow on Anzaldua’s¹⁰ (1987) concept of borderlands to call themselves *border women* as they “built ..careers in the perilous space between the multiple demands of two cultures”. For example, Collins (1999:85) chose the term *outsider within*. She emphasizes how power colours the way the individual views that world. **It seems to imply that the individual is wearing lenses of “otherness” to see the world. She will always see the world differently because of her social location.**

Another way of explaining this feeling would be to say that the individual becomes embedded with ‘otherness’. It will leave an impression. I draw on Ahmed (2004:30) to explain *impression*, as “a mark left”, and crucially, **“the impression is a sign of the persistence of others even in the face of absence”**. For this reason, in the

¹⁰ Included in references but not read.

context of a relationship, the action of the individual will leave an *enduring* mark. Based on the literature review, I conclude that ethnicity/ethnic minority is grounded in the notion of dual identities. Consequently feelings of being ‘the other’ will be present.

3.3.4 Prejudice and discrimination

Within the dominant theoretical approaches, prejudice and discrimination are the most studied aspects (Proudford and Nkomo, 2006). However, prejudice and discrimination research, while trying to explain why **racism** occurs, depicts prejudice and discrimination as an *outcome of racism*. Prejudice is defined as a negative attitude and discrimination is defined as overt behaviour. Discrimination can be individual and institutional, as well as blatant and subtle (Dipboye and Halverson, 2004). Gaines et al. (2012:136) describe racism as follows:

“*Individual racism* refers to stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination on the part of specific persons toward racially stigmatized individuals; *institutional racism* refers to stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination on the part of specific organizations toward racially stigmatized individuals; and *cultural racism* refers to stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination that might not be attributable to particular persons or organizations but that nonetheless occur within a given society and can affect racially stigmatized individuals via mass media and other forms of communication.”

Modood (2005:11) defines cultural racism as “problems and disadvantages of that group are attributed to culture and not to biology”, and considers it a form of racism. He also refers to ‘*Indirect discrimination*’ (p.41) which has been called previously *aversive racism* by Dovidio and Gaertner (1986;1998; 2000), whose work is centred in the USA and blacks (African-Americans as an ethnic minority). *Aversive racism* is not overt, but subtle and indirect. Thus, racism is linked to the history of countries.

Prasad (2006:138) links organizations to societies “with a hierarchical system of binaries discursively produced in the course of Western (neo-) colonial domination”. The effect of colonization carries into the modern world of organizations today,

specifically in the nations that colonized. For example, while only 1% of white managers in the UK indicated racial discrimination as a barrier to progression, one third of Asian and 20 percent black managers in a study reported it as a barrier (Wilton, 2008). Oikelome and Healy (2007) demonstrate that overseas doctors faced career structures that disadvantage them both structurally and systematically. This argument has been echoed by Wingfield (2009) when she argues that race and gender combine to shape experiences for minority men in nursing. Cornileus (2013) also demonstrates that African-American professional men encounter structures due to gendered racism: specifically, ethnic minority men face a difficult environment because they are *black* and *men*. Indeed, Slay and Smith (2010) consider Black American men as *stigmatized* cultural identity, while Ryan (2011) discusses Muslim women negotiating collective stigmatization.

Some researchers suggest different types of discrimination for ethnic minority women in the UK; direct discrimination (Wilson, 2011), and “everyday incidence of racism” (Dwyer, 2000:477). Everyday discrimination exists in the form of racism in the workplace (Deitch et al., 2003). Sometimes racism occurs even when there is no intent (Woo, 2000) “involve subtle biases, sometimes imperceptible or ineffable, quietly or unconsciously reproduced” (Woo, 2000:15). Van Laer and Janssens (2011) reveal among other things that subtle discrimination in the workplace is linked to societal structures and discourses. They draw on Foucault to explain that societal context influences subtle discrimination in the workplace, by determining who is subjected, by providing the discursive tools and by determining how discrimination is understood. This is an important finding. It demonstrates that wider society does feed into the normalization processes in organizations and “subtle discrimination has emerged as a new soft tool to maintain power imbalances” (Van Laer and Janssens

2011:1223) and create invisible barriers to minorities. Thus, **the underlying assumption** in this body of research is that an outcome of racism is prejudice and discrimination and that it affects workplace interactions.

3.4 British Muslim Women

I now take the reader through an exploration of the context: British Pakistani women who are often subsumed under British Muslim women in academic literature and government reports.

3.4.1 Islamophobia

Werbner has written profusely on the Pakistani diaspora in the UK (between 1990 and 2013). She claims that

“In this public display of identities in Britain, specific Pakistani or Bangladesh national identities are almost entirely submerged beneath the broader rubric of a ‘Muslim’ identity.....This has led to the pluralisation of the Pakistani diasporic public sphere in Britain.” (2004:899)

Since 9/11 and 7/7, racism has taken a new form in the shape of ‘Islamophobia’. It is defined as “anti-Muslim feeling and violence based on race and or religion” (Frost, 2008:564). This seems to be a phenomena which is occurring in various countries (Poynting and Mason, 2007). For example, it occurs in Australia (Dunn et al., 2007; Ho, 2007) and the USA (Powell, K., 2011). Certain British researchers hold government partially responsible for this phenomenon (Frost, 2008), as well as the media, which has created a discourse universalizing Islam and Muslims (Halliday, 1999), resulting in an increase in hate crimes. Modood has written on multiculturalism in Britain (Modood, 2007) as well as on Muslims in Britain (Modood et al., 1997; Modood, 2005). He argues that the backdrop to the anti-Muslim sentiment in the UK lies in racism, or what he calls “black-white dualism” (Modood, 2005:5), resulting in Muslims being perceived as *most* threatening. He also

asserts that race and racism are embedded in how Muslims are perceived in Britain through the notion of inherentism: the perception that certain qualities are inherent to a group. Meer (2012:537) considers Islam “a silent marker of minority difference”. Werbner (2007) contends that Muslims are represented as a problem in public spheres. Ryan et al. (2011) label them a ‘suspect community’, and Sanghera and Thapar-Björkert (2012:591) call them the “ultimate Others”. The impact of Islamophobia on British Pakistanis (Hussain and Bagguley, 2013) has resulted in feelings of segregation. While some researchers assert that the dominant discourse in UK society targets British Muslims by demonizing them and has made them both the object and subject of wrath (Ahmad and Sardar, 2012), other researchers argue (Khattab, 2012) that while Pakistanis constitute the bulk of British Muslims, they suffer less than Muslim Black Africans. They conclude that the ethnic colour penalty is greater than the ethnic- religious penalty.

3.4.2 British Muslim women

Dwyer (2000:475) contends that

“diasporic identities are always configured through gender,...respondents negotiate diasporic identities in relation to both changing **familial gender ideals and gender relations** and against **racialized gender stereotypes.**” (emphasis added)

thus spelling out **two domains** where these women (school girls) have to **contest their identities**. Hutnik and Street (2010) conducted research on British Muslim school girls (mean age 12.6 years). They found there were different sources of identity: personal, social, bi-cultural and ethnic identity, national identity and confused ethnic and national identity. English clothes were associated with sexuality and rebellion (Dwyer, 1999a; 1999b; 2000), while the traditional Asian dress demonstrated that the girl was upholding the norms of her community (Dale et al., 2002a; 2002b). In Dwyer’s study (1999a 1999b; 2000) young women also used

'Muslim identity' to explore an alternative 'new' Muslim identity. This view has been echoed by McGinty (2007:484), who found that Islam provided a salient framework within which women could struggle for gender equality, "a space within which resistance against patriarchal ideas can take form". Research by Brown (2006) on Muslim women from the Indian subcontinent between the ages of 27 and 39 years demonstrates that religion has been a means of attaining rights in two domains: employment and education, and personal security and family. In other research, Ramji (2007:1171) explored dynamics of religion and gender among 18 - 30-year-old British Muslim men and women. She also found that women used religion to challenge conventional gender roles and used religion "as a power source in the construction of gender identity". Mirza (2013) uses the narratives of three professional transnational (Turkey, Pakistan, India) women working in Britain, exploring how these women expressed their subjectivity. She concludes that these women were conscious of the Islamophobic discourse prevalent in the UK.

"The all-consuming hegemonic racist and sexist discourses inherent within Western Islamophobia and fundamentalist, nationalist Islamic patriarchy frames her social reality." (Mirza, 2013:13).

Ryan (2011) also explores this feeling of being an outsider, and how they experience the anti-Islam 'stigma' through the concept of normality, as well as how it is constructed and displayed through the presentation and dressing of the self in everyday encounters.

For some Muslim women, the *hijab*, or head covering, is not only a confirmation of their Muslim identity but also allows them to control their lives and offers them respectability and a means for negotiating spaces within the Muslim community (Ruby, 2006). Another study (Ramji, 2007) illustrates how women at times want to avoid using the *hijab* as it attracts attention particularly in the western countries,

where it has a stigma attached to it. On the other hand, they want to “secure themselves greater cultural capital as Muslim women (ibid.:1185)” as a means to negotiate patriarchal cultural practices of their community.

Thus, the above review of the literature seems to suggest that Muslim women will feel like outsiders as they are different. There is vulnerability in ‘being different’, as “too much difference will lead to separation and that real integration and citizenship can only be achieved through greater public conformity” (Meer et al., 2010:99). Thus the literature review suggests that while the national discourse in the UK espouses multiculturalism, the practice negates it.

3.4.3 British Pakistani women

Ballard (2009) explains two factors for the large numbers of Pakistani’s in the UK: till 1962 Commonwealth citizens (Pakistan was/is part of the Commonwealth) had unrestricted right of entry into Britain and there was a high demand for unskilled industrial labour which was not being met by the indigenous population. It is important to point out here that **unskilled** means that these men could not read and write or do so minimally, and were largely farm hands working in villages in Pakistan. They moved to a strange country looking for better economic opportunities. Thus, the initial wave of the current British Pakistani Diaspora arrived in the late 1950s/early 1960s, followed by their wives and extended family members.

Dale et al. (2002a; 2002b; 2011) have done considerable work on Pakistani and Bangladeshi (P&B) women in the UK. The objective of Dale et al.’s (2002b) study was to understand the educational qualifications and occupational aspirations of young P&Bw born and raised in the UK, and how they differed from their parental generation. Dale et al. (2002b) report that most first generation P&B women came to

the UK as part of the family reunion process. They could not find employment in the formal labour market because they had inadequate qualifications. They could not speak English fluently [leading to high rates of depression (Chaudhry et al., 2012; Gater et al., 2010)]. They also did all the housework, with few domestic aids, and therefore had little time for any other work and faced cultural norms of it is the man's job to work and earn.

Dale et al. (2002b) found that Asians placed a high value on education culturally, as parents felt that family status was elevated by the high education and professional occupation of the child. Parents supported them materially and emotionally. Shah et al. (2010) also concur with this view and conclude that the Bourdiean notion of cultural capital helps to explain the educational success among the British Pakistani Middle Class. They conclude that many girls want to do well both in education and careers because of personal ambition and changing norms and values in the community, due to increasing divorce rates and economics issues.

A later article (Shah and Iqbal, 2011) also reflects attitudes towards education for girls in the Pakistani Diaspora in Britain. They argue that social and cultural traditions of *the sending societies* underpin belief systems. Most people who immigrated to Britain from Pakistan are from rural areas. In rural areas sending girls to school is not a priority, with the feudal patriarchal structure emphasizing the domestic role of women, along with girls' safety. Education as a means of employment for women is not embedded in the mindset, rather the reverse.

Dwyer (2000) also claims increased patriarchal control over young women strengthens gender disadvantages. In Dwyer's study (1999a; 1999b; 2000), class and family social background was significantly reflected in the attitudes and concerns of

the women from two schools; respectability (mainly reflected in attire used to challenge parental restrictions) and earlier marriage from daughters of working class parents versus later marriage and more anglicized attire (mainly reflected in attire used to challenge stereotypes associated with their ethnic identity) from daughters of professional/managerial parents. In Ramji's (2007) study, class played an important role, with middle class men finding community status and cultural capital enhanced by a suitably employed wife. In their study, working class men defined gender in terms of women in domestic roles only and used Islam "to argue against the education and employment of women" (ibid.:1179).

Certain other themes also emerged on the Pakistani diaspora, echoed in research conducted much later (Atewologun and Singh, 2010; Fearful and Kamenou, 2006; Kamenou and Fearfull, 2006; Dale et al., 2002a, 2002b). There was a strong emphasis on *izzat*, or family honour, "with young women who occupy a symbolic place as the guardian of family honour and integrity" (Dwyer, 2000:478). Dale et al. (2002a) also found that girls were given less freedom because it was important for girls to avoid any behaviour that might "damage the family honour (*izzat*) (p.955)". Neighbours or family - mainly brothers and other relatives (Dwyer, 2000) or community (Dale et al., 2002a; 2002b) - would take on the job of monitoring behaviour of young women. However, given the debate in recent media reports and the legislation on forced marriages ¹¹, it is surprising that forced marriages were not a theme in these studies on BMw as a means of control.

11 The Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014

Second-generation P&B women encountered resistance when wanting to go to university (Dale et al., 2002a; 2002b). Parents were less encouraging for girls to move into university, as they would be unable to police their activities and preferred they get married. Some of the girls resorted to negotiation with parents to be allowed to go to university, offering assurances that parents could be confident that they would not bring dishonour to the family. Girls felt that education provided then a route to independence, something to fall back on and higher self-esteem (Dale et al., 2002a; 2002b). They also found that the first girl in the family encountered the most resistance. Often, she was made into a role model for the rest of the girls in the family and a means for negotiating the same privilege (education/career) by them, while others' parents looked on her as a symbol of success.

In their study, (Dale et al., 2002a; 2002b) also revealed that all the women assumed that they would eventually get married and have children. This is in keeping with the conjugal role (Shah, 1986) and the maternal role (Hussain et al., 1997) of women in Pakistan. It was also assumed that the husband and in-laws will have a major role to play in their *negotiated* decision to study further or work (Dale et al, 2002a; 2002b), accepting the power that mother-in-law and husband carry. Women with higher qualifications were able to negotiate more easily than those without. A husband that was from abroad or UK-born made little difference to employment levels (Dale et al., 2011); however, those who were married were more likely to choose a partner who would not object to their working (Dale et al., 2002a; 2002b). The study (Dale, 2002a:22) also clearly points out that P&B women with UK qualifications on “par with white women are experiencing much greater difficulty in finding jobs.” The respondents felt that they had been treated differently because of race, ethnic identity or the fact that they were Muslim women, and the *hijab* was viewed negatively by

employers. As a result, this ethnic group of women needed a higher “level of confidence and persistence” to get a job (ibid.:22). They later add (see for example Dale, 2011) the pressure of looking after the family and the gendered division of labour. Being a mother means full-time care of children (Dale et al., 2006). This also affected employment.

The above literature seems to suggest that British Pakistani women have to face strongly gendered assumptions about roles and expectations, specifically regarding marriage and family responsibilities. This could be a reason for British Muslim women having exceptionally low participation rates in the formal labour market (Peach, 2006). British Muslim women (BMW) are now in higher education in larger numbers (50% versus 38% white). Compared to 61% of British Muslim male graduates *at work*, only 39% of British Muslim female graduates work (Bunlawala, 2008:4). Despite British Muslim women have a high desire to work and high education, **“51% of second generation (those born in Britain) are inactive in the labour market.....13% unemployed” (EHRC, 2011:405)**. Other reports (Bunlawala, 2008:5) state that second-generation Muslim women’s economic inactivity is three times the rate of second-generation Hindu women. One of the possible explanations may be the pay gap. “All women, regardless of ethno-religious group, experienced large pay penalties with Chinese and Pakistani Muslim women experiencing the largest penalties” (EHRC, 2011:416). With respect to women in managerial positions, the report states,

“In terms of discrimination in progression, research suggests that Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Black Caribbean women face particular discriminatory barriers in the workplace. They struggle to get jobs (and progress within them), despite rising achievement in school and having a clear ambition to succeed.” (EHRC, 2011:448)

Paid work for a British Pakistani woman is a contested arena (Evans and Bowlby, 2000). The reason for the low numbers in paid employment seem an enigma to Bunglawala (2008). She argues that many British Muslim women want to succeed in education and at work, have positive attitudes towards work and career and want to return to work after having children, combining a family and career. She admits that they face additional barriers such as discrimination based on clothing and faith, face difficulties in finding jobs and prefer to look after their children till the children are in school. Dale et al.'s (2002a; 2002b) respondents also felt that they had been treated differently because of race, ethnic identity or the fact that they were Muslim women. Dale's (2002b) respondents felt they suffered from an 'ethnic penalty', or a realization that they had to be better qualified than their competitor. Healy et al.'s (2011) research on Bangladeshi, Caribbean and Pakistani women working in three parts of the public sector (health, local government, and higher education) reveals the persistence of inequalities in organizations. Thus the dilemma of low numbers of highly educated BMw in jobs remains largely unanswered. Thus the answer to the broad research question:

How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers in professional and managerial contexts? may lie in BPw's experiences while at work.

3.5 Final thoughts

As has been demonstrated in the chapter through the literature review, British Pakistani women are marginalized within their community because they are *women* and within society as they are *Muslim* women and an *ethnic minority*. British Pakistani women are *on the margins within their community* and *on the margins*

outside the community (in UK society). They are “border women” (Bell and Nkomo, 1999:71), as they “end up doing ...work from the borderlands, belonging to and feeling part of two worlds, yet never at home in either”. Thus, gender, race/ethnicity/nationality and religion are all important categories of difference, identified ex-post. The literature review suggests that it seems likely that they will feel ‘outsiders’ and they will encounter discrimination and prejudice in their interactions with the host/majority society. The above literature also seems to suggest that British Pakistani women have to face strongly gendered assumptions about roles and expectations, specifically regarding marriage and family responsibilities. However, nothing clearly points to the reason for their low numbers in employment. Is it feelings of difference, discrimination, gendering assumptions - singly or in combination - that are at work in organizations and may be responsible for the low numbers? The ethnicity in MOS literature does not solve the intellectual puzzle. It complicates the view and persuades me to look more deeply into **How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers in professional and managerial contexts?**

In the next chapter, I review the literature on identities, as this was a major theme in race/ethnicity studies, within British Muslim and British Pakistani women.

Chapter 4: A Review of Identity in MOS.

4.1 Chapter Synopsis

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader to two bodies of literature: identity studies and intersectionality studies, which I draw on to create a framework that led me to the sub-question:

How are *intersections* of gender with ethnicity, nationality and religion revealed in their narratives?

I discuss the major streams in identity studies, their underlying assumptions, and the main themes. I elaborate on the critical perspective on identity in detail, and particularly on Foucault, who is considered the most influential theorist in critical management studies on identity (Thomas, 2011). I then discuss the intersectionality literature and argue that intersectionality should be used (Anthias, 2012), as my participants inhabit multiple social categories. I view

“intersectionality as social process [that] allows for observing actors’ contradictory locations of domination and subordination at different times in different places.”
(Calas et al., 2014:41)

I argue that identity research in MOS is largely gender/ethnicity-blind, given the large body of work on identity in organizations. Further, identity(ies) remains *in process/under construction* and identity(ies) can be shaped in organizations and by organizations.

4.2 The Rationale for a Focus on Identities

While identity was a major theme in racial/ethnic studies, I argue that identity research in MOS is largely gender/ethnicity-blind (considering the large body of work on identity in organizations), particularly as identity is central to understanding

behavior and “is a lynchpin in the social constitution of self and society (Ybema et al., 2009:302). As I have demonstrated, identity was a major theme in race/ethnicity studies and within British Muslim and British Pakistani women. Identity research (see Ford, 2006:78) also suggests that the experiences of a manager in shaping identity are “complex, multifarious, contradictory and ambiguous”. As Ely and Padavic (2007) argue, *how women managers’ identities are constructed in organizations* has not been central to understanding their behaviour within organizations. This is particularly significant as identity remains *in process/under construction* throughout a lifetime (Hall, 2000).

Though Sealy and Singh (2010) argue that role models are important in the identity construction of senior women and discuss a link between the lack of senior female role models and lack of career progression, they do not use empirical research to back this assertion. Empirical research demonstrates that gender identity can overly validate professional identity (Hatmaker, 2013). LaPointe (2010) demonstrates the role of gender in identity work and contributes to the literature on agency within the domain of careers. Eddleston and Powell (2008) explore gender identity in business owners. However, it remains an under-researched area. Consequently, identity needs to play a central role in GOS as well as ethnic studies (under the umbrella of **diversity** in organizations) for both men *and women*.

While the underlying assumption embedded in identity studies is that the workplace is gender-neutral, Calas et al., (2014:17, emphasis in original) argue that

“the necessary motivating condition for the continued existence of the gender-and-organization literature is the persistence of sex/gender inequality in organizations and society.”

Within gender and organization studies (GOS), there is plenty of research to suggest that women are still not in leadership positions numerically (Baumgartner and Schneider, 2010; Bendl and Schmidt, 2010a; Boone et al., 2013; Chesterman et al., 2005; Dencker, 2008). Recent research also suggests that the masculine model of leadership is still alive and well (Koenig et al., 2011; Murray and Syed, 2010). While discussing followership, Collinson (2006:180) contends “a small number of studies suggest leaders can shape followers’ identities”. For this reason, theoretically, in an organizational context, what a leader says or does can have an impact on the follower. I argue that how *women’s identity* is constructed (either as follower or leader) would also be impacted by the ‘significant others’ in the workplace, and should be central to understanding their behaviour.

4.3 Overview of Identity Literature

The identity literature is vast, even in organization studies (Ibarra and Barbulescu, 2010), and one can only look at one corner or piece (Vignoles et al., 2011). Thus, I only draw on some areas for this thesis. There are social identities, cultural identities (e.g. ethnic origin, religion), role identities (e.g. daughter, mother) and personal identities (e.g. tall, thin). Based on the type of discipline, there are a number of streams in identity literature. Major streams are for example in psychology, sociology, anthropology, linguistics, political science, family studies and education. Each stream has its roots in theoretical perspectives. For instance in psychology, social identity theory has its roots in Tajfel and Turner (1986). In sociology, Stryker (Stryker and Burke, 2000) is an important theorist. As a result of the variations in disciplines and theoretical orientations, identity literature streams are independent of each other (Vignoles et al., 2011). Sociological streams tend to focus on relational and collective levels and view the process as socially constructed while keeping the

‘mind’ in the background. Vignoles et al. (2011:10) argue that in order to capture the complexity of “what identity means and how identity processes operate”, it is necessary to view identity through multiple lenses at different levels of content and levels of processes. They conclude

“Any given aspect of identity can be viewed as defined by individual, relational and collective processes: as the subjective understanding or experience of individuals, as an interpersonal construction and as a social cultural product.” (Vignoles et al. 2011:9)

There are a number of perspectives in identity literature: personal and developmental perspectives, social and contextual perspectives (intergroup, social structural, cultural and historical) and critical perspectives. Dominant streams in identity and MOS draw on social cognition, symbolic interaction, post-structuralism and power, and the work of Lacan and Freud (Brown, 2014). There are also ‘functionalist studies’ in MOS as well as interpretivist studies (Thomas, 2011) and critical studies. Indeed, it has been argued that identity frame in organization studies is useful and fashionable (Alvesson et al., 2008). Alvesson et al. (2008) assert that the major theoretical perspectives in MOS and identity centre around social identity, identity work, and identity regulation (see Table 2). Social identity theory (Ashforth, 1989; Ashforth et al., 2008) borrows from the field of social psychology and the social identity theory (SIT) of Tajfel. The self-categorization theory (SCT) of Turner is a part of this area in MOS and identity. The 1989 paper has been cited 1600 times in the web of science.¹² A recent entrant in this domain of organization studies is relational identity (Sluss and Ashforth, 2008). The second major area is identity work or identity construction. Identity work involves the study of the individual and how she crafts the self, drawing heavily on Knights and Willmott (1989: cited 218 times in the web of science) and Sveningsson

¹² As of 13/08/14

and Alvesson (2003: cited 199 times in the web of science). There are a number of theorists who are drawn on in identity studies, Goffman being one who bears “uncanny resemblance to Foucault’s later works” (Clarke, 2008:514) on identity formation and notions of self. The third area of work is on identity control and regulation by organizations (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002: cited 379 times in the web of science). While the phenomenon of identity is the same, it is viewed differently. Based on Alvesson et al. (2008), I present the major influences in the conceptualizing of identity.

Philosophical Framework	Interests underlying human inquiry	Aims at developing knowledge of	Objects of analysis
Functionalist	Technical	Cause and effect relations	Personal identity and social identity, relational dimensions, out-groups/in-groups. Social constructionism. Localized notions of relational context and interactive production. <i>Broader contexts and macro developments are largely overlooked.</i>
Interpretivist	Practical-hermeneutic	Seeks enhanced understanding of human experience, crafting of identity through interaction	
Critical	Emancipatory	Focus on power relations and revealing how to liberate humans from repressive relations that constrain agency	

Table 2: Major influences in the conceptualizing of identity - based on Alvesson et al. (2008)

My literature review revealed that a large number of papers drew on the works of Foucault in identity construction and identity control and regulation. Most of these papers fall under the critical management studies (CMS) area.

4.4 Critical Perspectives on Identity

The aim of critical perspectives in MOS is to make visible domination and oppression in organizations. It has an emancipatory agenda. In women’s research, much of the debate centres on men’s domination of women. In the race and ethnicity research,

much of the debate centres on the ‘white man’ subjugating the man of colour; black, brown or yellow, and the colonizer subjugating the colonized. Most of the debate centres on how power is exercised by one person over another in a punitive fashion, or what Foucault calls “juridical power.” My question throughout the literature review process was: Are there other sources of power besides these?

As this thesis focuses on BPw, given their context of social marginality (previous chapter), I now discuss the critical perspective on identity and focus particularly, in this chapter, on identity construction. **Identity, in CMS, is a means to reveal the powers at work in the creation of subjects in organizations.** The dominant themes within CMS and identity scholarship have focused on identity regulation through control at work, resistance to control in organizations, and the **creation of identities through power.** Numerous identity studies using a critical perspective in organization studies draw on Foucault. Indeed, Thomas (2011) considers Foucault the most influential theorist in critical management studies on identity. My review of critical perspectives on identity revealed the following:

4.4.1 Identity research in CMS draws on discourse as a central element of identity construction.

Social and cultural identities are founded on difference (Clarke, 2008) and are shaped according to societal norms (Goffman, 1968). While societal norms, values and beliefs are ‘culture’ in classical sociology (Bennett, 2008), and in contemporary studies of culture, discourse and ideology play a prominent role. Some writers (Purvis and Hunt, 1993) argue that ideology and discourse are *almost* similar, with ideology an effect of discourse. On the other hand, Peci et al. (2003:382) explain that some theorists, for example, Foucault, did not consider ideology and discourse as one and the same thing. In the Foucauldian sense, discourse means body of knowledge.

Foucault talks of scientific discourses. In this thesis, I refer to patriarchal discourses, religious discourses, masculinity discourses, post-colonial and post-9/11 and post-7/7 discourses; given the context of the participants.

Much of Foucault's work revolves around subjectively construed identities. According to Foucault (1978; 1990), whenever an individual deviates from a norm, (because it is deviant) *the norm* labels and exerts control to try and 'normalize' the behaviour and tries to suppress the deviation: types of normativity. Thus Foucault argues that as a subject is created, at the same time, forms of control are also created, turning that subject into an object; forms of subjectivity.

Subjectively construed identities have been heavily cited in management studies. Some articles have over 100 citations in the web of science (see for example Humphreys and Brown, 2002; Alvesson and Willmott, 2002; Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003; Collinson, 2003). Most of this research has drawn on Discourse, discursive practices and the link to 'truth'; in other words "it is assumed that it is the engagement in discursive communal practices that forms speaking subjects and their worlds" (Bamberg et al., 2011:181).

"self is created in relation to expert discourses that define normal and pathological as well as trying to drive us back towards a norm; to make our sense of self align with a rational model in a process of normalization." (Clarke, 2008:514)

Organizations also produce discourses and want employee compliance (Cooper and Burrell, 1988:105). In an organization, it is normal to be like 'one another'. Organizations, therefore, do not encourage heterogeneity as it would lead to chaos. They, in fact, want all employees to be homogeneous, so while they may espouse 'diversity' as a discourse, in practice the opposite is true.

"The linguistic category, 'Organization', attempts to reduce 'Difference' to 'Sameness' by assuming that prisons and factories and hospitals are part of a wider

scientifically acceptable category which we generally label as ‘organizations’it falsely reduces difference and spuriously elevates similarities.” (Burrell, 1998:23-4)

Practices, norms, and Discourses are interlinked for Foucault and have a major role in power creation. **Hegemonic masculinity is a major part of the dominant discourse in organizations.** This includes putting family on the back burner in order to progress in careers, which is still a major part of the work-life debate in organizations. Indeed, it seems at times that women are the only ‘parents’, as Eby et al.’s (2005) review highlights WFC’s link with parental status, particularly for women. Hegemonic masculinity in organizations, with the *male* manager model, is still a part of the dominant discourse in organizations. For example, Koenig (2011:637) claims

“even women who possess outstanding qualifications for leadership may have the burden of overcoming preconceptions that they are not well equipped to lead.”

However, there may be other discourses at work in organizations as well. Botcherby (2006), for instance, found that ethnic minority women were much more likely than white women to be asked inappropriate questions about marriage plans, husbands, and children. Tomei (2003) found that employers make negative personnel decisions about job applicants based on applicants’ religious affiliations.

4.4.2 Individuals can resist Discourse.

Some people may not want to accept the Discourse (or the generally accepted ‘truth’). In a society, there may be individuals who do not want to comply with the dominant rules. Jenkins (2008:204) contends that

“everyday life is the site of the most mundane and possibly the most important resistance.....human individuals assert themselves.....We can, however, only resist categorization if we know that we are being categorized.”

Individuals may use different ways not to comply. Chapter 3 discussed the ways in which BMW resisted hegemonic cultural Discourses by using religion. A way of resistance is to construct oneself as “the Other, the marginalized, backward militant,

unable to live up to the norm” (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000:1141). In MOS research, Thomas and Davies (2005) demonstrate how individuals resist by using ‘self as the other’. By this, they mean that individuals firstly have multiple identities, and they draw on their multiple identities or subject positions to assert their identities in organizations and resist the dominant position or discourse in an organization. For this reason, there is first resistance and then counter-resistance (Karreman and Alvesson, 2009). This is a position taken by Foucault. It is often overlooked by his critics who focus on the subjectification process of power, while for Foucault, individuals are both subjects and objects (Heller, 1996).

“discourses are simultaneously sites of domination and resistance and involved in the deconstruction and reconstruction of organizations.” (Leclercq-Vandelannoitte, 2011:1252)

Drawing on Foucault, McKinlay and Starkey (1998) argue that these practices at the macro-level in organizations are a form of *governmentality*.¹³ Organizations are sites which are dominated by rules and procedures, where the assumption is that employees will comply with these practices. Through a discourse of ‘what is right and true and normal’ in an organization, organizations can seduce/dupe/persuade workers to participate in the subjugation of themselves and succumb to disciplinary power and submit themselves to self-surveillance/the gaze/panopticon, without themselves necessarily being aware of this happening. A critique of Foucault and identity creation (Thomas, 2011) is that Foucault’s subjectification makes the subject appear helpless and with *no agency*, with practices imposed by organizations and society, culture or community. Indeed, McKinlay and Starkey (1998:5) claim that organizational resistance “legitimizes disciplinary power itself”. However, in my

13 A Foucauldian term

view, Foucault introduced the idea of resistance, not to insist individuals have no agency, but rather to insist that there was no *one source of power or one type of power* but many. While CMS postulate organizations as sites of compliance, it is possible that organizations can be a site of resistance or both, as Foucault's position is that subjects can *simultaneously* **undergo** and **exercise** power.

4.4.3 Identity is seen as a process

As Hall (2000:16-7) explains,

“the discursive approach sees identification as a construction, a process never completed-always ‘in process’subject to the play of difference. It obeys the logic of more than one. And since as a process it operates across boundaries, it entails discursive work, the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries, the production of ‘frontier effects’the concept of identityis not an essentialist, but a strategic and positional one.”

Haynes (2008b) also argues that some theories of identity do not view social structures as rigid, but as a social process. She demonstrates how individuals make sense of the different social identities of accountant and mother, and to what extent social, institutional and cultural factors shape and restrict the ways in which the self is experienced.

Some studies (Brown and Lewis, 2011) specifically examine how identities are constructed through talk about organizational routines, drawing on Foucault to demonstrate the production of identities as well as resistance among lawyers and the role of discourse in the creation of identity. Thomas and Davies (2005) also use the discursive approach to understand how individuals in organizations draw on different discourses to create an identity that they are comfortable with, incorporating resistance as a means of shaping identity. Thus in recent years, the self has changed from a unified or fixed self/identity to intersectional, fractured, reflexive, multiple and fluid identities, the crucial word being *identities*. Identity is thus conceptualized

as fluid, subjecting and resisting, *always under construction*, reflexive, and at the intersection of structures, both social and cultural. What I call ‘under construction’ is viewed by some as ‘identity work’ (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003:1165) propose that

“identity work refers to people being engaged in forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising the constructions that are productive of a sense of coherence and distinctiveness.”

Leclercq-Vandelannoitte contends that Foucault sees identity as how people see themselves. This is a process that is done **relationally** and **contextually**, and is **always in process**. According to Leclercq-Vandelannoitte, Foucault “rejects the idea, of predetermined social structures and dominant groups” (ibid., 2011:1253). Foucault’s view, as described by Leclercq-Vandelannoitte, is similar to the integrated approach to identity suggested by Vignoles et al. (2011) and discussed later in this chapter.

4.4.4 What is missing in identity literature and MOS

In my view, much of the research on identity is generally presented as **gender-blind**. Despite researchers in GOS arguing for a gender focus, as gender differences still exist (Calas et al., 2014), gender is overlooked. For instance, while Karreman and Alvesson (2009) use women’s quotes in the study, they make no reference to gender playing any role. In reality, individuals *are gendered* and are subjected to multiple discourses or multiple dominant (hegemonic) discourses. These *gendered* individuals make choices (agency) by yielding to one discourse, while not yielding to another, and thus practice resistance. On the other hand, certain researchers (Prasad and Prasad, 2002:68) assert that

“gender itself intersects substantially with race, ethnicity, religion, national origin etc. to constitute a spectrum of ‘other’ identity categories.”

Given that categories are identifiers (Kenny et al., 2011) and affect how an individual thinks about oneself, **categories of difference**, identified ex-post (Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012), **need to be considered while conducting research involving multiple categories**. This holds special significance if an individual is a demographical minority (Ely, 1994; Ely, 1995b; Ely and Thomas, 2001). Falling outside the dominant norm creates a high probability that the individual will feel marginalized (Kanter, 1977). Most identity research in MOS “fails to account for larger forces, which also function as agents in identity construction” (Alvesson et al., 2008:18). For example, a category has a historical and cultural inheritance and has a meaning attached to it. That meaning can be positive or negative. A definition of identity is:

“identity comprises not only ‘who you think you are’ (individually or collectively), but also ‘who you act as being’ in interpersonal and intergroup interactions.” (Vignoles et al., 2011:2)

As the literature review discussed in the previous chapter suggests, BMW are socially marginalized. Bell (1990:463) describes **a marginal person**

“is one who lives on the boundaries of two distinct cultures, one being more powerful than the other, but who does not have the ancestry, belief system, or social skills to be fully a member of the dominant cultural group.”.

Stereotypes are part of the process of categorization and marginalization. In addition, most individuals, even in the workplace, prefer their type. This is called homosociality and makes, for instance, women feel like outsiders in male-dominated organizations. It also reproduces existing structures and hierarchies by excluding women from networking (Sealy and Singh, 2010) and finding mentors (Baumgartner and Schneider, 2010; Chandler et al., 2011). As the minority group feels excluded, it creates insecurity. Insecure identities need to secure themselves (Collinson, 2003). They tend to do it at times by avoiding the dominant group, and thus can reinforce marginalization (Powell et al., 2009a). In addition, accepted norms are “central to the

study of identity work” (Kenny et al., 2011:43). Indeed, Knights and Clarke (2014:351) have demonstrated “identities and insecurities of business school academics as mutually interdependent phenomena”. **For this reason, ‘the larger forces’ (Alvesson et al., 2008:18) need to be taken into account in the study of identity construction.**

To further complicate matters, identity work is based on the assumption of public display of appropriate roles (Ibarra and Petriglieri, 2010), and **this adherence to cultural fit offers legitimacy** to the identity.

“A primary objective of identity work, therefore, is acting and looking the part, so as to be granted the claimed identity.” (Ibid.:12)

The key element is that **‘cultural fit’ differs** contextually, and roles are dependent on cultural knowledge. In addition, the role can vary depending on the situation. Is the individual displaying a role at home or work? Practices that are considered a normal part of organization culture are created to suit the dominant majority. For example, the mode of dressing in the corporate world is suits. Thus, women have to dress like men (wear suits), socialize after work (Walsh, 2012) in order to play a role. However, individuals also have to adjust role identities to comply with their sense of self (Kreiner et al., 2006). **Thus, while the dominant discourses in organizations determine the norm, and anyone not complying with that norm feels marginalized within organizations,** individuals may feel marginalized due to competing discourses (accepted norms) that are determining each role. For this reason **roles need to be taken into account while examining identity construction.**

Furthermore, identity (that depends on categories), is a process of social construction (Atewologun and Singh, 2010; Boogaard and Roggeband, 2010). The view that **identity is a process and is socially constructed** takes into consideration a number

of aspects: Firstly it is an anti-essentialist perspective, as it does not view identity as fixed. Identity work continues throughout life. The process begins in childhood but does not end there. Identity is fluid and always *in process*. As Jenkins (2008:17) argues,

“identity can only be understood as a process of ‘being’ or ‘becoming’.is always multi-dimensional, singular *and* plural- is never a final or settled matter.”

However, Alvesson et al. (2008:15) contend that *becoming* is more of a dominant theme than *being*. My view is more aligned with the ‘ongoing process’ that lasts a lifetime.

Additionally, **identity construction is a complex process that is context-dependent**. By context I mean local context (home or work), the culture of the society the individual inhabits and the historical embeddedness of the category(ies) that the individual draws on in that society (Kenny et al., 2011). The meaning of each category (for instance, being a woman) means differently for someone who is a Muslim, Saudi Arabian, upper class versus a woman who is also Muslim, Pakistani and upper class. In this example, the changing of just one category, nationality, has changed the meaning of being a woman. The dominant norm often prescribes what is expected of the individual and how one should behave. This dominant norm or “widely held cultural belief” has been called “hegemonic” (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004:514). They argue, for instance, that gender beliefs “are in effect cultural rules for enacting the social structure of difference and inequality that we understand to be gender” (ibid.). Alvesson et al. (2008:18) also draw attention to societal/cultural discourses and institutionalized cultural patterns as they “offer templates for self-categorization”.

In addition, the individual plays an active part in deciding ‘who am I?’ Not only does the individual play a part in the production process (of the identity) but also in the reproduction process (of the category). They either play by the rules, thus reinforcing the category and the assumptions that go with the category, or use alternative gender beliefs (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004) by not playing by the rules and by not reinforcing the category, thus breaking the assumptions (stereotypes). Hence the individual is in a state of constant flux, constantly sense-making, as she carries on her life in day-to-day interactions. These interactions and her experiences colour the view of ‘who am I?’ A critique of this social constructionist view is that it gives primacy to a category and reifies and essentialises the category. However, (Prasad, 2012) suggests strategic essentialism as a way out of this paradox.

Identity is something one **does** (Jenkins, 2008). Jenkins claims it works in three ways: embodied in individuals, or what goes on in the head (ibid.:60); interactional, or what goes on between people; and institutional, or ways of doing things. Consequently, identity can be studied at three levels (Vignoles et al., 2011) or content or processes. **Individual** or personal identity has to do with the individual, her beliefs, values and standards of behavior, with theories focusing on the agentic role of the individual. **Relational** identity concerns role expectations for the individual, for instance, mother, daughter, wife or executive. How she defines these roles is usually dependent on the people around her; the individual is not solely in charge. **Collective** identity concerns an individual’s identification with ‘a group’. This group could be a religious group or ethnic group or gender or family or work group. These wider contexts, as well as material artifacts (clothes, bank account), can shape identity (Vignoles et al., 2011:5). I thus concur with Vignoles (2011) for **an integrated approach to examining identity**: one that looks at the individual and her social categories, as

well as the roles that are culturally determined; and takes into account all larger forces that act in the identity construction process, a process which remains under construction throughout life.

4.5 Intersectionality: a complex view

Given the context BPw, who are located at the intersections of a number of social categories; a complex view was required. Black feminists introduced the concept intersectionality, as it was used to explain the space where gender and race intersected, creating oppression. The term intersectionality has been used for multiple intersections of oppression (Brah and Phoenix, 2004). It uses social categories that are created/embedded through domination and difference, resulting in the subordination/marginalization of the individual, thus marking her as a marginal category. This perspective is context-dependent. Being a black man in the USA is a minority/marginalized category, but not in Nigeria. Intersectionality includes all social categories/social differences involving the production of inequalities. Thus intersectionality empirical research has usually incorporated race and gender (Browne and Misra, 2003), race, gender and class (Healy et al., 2011a) and race, gender and religion (Bilge, 2010; Essers et al., 2010), and categories remain a dominant part of intersectionality and diversity (Healy et al., 2011b). As Collins (1998:918) argues

“Neither race-nor gender only approaches adequately explain African American women’s experiences with violence, because African-American women’s experiences with violence cannot be recast within guiding assumptions of either approach.”

She uses “violence as a site of intersectionality linking hierarchical power relations of race and gender”. She suggests using intersectionality to develop a *complex view*, while recent researchers consider it a relational conception of workplace inequality (Vallas and Cummins, 2014).

Although the insight for intersectionality originated from Black scholars such as Davis (1981), Lorde (1984) and Collin (1991), the phrase ‘intersectionality’ was coined by Crenshaw in 1991 (Prins, 2006). Most feminist scholarship in the 1970s was about white, educated middle-class women that Holvino (2010) calls ‘a hegemonic feminist theory.’ The 1980s saw a new perspective, that of the coloured or black woman (Moraga and Anzaldúa, 1983; Hull et al., 1982; Dill, 1983) being introduced with a focus on lived experiences of oppression and the simultaneity of gender and race (Choo and Ferree, 2010). According to Nash (2008), intersectionality is a tool for tackling both identity and oppression. It is critical in its approach, as its original premise had an emancipatory agenda, focusing on “multi-dimensionality of marginalized subjects lived experiences” (Crenshaw, 1989:139). Warner (2008) also emphasizes the critical nature of the perspective, as intersectionality assumes “identities are couched within status and power relations”.

According to McCall (2005), there are three approaches to intersectionality (for a detailed write-up on intersectionality, see Özbilgin et al., 2011; Arifeen and Gatrell, 2013). The intra-categorical complexity emerged when feminists of colour began to focus on the “lived experiences at neglected points of intersection - one that tended to reflect multiple subordinate locations as opposed to dominant or mixed locations” (McCall, 2005:1780). Usually, new groups are born/emerge when the master category is deconstructed along its original dimensions. Master category is defined as the dominant category, e.g. Gender or social class. Gender is usually combined with other categories (Adib and Guerrier, 2003). Calas et al. argue that these categories are not

“independent of one another; rather they interrelate, creating a system of oppression reflecting the simultaneous effects of multiple forms of discrimination. Intersectionality also refers to interlocking and mutually constitutive relations of

gender, race, class and other categories of difference in **individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, cultural ideologies and their differential outcomes in the lives of women and men.**” (Ibid., 2014:40, emphasis added)

Intersectionality has been used in multiple ways. It has been suggested as a research paradigm (Hancock, 2007), as a way to study transnational (Anthias, 2013) and global inequality (Bose, 2012). It can be used in different methodological ways (Choo and Ferree, 2010; Bowleg, 2008; Cole, 2009; Davis, 2008; Warner, 2008; Walby, 2007; Walby et al., 2012). Most empirical researchers have used it as an analytical tool (Essers and Benschop, 2007; Essers and Benschop, 2009; Healy et al., 2011a). However, the focus of intersectionality studies is to look at the process of the creation of intersecting or intersectional identities:

“identify social processes where race, class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, caste, and nation, for example are salient in social relations and in representations of subjects and identities at work, attending as well, to those identities that are invisible, subjugated, or marginalized at particular points of intersections.” (Calas et al., 2014:40).

Researchers have used gender and ethnicity/religion as categories to understand the micropolitics of identity construction (Essers and Benschop, 2007; Essers and Benschop, 2009). Calas et al. (2014) further suggest “co-constitution of identities, subjectivities, and organizational practices through societal processes of globalization.” This is similar to the approach suggested by researchers when studying diversity (see for example Syed and Özbilgin, 2009; Tatli, 2011; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012; Özbilgin et al., 2011). Indeed, Holvino (2010:258) claims that a feminist poststructuralist analysis would

“have us read how these different identities are understood, produced, performed and ‘mutually construct one another’, when arriving at intersections of race, gender, class, and sexuality.”

It also sees’ multiple identities of gender, race, class, nation as

“complex social processes and discursive constructions that need to be challenged andto question dominant western paradigms.” (Holvino, 2010:258).

Intersectionality has been suggested by many academics (see for example Anthias, 2013; Bilge and Denis, 2010; Bose, 2012; Holvino, 2010) as a way to focus on **location** as a result of intersections. According to Healy et al. (2011b), while the bulk of inequality research has focused on one social group (example: women), it takes away the focus from the location (or heterogeneity within) that social group (women). Intersectionality re-orientes one to the location and does not take the focus away from multiple, overlapping categories. In addition, these social identities interact to produce “qualitatively different meanings and experience.....that cannot be explained by each alone” (Warner, 2008:454).

One way of addressing this *heterogeneity within* is by using intersectionality. Moreover Anthias (2011:210) asserts that while

“Inequalities, exclusion and forms of discrimination are systemic in modern societies and multi-dimensional.....The link between different inequalities and discriminations is important to understand. Dealing with one discrimination only may involve increasing another.... That is why the discussion and conceptualization of the intersectionality framework is so important.”

Intersectionality “emphasizes the interaction of categories of difference” as well as unpacks and makes visible structures that create that difference (Hancock, 2007:63). Indeed, “intersectional analysis is a lynchpin feminist tool that connects the study of newly visible struggles to the insights we have learnt from prior analysis of *other formerly invisible struggles*” (Ackerly and McDermott, 2012:369, emphasis in original). Intersectionality has been a subject of debate in psychology (Cole, 2008; Cole, 2009; Warner, 2008) and sociology (Choo and Ferree, 2010), with a call to bring about changes in the way intersectionality is carried out to make it more interdisciplinary (Syed, 2010). A critique of intersectionality is that it does not look into the social construction of the categories or the history behind that construction (Warner and Shields, 2013). That weakness can be overcome by using Foucault’s

work and a feminist post-structuralism lens, suggested by Holvino (2010), to study intersectionality. Researchers have also argued that intersectionality is not an additive approach (Bowleg, 2008), rather it is a constitutive process (Yuval-Davis, 2006) or a blended cake where the ingredients cannot be taken out again (Bowleg, 2013). Some have even used the lego identity as a means to explain a whole, with bits in it (Gauntlett, 2007). Indeed, Shields (2008:302) defines intersectionality as “social identities that serve as organizing features of social relations, mutually constitute¹⁴, reinforce¹⁵ and naturalize¹⁶ one another”. She further explains that the relationship between each category or identity is interactional, while some researchers use the word interlocking. In other words, each category/identity takes its meaning “in relation” to another, with the individual *self-involved* in the process, which in itself is dynamic.

For this reason, given the research conducted on P&B/BMw in the UK (see the previous chapter), I choose intersectional identities and not multiple ethnic identities (See Table 1 in Werbner, 2013a:412). However, I draw on Shields (2008) to expand my understanding of intersectional identities as the final product, which is visible.

“Another way of conceptualizing intersecting identities emphasizes the unique form of identity created out of intersections. From this point of view, emergent identity is experienced as a uniquely hybrid creation.” (Shields, 2008:305)

This approach gives rise to the notion of *intersecting identities*. It retains the focus on “multiple, intersecting and (interacting) sources of subordination/oppression” (Denis, 2008:677), as well as retaining a meaningful whole for the identity (Bowleg, 2008).

¹⁴ A category in relation to another category.

¹⁵ Dynamic process; individual actively engaged.

¹⁶ Self-evident or basic through the lens of another category.

The previous reviews of the literature point to P&B/BMw being located at the intersections of multiple categories. If correct, then this location would be visible in their narratives. This led to the sub-question: **How are intersections of gender with ethnicity, nationality and religion revealed in their narratives?** I present a simple conceptual model below, incorporating the race/ethnicity literature review and identity literature review.

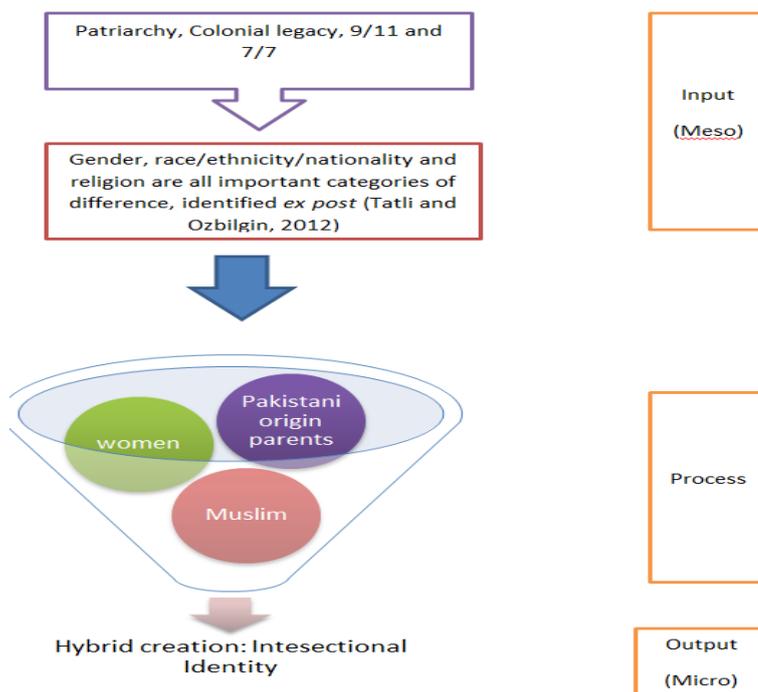


Figure 4: Simple conceptual model

Ken (2008) posits intersectionality as a process (which I draw on heavily in Chapter 10) carried out in our bodies, “human and institutional”. She uses the metaphor of sugar to argue:

“These “foods”—the sugar in the cookie, for example—first get produced, and then prepared and experienced, as flavor, and finally, as a collection of nutritional substances, they structure the body that interacts with them. So, too, do **race, class, gender, and other sources of oppression and privilege**. These “products,” which each encompass categorization schemas, processes, sets of embedded relations, histories, structural locations, practices, social institutions, distortions, products of discourse, elements of symbolic representations, structural arrangements, tropes, dimensions of identity, and opportunities to express power, get produced and used,

occasionally in isolation but usually in interconnected ways. Both people and institutions then interact with and experience the combinations that have been produced and prepared—we “taste” them. And, having received them into our institutional and human “bodies,” either voluntarily or as the result of force or hegemony, **these combinations come to structure us.**” (Ibid.:153: emphasis added).

4.6 Final thoughts

As Jenkins (2008) argues, not only does identity matter, but identity works in everyday life, resulting in identity remaining *in process/under construction* throughout a lifetime (Hall, 2000). I have argued that identity research in MOS is largely gender/ethnicity-blind, given the large body of work on identity in organizations. Identity should be viewed as not fixed, but multiple, complex, context-dependent, in process and socially constructed, where the individual plays an active part in deciding ‘who am I?’ In addition, it is something one does (Jenkins, 2008) and works in three ways: what goes on in the head, what goes on between people and ways of doing things. Drawing on Ely and Padavic (2007), I further argue that identities can be shaped in organizations and by organizations and remain under construction throughout a lifetime. Given the context of the categories of the participants (gender, ethnicity, nationality, religion), I choose intersectional identities and not multiple ethnic identities, and draw on Ken (2008) to expand my understanding of intersectional identities as the final product, which is visible and *under construction*.

I now review the literature on careers, to understand how women evolve careers while at work in organizations.

Chapter 5: A Review Career Research

5.1 Chapter Synopsis

The purpose of this chapter is to familiarize the reader with the career studies literature that led me to the research sub-question:

How have BPw's careers *progressed* (developed/ evolved over time)?

In this chapter, I begin by briefly presenting reflections on the career literature. These are mainly methodological blindspots and are discussed later in detail in Chapter 6. My view is that career research takes a limited view (Arthur, 2008), and needs to explore “a person's work experience over time” (Arthur et al., 1989:4; Gunz and Peiperl, 2007:4). I then present a discussion of *careers for women*, where the debate centres on life choices. I argue that organizational routines are used to discipline employees in the long run and **turn them into compliant individuals**. Thus, if an employee does not comply, is not the norm, does not fit in, the likelihood that *the employee* will progress in her career is lowered. **Fitting in is essential for career progression. Fitting in** is particularly problematic when it comes to women in careers - even butch lesbians (Woodruffe-Burton and Bairstow, 2013).

5.2 Brief Reflections on Career Research in MOS.

Organization studies have been defined as

“the examination of how individuals construct organizational structures, processes, and practices and how these, in turn shape social relations and create institutions that ultimately influence people.” Clegg and Bailey (2008: xliii).

The focus of this thesis is individuals who work in organizations and are enacting careers. I found two perspectives in the body of work on careers: a critical approach to careers that viewed careers as a disciplinary device, and a pro-career perspective. I call this the alternative view. It looks at careers for their rewarding capability, offers

guidance and advice on how to manage careers, and researches how people are developing careers in contemporary organizations. Despite claims that careers are changing, there is little empirical evidence to substantiate the claim (Gunz et al., 2011). Indeed, some scholars postulate that careers are far more stable than what is claimed by career scholars (Baruch, 2006). I found methodological blind spots. They led me to argue for an interdisciplinary (Arthur, 2008), lifespan approach (Super, 1957; Super, 1980; Sterner, 2012), and a complex view (Zikic and Hall, 2009).

Career research needs to focus on *the process of how careers are created over a life* (Inkson et al., 2012:321-333). This could be done through an interdisciplinary approach that has a deeper sociological orientation. My literature review reveals that there is little research on careers that focuses on the larger context, - i.e. society and culture as well as the individual identity simultaneously, while examining careers. While identity is an important construct in protean careers, there is a dearth of career research that focuses on the role identity plays in the construction of a career. This is surprising, as identity is seen as a “lynchpin in the social construction of self and society” (Ybema et al., 2009:302) and careers are being advocated a social constructionist approach (Young and Collin, 2004; Blustein et al., 2004; Cohen et al., 2004). An identity approach to career focuses on the interaction between people and its effect on the individual, both at home and at work (Valcour and Ladge, 2008). Identity work continues throughout a lifetime and is *in process* whether at work or home or anywhere else. In addition, identities are self-conceptions based on social roles (Stryker, 1980). The relation of social structures to identities influences the process of self-verification, while the process of self-verification creates and sustains social structures (Stryker and Burke, 2000). Social structures include both organizations and family. Social structures are formed in a cultural/societal context,

with culture often establishing our sense of identity. As Kidd and Teagle (2012:9) establish

“We are thus shaped by culture: who we think we are- our identity- is related to what society says we should do and be.”

I found that most of the context of new career (1990s) discourse is rooted in the Anglo-Saxon context (Chudzikowski, 2012; Baruch, 2006). This is also a weakness of career research, as it does not take into account varied contexts (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). There is also little research on career development and race (Cornileus, 2013). Pringle and Dixon (2003) also suggest that career theory and models are based on *male* white models. They critique the literature for overlooking theorizing women’s work experiences with respect to racism and sexism and also for overlooking ethnic minority groups and individuals who have limited access to financial resources. Sullivan and Baruch (2009) also advocate more research on underrepresented populations such as minorities. Wells et al. (2010) state, mainly with reference to the USA, that career theory has not adjusted to the changing demographic context of the USA and still use a European-American perspective. They argue “career development theory and practices acknowledge a structural or cultural lag.” (Ibid.:505). Indeed, Piore and Safford (2006:319) critique career research for the lack of a contextual approach.

“It is impossible in today’s world to imagine one’s career without incorporating one’s social context into it.....such aspects of lives as... the social stigma that may attach to one’s race, religion, or gender.”

Moreover, as, Thomas and Davies (2005) suggest, different social groups, because they have different contexts, will draw on different discourses to produce a different nature and form of resistance. Consequently, identity creation processes may involve contradictions and **careers can be sites for a struggle between competing discourses, even while individuals are in employment.**

5.2.1 Critical view of careers

As I am drawing on a critical approach, I present the critical view in detail. This view draws on Critical Management Studies and Michel Foucault to focus on organizations operating as dominating devices through surveillance and control mechanisms (Clegg, 1998; Collinson, 2003; Iedema and Rhodes, 2010; Savage, 1998). Foucault has been used in CMS to understand how organizations control people. This has been done through the use of discourse, power, and resistance. I now explain how **careers are used as a control mechanism by organizations.**

Historically in the careers field, it was the organization deciding individuals' careers and creating linear careers, whereas now it is claimed that individuals are resisting and making decisions more independent of organizations - hence the boundaryless career (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996) and protean career (Hall, 2004). Some researchers (Collinson, 2003; Costas and Grey, 2014; Hodgson, 2005; Grey, 1994) have drawn heavily on Foucault's work to explain career as a disciplinary or control device. Central to the way people are controlled in organizations is discourse. Controls are a vital part of organizations, some visible and many invisible. For example, accounting practices are part of the visible controls. However, there may be many practices created in organizations that are implicit or invisible. A number of researchers (Collinson, 2003; Hodgson, 2005; Costas and Grey, 2014) have drawn on Grey's concept of careers as a disciplinary/control mechanism. While Collinson (2003), for example, argues how insecurities can intersect in the reproduction of workplace selves and organizational power relations, Costas and Grey (2014) focus on imaginary future selves as an outcome of disciplinary power. While Brown and Lewis (2011) theorize that discourse about routines works as a resource and as a disciplinary practice, Costas and Karreman (2013) demonstrate how CSR discourses

and practices, working as aspirational controls, serve to construct an idealized image of a socially, ecologically and ethically responsible corporate self. The cultures of organizations, embedded in their practices, motivate individuals to comply. For example, Hodgson (2005) demonstrates that professionals put on a performance to counter the simultaneous attraction, insecurity and antipathy that professionalization arouses in employees. Mueller et al. (2011) found similar effects of normative pressures and performative cultures characterizing accounting firms, while Brown et al. (2010) discuss disciplining in architectural firms.

McKinlay and Starkey (1998:9) also suggest organizations are disciplinary societies. They exercise control through different processes: accounting, human resource management, organic structures, appraisal systems, management by objectives, and “management goals were transformed into personal goals; self-control supplemented- or replaced- organizational control”. As Seidman (2013:185) describes, in a disciplinary society

“order is maintained through technologies of control such as spatial separation, time management, confinement, surveillance, and a system of examinations that classifies and ranks individuals.”

Clegg (1998:38) elaborates that surveillance does not have to be via direct control. It can range

“from cultural practices of moral endorsement, enablement and suasion, to a more formalized technical knowledge.”

According to McKinley and Starkey (1998), Foucault’s major contribution to organizational analysis is bringing attention to how organizations use managers’ ‘gaze’ to control people. For Foucault, the *panopticon* or the feeling of being under the gaze or constantly being watched is a tool of power. It works by inducing

“in the inmate and *state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power*. So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that *the perfection of*

power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary.” (Foucault, 1990:201, emphasis added).

What he means is that the effect of the power of being watched is so strong that even though no one is actually watching, a person acts and behaves assuming that she is being watched, and behaves just like she would if she was actually watched.

According to Savage (1998), a linear career or a bureaucratic career is also a disciplinary practice, a way of control that evolved because organizations wanted to control individual career paths. This view is also reflected by McKinlay (2002), when he argues that **career** is a way of supervision that **relies on an individual regulating himself**, resulting in promotion as a reward and **a means for career advancement**. Grey’s seminal article *Career as a Project of the Self and Labour Process Discipline* highlights the role of surveillance as embedded in organizational discourse, **which turns an employee into a subject**. Discipline is operationalized through practices of monitoring and control. These practices ultimately result in the individual turning *himself* into a project, constantly making sure that he, **the employee, operates as per the wishes of the organization**. Not only does an organization deploy **formal visible control mechanisms** like performance appraisals and ratings, but also **informal mechanisms** like socializing/networking in office hours, professional manner (hairstyle, dress, colours) and spouses’ participation in socializing. Some of these mechanisms were found a decade later (Rihab, 2013), where socializing with clients and peers and working long and unpredictable hours was central to an accountant’s professional life. All these mechanisms become so embedded in the organizational discourse, and so much an inherent part of the routine, that no employee questions these ‘norms’ and accepts them as part of the job and indeed as “benevolent aids”(Grey, 1994:494) . Further, McKinlay and Wilson (2006:657) demonstrate how

bureaucratic career was supported by organizational routines, which they call ‘small acts of cunning.’ **These organizational routines** are used to monitor, track and discipline employees in the long run and **turn them into compliant individuals**. Thus, if an employee does not comply, is not the norm, does not fit in, the likelihood that the employee will progress in her career is lowered. **Fitting in is essential for career progression.**

Informal barriers in the form of implicit assumptions embedded in organizational discourse create impressions about career advancement (Liff and Ward, 2001). Organizational discourse can have a substantial impact on employees; for example, Walsh (2012:522, emphasis added) argues that women lawyers who had no children had “internalized the likelihood that *motherhood would impede their career advancement*” and were postponing having children till attainment of partnership positions. The **Discourse that organization matters and the rest of life should take a back seat** is particularly a problem for women, whose early career stage conflicts with the family procreation. Bailyn (2004) suggests that the over-emphasis on occupation and professions, in order to reinforce identity, has resulted in organizations assuming that employees have no other responsibilities. This is particularly problematic when it comes to women in careers. My literature review (Chapter 2) on women in management revealed that women’s careers are embedded in women’s larger-life contexts, and in particular that families as well as careers are central to women’s lives.

5.3 Women in Careers

Early empirical research has shown women’s experiences of career do not fit with the linear model of men’s careers (Gutek and Larwood, 1987). Later, Pringle and Dixon

(2003) argue that because career research has been synonymous with paid work, women's careers are framed by men's experiences, while O'Neil et al. (2004) contend that career theory has evolved without a focus on women.

My literature review reflects a wide range chosen by women as careers paths. Certain researchers (McDonald et al., 2005; Valcour and Ladge, 2008) claim that the trend towards protean careers is evident and is more pronounced for women than for men. Some consider boundaryless careers (Forret et al., 2010) as an option for women while others advocate kaleidoscopic careers (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005; Sullivan and Mainiero, 2008). Some label this pattern frayed careers (Sang et al., 2013; Sabelis and Schilling, 2013; Bendien, 2013). There is also ample evidence that women are pursuing linear careers in professions such as law enforcement (Thomas and Davies, 2005), legal (Walsh, 2012) and medical (Pas et al., 2011; Pas et al., 2014). Indeed, Valcour and Ladge (2008) suggest that integration of traditional and protean career perspectives helps to explain women's success. While, O'Neil et al. (2004) find empirical evidence of three distinct career types of women: achievers, navigators and accommodators, Pringle and Dixon (2003:294) draw on Marshall's (1989) concept of agency and communion to suggest a life career model - Explore, focus, rebalance and revive - as a way to better describe the patterns of women's lives. They contend that there was

“the need to create a broad career model that encapsulated women's experiences and modes of being in the world as a natural process, not as “a different way” from men.” (Ibid.:299).

In another study O'Neil and Bilimoria (2005) find that societal, organizational and relational factors impact careers. They also suggest a three-phase model: idealism, endurance, and re-invention. The debate on women's careers continues when O'Neil

et al. (2008:727), while presenting a review of women in careers research between 1990 and 2008, identified four patterns:

“women’s careers are embedded in women’s larger-life contexts, families and careers are central to women’s lives, women’s careers paths reflect a wide range and variety of pattern, and human and social factors are critical for women’s careers.”

They also found that the major hurdle is the male-dominated organizational dimension, which continues to dominate organizations discourse and the ideal manager. They claim that even though organizations may change structures, the cultures remain the same, pointing to informal mechanisms in organizations or norms’ of networking/socializing, etc. They conclude that stereotypes and glass ceilings still exist, with women who manage to break the class ceiling landing on the glass cliff (Ryan and Haslam, 2005; Ryan and Haslam, 2007a, 2007b). Gibbons et al. (2011) demonstrate that family and gender greatly influence the work and career experiences of women who had parents who had no formal education beyond high school. Thus, while human and social factors are critical for women’s careers, they do not help break the glass ceiling. Moreover, as Guillaume and Pochic (2009) demonstrate, not only are women stereotyped because of motherhood, they also have to face a masculine career pattern. This includes formal specifications for career promotion, implicit requirements including the sacrifice of a spouse’s career and an extensive availability norm. Research also suggests that at times internal gendered norms of the ideal mother and the ideal worker conflict, resulting in women curtailing employment (Hewlett and Luce, 2005). However, recent research demonstrates that ideal mother has no significant relationship with career motivation (Pas et al., 2011; Pas et al., 2014). Therefore, the debate on women’s careers remains largely inconclusive.

While Marshall's (1994) book *Women managers moving on: exploring career and life choices* brought to the fore the perspective of successful career women and their life choices, two decades later the debate still centres on women in careers making life choices, rather than on a specific theory of careers.

Hakim (2002) claims that lifestyle preferences determine women's labour market patterns. While Hakim thinks her theory provides an explanation for "predicting women's choices between market work and family work" (Hakim, 2006:286), **Hakim does not explain why individuals prefer or make a certain choice.** She argues that there are enduring sex differences in competitiveness, life goals and the relative emphasis on agency versus connection which can be only explained by preference theory (Hakim, 2006). While she claims that theories focusing on patriarchy and sex discrimination are out of date as an explanation of labour market differentials, Calas et al. (2014) argue the opposite. They maintain that differences still exist, which is the *raison d'être* for gender and organization literature. Hakim rejects patriarchal values because they are either unimportant, or "have only a very small marginal impact" (ibid.:286). There is a large body of literature that argues that organizations are highly gendered, and male norms and models exist. Indeed, in my view patriarchy is alive and well, even in the west, although deceptively masked. In addition, the underlying assumption in preference theory is that it is applicable to all groups in societies like the USA/UK, ignoring that there are diverse groups even in these societies. While she insists that women have 'genuine choices' (Hakim, 2007), resulting from the contraceptive revolution (that means women have a choice not to become a mother), there are a number of women who still opt to become a mother and find that they face prejudice and stereotypes because they are mothers in work environments. While she contends that there are three groups of women - home-

centred, adaptive and work-centred, with adaptive women the largest group that wants children but is “not totally committed to work career” (Hakim, 2002:436), Huang et al., (2007), Kan, (2007) and Walsh (2012) found no differences in career aspiration/commitment among women who had children and women who did not have children. Walsh (2012) argues that women’s careers are not affected by lifestyle preferences but by the organizations they work in and the policy/practices in place. Kan (2007) suggests that women's employment careers are affected by both preferences and constraints. Both Kan and Walsh found that work-centred women’s commitments were not negatively affected due to the presence of dependent children. Huang et al. (2007) argue that choices are dependent on life course stages, and women develop their careers in various ways. Thus the debate on women, motherhood and careers continues.

Liff and Ward (2001) on the other hand argue that women’s career decisions are context-dependent and not just confined to formal organizational versus motherhood barriers. Informal barriers, in the form of implicit assumptions embedded in organizational discourse, create impressions about career advancement. My view is that these impressions then **prescribe** the ‘choices’ that women make while in careers. In the context of **ethnic minority women, the view gets more complicated.** They encounter both sexism and racism in the form of prejudices and discrimination in the workplace (Kamenou et al., 2012; Kamenou and Fearfull, 2006; Fearfull and Kamenou, 2006; Kamenou, 2008; Hite, 2007; Atewologun and Singh, 2010; Pompper, 2011 Bhatt, 2013). Indeed, Kamenou (2008b) claims the life component becomes more important for ethnic minority women, while Knights (2006) asserts that in practice, personal and professional lives are interdependent in individuals.

Some researchers draw on agency and structure to explain careers. Ariss et al. (2012:12) explored the role of agency of ethnic minority workers within the constraints of structures in two countries, France and Germany. Their sample included professional and managerial men and women who were highly educated, of mixed religions, mostly Turks/Arabs, and were migrants. They argue that “agency of minority ethnic workers should not be underplayed”, as this is a weakness of HRM literature, where the focus has been on the structure rather than agency. Tomlinson et al. (2013:247) argue that

“theories of structure and agency help us understand how individuals make sense of and act out their lives within a range of environments. They explore the co-existence of creativity and constraint and can help us better understand individual agency and power dynamics in a range of contexts, including organizational and institutional settings.”

Sang (2013:160) draw on the theory of relationality (Syed and Ozbilgin, 2009; Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2009) to explore career experiences, as they want to focus on “studying a social phenomenon in their specific contexts (time and place)”. They assert “our findings demonstrate the relevance of relationality, and the significance of time and place in understanding career experiences.” (ibid.). The above review of careers of women and ethnic minority women reveals that there are multiple influences that affect the careers of women. It also reveals that there is no strong theory or model that applies to women in careers. However, the discourse implies that women do not follow a relational *less* model. They make career decisions keeping the larger context and relationships in mind. Thus, the above review of the literature led to the sub-question:

How have BPw’s careers *progressed* (developed/ evolved over time)?

5.4 Final Thoughts

The career researchers' main failing, in my view, is that they have not taken a holistic examination of careers. While they claim women have a choice, they need also to take a look at the explanations behind that choice. As an employee, the individual is also a disciplined body (Brown and Lewis, 2011). Not fitting into the norms (that are mainly white and male, Acker, 2006a) means that career progression may be affected. This is particularly problematic when it comes to women in careers. Women's careers are embedded in women's larger-life contexts. In particular families, as well as careers, both are central to women's lives (O'Neil, 2008). They do not conform to the organizational discourse of 'the organization matters and rest of life should take a back seat'. It is in this reality as a backdrop that women navigate life in organizations. While the debate between agency and structure continues, or psychology and sociology as disciplines continues, with career researchers recommending an interdisciplinary inquiry into careers (Arthur, 2008), my view is that careers should incorporate both agency and structure and viewed as duality (Duberley et al., 2006) rather than separately because individuals always have constraints and have to work either with constraints or around them.

CONCLUSIONS TO THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Towards a complex understanding: Linking Identity (Gender, Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationality) to gendered regimes.

The literature review presented in this section highlighted a number of blind spots:

Race/Ethnic Studies	Identity Studies	Gender in Management Studies	Career Studies
<p>Consider:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intersectionality • Interplay of power and inequality • Categories of difference identified ex-post <p>(Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012; Tatli, 2011)</p>	<p>Consider:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identity as central in gender/ethnicity, diversity and career studies. • Identity as always <i>in process</i> 	<p>Consider:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culture: values, expectations and roles. Visible in work-family literature but invisible in organizations. • <i>Identities</i> and Gender identity formation as <i>in process</i> that continues even while in organizations (Ely and Padavic, 2007) 	<p>Consider:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lifespan context • Holistic approach • Non-Anglo Saxon samples • Role of Culture and Identity in careers. • Social construction as an approach • Power play in gendered regimes
<p>Focus on:</p> <p>Multi-level approach</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Micro-individual • Meso-organizational • Macro-national <p>(Tatli, 2011; Syed and Ozbilgin, 2009)</p>	<p>Focus on:</p> <p>Intersectional as lens for process of identity creation (Anthias, 2012) Organization and wider society as resources that feed into identity creation (Alvesson et al., 2008)</p>	<p>Focus on:</p> <p>Integrated perspective (Syed and Ozbilgin, 2009) as organizational inequalities are linked to societal values (Fagenson, 1990; Acker, 2006a)</p>	<p>Focus on:</p> <p>Complexity in career construction (Zikic and Hall, 2009) Constraints as well as opportunities (Inkson et al., 2012)</p>

Table 3: Blind spots in the Literature Review

Borrowing from the notion that identity is always in process and the argument of Ely and Padavic (2007) that identity work continues in organizations, I attempt to link different parts of the gendering process. Thus this thesis ends up addressing a blind spot in the gendering process in organizations by linking three levels: micro, macro and societal, and by linking identities, organizations, and culture. In addition, it explores if organizations feed into BPw's identities, affect identities, and by that contributing to the always 'under construction' processes.

Rationale for *Gender with*

The *Gender with* approach is not an attempt to homogenize the category 'women' and claim that all women share the same experiences. I argue that *being a woman* is still a major matter, as academic research continues to discuss and establish the persistence of sex/gender inequality in both societies and organizations (Calas et al., 2014) with business/management cultures and contemporary work demands both being gendered (Sabelis and Schilling, 2013). Ridgeway (2009:157) also argues for gender as a primary frame and background identity, as

“we cannot understand the shape that the gendered structure of society takes without taking into account the background effects of gender as a primary cultural frame for organizing social relations.”

Despite claims that women have made progress in filling the pipeline in managerial positions, evidence points to few making it to the top (Ely et al., 2011). Ragins (2011:x) also echoes this view, calling it the “*myth of equity*: the unfounded belief that stereotyping and discrimination are things of the past”. She argues “misogyny is alive and well within and outside the workplace”, and women are going to be confronted with “virulent new strains of modern sexism that are more pernicious and damaging than ever.” The same argument is echoed by Broadbridge and Simpson

(2011) while questioning the assumption that gender issues have been solved. They make a case for research with a *gender with*:

“the terms of the way they frame understandings of gender need to be a key focus within gender and management research. This may mean an orientation that gives primacy to gender in acknowledging plurality of differences-i.e. ‘gender with....’ rather than the more equal footing of ‘gender and....’ Race, class, age and /or other key categorizations.” (Ibid.:476) It is not only society that plays a role in gendering. Ely et al. (2011) contend that organizations play a role as well in the gendering process, a view posited by other theorists as well (Acker, 1990). They argue that the processes continue at work. The bulk of the identity literature argues for identity being in constant creation. However, *gender identity* (re)creation while in organizations is an under-researched area in MOS. Ely (1995) argues that women’s gender identity is shaped by organizational settings and organizational processes. Ely and Padavic (2007) clearly spell out the need for research to focus on the interplay of *gender* identity, power and structure within organizations, specifically to inquire if organizations contribute to *gender* identity creation.

Research on **ethnic** minority women complicates the view further, as the lens is not just gender alone but *with* ethnicity. In much of the research on gender and ethnicity, gender becomes ‘one of the categories’, rather than ‘**the**’ category. Researchers argue that gender still needs to be the dominant category as the meaning of being a woman is inscribed in cultural scripts and varies between cultures/societies (Jacobson and Aaltio-Marjosola, 2001). As explained by Wharton (2005) gender,

“shapes the identities and behavioral disposition of individuals.....gender enters into how people see themselves, the ways they behave and how they view others.....gender identity may be among the most influential in shaping the standard people hold for themselves” (p.9).

This view is echoed by other researchers (Warner, 2008: uses the term master category; see also Adib and Guerrier, 2003) when they highlight the inadequacy of intersectionality. I argue that gender is the main category even within multiple axes of domination, as gender is reproduced and re-enforced by ethnicity and class discourse or knowledge base. The very premise or assumption that there is a gender difference means that gender cannot be neutral, and **being a woman** can neither take an equal footing nor a backseat to ethnicity or class. Research has demonstrated that an ethnic minority woman does not encounter bias because she is a *woman and*: an ethnic minority (Nkomo et al., 1989), a religious minority (Ghumman and Jackson, 2009; Ghumman and Ryan, 2013) or ‘other’ minority (age/sexual preference). Which identity comes to the fore could vary contextually according to the situation but most of the research still points to **being a woman** still being important. For this reason, despite claims to the contrary, in the twenty-first century, gender matters and needs to be at the forefront, in the broad research question:

How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers in professional and managerial contexts?

SECTION TWO: RESEARCH DESIGN

The broad research question is: **How do highly educated-second-generation British Pakistani women *experience* careers in professional and managerial contexts?**

This research “begins with women’s own perspective and experience” (Presser, 2005: 2067) and views reality from the standpoint of *British Pakistani woman*. The research uses an emic approach which

“start with the specific context of investigation and identify a number of salient categories of difference (*ex post*) which lead to privilege and disadvantage, by focusing on relations of power in that setting.” (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012:188).

As social reality is viewed through the participant, the individual is a means to understand the **shared views** of that group (Harper, 1992). The knowledge that this research will glean is “situated knowledge”. As Qin (2004:297) argues,

“From a critical feminist perspective, self is essentially constructed by power relations of groups of individuals within particular sociocultural and historical contexts.”

I adopt a critical post-structural paradigm (Hassard and Wolfram Cox, 2013), using a social constructionist epistemology, as “identity is viewed as an outcome of social processes through which people construct a sense of who they are” (Kenny et al., 2011:11). In the literature review, I argued for a focus on culture and identity, as well as a process view. I suggested looking at careers in a life span context, rather than a moment in time. I also argued for a multi-layered approach or a holistic view, as it offers in-depth understanding of the many factors that play a role in an individual’s career. All of these require looking at careers as a complex social phenomenon. This can be done through a feminist post-structuralist framework and a biographical narrative interview method.

Chapter 6: Meta-theoretical Considerations of the Research

6.1 Chapter Synopsis

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the ontological, epistemological and methodological choices for this research. I draw on the **Critical Post-structural Paradigm** (Hassard and Wolfram Cox, 2013). I use a relativist ontological framework and a social constructionist epistemology to approach this research and capture career experiences. My theoretical perspective is feminist post-structuralism. I use the biographical narrative interview method (Wengraf, 2001) as a means to capture the ‘life’ context/story, as well as the complexity/multiple influences on the individual (my unit of analysis), responding to a call from Arthur (2008).

6.2 The Case for qualitative research

Before I embark on explaining the meta-theoretical framework, I draw the reader’s attention to the research purpose (1:6).

“To highlight the issues and challenges they were facing as *women* who have careers, their perceptions of what they are and how they have reached where they are and where do they think they would be going while taking an all-inclusive view of the social/ culture/religious/ as well as organizational context.....”

A holistic view of careers offers in-depth understanding of the many factors that play a role in an individual’s career. I also argue for a multi-layered approach: macro-meso- and micro- (Syed and Ozbilgin, 2009). I break away from a hegemonic view in career research, by taking ‘a lifetime’ approach versus ‘a point in time’ approach, as well as a contextual understanding, as in my view there is too much focus on the individual and his/her agency without considering contextual factors. All the above require looking at careers as a complex phenomenon. Chiachanasakul et al. (2011) suggest that qualitative research can best capture complexity. While qualitative

research is often labelled unreliable (Buckner, 2005), it has its advantages. Given the purpose and scope of the study, qualitative research seems most appropriate. A distinguishing feature of qualitative research is “that they start from the perspective and actions of the subjects studied” (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009:4) which coincides with my aims of research. Alvesson and Deetz (2000:1) posit that qualitative research,

“is typically oriented to the inductive study of socially constructed reality, focusing on meanings, ideas and practices, taking the native’s point of view seriously.”

As can be seen in Chapter one and the research purpose above, it is perspectival research. It is from a standpoint of one particular social group, which happens to be situated at a point where multiple social categories intersect, as per the literature review.

Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009:10) question the integrity of the research process, when they argue it,

“Constitutes a (re)construction of the social reality in which researchers both interact with the agents researched and, actively interpreting, continually create images for themselves and for others: images which selectively highlight certain claims as to how conditions and processes-experiences, situations, relations- can be understood, thus suppressing alternative interpretations.”

This explanation of the research process suggests that I, as a researcher, have a perspective that will influence the way I will construct the reality encountered by my participants. For this reason my reality is a construction. Secondly, that I as a researcher have been given leeway (by some unnamed person(s)) to construct this reality as I deem fit. While I agree with the first, I vehemently disagree with the second. I accept that this thesis is *my construction*. While I am using the information provided by my participants and interpreting it through my lens, this lens is a polished lens. It polished by my literature review, my experience as a woman born and brought up in Pakistan, my work experience, as well as my research experience. For this

reason my lens is not foggy or clouded. My view is emic or the inside perspective, where I am striving to “understand culture from the native’s point of view” (Morris et al., 1999:781).

In addition, I am extremely conscious of the responsibility of representing someone else’s narrative. It is a burden I carry with anxiety. Throughout this research journey, I have been aware that I am privileged that a group of women have opened their lives to me. I am a witness to what they had gone through to get to the point where/when we met, in my/their lives. They have put trust in me. I am for this reason attempting in this thesis to be true to their narratives, stories and lives. If I have misrepresented them, it is despite my best intentions to deliver their words correctly. I have therefore provided excerpts and given my interpretation as footnotes within their voices/excerpts, drawing on Simpson and Lewis (2005). I am thus giving the reader space to accept my interpretation or self-interpret. I have also provided a clear audit trail and reasons for what I have chosen to do in the data collection and data analysis process.

6.3 The Case for a multi-paradigm inquiry

A paradigm is defined as “a general perspective or way of thinking that reflects fundamental beliefs and assumptions about the nature of organizations (Gioia and Pitre, 1990:585)”. Based on the literature review, I have chosen an ontological position that incorporates relativism. While I view reality through the voices of people in organizations, I am aware that there are powers at play as well. Consequently, an interpretivist approach *only* would be inadequate. A critical lens is also required.

As I have indicated before, I consider careers as a social phenomenon that is enacted through life but largely within organizations. As my study incorporates individuals who *are at the interlocking locations of gender, ethnicity and religion simultaneously*, and who are enacting careers in organizations, *career experiences* (for the participants) can be categorized as a *complex organizational phenomenon*. Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggest an alternative inquiry paradigm for research that involves *complex organizational phenomena*. Kelemen and Rumens (2008) also advocate the case for multi-paradigm research with Gioia and Pitre (1990:587), suggesting that it is especially useful in the depiction of “more comprehensive portraits of complex organizational phenomena”.

I draw on Gioia and Pitre (1990:594) to highlight the multi-paradigm perspective on theory building: ***Radical Humanist-Interpretivist Transition Zone***. Multi-paradigm has been used in empirical research (Hassard, 1991). Both paradigms, radical humanist and interpretivist, are drawn from Burrell and Morgan’s (1979) four paradigms. Both radical humanist and interpretive paradigms share the same *subjectivist view of social construction of realities*. While the interpretive paradigm is not concerned with changing the status quo, radical humanists are concerned with changing constructed realities. The interpretivist focus is on

“the structuring of the meaning systems and organizing processes of informants...radical humanist concept of deep structure (which is reification of structuring processes).” (Gioia and Pitre, 1990:594)

In this thesis, I focus on meaning systems, organizational processes, and deep structures. I draw on Simpson and Lewis (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1255), to focus on both levels of voice: surface and deep.

“We can accordingly distinguish between voice as the ‘surface’ act of speaking and being heard, as discussed by the broadly liberal feminist ‘women’s voice’ perspective (e.g. Belenky et al., 1997; Ferrario, 1991; Gilligan, 1982; Rosener, 1990; Tannen, 1991) and *the processes that lie behind silence as, from a post-structuralist*

standpoint, discursive practices eliminate certain issues from arenas of speech and sound, voice and invisibility.” (emphasis added)

While I will illustrate ‘voices’ through quotes, I will attempt to display “the processes that lie behind the silence” by drawing on feminist post-structuralism theory and Foucault.

“Multi paradigm research entails exploring paradigm’s from **within**, applying divergent lenses empirically to **collect** and **analyze** data.” (Lewis and Kelemen, 2002:263, emphasis added).

While I will apply varied lenses to **analyze** data, I use the BNIM method to collect data.

“By apply varied lenses; researchers are better equipped to shed light on tensions of organizational life-e.g. exposing conflicting demands as complementary, and opposing interests as interwoven.” (Lewis and Kelemen, 2002:268)

There is some debate on whether the Radical Humanist Interpretivist Zone is critical theory. While Gioia and Pitre (1990) consider the Radical Humanist-Interpretivist Transition Zone as a multi-paradigm perspective, they cite Putnam and Pacanowsky (1983) to illustrate this as a single paradigm, divided into naturalistic and critical theory domains. Indeed, Johnson and Duberley (2000) also call this perspective critical theory. Johnson and Duberley (2000) draw on Prasad and Caproni (1997) to highlight four themes that they feel are a major part of critical theory. In my research, all four themes are integrated. There is an emphasis on social constructionism, as the world of reality of my participants is constructed by social processes and relational practices and influenced by social factors that shape interpretations (Young and Collin, 2004).

6.3.1 Reflexivity

Multi-paradigm research encourages reflexivity (Lewis and Kelemen, 2002). It specifically encourages researchers to examine their work and selves as well as

“meta-theoretical examination of the presuppositions which management researchers have internalized”(Johnson and Duberley, 2003:1289).

The concern for reflexivity in management research has arisen from a critique of qualitative methods. In particular, the influence of the researcher is a major area of uneasiness in data collection and data analysis methods. It also involves the social location of the researcher and the researched and how it can influence the process and outcome. As Buckner (2005:59) claims, “the researcher influence on data generation and interpretation is a much-debated issue”, that is possibly why qualitative research is regarded as unreliable. One way of handling this is to maintain reflexive journals (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), where the researcher reveals her thinking and reactions, philosophical position and bases for decisions. Cutcliffe (2003) suggests that the purpose of reflexivity seems to be making explicit researcher values, beliefs and biases, in an attempt to enhance credibility. It has also been suggested that the researcher lay bare her prior understandings, so that the understandings can be taken into account when examining the interpretations of that researcher. It has also been argued that researchers’ emotional responses to respondents can influence the analysis process (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003). In addition, reflexivity can take various forms. Johnson and Duberley (2000) talk about *methodological reflexivity* and *epistemic reflexivity*. They define *methodological reflexivity* as behavioural, where the researcher is conscious of her impact on the research setting. Their *epistemic reflexivity* position assumes that the researcher has internalized presuppositions and cannot be separate from her biography. Thus, it involves both, the acceptance of the biography of the researcher as well as the acceptance that there will be more than one ‘true’ account of any research.

While all the above-indicated concerns seem overpowering, I draw on Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009:316) to move forward with my research.

“It is important to recognize but not be overwhelmed, by the complexities of reflexive research. Conscious systematics for handling this problem are required. As in all qualitative research, it is not enough to rely upon the arguments of the recipe books; what is important is that the reflection is adapted to one’s own personal abilities and conditions, and to the research tasks at hand.”

Though I have focused on a number of areas to ensure reflexivity, I admit that these ‘conscious systematics for handling this problem’ are limited because they are tied to what I am and have read/studied (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009). Therefore, while I have made every effort to be reflexive, there may be limitations to the reflexivity I exhibit. I defend my position by drawing on Cutcliffe (2003) that excessive emphasis on reflexive activity might inhibit

“a conscious and deliberate attempt on the part of academics to explore the world of ideas boldly; to take more risks in theory development and to move away from being timid researchers.” (Cutcliffe, 2003:136)

Thus reflexivity has limitations as well, and my focus is to be reflexive, in order to counter the shortcomings of qualitative research.

A further complication of the research process is Alvesson’s (2003) critique of the interview method for influencing the researched. According to him, the specific gestures and words used can influence, as well as the interplay between the researcher and the researched. He also cautions that it may not be the true self (of the researched) that emerges as a result of the interview process and suggests scepticism and reflexivity. Alvesson (2003:25) defines reflexivity as follows:

“Reflexivity for me stands for conscious and consistent efforts to view the subject matter from different angles and avoid or strongly a priori privilege a single favour angle.”

Johnson and Duberley (2003) suggest that where the ontological position is subjective, and the epistemological position is also subjective, hyper-reflexivity or the

deconstruction model should be used “where reality becomes a self-referential outcome of discursive practices” (Johnson and Duberley, 2003:1282). My understanding of their position on the hyper-reflexivity or deconstruction model is that the researcher’s interpretation of the language is her interpretation and cannot be conclusive. They argue that,

“it avoids authorial privileging.....the implication is that management researchers must reflexively deconstruct their own representational practices.” (Johnson and Duberley, 2003:1287).

However, a problem with this version of reflexivity is that there is no end to reflexivity. The way I have handled this contradiction is to have a clear audit trail and to focus on both surface and deep analysis in ‘voice’/excerpt analysis. While I have provided excerpts as surface texts, I have provided deep analysis by presenting the analysis as footnotes within their voice/excerpt. My aim is for this reason to

“let(s) the researchers construction of what is explored become(s) more visible.” (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009:8).

My focus is to make visible how I have made sense of my participants’ sense making.

6.4 Ontological premises (nature of organizational phenomena ¹⁷):

Case for relativism

Hassard and Wolfram Cox (2013:1709) suggest sociological knowledge can be explained meta-theoretically: ontology, epistemology, human nature and methodology. The organizational phenomena in this research are career experiences. Career experiences can be positive or negative. As the previous section (literature review) highlighted, career experiences can be gendered as well as racialized.

¹⁷ GIOIA, D. A. and PITRE, E. 1990. Multiparadigm Perspectives on Theory Building. *The Academy of Management Review*, 15, 584-602.

Discrimination can be a part of the experience of individuals in organizations. This could be due to their sex, race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality or disability, to name a few. However, experiences are individualized. Each person, while facing the same phenomena, will perceive them uniquely. For example, there may be three people in a room when an earthquake shakes the building for 30 seconds. However, each would recount her version of the earthquake when asked “what happened?” (Riessman, 1989). Reality exists as the individual sees it. The ontological position of relativism is part of a critical post-structural paradigm (Hassard and Wolfram Cox, 2013), and is described as,

“Relativism is a value position where we resist taking a position because we believe that, since everything is relative to its particular context it should not be criticized.” (Silverman, 2011:470)

In the case of this research, reality exists as British Pakistani women who participated in this research see reality. As Kuhn says:

“none is to be accepted as true or rejected as false: none gives privileged access to a real, as against an invented world. The ways of being-in-the –world which a lexicon provides are not candidates for true and false.” (Kuhn, 1991:12)

However, this does not mean that if each has her version of ‘experience’, the event did not occur. Going back to the example of the earthquake, none of the three women would deny the experience of being shaken. They may, however, differ in their accounts of the intensity of the shaking. For this reason, shortcomings of relativism (Rorty, 1991) can be overcome by looking at central themes running through each participant’s accounts or narratives.

This research is from the standpoint of *British Pakistani women*. With respect to my participants, the different group identities identified ex-post (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012) are gender, religion, and ethnicity/diaspora and nationality. For this reason, culture of both the diaspora and the host society play a role in the creation of

meanings. McDowell (1999:205) describes diaspora as “people who are in transit, whose identities are unfixed, destabilized and in the process of changing”. The literature review suggests that gender and race are both constructed and not natural per se. Situated means viewing knowledge as from a specific standpoint: that of the British Pakistani managerial/professional women and how they see their world. Each participant in the research will have her unique interpretation/perception of reality, which will be expressed through her narrative. Each woman’s narrative, is dependent on how she, in her given social context, makes sense of it (Kenny et al., 2011). Therefore, social reality is relative.

6.5 Epistemological premises (the nature of knowledge about those phenomena ¹⁸):

Case for social constructionism

Al-Almoudi and Willmott (2011:28) argue that relativism seems to be “a province of constructionists”. Social constructionism focuses on meaning and power. Meaning is a construction and derived from the cultural/social frame and practices that an individual faces. Social constructionism

“emphasizes that the social and psychological worlds are made real (constructed) through social processes and interaction.” (Young and Collin, 2004:375)

This involves perceptions, thoughts, language, beliefs, desires; the ways we know and experience the world and ourselves. Consequently social factors and social relational processes shape construction, interpretation and interaction. In addition, as Snyder-Hall (2008:184) contends, positing the perspective of third wave feminists,

¹⁸ Ibid.

“women still look to personal experience to provide knowledge about how the world operates and to trouble dominant narratives of how things should be.”

Therefore not only is experience relative, it is also a part of a body of knowledge (Discourse) that individuals draw on to make sense of the world. The same idea was iterated by Foucault, for whom the experience was the relationship “between fields of knowledge, types of normativity, and forms of subjectivity in a particular culture.” (Foucault, 2000:360).

As already suggested, the knowledge that this research contributes to is “situated knowledge”. Social reality is viewed through the participant. Situated knowledge reinforces the idea that social theories are no longer grand/all-encompassing theories. Indeed, Qin (2004:307-8) argues for micro-theories, which are situated. Therefore, social constructionism is epistemologically suitable, as I am looking at the experiences of BPw from their perspective. I am fully aware of the critique of social constructionism that a particular interpretation is one of a number. However, I am interested in understanding a situation and a perspective and have no fixed reality or grand narrative as part of my assumptions.

A number of fields draw on social constructionism. Indeed, social constructionism underpins the debates on gender, race, and identity. For example, Al-Almoudi and Willmott (2011:28) argue that categories are constructed and that epistemological relativism requires “an appreciation of how the categories used by researchers are inherently artificial objects”. In addition, identity is constructed relationally or, as Thomas (2011:169) states, “stimulated by social interaction and ordered by institutionalized patterns of being and knowing.” This definition reveals two focal points: social construction (the construction of identity with the help of others) and Discourse (institutionalized patterns of being and knowing). In race/ethnicity studies,

Stuart Hall's contribution enlarges the concept of culture to include meanings and *how meanings are socially constructed and communicated* as well as bringing a focus on the expression of lived experience rooted in people's shared collective lives (Seidman, 2013). Meaning is referred to as

“a relatively stable way of relating to and making sense of something, a meaning being interrelated to an attitude, value, belief or idea.” (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000:1128).

As previously demonstrated in the literature review on gender, ethnicity and identity, gender, race-ethnicity, motherhood and professional identity are all socially constructed. The historical context of how categories are socially constructed points to the role of power and discourse in the creation of identity. While intersectionality is a critical approach to identity (Choo and Ferree, 2010), Prins (2006:277) argues for a constructionist approach. “With its account of identity as a narrative construction rather than a practice of naming” in particular, for the issue of origins, it does not use essentialist or systemic understandings of identity. This view is also concurrent with Foucault, whose work focuses on the role of power and discourse and for whom there is no one truth or Mega-Discourse. Discourse creates reality or truth. Foucault's focus is the creation of reality or truth *in social relations* versus social structures. He argues for power as a web or network, and that social power is exercised through discourse that in turn creates inequality, operating as ‘norm’ in everyday life. We inherit norms and we then regulate our behaviour according to the norms. This is how control is practiced, and inadvertently we are contributing to these practices by complying with ‘truth(s)’ or Discourse(s) that circulate within a cultural /organizational context. As Watson (2009:430) states, “narratives can be understood as elements of societies stocks of knowledge”. Therefore, in my view, social constructionism underpins Foucault's work because social constructionism points to the social and historical

location of that construction (Young and Collin, 2004:377) and is critical in its approach (Gergen, 2001) as it unmasks what seems natural and taken for granted. Blustein et al.; (2004:424) also argue that social constructionists question taken for granted knowledge. For this reason social constructionism is also a particularly apt epistemology for researching BPw, as it looks at ‘what seems natural’ from the marginalized individual’s perspective.

While social constructionism has played a major role in identity, race-ethnicity and gender studies, it has been underused in research on careers, even though social constructionism is considered the emerging paradigm in career development (McIlveen, 2012). The predominant research method has been quantitative, with a focus on measures. Few researchers have attempted to incorporate life context, with the exception of Lee et al., (2011) and House (2004), both of whom have used quantitative measures. The focus of much of the career research is still on the development of measures (see for example Briscoe et al., 2006; Briscoe and Hall, 2006). A major critique of the career literature is an overemphasis on positivists’ ontology, resulting in an inadequate research perspective (Blustein et al., 2004; Cohen et al., 2004; Young and Collin, 2004) for the study of careers. The emphasis on a positivist angle may be why there is a lack of focus on lifespan (Sternier, 2012), inadequate coverage of all possible factors that could influence careers including reference groups or significant others (Grote and Hall, 2013; Blustein, 2011), and a lack of focus on multiple social contexts (Chandler et al., 2011; Mayrhofer and Meyer, 2007). Even though researchers have clearly advocated a social constructionist orientation (Cohen et al., 2004), empirically, the method is under-explored. Furthermore, a large numbers of papers published are theoretical papers (Chaichanasakul et al., 2011), particularly in psychology journals. There is a need to

shift the focus in career research from theory to practice and from prescription to description. Voice needs to be given to what individuals are doing in practice, rather than how it should be done. ‘Giving voice’ is giving the perspective of the researched. Cohen et al., (2004), borrowing on Burr (1995), explain why social constructionism is also more suitable for researching careers. She argues that social constructionism has a critical stance: it questions taken for granted knowledge, it focuses on historical and cultural specificity, it is sustained by social processes, and knowledge and action go together. Because of these pillars, social constructionism impacts career research. It affects both how we study careers and what we study, because careers

“are constituted by the actor herself, in interaction with others, as she moves through time and space.....it is an iterative and on-going process, involving at times the reproduction of existing structures and at times their transformation.” (Cohen et al.,2004:409)

Cohen et al. (2004:408) thus suggest social constructionism as an approach, based on in-depth career accounts, as social constructionism “illuminates aspects of career that are obscured by positivist approaches”. Blustein et al.; (2004:424) also contend that the meanings of career can differ based on an objective or subjective perspective. Bosley et al. (2009:1498) also used a constructionist perspective to make sense of the part played by other people in shaping their careers. They argue that they see a career as a

“social practice, constituted by actors themselves in and through their relationship with others, and as they move through time and space. It is an iterative and on-going process”.

Zikic and Hall (2009) argue for a complex view. This complex view means looking at all that can affect an individuals’ decision to explore (or not to explore) career choices or options or opportunities. They argue that the

“dynamic context in which people live may serve both as a trigger and as a barrier to lifelong career exploration.” (Ibid.:182).

Career *exploration* is dependent on the individual taking the initiative to explore. However, there may be many reasons that an individual does not take that *exploratory* step. They highlight various barriers to voluntary exploration. These include being unaware that an opportunity exists, as well as a lack of opportunity, person-centered characteristics like age and gender or situation-centered characteristics like gender; that may create barriers to exploration. They also bring attention to relationships as barriers to career exploration. Family and close individuals may constrain the choices of individuals, leading to indecision at times. Sometimes chance events can influence career exploration choices. Therefore, the approach to careers should be holistic. Zikic and Hall (2009) argue,

“this entails taking into consideration different populations; the total life context in which individuals live; and how different aspects of their life, just like different pieces of the puzzle, are all part of their life and career.....most important it requires a deep understanding of one’s options in the broader context of life-taking into consideration national, cultural, societal and family influences”. (Ibid.:189).

A contextual or holistic approach is unlikely to be captured by quantitative research, something that is still the focus of some scholars (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). Arthur (2008:167, emphasis added) calls for careers to be looked at as

“interdependence between work and the wider life course..... take the passage of time into account..... holistic view of career. **Let us focus on one person, one career, and one lifetime** in which that person can work, learn, make friends, start a family, pursue hobbies, have fun or whatever.”

A similar call has been made by Chiachanasakul et al., 2011 who suggest that qualitative research can best capture complexity. Similar to Zikic et al., 2009, Lee et al., argue for a holistic processes-centred approach to the study of careers. In their model, they take a view of careers as a journey. Lee et al. (2011) have attempted empirically to demonstrate a process perspective on the evolution of careers in the context of personal, family, work, and community life. Inkson et al. (2012:321-333) also argue that a focus of career studies research should be on processes and the

“multiplicity of processes”. Indeed, according to Watson (2009), any weaknesses of social constructionism can be handled by keeping a focus on the **in process** aspect of identity construction, and giving importance to the narratives of that individual and the identities that emerge at different times, captured by the life story approach. Thus, the epistemological premise chosen for examining the phenomenon (experience while in careers in professional and managerial contexts) is social constructionism.

6.6 Theoretical perspective:

Case for Feminist poststructuralism

A theoretical perspective helps one to understand a phenomenon and provides a way of looking at the world or making sense of it. The social phenomena under study in this research is career experiences. The context is BPw. As argued before, this research is primarily about women, although an ethnic and religious minority in UK. However, it is only a partial perspective (McCall, 2005), with career experiences examined from the perspective of BPw. Not only are the participants women, they are also an ethnic minority. These identities are created in the context of power and historical and cultural meanings. Power and the role power plays are central to critical feminist work. Qin (2004) maintains that the idea of interlocking systems is part of critical feminism. The notion of ‘interlocking’ originates from a body of work that is classified as intersectionality within the work of critical feminists (Lorde, 1984; Hooks, 1981). Denis (2008) suggests that intersectionality is an important theoretical contribution of feminism to sociology. However, in order to capture intersectionality *simultaneously*, Holvino (2010) specifically suggests a feminist post-structuralist framework to studying intersections of race, gender, class and sexuality in organizations. She posits a feminist post-structuralist framework for three reasons: it

provides an understanding of subjectivities, looks at practices in terms of gendered and racialized discourses and demands researcher reflexivity.

Thus, I use feminist post-structuralism to understand career experiences as I want to understand how social and cultural practices and gender power relations are “constituted re-produced and contested”, something which Weedon (1996:vii) labels as feminist critical practice. Feminist post-structuralist approaches have been used to study identities that are multiple and contradictory (Ford, 2006; Collinson, 2003; Kondo, 1990). Feminist poststructuralism has a critical agenda and is defined as

“a mode of knowledge production which uses poststructuralist theories of language, subjectivity social process and institution to understand existing power relations and to identify areas and strategies for change.” (Weedon, 1996:40)

Weedon argues that meanings are derived from socio-historical discourses and discourses are embedded in powers, which are fought out in and through the subjectivity of the individual. She argues that because feminism and post-structuralism share a concern with subjectivity, she recommends a particular form of post-structuralist theory as a productive theory for feminism. She argues

“In order to understand why women so willingly take on the role of wife and mother, we need a theory of the relationship between subjectivity and meaning, meaning and social value, the range of possible normal subject positions open to women, and the power and powerlessness invested in them.” (Weedon, 1996:41)

She suggests using Foucault’s work, and explains the feminist post-structuralist framework as a device to understand that we do not need to

“take established meanings, values and power relations for granted. It is possible to demonstrate where they come from, whose interests they support, how they maintain sovereignty and where they are susceptible to change.” (Weedon, 1996:174-5)

Feminist poststructuralism falls under the **critical post-structuralism paradigm** (Hassard and Wolfram Cox, 2013:1716). The term critical post-structural analysis has been suggested as a paradigm model for post-paradigm times (Hassard and Wolfram Cox, 2013). However, a complication of this research is that the context is not just

women. Indeed, they are women who are situated at intersectional locations. Holvino specifically suggests *simultaneity*, and *feminist post-structuralism* to view intersectionality. As advocated by Holvino (2010:262) intersectionality needs to be studied as “a simultaneous process of identity, institutional and social practice”. The afore-mentioned can be explained with *feminist post-structuralism*. She asserts,

“These processes need to be studied in a double move that breaks them apart and specifies them at the same time that it connects and articulates their relatedness.”

Holvino (2010:263) specifies each area as follows:

<i>Processes of identity practice</i>	How <i>others</i> in organizations and <i>individuals</i> see themselves as a result of the interaction of multiple categories; (race/ class/ gender/ religion/, sexuality/etc.)
<i>Processes of institutional practice</i>	How these categories (gender/class) are embedded in the <i>norm</i> of the way organizations work yet they are creating inequality;
<i>Processes of social practice</i>	How practices, beliefs, structures and ways of a society are reflected in the production of inequalities along the categories.

In addition, as identities are created in the context of historical and cultural meanings, culture comes into the picture (Kidd and Teagle, 2012).

“From a critical feminist perspective, culture is complex combinations of critical cultural elements (i.e. race, ethnicity, class, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality) that are forged, reproduced and contested within asymmetrical relations of *power* that primarily constrain one’s self.” (Qin, 2004: 297, emphasis in original)

Consequently, Qin (2004: 297) makes a strong case for using a critical feminist perspective to study culture and self, as “culture and self are co-constructing and co-constructed.” Again, these processes can be explained with the help of *feminist*

poststructuralism. In order to access meanings that are derived from socio-historical discourses, a post-structuralist lens is necessary (Weedon, 1996).

McIlveen and Patton (2006) suggest a Foucauldian lens to examine career development practices critically to unpack “the assumptions of power and identity” and that

“the practices of career development need to be reviewed with the aim of empowering the client through their *lived reality of the world and their context*; rather than an *imposed reality constructed by self-serving ideals* of positivist psychological science and its practitioners.” (McIlveen and Patton, 2006:23, emphasis added)

O’Neil et al. (2008) argue strongly for a view that takes into consideration the point that women’s careers are complex and multi-dimensional. In particular, they support a holistic approach that takes into account the importance of context and relationships to women’s career choices. Hopfl and Atkinson (2000) take a critical perspective to examine issues of power in the workplace, and its implications for women’s careers, concluding that work and careers are experienced in the ‘context of lives’. Indeed, Pompper (2011) used feminism and Foucauldianism as theoretical underpinnings to study 36 middle-aged, middle-class, African-American, Asian-American and Hispanic women in the USA. As identity construction involves “social manoeuvring and power games” (Ybema et al., 2009:307), a critical analysis of *differences in construction of self* is recommended (Collins, 1990). As my aim is to make visible power in organizations, I draw on Foucault. Foucault plays an important role in understanding the connection between constructed reality (knowledge), the Discourses that feed into their production and the power forces enmeshed in that field of knowledge or Discourse. A feminist post-structural lens displays the construction and re-construction processes in life, as careers are a part of life for women (O’Neil et al., 2008; O’Neil and Bilimoria, 2005; O’Neil et al., 2004; Fagenson, 1990).

6.7 Methodological Choices: Research Method

The lack of a holistic perspective is a methodological oversight in career literature. I view careers (1.8.6) as defined by Sullivan and Baruch (2009:1543). In my view, their definition of career is holistic. It brings attention to a number of factors that have been missing from career research. Firstly it looks at careers in a life-span context. It also looks at careers from the individuals' perspective when it emphasizes 'perceptions' and 'interpretations'. Most importantly, it pays attention to the macro-environment of the individual as well as the relational aspect, i.e. how significant others can influence careers (Grote and Hall, 2013). Gunz et al. (2011:1614) argue that career scholars manage to neglect "the broader context within which the careers are lived". While a number of career researchers identified various methodological approaches to career research (Young and Borgen, 1990), with life stories as a method of biographical-hermeneutical approaches and interactional conceptions of careers (Bujold, 1990), and narratives as a paradigm for career research (Cochran, 1990), these methods were used sparingly in empirical studies on careers (see for example Bendien, 2013 and Bosley et al., 2009, for life story). Moreover, identity and story are also linked (McAdams et al., 2006) as the self is created in the narrative.

Within women in management literature, despite an early call from Fagenson (1990) to women in management researchers to combine a *person*-centered perspective (factors that are internal to a woman) with an organization *structure* perspective and with *systems*, research in GOS continues to focus on one or the other area. The bulk of the work in gender and organization studies centres on organizations as a basis for inequality (Calas and Smircich, 2006). Fagenson contends that it is not an either-or issue (either due to gender or organizations), but rather that "both organization structure and individual's gender can shape and define women's behavior on the job"

(ibid.:271), arguing that work organizations are affected by a larger context (societies) which have their cultural values, histories, etc. Viewing organizational inequalities as linked to inequalities in the surrounding society is a view similar to Acker's (2006a). The literature review suggests that an analysis of the career of women must embrace an all-inclusive perspective, incorporating the interplay between the broader domain of society and the individual (similar to Fagenson's GOS perspective), rather than an individualistic perspective (O'Neil et al., 2008). A critique of diversity concerns the level of exploration, and researchers (Syed and Özbilgin, 2009; Tatli, 2011) have suggested a multi-level approach. Syed and Özbilgin, (2009:2436) explain the necessity to use an approach as it "captures the relational interplay of structural- and agentic -level concerns of equality" that covers macro-national, meso-organizational and micro-individual levels of analysis. Fouad and Byars-Winston (2005:223) posit that "work is a cultural construction", and that cultural context makes a difference in career choices. **A holistic view of careers** offers in-depth understanding of the many factors that play a role in an individual's career. **This can be achieved through a narrative life story method.**

The narrative/life story method is a means to capture multi-level explorations, complexity and the social construction of reality. Gergen and Gergen (1984) argue that as narrative accounts are a social construction, one's life story is a social property as the story is created due to social interchange. As Atkinson (1998) argues, the life story in qualitative research is important, as theory emerges from the whole story. That story also provides insights into "what is unique to some and universal to others and how both are parts of a dynamic interacting whole" (Atkinson, 1998:74). Snyder-Hall (2008:184) posits that "the personal story constitutes one of the central hallmarks of third-wave feminism", and argues that personal accounts should be read

“as examples of postmodern subjectivity that intend to destabilize dominant discourses” (ibid.:192). In addition, the life story has been used in research on women (Birbaumer et al., 2007; Sang et al., 2013). I believe that my research participants will describe careers from their personal perspectives. Their narratives will reflect the interplay of culture, religion and values embedded in their conditioning. Assumptions of ‘Western culture’ will be questioned because the participants are ‘outsiders’ or ethnic minorities - a diaspora. Arthur (2008:167) suggests that careers be looked at from an individual perspective. Watson (2009) also argues for a narrative, life story approach to studying managers.

“There is a danger of failing to see the human individual as a ‘whole person’ and a danger of forgetting that organizational activities are only one part of a manager’s life...it is thus important to look at the whole lives of people who do managerial work.” (Watson, 2009:426)

As my interest was to get a whole life perspective, I chose the life story and the Biographical Narrative Interview Method: BNIM (Wengraf, 2001; Wengraf et al., 2002) as a means of inquiry. Watson and Watson-Franke (1985) make a clear distinction between life stories that are elicited by another person and autobiography, which is self-initiated. The reason for choosing a biographical narrative interview method (BNIM) is

“its orientation to the exploration of life histories, lived situations and personal meanings in their socio-historical context, and its attention to the complexity and specificity of lived experience.” (Roseneil, 2012).

West and Zimmerman (2009) suggest while any method that captures descriptive accounts would do, a systematic analysis of unstructured interviews works well in unpacking ‘doing gender’. Buckner (2005:63) argues that:

“The value of the BNIM lies in its exploration of subjective biographical experience in relation to immediate and wider social relationships and contexts. Assuming that narrative expression is closest to people’s lived experience-expressive both of conscious concerns and also of less conscious cultural, social and individual presuppositions and processes- it tries to understand individuals in context, and learn about contexts from individual’s lives and the life stories they tell.”

Narratives have been used to study organizations and social sciences (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1998; Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004). The life story approach has been used to study intersectionality (Prins, 2006), and narrative has been suggested as a mode of inquiry in intra-categorical intersectionality by McCall (2005:1781) as

“personal narratives may aspire to situate subjects within the full network of relationships that define the social locations.”

Life stories have also been suggested by Watson (2009) to study identities. Cohen and Mallon (2001) posit that stories are a valuable research instrument for understanding careers, as stories show how the storyteller made sense of her career as it unfolded. They also argue that stories are discursive constructs, and the researcher can “build a rich, complex, multi-faceted, and integrated picture from the perspective of situated individuals” (Cohen and Mallon, 2001:48). Smith (2012b) has used life history to investigate women teachers’ careers decisions and found the method useful as it provided her an unexpected view of personal agency as a key factor. Essers (2009) suggests that life stories are best suited when the researcher wants “deep understanding of the identities of particular people”. Indeed, Wengraf et al. (2002:263) contend that the biographical turn has emancipatory possibilities as it provides

“a better understandings of the historically and culturally various relations between the personal and the social, and between structures, agency and restructuring.”

It is important to point out here that culture has an effect on the story (McAdams, 2011). In addition, life stories reflect social categories and a point in time (Adler and McAdams, 2007), as the researcher meets the participant at a particular point of time in her life journey and captures her life until that point in time. Moreover, just like narratives, stories are also co-constructed (Adler and McAdams, 2007; Wells, 2011).

The pilot study was based on the semi-structured interview method. I discovered that the BNIM interview method was better to use after I conducted my pilot study. I realized after two interviews that the narrative format suggested by my supervisors rather than a semi-structured format was correct, as it gave my interviewees room to talk about whatever was important to them (Russell, 2012). In any case, often while answering the first question on my interview guide, the participants would keep on talking for a while, covering a large number of areas without my asking for any elaboration. Watson (2009: 427) states the importance of narratives in our lives:

“We all have narratives ‘in our heads’, so to speak, and there are narratives all around us ‘out there’ in the socially constructed realities of our societies.”

6.8 Methodological Choices: Unit of analysis

My unit of analysis is the individual. As McCall (2005:1781) suggests:

“A key way that complexity is managed in such narratives is by focusing on the single group represented by the individual...Individuals usually share the characteristics of only one group or dimension of each category defining their social position. The intersection of identities takes place through the articulation of a single dimension of each category. That is the ‘multiple’ in these intersectional analyses refers not to dimensions within categories but to dimensions across categories. Thus, an Arab, American, middleclass, heterosexual woman is placed at the intersection of multiple categories (race –ethnicity, class, gender, and sexual) but only reflects a single dimension of each.”

The *single group* (BPw) was defined as:

“All women who are either born in U.K or came to U.K as a child and went to primary school, secondary school, high school/college and university in UK and were currently in managerial or professional position. They also had to have at least one parent who migrated from Pakistan after 1947.”

Managerial women should have either people reporting to them or be classified in the managerial cadre by their organizations. Professional women are academics, lawyers, doctors, chartered accountants, journalists, etc. My original topic was “Triple glass walls or double glass walls: A study of career progression among ethnic minority women managers in UK’s corporate world with a focus on British Muslim Women”. However, as the literature review progressed, I realized that ‘ethnic minority’ was too

broad a term, and I needed to look at a particular minority group. The original focus was British Muslim women, and again the literature review indicated that British Pakistani women make the biggest subgroup among Muslim ethnic minorities. The literature review also revealed ample research on first-generation BPw and also on second-generation teenagers. However, I could not find focused research carried out on second-generation adult British Pakistani women. Therefore, I decided to focus on this sample.

My original plan of getting BPw through organizations had to be abandoned as the large organizations, e.g. Citibank, HSBC, Barclays, that I contacted informally communicated that they did not have women fitting the profile I wanted - women who were born or raised in Britain as infants, went to school here and came from the Pakistani diaspora *and* were working at managerial levels. An organizational case study approach was ruled out for practical reasons. However, some researchers (Watson 2009) argue against taking an organization only approach, as organizational experience is just one part of people's lives, arguing instead to look at the whole lives of people who do managerial work. I also changed the sample from BPw managers to *managers and professionals* as I wanted to include all highly educated women - architects, designers, accountants, lawyers, journalist, doctors - instead of just women in corporations. I requested personal contacts I knew in different organizations to spread the word around and help me locate these women. I used personal sources to help identify women who fitted this profile. I felt that this method was critical for my research as BPw would not trust me if I came from an unidentified source. In Pakistani culture, personal references are very important. If someone who is 'highly respected' by the participant asks them to meet someone for an interview, it is implied by the 'highly respected' individual that that person is trustworthy, otherwise

he/she would not have been recommended. They found three women in London, and I contacted one while searching for names on websites at a university. I conducted my pilot study in June 2012: three pilot studies in London in late June, and one in northwest England, which generated 35,000 words in the face to face narratives. In September, 2012, I began the main interviews. Details on data collection are in the next chapter.

6.9 Ethical Considerations

I conducted the pilot study in June 2012. I transcribed the pilot interviews in July - August and did an initial thematic analysis of the data to see what the narratives were about. I also simultaneously completed a write-up of the stories of these four women. In September 2012, I conducted the main study interviews. I changed my interview method from the semi-structured format to the biographical narrative interview method (BNIM) suggested by Wengraf (2001) and Wengraf et al. (2002), as previously explained. Each person was given an introductory letter, a consent form (Appendix 3) and an information sheet, as per formal approval from the university ethics committee. Each person was given the opportunity to withdraw at any time from participation. I also drew on the four ethical principles used by Gatrell (2006) of autonomy, non-maleficence, beneficence and justice. Each participant chose the time and venue of the meeting. During the interviews, I followed a modified version of BNIM, as I stuck to the protocols but did not withdraw for an hour from the interview site between each stage. The opportunity afforded by the other two stages in BNIM gave me the occasion to re-phrase questions to the participants regarding a particular point, “to uncover any deliberate lies” (Shenton, 2004:67).

The interviews took different lengths of time and were audiotaped and later transcribed. I used Dragon software to transcribe. During the next many months, I conducted interviews around the UK and simultaneously transcribed the initial interviews, as it has been strongly recommended that data collection and analysis should be undertaken early and simultaneously (Bazeley, 2013; Miles et al., 2013). Some of the interviews were transcribed professionally using a highly recommended transcriber who was familiar with the ethical requirements of the University, having previously worked on projects at Lancaster University. She transcribed approximately half of the interviews. She would email me the transcripts, and I would check her work, audio listening to the interviews. Immediately after that I would write the synopsis and fill a brief. I would then ask her to delete the word and audio file. I had decided that in case some participants wished to read through the transcription, I would email it to them. However, except for one participant, nobody requested it. One participant requested that her interview not be used. I have honoured her wishes.

My respondents had expressed concern regarding anonymity, specifically stating that they did not want to be traced as a result of age/occupation/marital status, etc. All respondents remain anonymous, and their names are not used in the reporting of information in publications or conference presentations. I saved the audio file under a code name and deleted it from the audio device. I then transcribed the interview using a code name for the interviewee. I avoided addressing the respondents during the interview by name. I also ensured that their personal details were disguised so that they are unrecognizable from reading the quotes in the thesis document. There is also some debate about whether researchers should belong to the same community as the researcher. Ryan et al., (2011) discuss this at length. They argue that getting access and trust for a non-insider in today's Britain (context: non-Muslim interviewing

Muslims) is problematic. Indeed, they claim that insiders are often employed for hard-to-reach groups. However, they highlight certain problems. For example, they suggest that if the researcher is well known to the participants, it may inhibit them, as they may feel judged. They also contend that just because a researcher is an insider, it does not mean that rich data will be generated. I would like to clarify that the participants were total strangers. I shared their religion and spoke their parents' language. In addition, the protocols of the BNIM method ensured that chances of influencing the interview process were kept to a minimum.

6.10 Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research

I have tried to produce qualitative research that meets the eight “Big-Tent” criteria for excellent qualitative research (Tracy, 2010:840; see Annexure 1: Table 1). These criteria include worthy topic, rich rigour, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, and ethical and meaningful coherence. Cassell and Symon (2011) contend that ‘good’ qualitative research is a contentious issue because the criteria for qualitative research are not well known or well diffused. While reliability and validity play a major role in quantitative research and are carried out through various statistical techniques, reliability and validity can also be ensured in qualitative research. This need for rigour is driven by social thinkers and their need to focus on social ideas as a science (Seidman, 2013). The focus, therefore, even in social science research, is to make a piece of research as “scientific” as possible. This has resulted in researchers being rigorous, systematic, and critical of their ideas.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) also developed trustworthiness criteria to replace the reliability and validity of positivist/quantitative methods. The trustworthiness criteria included credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. These were

meant to improve the rigour in qualitative research and were carried out mainly through audit trails during the analysis process and validation through feedback from participants on the findings from the analysis. Later on, they (Guba, 1989) suggested another criterion: authenticity that included resonance, rhetoric, empowerment and applicability. Shenton (2004) elaborates on Guba's trustworthiness criteria by suggesting specific strategies for each of the criteria. In place of validity, Shenton (2004:64) suggests credibility and in place of reliability he suggests dependability. As a means to ensure validity/credibility, Shenton (2004:73) suggests the adoption of well-established research methods such as random sampling. Some of his suggestions were applicable in my research. I thus adopted Shenton's (2004) suggestion to employ tactics to help ensure honesty in informants. I also had frequent de-briefing sessions with my supervisors, as well as peer scrutiny of the research project, as I made presentations at a number of conferences, seminars, and workshops. While I had given the option to all participants to read their transcripts if they wished, only one person requested this. As a means to ensure reliability/dependability, Shenton (2004) suggests that if the work were repeated with the same methods, the same results would be attained. I have for this reason given details about the data collection and data immersion processes over a number of chapters.

Denzin and Lincoln (2011:4) also assert that a combination of methodological practices adds rigour to the inquiry as it involves different voices, different perspectives and different points of view with many different things going on at the same time. Keeping their views in mind, I kept a diary to make notes about the location of the interview, the interviewee's appearance and body language and my impressions (reflections) after the interview. In order to ensure validity, reliability, and objectivity, I made detailed notes for all stages of the research. These stages and

measures to ensure reliability and validity are visible in the chapters that follow. I use a combination of personal experience, introspection, life stories of participants' and an audit trail of immersion to add to the rigour of this research. The objective is to be meticulous and transparent, so that the reader has a clear picture of how this research was undertaken. I have tried to maintain a spotlight on rigour, reflexivity and questioning of the meaning of knowledge and social life, as I have moved from one stage of the research process to another. To elucidate this position, I wish to make clear the following:

1. Alvesson and Karreman (2000:1146) argue that the decision to look at interviews as Discourse is set a priori by a researcher. This was not so in my case. I found certain patterns as I systematically went through the data: patterns of “socially shared ‘subjective reality’ (experience, beliefs, stereotypes, cognition, values, feelings or ideas)” (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000:1146).
2. They also argue that a weakness of Discourse is that it is used to cover up “muddled thinking” or to avoid “signaling a relatively stable way of relating to and making sense of something”. My objective is neither. Indeed, I do not want to focus on a single truth
3. The creation of reality is viewed as contextual and not universal, as in my view reality cannot and should not be understood outside the context in which it was produced. Indeed, categories are framed within discourses and, therefore, each discourse can throw up a different meaning of a category or a different interpretation. (Al-Amoudi and Willmott, 2011)
4. “What is identified as an object of study is mediated by knowledge; and that knowledge can feed back to become constitutive of what one aspires to

know.” (Al-Amoudi and Willmott, 2011:38). That is acknowledged in my role as a researcher, and an attempt has been made to keep myself visible through reflexivity.

5. I have tried to incorporate Al-Amoudi and Willmott’s (2011) suggestion that the researcher must systematically look at all empirical material before deciding whether Discourse could be used. They insist that Discourse should be grounded and shown. I have done that in Chapter 9 and onwards.
6. Denzin and Lincoln (2011:4) assert that qualitative research involves many methodological practices and could be viewed as bricolage or quilt making (citing Hooks, 1990), piecing together or as jazz improvisation. They describe “the interpretive *bricoleur* produces a *bricolage* - that is, a pieced together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complex situation”. They argue that it involves different voices, different perspectives and different points of view, with many different things going on at the same time. I have tried to make visible all practices/techniques through reflexivity, and used multiple immersions to arrive at the conclusions.

6.11 Final thoughts

The organizational phenomenon under study in this research is career experiences. The context is BPw. While I felt I must draw on multiple sources to give a clear picture of the phenomenon under study, I tried keeping a reflexive stance so that I make visible how I have made sense of my participants’ sense-making. Throughout the research practice, my view is similar to that of Denzin and Lincoln.

“that there is no clear window into the inner life of an individual. Any gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race and ethnicity. There are no objective observations, only observations that are socially situated in the worlds of-and between- the observer and the observed. Subjects, or individuals, are seldom able to give full explanation of their actions or intentions; all they can offer

are accounts, or stories, about what they did and why. No single method can grasp all of the subtle variations in ongoing human experience.” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:19).

Chapter 7: Execution of the Research

7.1 Chapter Synopsis

I have tried to produce qualitative research that meets the eight “Big-Tent” criteria for excellent qualitative research (Tracy, 2010): worthy topic, rich rigour, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, and ethical and meaningful coherence. I now describe how I reached my participants and recount my experiences and emotions as I moved from one participant to another or one phase to another. The purpose of this chapter is to document my journey in the process of implementing data collection. I found I was practicing “quilt-making” or had become a “bricoleur”.

“The interpretative bricoleur understands that research is an interactive process shaped by his or her personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and by those of the people in the setting.” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:6)

7.2 Finding my participants

McCall suggests that a way of getting narratives and focusing on single groups: intra-categorical, is intensive study of a single group or case.

“Case-studies are in-depth studies of a single group or culture or site and have long been associated with the more qualitative sidehave always been distinguished by their ability to delve into the complexities of social life.” (McCall, 2005:1782)

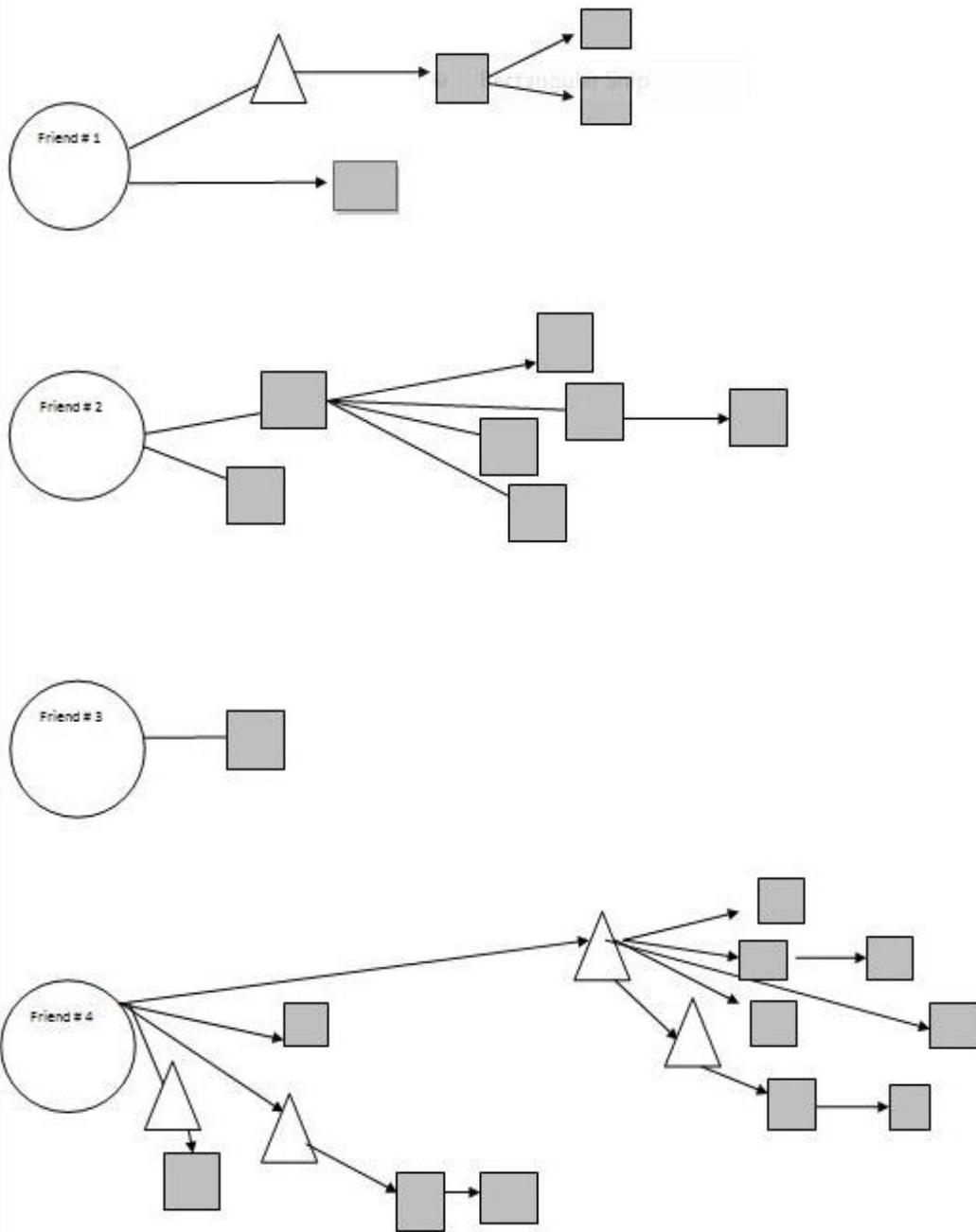
I began searching for my participants by contacting three Pakistani personal contacts who worked in senior positions in three large banks in the UK. I asked them to check with their human resource departments if they had British Pakistani women in managerial positions. They came back telling me they could only find one each in their organizations. I then emailed some more personal contacts I knew in the UK. I wrote each one an e-mail outlining the details of my topic and asking them to forward my e-mail with a CC to me to anyone whom they thought would fit the profile. I then followed this with a phone call to each of them explaining again whom I was looking

for and clarifying any questions that they might have. After these initial e-mails and phone calls, I sent each of them an SMS/text reminder on their phone.

From the initial inquiries I got some responses. My contacts e-mailed me the emails they had sent various women, asking me to get directly in touch with the participants. I e-mailed these women separately, specifying in the e-mail that I would meet them wherever it was convenient for them. I gave them the dates when it would be possible to conduct the interviews in London or other cities. I made the arrangements to see them on the date, at a venue and time they specified. I also sent them the consent form, invitation letter, and an information sheet to read, specifying that I would bring a hard copy for them to sign when we met.

I also used my initiative to find participants. I set up a LinkedIn page. I asked my colleagues to put my request on their Facebook pages. I looked at websites of universities and large law firms and emailed women whose names seemed to sound Pakistani. Despite all this, only one woman responded and agreed to participate. I also emailed the Chartered Institute of Management and the Chartered Institute of Marketing, but got no response. Two of my Ph.D. cohort managed to find one participant each, and the placement office at the Management School sent emails to contacts that resulted eventually in my finding six participants. I conducted 39 interviews all over UK with British Pakistani women. The diagram shows how I reached my participants.

FINDING THE PARTICIPANTS THROUGH FIVE FRIENDS



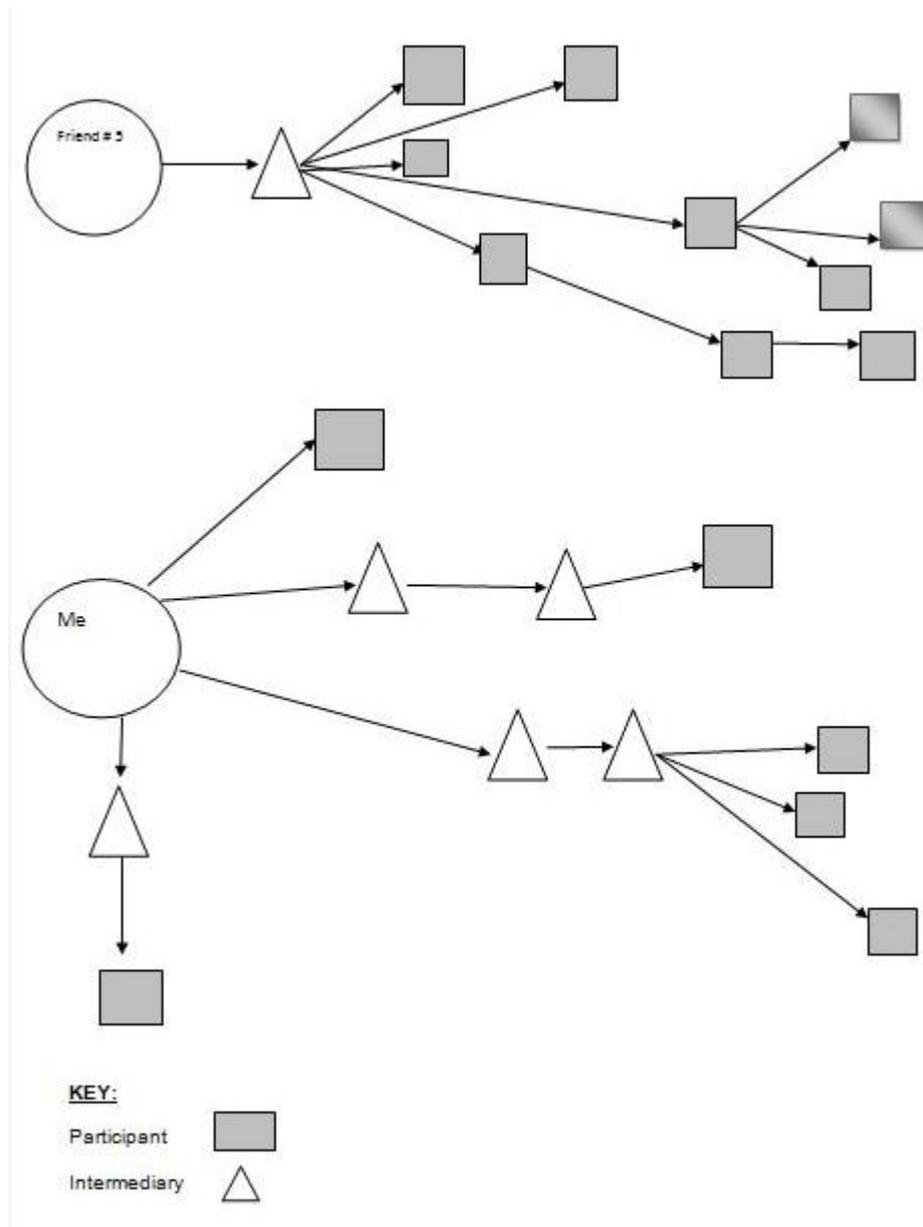


Figure 5: Finding the participants

In the figure above, friends/personal contacts are in circles. They sent emails to their contacts, shown in triangles. They forwarded these invitations to people who they thought either fitted the profile shown in grey squares, or who knew people who fitted the profile. Some of these women agreed to participate and after their interviews, they helped me locate more women who fitted the profile. As a result of these initial five contacts, I managed to generate 33 participants through snowballing.

I sent about three hundred emails in total. The first phase was emailing and follow-ups to my friends. The second phase was emails and follow-ups to the people they sent emails to, who I have called intermediaries. For example friend # 4 emailed four intermediaries. I followed up a number of times with each. Phase three was communication with those who had agreed to participate. This included emails thanking them for taking part and sending them all the documents recommended by the university ethics committee. Then I sent follow-up emails to decide dates that would be suitable to both of us, and the venue. This ranged from a minimum of three emails to up to twelve emails per participant.

Once the interview was over, Phase 4 began with emails from the participants suggesting some other women whom they thought fitted the profile. This meant emailing the potential participant and, at times, asking the previous participant to follow up on my behalf because the person had not responded to my emails. I also sent many text messages and spoke to some participants before the interviews on the telephone to ask if they wanted to speak to me. Four participants spoke to me before the interviews.

A major challenge was trying to fit in multiple participants per trip. This meant even more emails, as sometimes I had to rearrange dates and times. Sometimes participants would drop out at the last minute, after I had bought the tickets. This happened twice with a particular participant based in London. The London participants were the most challenging as some would not give me a confirmed time until a few days before. I had therefore to build a few open days into my plan when buying tickets, as I was not sure when I could fit these last-minute additions in if needed. I made four trips to

London covering 26 days. I could have stayed fewer days in hindsight, but when buying the tickets I had no choice but to lock all these days.

I also realized in the middle of the data collection process that some of the participants were agreeing to participate in the research without reading the participant profile requirements carefully. This resulted in my adding another round to the emails, specifically asking some short questions about their profile and asking them to reply with a yes or no. This happened because of two participants. One participant I interviewed informed me during her life story narrative, (we were about 5 minutes into the interview) that she had come to U.K when she was 16. She had also not studied at a university. I had to stop the interview at that point as she did not fit the profile. I felt uncomfortable doing that even though I knew it was not my error. I felt I was wasting the time that she had slotted in for me. We ended up going for coffee and having a personal chat without audio recording our conversation, and she dropped me back to the station. Another lady recounted her life story, and almost 30 minutes into the interview I realized she had never been employed. She insisted she was, as she was looking after a small charity hospital in Pakistan which was funded by her family.

7.2.1 Reflections on the participants

Reflexivity involves the social location of the researcher and the researched and how it can influence the process and outcome. One way of handling this is to maintain reflexive journals (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), where the researcher reveals her thinking and reactions, philosophical position and bases for decisions. While I describe my participants next, I acknowledge that “describing persons is never objective, is driven by theory” and thus is a limited view (McAdams, 1995). My

participants had a variety of appearances. The women I met in the office were dressed formally as well as casually. The women I met in cafés were almost always casual or smart to casual. The ones I met at home ranged from generally casual and relaxed to completely casual. They all appeared feminine and were all in heterosexual relationships (married/with a partner). The ones who were not in a relationship when I met them were keen to get married to men. The range of clothing was from *shalwar kameez*¹⁹ (one participant had come from the office, and one was at home) to dress suits and black tights. Most of the participants stuck to the norms of Islamic modesty by being completely covered up. So even when they were wearing a dress, they would wear dark stockings/tights and boots to cover their legs (four participants). Most wore trousers with long tops or cardigans that covered the hips.

Only one participant, whom I met in an office, was not dressed in this way. She was wearing a sleeveless summer dress with skin coloured stockings. She had a mixed heritage (a white²⁰ mother/Pakistani father), and appeared Anglo-Saxon because of her fair skin, grey eyes and reddish brown hair. In fact, I was taken aback when she introduced herself as the participant, as I was not expecting somebody of mixed heritage or with different looks. Even though she looked different, she talked like all the other participants. She used Urdu words in the conversation as well as Arabic words when thanking God, e.g. *mashallah* ('thanks to allah' [God]), *alhamdulillah* ('due to the blessings of allah') and *inshallah* ('allah be willing'). Two other participants were also of mixed Anglo-Pakistani heritage. One had a white²¹ mother and a Pakistani father. She looked like a fair-skinned Pakistani, but could be easily

¹⁹ Traditional Pakistani long shirt worn over loose pants.

²⁰ I have used this term to disguise the origins: Scotland, Wales or Ireland.

²¹ I have used this term to disguise the origins: Scotland, Wales or Ireland.

mistaken for Mediterranean origin. The other one had a white ²² mother and Pakistani father, and also could be easily mistaken for Mediterranean origin. All the mothers had become Muslim on their marriage, and two of the mothers were also practicing Muslims. One of the participants had an Arab mother and a Pakistani father. One participant was biologically of North African heritage but was adopted by Pakistani parents and raised in Britain. She was married to a white British man (WBm).

Apart from her, seven other participants were married to WBm (one is divorced now), and one is engaged to be married to a WBm. Of this group, I met three participants' husbands, and I met three participants' children. Two participants said they were in partnership with non-Muslims. Two of the 'never been married' women (aged 44 and 29) admitted that they were interested in marrying a Muslim, but had not come across the right person. Seven women altogether in the group had been divorced. One had remarried a WBm, two had re-married a Pakistani-origin, and the other four were still single. Only five of the women I met wore the *hijab* or head covering, of whom three wore it for purely religious reasons. One had started wearing it because she was losing hair, and the other wore it when she moved into a Pakistani diaspora locality in the UK. Although I have tables with information about the participants' in Chapter 8, I have avoided giving certain details in those tables in order to maintain anonymity and avoid linking particulars to the individuals.

²² I have used this term to disguise the origins: Scotland, Wales or Ireland.

7.3 Reflections on the process.

I now begin with a description of my own situation, that influenced my location and consequently perceptions and experiences as a researcher in a foreign country. The challenges I faced while collecting the data arose because of who I am. I was born and raised in a highly patriarchal society. Who I am has a lot to do with my sex, my gender role, socialization and the environment I was brought up in, as an upper middle-class woman. The time I spent in public spaces in Pakistan was limited. Although I have travelled inside and outside the country, I have never lived on my own or lived abroad. Despite my age (early fifties), I am experiencing for the first time in my life what it is like to be completely on my own.

7.3.1 Logistics

I found logistics the main challenge and a major worry for me. The first issue was managing the costs. I bought train tickets to all the towns in advance. Weather for me was a nuisance. Most of the interviews were conducted in the October to March period that was cold and wet, so I made sure I had adequate layers on. I also dressed carefully. I wanted to present a professional yet not over-the-top look. I made sure that as far as possible I should catch trains during daylight. This has to do with my background, as back in Pakistan it is considered unsafe for women to be out in the streets alone after dark. That meant that I had to plan my journeys carefully. I also found changing trains demanding. Between Lancaster and Rochdale, I had to change trains three times. I had only a few minutes to change platforms. All the stations were new to me. I found visiting a new town/city taxing. If I was going somewhere in walking distance, I would **not** take a taxi in order to save money but would end up afraid of getting lost and being late. Changing tubes at the tube station, and particularly the descent into the depths of the station, was daunting. Sometimes

participants who met me at their homes and knew that their homes were too far for walking would volunteer to pick me up from the station. With all participants, I had exchanged mobile numbers. I was anxious about showing up late, as I was conscious that each participant had only allocated a few hours for me. In most cases, I would arrive early and wait.

Trip Number	Journey to	Trains changed	Journey time to destination (one way)	Number of interviews	Month and days used		Venue
1	London	Direct train	2 hours 40 minutes	3	Mid June 2012 (6 days)	Pilot	1 office 2 Café
	Lancaster			1	End June 2012	Study	1 office
2	London	Direct train	2 hours 40 minutes	7	Late September 2012 (7 days)	Main Research Using BNIM	3 homes 4 Café
3	Glasgow	Direct train	2 hours 15 minutes	1	Late October 2012(1 day)		1 Office
4	London	Direct train	2 hours 40 minutes	1	Mid November 2012(1 day)		1 Café
5	Manchester	Direct train	1 hour	1	Late November 2012		1 office
	Huddersfield	1 change	50 minutes	1	(1 day)		1 office
6	Roche-dale	3 changes	2 hours	2	Mid November 2012(1 day)		1 office 1 IMR ²
7	Roche-dale	3 changes	2 hours	2	Mid December 2012(1 day)		2 IMR (+1)
8	Manchester	Direct train	1 hour	2	Mid December 2012(1 day)		1 office 1 art gallery
9	Islamabad	Direct Bus	4 hours 30 minutes	1	Early January 2013(1 day)		1 café
10	London	Direct train	2 hours 40 minutes	6	Late January 2013(6 days)		2 home 3 Café 1 Office
11	Burnley	1 change	1 hour	2	Early February 2013(1 day)		2 office
12	Glasgow	Direct train	2 hours 15 minutes	1	Mid February 2013(1 day)		Home
13	Manchester	Direct train	1 hour	1	Mid February 2013(1 day)		office
14	Huddersfield	1 change	1 hour 50 minutes	1	Mid February 2013(1 day)		Home
15	Birmingham	Direct train	2 hours	2	Early March 2013 (1 day)		Café Home
16	London	Direct train	2 hours 40 minutes	4	Late March 2013 (6 days)		1 home 2 Café 1 Office
Total one way train	Trips 16	23 trains	29 hours 50 minutes	39	37 days		Home=9 Café=13 Office/IMR=15 Art Gallery=1
Two way train trips	Trips 32	46 trains	59 hours and 40 minutes				

² Intermediaries Meeting Room

Table 4: Travel details

7.3.2 Interviewing

Alvesson (2003:14 and 28) argues that the interview is “a complex social event” and that the researcher should be sceptical about the assumption that the “interviewee is assumed to have provided the researcher with reliable data about a phenomenon”. As a researcher, I was aware that I would have to negotiate my way between proximity and distance with the interviewee, at times playing the role of the ‘insider’ and sometimes of the ‘outsider’, as suggested by (Flick, 2009). As I had previously conducted five face-to-face in-depth interviews with managerial women for case studies in Pakistan, I knew that making the ladies relaxed was important, as in my experience when participants get comfortable, they do open up. Rich data would only be produced when the respondents felt at ease and perceived a feeling of empathy. Therefore, my priority was to make the ladies comfortable. I had already introduced myself briefly in the introductory letter, yet I felt it was important to talk about my life and why I was in the U.K as a Ph.D. student as I would be less of a stranger then. So I began by telling them something about myself. I felt empathy could develop during the interview since I belonged to the same ethnic background as my interviewees. I saw this as an advantage for myself as a qualitative researcher in the UK. The strategy may have worked, as a total interview time of 58 hours was generated, generating a transcript word count of nearly 584,000 words. It is possible that my gender, identity (Pakistani origin) and experiences, helped create an understanding and a ‘safe environment’, leading to respondents opening up and discussing their personal experiences (Bhopal, 2010).

All my participants were given a free choice to meet me wherever they liked. I realized that as they were all working women, their time was precious, and it might not be easy for them to get away (from the office during workdays or home at

weekends). On the other hand, I did not want to invade their privacy either at home or in the office. I wanted them to be comfortable and relaxed.

Interview Protocol

I started all interviews (whatever the venue) by first giving the consent form for signing, and print copies of the information sheet and letter. I also gave the participants time to ask me questions about my personal life. Often they read the introductory letter inviting them to participate in my presence, and then made comments. It made me realize that some had not read the soft copies of the documents I had sent, while others had gone through all the information sent very carefully. I answered all their questions. Creating empathy was important in my view. Some researchers have commented that a shared sense of experience helps create empathy (Ryan, 2006), while Alvesson (2003) calls this a protocol of romantics, where the aim is to establish rapport and trust between the interviewer and the interviewee in the interviewing situation.

Once they seemed settled, I put the audio taping device in front of them, and first say, “I need to record this, as you know”, and then begin the interview by saying, “I would like you to tell me your life story. You can begin wherever you like, maybe from your birth, and take me to this point in your life, where we are now”, using the BNIM interview protocols (Wengraf, 2001).

BNIM interviews are done in stages (Wengraf, 2001; Buckner, 2005). I asked the participants to tell me their story in the first stage of the interview process. I let them talk uninterrupted for as long as it took them to finish their story. Because they could talk without any interruption, they produced rich data. I aimed to make the

interview feel like a conversation rather than a question-and-answer session. I wanted the interviewees to tell their story their way. Each participant had her way. For example, Mehr and Kudrat began by telling me about their background, while Naila and Tania talked about their profession. I was also conscious that I must not in any way sway the participants to tell me what they might feel I would like to hear in response to the questions. It is possible for the narrator to choose facts (Presser, 2005) and 're-author scripts' (Ybema et al., 2009). For this reason I wanted to let them do the talking while I did the listening.

After they had completed their life story, I asked them to elaborate on some events or details that they had missed out (stage two), keeping to the sequence of their narratives. I tried to stick to the narrative format by actively listening (interjecting only with single words or a sentence if they paused), or asking them to clarify/elaborate on something they had said much later. In the last stage, I turned to the list of questions that I had prepared based on the literature review and skimmed them to see which areas were not covered, and asked a few specific questions. The questions I had in the interview guide were there as a prompt for me. I only used them to probe if bits of information were missing, to clarify a point that the interviewee may have made or to ask the interviewee to elaborate on a point they might have made. The interviews included in the study ranged from two hours 24 minutes to 35 minutes in length, with the average interview lasting nearly 95 minutes, or one hour 35 minutes.

Home Venue

I interviewed nine women at home. When I began the interviewing process, as per cultural norms, I would take a gift with me. Pakistani culture requires that one does

not go to people's homes empty-handed. So for the first three interviews, I took flowers or a box of biscuits. In the next six I decided I could not afford this, as I had to pay for travel - not only the train but sometimes the tube and sometimes the taxi. I always felt a bit guilty about that, which is similar to feelings mentioned by another researcher (Essers, 2009). All of the participants would offer me tea and biscuits, and we would sit wherever the participant suggested. I found the actual process of interviewing enjoyable. I know that part of this had to do with the fact that they were all women. It was more of a pleasant conversation, labelled the 'romantic position' on interviewing by Alvesson (2003).

Though some literature insists there is a power imbalance between the interviewee and interviewer (Flick, 2009), I was not aware of power issues. Like Oakley (2010), I did not feel like an 'impersonal data collector'. Sometimes, the interview would be in the lounge on a sofa and sometimes on the dining table or kitchen table. Three participants that I interviewed had young children. One had an eight-month-old baby, and I put her at ease by telling her I had plenty of time and she could settle the baby and we could talk whenever she liked. Two participants had two children each, both under the age of five. Their husbands, of British Pakistani origin (BPo) looked after the children while we talked. We were left undisturbed.

Two participants had much older children. I met the husband (BPo) of one and a child of the other lady, who was married to a white British man (WBm). Another participant had no children. I met her husband too. His mother was Pakistani, and his father was White British. He made tea for us. Two participants had arranged interview times so that they were undisturbed by their children. In the case of one, the children were in school, and in the case of the other the husband had taken them

swimming. I met both these husbands. They were WBm. Conducting interviews at home was a personal affair. It gave me a glimpse into the personal lives of all these women and the family dynamics. It made me happy to see my participants with supportive life partners and to meet their children. This is similar to comments mentioned by other researchers (Smith, 2012).

Office Venue

I interviewed 16 women in an office. Twelve participants were interviewed in their own offices, and four were interviewed in someone else's office. All of them again offered me tea/coffee and got some for themselves as well. The standard process was used for interviewing as mentioned above. Some of the offices were housed in small buildings, while others had a proper large reception manned by security, etc. Except for five participants, all conducted the interviews in meeting rooms and not their personal offices. The five that invited me to their personal offices helped me gain an idea about the pressures they may be facing by just looking at the papers on the desk and the surrounding books/notes/notices, etc. Interviewing in the office was most suitable as it was quiet, comfortable and easy for me to reach generally.

Café Venue

I interviewed 13 women in a café, and I found this a largely uncomfortable activity. All the cafés were noisy, even though I did go looking for all the nooks and spaces in each café to pick a quieter space. The noise level was distracting, and because I had to concentrate so much to make sure that I was listening actively, and had to make notes on all that areas that needed covering later on, I found that I often had a headache when I had finished the interview. I was also unhappy about the café, as it

was a public space. I felt that my participants would not have the freedom to talk as they could be eavesdropped. Much to my surprise, none of them seemed to care who was sitting near them. In fact, three of them were tearful during their interviews. My first reaction was to look around and see if anybody had noticed the state the ladies were in, as I did not want them to make a public spectacle of themselves. My second reaction was to make sympathetic noises to soothe them a little. I do not know if it helped.

I also made sure that I paid for the tea/coffee/cake we had in the café. Some of the ladies would protest but when I insisted, they would acquiesce. Others did not protest at my offer to get them tea/coffee, and sat at the table while I got the drink. A major challenge of interviewing in a café was identifying the participant. In their house or office, it had to be them who either opened the front door or picked me up from the station or came out to greet me at the reception of the office building. In a café, I did not know whether the participant had arrived and was waiting or had yet to arrive. In a number of cases, I had to text back and forth before I could find them in the crowd.

7.3.3 The research instrument and emotions

The researcher is the research instrument and brings into the interview his/her unique characteristics that ultimately affect the interview (Pezalla et al., 2012; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). The concern seems to be on the researched more than the researcher, as it has been argued that researcher's emotional responses to respondents can influence the analysis process (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003). Emotional effects of research on the researcher have been documented before (Haynes, 2006). However, as less is written on how the research experience can leave a mark on the researcher, I was largely unprepared for the effect the participants would have on me. Even though

the researcher has been labelled the research *instrument*, particularly in interview methods, the research *instrument* is a human being and has emotions. For this reason, while dealing with other humans, it is difficult to remain *emotionless*. Some of the interviews were emotionally challenging for me. To give a flavour of the challenges I experienced while conducting the interviews I have inserted some excerpts in Appendix 2.

After interviewing participant 3, who had burst into tears in the street, I was mentally prepared for the emotions of other participants. However, I did not **expect** to see adult women break down. I considered the first experience a one-off. However, I soon discovered the tears would come quite suddenly and in mid-conversation. Participant 10 became tearful when she was telling me about the racism her sister encountered, and apologized, “I am sorry. I don’t know why I am crying. It happened to my sister!” Participant 26 broke down twice when recounting her experience of being bullied by her boss, apologizing, “I am sorry. I don’t know why I am crying. It happened so long ago!” Participant 13 became tearful when telling me about her mother and then sister being diagnosed with cancer. Participant 38 became tearful when telling me about her mother’s death and her resulting depression and early marriage. However, four interviews stand out for me with respect to *my* emotional reactions: Participant 3 (above), Participant 16, Participant 17 and Participant 35.

Participant 16 recounted her story of a forced marriage and subsequent rape by her husband who took his marital rights by force. I had heard about these stories. I had read about them in the newspapers, but to have a real flesh-and-blood human being telling me about it was something of a shock. I was unprepared for it and had to spend some time (mentally) forcing myself to concentrate on what she was saying

and not on “Oh My God!” The toughest challenge for me in all three interviews was to keep control of my emotions and not let the participant realize the negative impact that their emotions or stories were having on me. I had to appear unbiased and neutral. In some ways, I had to appear invisible so that I would not jeopardize their narration. I was also surprised that this participant did not show any negative emotion. It was almost as if she was telling someone else’s story. At the time of the interview, the thought did occur to me, “How come she never had tears through the entire interview?” I thought she was strong and had managed to get over it, but on reflection I think it is possible she may have blocked her feelings because she kept saying, “One has to move on”. She gave me a lift in the car to the other interview venue, and I kept thinking, “Wow, one would never imagine she went through this horrible experience!” She appeared so normal. Why was I so shocked? It does happen back home. I think I was shocked that it had happened to an ‘educated westernized Pakistani girl’. I expected these things to happen to poverty-stricken uneducated women. I realize now that I see my participants as ‘educated westernized Pakistani girls’. They sound British in their accents, but what they say, how they dress, their body language, etc. is very similar to young women who belong to educated upper middle-class professional families in Pakistan. I recognize them and see them as myself. I think they see the similarity, too, as most of them spoke to me as if they had known me all their life, not talking to me as one would talk to a stranger.

Participant 17 also surprised me with her story. She was a tall, thin, olive-skinned 35-year old woman. I met her in her office, and she was dressed in a dress suit. She began telling me her story, and when she had finished I went back to the bits that needed some further explanation. She had told me that her English mom and Pakistani dad had met during a holiday. She had mentioned that her dad had been

married previously, and she had a Pakistani step-mom and three sisters and they all had lived in the same house. Here is the excerpt from the conversation:

Interviewer: So that is an unusual household. Because you have got two moms and three sisters.

Participant: Yeah

Interviewer: So you are four. No brother?

Participant: No.

Interviewer: No sibling after you?

Participant: No...well my sister, the ...well...my younger sister is six weeks younger than me.

Interviewer: Six weeks...No?

Participant: Six weeks (pause) because they are from different moms.

Interviewer: Oh Ok..Ok...I get it.

I was flabbergasted. I could not believe what she was saying. While I kept (I think) a neutral face, a voice in my head kept saying, *“This can’t be happening in Britain.....How could this happen in Britain.....I can’t believe it...how is this possible.....the poor girl....My Goodness!”* I could see she was uncomfortable, and I said to her during the interview that she need not elaborate on her personal life if she did not want to. I was careful to respect that, as well, and I know that I did not ask her questions that normally I might have asked to get further details. She said a number of times in the conversation, “We are damaged....our home life damaged us.” I left the interview feeling terribly sorry for her. I think that even though I tried not to show it, the interview did affect me because it was a short interview. I had nothing to ask her in the end.

Participant 35 also surprised me with her story. She was working in a senior position in an FTSE company and was unmarried. I was surprised that she was not put under pressure to get married and said so. Here are excerpts from the conversation that upset me.

INTERVIEWER: And ...er... and during this period when you were completing your university, you weren’t under pressure to get married?

PARTICIPANT: Yes, I were, I was.

INTERVIEWER: You were under pressure?

PARTICIPANT: Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: How did you manage to fend it off?

PARTICIPANT: ...Um... my parents did arrange a marriage for me and I was forced into an arranged marriage.

INTERVIEWER: Ok.

PARTICIPANT: And it lasted about two years before he physically hurt me and broke my arm, and I walked out of home..... So he came here ...um... and he lived at my mum and dad's house ...um... with us. And I was going through all of that, at the same time.

INTERVIEWER: So he was beating you in your mother's house?

PARTICIPANT: Yeah. The thing is is my parents knew, my parents, my parents would deny that they didn't know, but they knew. I know they knew. There is no way that they didn't.

Given my context, I could relate to all these women and could identify with the stage in life they were going through and was conscious of the challenges they must have been facing as working women. However, I felt upset. After completing these 39 interviews, I was emotionally exhausted. Other researchers have also expressed difficulty in remaining detached (Smith, 2012). The realization that the interviews would be emotionally demanding dawned on me gradually. Each interview had a personal emotional cost which I had to pay. The richer the narrative, the more emotionally tied I was to the story even though I did not want to be. On reflection, I realize that it was because each of these women had given me a glimpse into their lives and for two hours I was a witness to their life story. In a way, I had become a part of their life. Just like I cannot put down a good book or go away from an absorbing movie without thinking about it for a few hours, I could not cut myself off immediately. Their stories stayed with me for a few days. I was touched and honoured that they had opened up their hearts, and I could visualize their lives through the stories they had told me. While listening to them at times I could empathize, at times sympathize, at times respect them and at times be taken aback, yet I could not show any of these emotions on my face while conducting the interview. Masking my emotions took a toll on me too. I learnt never to schedule two

interviews in one day as it mentally/emotionally exhausted me. I also reflected upon why these women had opened up relatively easily to me. I realize that some of it may have to do with me as a person or the vibes I give off, because I usually do find conducting interviews easy. Participants do talk to me. However, I was conscious that three additional factors may have contributed to these conversations: my age, my gender and my ethnicity. I believe they found in me a *woman* who could culturally empathize with them (in other words, they may have assumed that our gender role orientations were similar) and felt that I had probably gone through the phases of life they were going through now. Maybe with a white/black/Arab woman, the empathy factor would have been reduced because of a cultural deficit. However, I was surprised that all the women spent the bulk of the time discussing personal issues rather than organizational issues. I had expected that they would have focused on the organizational part more, given the fact I was looking at careers. It is possible that when I asked them to tell me their story, it gave them room to talk about whatever they wished, thus not matching my assumptions.

7.4 Final thoughts

It seemed to me that a number of my participants had been forced to live and be brought up in a 'Pakistani village'. While some had taken steps to break away completely, others had tried to keep a foot in both worlds, while some were quite happy to continue being in the 'Pakistani village'. Most of all, I could not understand how parents could be so cruel. I also realized that class had a major role to play in the way these women had been brought up. Yes, they had encountered racism in school and sometimes in the workplace, but the struggle seemed to me to be more on the 'inside' than 'outside'. I needed answers to my questions

SECTION THREE: RESEARCH FINDINGS

In this section, I present the findings. I concur with Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009:3) that “how we interpret phenomena is always perspectival, and that so-called facts are always theory-laden”. My first impression after conducting the interviews was of the challenge the participants faced of being a woman. In particular, I asked myself repeatedly: Why can’t they break away from the gender requirements of the diaspora culture? On reflection, this question, which was at the back of my mind, may have influenced my immersion process. I will therefore attempt to lay bare the audit trail so that the reader is aware how I arrived at the conclusions I did while answering the broad research question:

How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers in professional and managerial contexts?

as well as the sub-questions:

How are *intersections* of gender with ethnicity, nationality and religion revealed in their narratives?

How have BPw’s careers *progressed* (developed/ evolved over time)?

How does the BP woman find the experience of being a manager/professional in the workplace?

I am also conscious that in qualitative research, it is important to draw attention to the researcher’s own interest and practices as part of the reflexive process (Cassell and Symon, 2011). I have mentioned these throughout the thesis. The analysis was a complex and messy process. I used multiple methods to understand the career

experiences of my participants. As in the quote below, I have pieced together various discoveries.

“The product of the interpretive bricoleur’s labor is a complex, quilt like bricolage, a reflexive collage or montage.” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:18).

The overall method I have used could be called abduction (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009). They argue that it starts from an empirical basis but does not reject theoretical preconceptions. It is similar to medical diagnoses:

“observe a symptom and from this draw the conclusion of an underlying pattern i.e. a disease.....the physician must, for instance, compare with more symptoms (or patients).” (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009:5).

I document in the following chapters how I noticed ‘symptom(s)’, as well as the ‘underlying pattern’ that led to the identification of the ‘disease’.

Using Foucault’s work, I demonstrate how in **Step 1** (see Figure 6) the participants are recipients of two streams of Discourse: gendered nurturing and otherness, which creates the truth axis. In **Step 2**, these Discourses result in the creation of intersectional identities as a result of the action of the power axis. These Discourses are embedded in the intersectional identities, in the form of moral codes. The moral codes become *glass chains* when the participants encounter dominant organizational Discourses of masculine behaviours and compliance while in employment. In **Step 3**, they at times resist and mostly comply when they encounter gendered hierarchies and inequality regimes. The resulting career experiences are a consequence of the interaction of glass chains and inequality regimes in **Step 4**, resulting in intensifying the impact of inequality regimes. This re-enforces the feeling of otherness in **Step 5**, thus completing the circle of the ‘Truth regime’. **“Each society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true.”** (Foucault, 1991b:73).

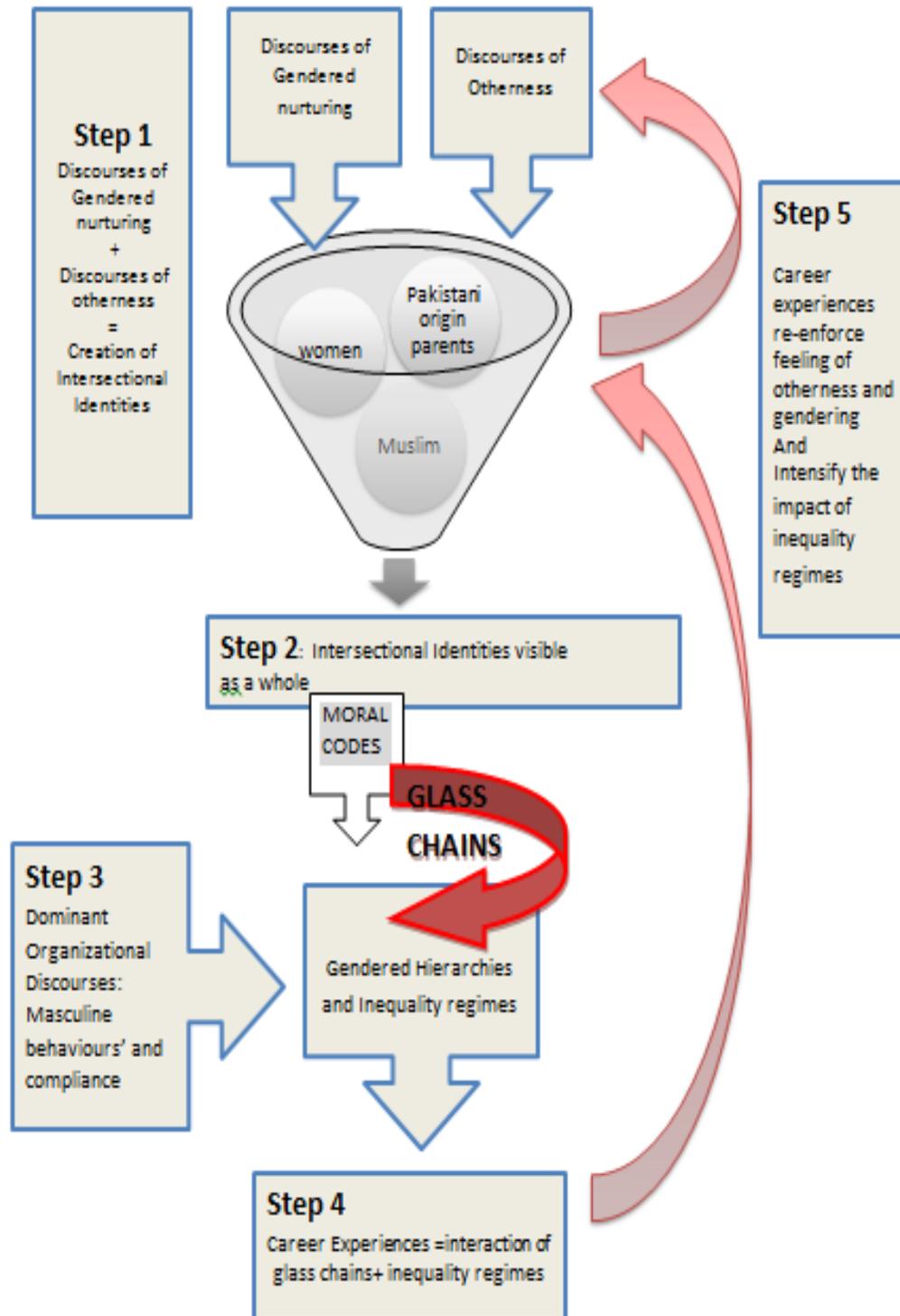


Figure 6: Completing the circle of the ‘Truth-regime’ by (Re)-producing Discourses of ‘being the other’.

Chapter 8: Initial Analysis: Data Immersion (1-4)

8.1 Chapter Synopsis

The purpose of this chapter is to make clear the various stages I went through to reach the analysis I did. There is considerable debate and discussion on how researchers can influence data generation and interpretation (Buckner, 2005). While I have been reflexive in my data collection process in the previous chapter, this chapter will clearly explain the first to the fourth stages in the analysis process. The first immersion took place during the transcription phase. The second immersion took place when I went through each transcript, coding the data in NVivo 10²³. The third immersion took place when I split my participants into four age-groups to see if there was a pattern within in a particular age group. Immersion 4 was finding overarching theme(s) **within** cases and including a write-up for each. Early career participants have up to eight years full-time work experience. Mid-career participants have between nine years and 16years, and late career participants have between 18 and 30 years full-time work experience.

8.2 The audit trail and reflexivity

Cutcliffe (2003) suggests that the purpose of reflexivity seems to be making explicit researcher values, beliefs and biases in an attempt to enhance credibility. It also involves the social location of the researcher and the researched, and how these can influence the process and outcome. One way of handling this is to maintain reflexive journals (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) where the researcher reveals her thinking and

²³ http://www.qsrinternational.com/products_nvivo.aspx

reactions, philosophical position and bases for decisions. This is done throughout the thesis, but is more explicit in the methodological and analysis section.

Regarding the analysis section, Johnson and Duberely (2003) suggest the hyper-reflexivity or a deconstruction model for research that involves ontological and epistemological subjectivity. My intention is to let the data speak to me. While I accept that I might influence this interpretation, even when I have no intention to do so, I deal with this contradiction by having a clear audit trail and by focusing on both surface and deep analysis in ‘voice’ analysis. I draw on research (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1255) to focus on both levels of voice: surface and deep. While I have provided excerpts as surface texts, I have provided deep analysis by presenting the analysis as footnotes within their voice/excerpt.

As Cassell and Symon (2011:647) assert, “our interpretations are also located within our own sense making framework”. Theory-neutral and-interpretation free facts do not exist, and data and facts are “constructions or results of interpretations” (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009:1). Moreover, as Wells (2011) posits, the individual to whom the story is told may shape the story that emerges as well, through voice, tone, pitch, pacing of speech, etc.

I also wish to let the reader know that I have had difficulty in separating myself from my data because I am similar to my participants in terms of gendered nurturing. I am a Pakistani Muslim woman; they are *British* Pakistani Muslim women. I am mindful that I must accurately represent my participants. I can only do so if I present the data in its original form; as said by the participants *and in the context*. I am therefore presenting the data in the form of actual quotes. I want the reader to make his/her own interpretations of what the participant is saying while I attempt to remain in the

background. I draw on my literature review and at times my intuitions, as I am rooted in *almost* the same socio-cultural-religious background. I do not wish to become an amateur psychoanalyst by attempting to analyze the contents of the ‘talk’, as I believe that it is difficult for anyone to accurately ‘interpret’ what someone else is saying, including at times, the person herself.

8.3 Immersion One: Transcription

It took me many hours to transcribe the interviews. I used the exact words of the participants and inserted the pauses, as well as any “uh’s” and “ah’s” and Urdu words used. I also converted the field notes into a formal write-up. After the transcription, I would immediately write up a synopsis of their life story and fill in a sheet I had prepared that was a ‘brief’ of the person. This activity and then NVivo coding at a later stage helped **with-in case analysis**. This was the point when I decided that I would need to outsource some interview transcriptions and get them professionally transcribed, as it was taking too much of my time and would delay my completion targets.

After careful consideration, I used a transcriber who was personally recommended by another member of the university faculty. She transcribed approximately half of the interviews. She would email me the transcripts, and I would check her work by listening to the interviews again. Listening to original tapes while reading transcripts is “an engaged and vivid analytical process” (Halford and Leonard, 2006:663). I could picture the participant and the room. The voice transported me back to the few hours I had spent with the participant. Immediately after that I would write the synopsis and fill in the brief. I would then ask the transcriber to delete the word and audio file. This initial work on the data made me familiar with the

participants' stories and the general themes that were emerging. By June 2013, I had completed all the interviews and enrolled in an NVivo course at the University of Surrey.

The codes I have used are grounded in the data. After reading a few lines or a paragraph, I asked myself what the participant was talking about. Some of the codes are guided by the literature review and the themes were expected - for example, racism. A number of themes were unexpected and are grounded in the data: for example, *not feeling Asian or Pakistani*. I thus began formally coding each transcript.

8.4 Immersion Two: Coding.

Saldana (2013:3-4) describes coding as follows:

“In qualitative data analysis, a code is a researcher-generated construct that symbolizes and thus attributes interpreted meaning to each individual datum for later purposes of pattern detection, categorization, theory building, and other analytic processes.....so does a code represent and capture a datum's primary content and essence.”

While some of the codes I used were based on the literature review, the bulk were based on the data that I was reading. I thought deeply about each chunk of data and what it was saying, and then used a word that reflected that chunk's main idea/theme. I used the *elemental method* (Miles et al., 2013) of descriptive coding, in vivo coding and process coding, as first cycle codes (Saldaña, 2013). Some might suggest this method is similar to the open coding procedure used by Glaser and Strauss (1967), as the initial coding was developed during the reading of the first interview. The codes used descriptions: *primary school experience*, in vivo: *as Muslims we are under the microscope*, and process: *networking*. I mainly used the *inductive method*, letting the data guide me, as I was open to what the participants were saying rather than fitting data into a pre-existing code. For example, the repeated talk about *socializing at*

work, feeling visible due to ethnicity guided me in creating these codes, although I had not come across any literature that had mentioned socializing as a work concern for women or ethnic minority women. The first fifteen transcripts generated additional codes as the participants talked about something that had not come up previously, for example not liking *working with women*. Because new codes were generated, the process was time-consuming. The speed of work was slow between June and October. After October, 2013 the speed picked up, as no new codes emerged from the text. It seemed the participants were talking about the same things. Once I had coded all the transcripts and prepared all the briefs, I prepared an Excel file using some demographic characteristics of the respondents: age, marital status, number of children, ages of children and certain other characteristics, for example mixed gender school or single sex school, university at home or away from home, to get a visual picture of patterns if any existed. As I transcribed the interviews and coded them, I realized they were also falling under certain themes: *difficulty in fitting in, childhood, employment, etc.* I could group some codes under a theme. This was the second cycle of coding, or pattern coding (Miles et al., 2013:86).

“Pattern coding, as a Second cycle method, is a way of grouping those summaries into a smaller number of categories, themes, or constructs.....Pattern codes are explanatory or inferential codes, ones that identify an emergent theme, configuration, or explanation. They pull together a lot of material from First cycle coding into more meaningful and parsimonious units of analysis. They are a sort of meta-code.”

This resulted in twelve meta-codes. I tried to find common threads in participants' accounts to identify “a higher level of commonality” (Miles et al., 2013:87). I intended first to use narrative analysis to pull out similar themes and then *intersectionality* as an approach to understanding the multiplicity and complexity of participants. However, I had to change my method of analysis after I completed Immersion 3.

8.5 Immersion Three: Narrative analysis

In this phase, I split my participants into four age-groups. I wanted to study each case in depth as “narrative analysis is case centered” (Bazeley, 2013:203) and see if there was a pattern in that particular age-group. I was trying to combine the examination of both the substantive content of the interviews and the stories (Riessman, 2008), conscious that I must be true to the holistic scope, as I wanted to explore careers through a time and not at a particular point in time.

Age group	Number of participants
27-29 years old	4
31-39 years old	16
41-49 years old	13
51-53 years old	4

In each narrative word document, I put their life stories and explored their storylines (Bazeley, 2013), asking multiple questions of the data. I wanted to examine how each participant acted while enacting multiple roles in their lives and how important each role was. I also tried to look across cases for overarching themes by studying the NVivo codes of participants of only that age-group and looked at the quotes and excerpts in that code. This is easily done in NVivo. I was looking for general similarities and general differences within cases and across cases. For example, I looked at the *childhood* meta-code and within it the sub-codes to see what the different *experiences in primary school* were. If they were similar, for example *feeling different because of other children’s comments*, I put excerpts under it as evidence of that narrative. I began this narrative analysis with the 51-53-year age group and found similar narratives regarding upbringing, talk about how women

should behave and what was expected from them culturally. I could see a pattern emerge gradually. This was painstaking and time-consuming work, as I went through every single code in NVivo, reading across the excerpts of the various cases in that code for that age-group. As I moved into the 41-49 year age group, some other narratives emerged, and I went back to the 51-53-year-old group to re-examine the transcripts in case these narratives were present in that age group and I had missed them. Some of the themes were present across all age groups, and some were only found in one age group. “A theme is an outcome of coding, categorization, and analytic reflection” (Saldaña, 2009:13).

I grouped their talk under these headings.

Childhood	Religious training and being a Muslim.
Gendered Hierarchies	General career paths:
Patriarchal Culture:	Socializing
Focus on education	Ethnicity
Focus on marriage.	It's who you know that matters
Living in two worlds	Identity
Feeling visible due to race	Too much responsibility too soon.
Encountering hostility from other women	Weaving motherhood into employment.
Making it to the top.	Masculinities at work
The <i>hijab</i>	Age as a barrier
Not being part of a particular social class	

I then prepared a narrative word document for each age group. My narrative word document is similar to the *analytic memoing* concept suggested by Miles et al. (2013:95) and is a cross-case analysis.

“The purpose is to see processes and outcomes across many cases, to understand how they are qualified by local conditions, and thus to develop more sophisticated descriptions and powerful explanations.”

I was looking for themes that cut across cases. The overarching themes along the career progression pathway among all the participants are the feeling of being an outsider in the workplace, as well as the importance of being a wife and mother for the participant.

8.6 Immersion Four: Career progression within cases.

Since one of the sub-questions was to look at careers and how they evolved, I decided to produce a document that would help me make sense of their career development. I re-grouped my participants again.

In the fourth stage of data immersion, I divided my 37 participants into three groups, based on the number of years in a **full time** job or a **career age** (Hall, 2002:245 describes this “as *time in that career field* rather than chronological age”). I now present the overarching themes in each data set, within the cases. At times, the ages and the designations may not match the number of years of work. This is because the individuals may have switched to part-time work or taken some time off work. In some cases, the participants have progressed faster and are in a better position than other participants in the same full-time work span.

“Individuals develop and contexts change. To study career development thus means to study a moving target (the developing individual) within a changing and complex context.” (Vondracek, 1990:38)

Progression by definition means series, sequence or stages, and career progression refers to movement in jobs during the working span of an individual. The focus in the synopsis below is on overarching theme(s) **within** cases. Early career participants have up to eight years full-time work experience. Mid-career participants have between nine years and 16years, and late career participants have between eighteen and 30 years full-time work experience. In the tables, I have highlighted the age in bold, and underlined it for mothers.

8.6.1 A synopsis of early career voices.

There 10 ten participants who fall into the early career category. All the participants have full time working careers ranging from four years to eight years. They all acquired university degrees first and then full-time jobs. Four of them were mothers, while four married participants had no children, and two participants were unmarried. Among them, **Asma**, **Shirin** and **Sana** qualified as solicitors. While Shirin had worked part-time while in school/college and had some work experience, Sana and Asma had none. Sana has a master's degree as well. However, all found difficulty in getting jobs as a trainee and as a solicitor. Sana, who decided not to work in a law firm and instead work as an in-house lawyer, did so because of work - life balance issues. Sana, who is married but has no children, had thought about being a mother. Asma, who is married to a white British man (WBm), finds work as a solicitor tough because of the long work hours. She is not sure if she will have children but if she does, she plans to reduce her workload. **Safia** joined a Middle Eastern company. She felt she could climb the ladder faster because of her knowledge of Arab culture rather than taking a slower route in a British company, where it would take many years for her to work her way up. Since graduating, she has worked for one company only. All had plans to weave mothering into working.

Zainab found her first job as a temp in an HR department and then worked her way up. She was afraid of being stereotyped as a secretary, as she was a temp and was young, and therefore made concerted efforts to look different and be noticed. She acquired a Master's degree while working. She then had a baby, and quit her high-powered job for one that was less demanding because of the baby. **Zohra**, who has a career in film, is in a partnership with a non-Muslim man and has no plans to have any children until she has achieved some success. However, she feels that her career is going to be disadvantaged because she is not an upper-class Englishman. **Kudrat** has already reduced her workload to accommodate her young children, taking a teaching position as opposed to research in her career at a university. **Roohi**, who is a divorcee, took time off full-time work to recover from a disastrous marriage and is now in a managerial position with a large firm. **Tania** worked for many years in a part-time job to suit her family's lifestyle and has recently gone back to full-time work. **Fatima** also decided to go part-time after the birth of her children and plans to continue part-time for a while. Her working career spans twenty years, with eight years in full-time work. While Fatima feels she did not encounter discrimination in recruitment, she did feel that she was sidelined in promotion. She felt visible because of her race and head covering at public, corporate-related events, and felt stereotyped.

All these women wore western clothes to work but covered themselves and remained within the domain of 'modesty'. Two of the respondents wore the *hijab* (Kudrat and Fatima). They all talked about male-dominated organizations and work regimes that seemed to make it difficult to combine mothering with work. A job was important for all of them. Although none of them complained of overt racism, they did face a number of difficulties at work. The feeling of being a minority among a majority in the work environment, and for this reason feeling more visible, was mentioned by

some of the participants. Religion was kept in the background. All these participants wore western clothes to work. In fact, though they usually wore trousers, they were prepared to wear skirts as well. One of the problems they mentioned was socializing at work. Some of these participants found it difficult to cope with making small talk because they lacked the social skills. Another of the problems of socializing at work was the presence of alcohol as an implicit part of socializing.

	Pseudo	Age now	Category/Level	Sector/Industry	Full-time working career span	Age when married
1	Zainab	<u>27</u> ²⁴	Manager/Middle	Recruitment	5 years	25
2	Safia/	29	Manager/Middle	Media	3 years	
3	Sana	29	Professional/Early career	Law	4 years	27
4	Shirin	29	Professional/Early career	Law	6 years	
5	Kudrat	<u>32</u>	Professional/Early career	Education	6 years	28
6	Zohra	34	Professional/Early career	Media	5 years	
7	Asma	35	Professional/Early career	Law	6 ½ years	33
8	Roohi	38	Manager/Middle	Medical	8 years	32
9	Tania	<u>43</u>	Professional/Middle	Media	4 years	29
10	Fatima	<u>44</u>	Manager/	Community	8 years	27

Table 5: Participants in early careers

²⁴ Age is highlighted (bold and underlined) for women who are mothers.

8.6.2 A synopsis of mid-career voices.

There are 17 participants who fall into the mid-career category. All the women in this group have working careers that range from nine to 16 years. Eleven of them are mothers. Most took the well-beaten path of first getting a university degree and then finding a full-time job, although **Farwa, Madiha, Alina, Suriya, and Uzma** worked part time when in university. **Mehreen and Kainat** moved towns for their jobs. A number of the participants work in or around London. Some of them have moved between organizations, and some have moved between industries while developing their careers. Some found their first job with the help of personal contacts. Three participants got their first jobs and remained with the same organization. Most of them had uninterrupted careers from the time they took their first jobs after graduating/qualifying. Some took time off to have a child. **Parveen** (who wears the *hijab*) is a qualified lawyer, and opted out of work to homeschool her children. **Alina** found working with white women harder than working with white men. To date, her focus has been her career. However, she now feels that her priorities have changed. She is 37 years old now and wants to have children, and does not plan to work once she becomes a mother. She also feels she will never make it to the top. She is currently in middle management, and all the jobs at the top are held by white women, including the chief executive. **Rubina** felt she did not want to become a manager as she did not like women managers. She has been married for four years but does not have any children. If she has any children, she plans to work part-time as she wants to continue working and spend time with her children. **Anum**, who was the victim of a forced marriage, completed her education after the episode. She remarried, and now has a toddler. She feels she has been successful in her career. She has been a manager for five years and now wants to move to a higher position and will continue working,

as it is a part of her. **Mehr** works for a bank in a managerial position, and is unmarried and lives with her parents. She wants a challenging job and thinks that she might like to switch sectors or sit for some examinations to improve her qualifications if she wishes to remain in the same sector. **Mehreen** is a doctor with three children and wants to become a consultant specialist. **Kianat**, who reports to the CEO, is happy in her job. She would have liked more of a challenge but has reigned in her need to 'speed climb' her career, as her children are young and the job offers 'work - life balance'. She can work from home two days a week. **Mahnaz** is a consultant/doctor and wears the *hijab*. She is married, and has toddlers. Her mother looks after both her children when she is at work. Out of her medical school cohort, three of the seven Asian Muslim women are practicing as GPs, and she is the only one who is a consultant. She plans to have another child and continue working. **Suraiya**, who is also the victim of a forced marriage, is divorced now with no children. She is in a senior management position and reports to the operating board which is made up of eight board directors, who look after the whole group. She has aspirations to become a director in a company. **Ismet** is in a managerial role now, even though she does not have a university degree. She had to drop out of college to earn and look after ailing parents. She had a child a year ago and took ten months off work. For the moment, she is quite happy about maintaining the status quo, as she has a toddler and plans to have another baby. However, she plans to continue to work full-time and improve her professional qualifications as and when need be. **Hina** has two master's degrees and is currently in a managerial role. She is currently engaged to be married. Her fiancé is British white. She is concerned about continuing work and does not want to have children in the immediate future. In case they do have children, she has discussed childcare with him. And he has volunteered to be a stay-at-home

dad. **Farwa** feels that she cannot move any further in the hierarchy as she is already at the top level, reporting directly to the owner of the company. She is improving her qualifications and has enrolled in a master's program at University. **Shafiq** is a lawyer, married and a mother of four children. She became an equity partner in the firm. She continues working as a solicitor and is involved in community work targeted at empowering Asian women. **Uzma**, who is unmarried, works for a public-sector organization as a community cohesion officer, and has been with them now for seven years. She is in a middle-management position. **Madiha**, who began full-time work after her divorce, says that she has come to the conclusion that even if she tried, she could never become a manager. She associates a managerial job with stress and pressure. She seems boxed in the lower layers and does not have the will to push herself out. **Bilquis**, whose working career spans almost eighteen years (thirteen years full time and rest part time), has been with the department/organization for nine years, has had promotions, and was made RandD lead four years ago. **Salma**, who had an arranged marriage, then divorced and re-married, is head of HR in a division (of a bank) and has under her ambit five thousand employees and a team of 13 people in human resource. She also has a seven-month-old child, whom she leaves in day-care for almost twelve hours a day. She plans to have another child and also plans to continue working.

All these women wore western clothes to work, although they covered themselves and remained within the domains of 'modesty'. Two of the respondents wore the *hijab* (Parveen and Mahnaz). Some felt that ethnicity was a barrier to their progression and recounted incidents, with one participant saying that she would never make it to the top because "her face did not fit". Some of the participants were conscious of inhabiting two culturally different worlds. Most worked long hours,

thought the job was important to them and were fully committed to their jobs. Not being middle class seemed to be a setback for some of these women. The concept of gendered hierarchies was raised by a number of participants. Almost all the women found they had to socialize after work, mostly in a pub. Some were not willing to go to a pub. Some were willing to go to a pub because it was ‘part of the job’, and had learnt to manage the situation. While some of the participants felt that ethnicity was not a barrier to their progression, and that if they wanted to, they could make it to the top; all felt conscious of ‘being different’. It seems that the colour of the skin had a role to play regarding how they felt they were seen, and ‘the look’ of the participant contributed towards being stereotyped. Having the right contacts was important for getting the right job or as a means to promotion, and was mentioned in various ways. A number of participants were conscious of their role as a mother and what impact it had or could have on their careers.

	Pseudo	Age now	Category/Level	Sector/ Industry	Full time working career span	Age when married
1	Rubina	34	Manager/Lower	Community	9 years	34
2	Hina	34	Manager/Middle	Education	10 years	
3	Ismet	<u>34</u> ²⁵	Manager/Lower	Manufacturing	13 years	32
4	Mehr	31	Manager/Middle	Finance	10 years	
5	Anum	<u>31</u>	Manager/Middle	Community	10 years	31
6	Salma	<u>35</u>	Manager/ <i>Senior Management</i>	Finance	14 years	21
7	Suriya	35	Manager/ <i>Senior Management</i>	Retail	14 years	20

²⁵ Age is highlighted (bold and underlined) for women who are mothers.

8	Alina	37	Manager/Middle	Care	16 years	31
9	Parveen	<u>37</u>	Opt out	Law	13 years	24
10	Kainat	<u>38</u>	Manager/ <i>Senior Management</i>	Medical	15 years	30
11	Mahnaz	<u>38</u>	Professional/Senior	Medical	13 years	31
12	Mehreen	<u>39</u>	Professional/Senior	Medical	15 years	24
13	Shafiqa	<u>41</u>	Professional/Owner	Law	13 years	20
14	Uzma	41	Manager/Middle	Community	12 years	
15	Madiha	<u>41</u>	Manager/lower	Careers	13 years	17
16	Farwa	<u>43</u>	Manager	Education	15 years	21
17	Bilquis	<u>44</u>	Manager/Senior Management	Medical	13 years	25

Table 6: Participants in mid careers

8.6.3 A synopsis of late career voices

There are 10 participants who fall into the late career category. All the women in this group have working careers that range from 18 to 30 years. Eight of them are mothers. Most of them had interrupted their careers at some point after they took their first jobs after graduating/qualifying to take time off to care for their children, and have woven motherhood into their careers. Two participants in this age group interrupted their careers to recover from the death of family/friends. Therefore, this age group generally has nonlinear careers. All these women wore western clothes to work although they covered themselves and remained within the domains of ‘modesty’. None of the respondents wore the *hijab*. In fact, as adult women they dressed in a manner that would *not* set them apart from the norm, yet stuck to the rules of modesty set by Islam. They did not show bare legs and when wearing a dress,

generally chose a long dress and tights with boots. Although they did not carry any identifiable marker (*hijab*) as a signal of their religion, some did talk about the effects of 9/11 even though no question was asked on the topic during the interview. Some fell into their careers because of opportunities, or the lack of opportunities. **Bushra**, **Sitwat**, **Aliya** and **Gulbano** felt it was difficult to get a first job. **Aliya** says that she when she failed to get a job, she never put it down to race, as there were hundreds of applications, and only a few are selected. However, now that she has been in the recruitment business she is aware that non-white English-sounding names are often excluded. **Aliya** talks about knowing that discrimination in recruitment happens due to race, even though she may not have encountered it personally. **Bushra** and **Gulbano** felt the pressure of getting too much work too soon. They felt they were too young for the kind of work that was required at that time. **Aliya** and **Gulbano** faced discrimination from other women. **Aliya** left one job because of the hostility of a white female employee. When she encountered another situation with an Asian female employee, she dealt with it head on and confronted the woman. **Gulbano** seems to have to have encountered explicit bullying at the workplace. A number of women said things that hinted at masculinities at work. The workplace demanded that women exhibit masculine behaviour in a number of ways. All the women found they had to socialize after work, mostly in a pub. For **Shaista**, it was something she enjoyed even though she felt she did not 'have to go'. For **Aliza**, it was something she did because she 'had to', but she was aware of the problems that socializing in a pub after work created for women. However, they explicitly mentioned the importance socializing or networking as a means of moving up.

The pressure of work and having children prompted **Bushra** and **Aliya** to set up their own business. **Bushra** started her career as a lawyer. She struggled with her race,

which seemed an impediment to getting into a good law firm for training and then articles. Later she set up her own business. She managed childcare with help from her mother initially, and then a nanny and subsequently an au pair. She is extremely conscious of her role as a mother. Bushra has deliberately curtailed international travel and socializing/networking. Aliya decided to quit work for a while after she had children, and then resumed work as an independent consultant. **Sitwat** found her first job with great difficulty because of her ‘different name’. However, once hired she moved up the ladder fast and eventually set up her own business. **Gulbano** began work in the technology industry but moved up fast and moved between industries to eventually become global head of marketing and planning in a large organization. After her mother’s death, she took some time off and then set up her own business. Gulbano is a divorcee, and Sitwat has never been married. Neither of them have children. **Nasreen** set up her own business after spending many years at work in different organizations. When she realized she had been badly discriminated against regarding pay, she quit the organization in which she was working. She set up her own business and has been successful in that. She has two teenage daughters. **Sanam** and **Abida** have also set up their own businesses after many years of work as employees in the education sector. Abida has worked in one area of London for 30 years, primarily as a science teacher, head of a department and then head of school, while Sanam spent nearly 19 years in higher education. Sanam left the education sector and opened her own consulting business because she felt boxed in.

Since Sanam, Abida, Bushra, Nasreen, Sitwat, Gulbano and Aliya are already running independent businesses, making it to the top was not an issue. However, **Saleha**, Shaista and **Aliza** are employees of different organizations. Saleha is the only one who has never changed organizations during her career. She found a job in 1993 at

the university where she had studied, first as a postdoctoral researcher, then a lecturer, and after being at the university for over a decade she is now a full professor. She has two young children and feels that her career is going to be negatively affected by motherhood. In fact, she does not feel she is going to progress in her career. Instead, she is mentally prepared for becoming redundant. **Aliza** began working after graduation from university and found her first jobs with the help of personal contacts. She moved towns to accommodate job postings, but took five years off full-time work, during which she married, completed her Masters and had a child. She then joined the organization she works in now, but in a different branch, and made her way up gradually to a top management position. Aliza voiced that networking and making sure that one has connections is a major challenge. Without having the right people to nudge one up the ladder and champion one, it is almost impossible to be visible at the top. Aliza feels that her Asian identity is something that pulls her back and is a glass ceiling that she will not be able to break. **Shaista's** path to employment seems accidental. She took up a voluntary job and eventually moved into a full-time job because of opportunities being available there. On the other hand, she feels boxed in as her Asianness makes it difficult for to step out of her role. Shaista felt visible as an Asian social worker while at the same time trying to establish her credibility in the workplace because she was viewed as an outsider. The concept of gendered hierarchies was raised by Aliza and Shaista. It is possible that because they work for large organizations that have formal structures in place, they found it difficult to penetrate. The participants felt there were implicit ways of discriminating which were practiced in various ways.

	Pseudo	Age now	Category/Level	Sector/Industry	Full time workin	Age when married

					g career span	
1	Sitwat	44	Manager/Owner	Consultant	19 years	
2	Aliya	<u>45</u> ²⁶	Manager/Owner	Consultant	18 years	33
3	Saleha	<u>45</u>	Professional/ <i>Senior Position</i>	Education	20 years	40
4	Nasreen	<u>46</u>	Manager/Owner	Consultant	24 years	19
5	Gulbano	46	Manager/Owner	Consultant	24 years	24
6	Bushra	<u>47</u>	Manager/Owner	Consultant	23 years	27
7	Shaista	<u>51</u>	Manager/ <i>Middle Management</i>	Care	24 years	18
8	Aliza	<u>51</u>	Manager/ <i>Senior Management</i>	Medical	25 years	20
9	Sanam	<u>53</u>	Manager/Owner	Consultant	27 years	26
10	Abida	<u>55</u>	Manager/Owner	Consultant	30 years	23

Table 7: Participants in late careers

8.7 Final Thoughts

After completing Phase 4 of the immersion process, I faced a contradiction in the main theme that emerged from Stage four. My data (participants) were not matching claims in the literature. The discourse of the ‘good mother’ (Chapter 2, section 2.4.4) establishes that in workplace settings, motherhood carries a devalued status (Correll et al., 2007), and parenthood is problematic rather than enriching (Gatrell et al.,

²⁶ Age is highlighted (bold and underlined) for women who are mothers.

2013). Kanji (2011) states that the UK has had one of the lowest rates of mothers in full-time work in Europe. Most of the literature talks about women quitting jobs because of work - family pressures, or 'opting out' (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005; Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006) and choosing self-employment (Mallon and Cohen, 2001; Patterson and Mavin, 2009). Van Vianen and Fischer (2002:318) claim that "female managers are more likely to be unmarried and childless than their male colleagues". Well, here was an inconsistency. The majority of women in careers (23/37) are mothers.

Why were these women so committed to a career that they had somehow managed a career and motherhood? Why was it not one or the other? Why was it so necessary to be a mother? This made me think more deeply, and steered me towards Immersion 5 in the next chapter, while still focusing on answering the broad research question: **How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers in professional and managerial contexts?**

Chapter 9: Truth regimes and Immersion 5

9.1 Chapter Synopsis

The purpose of this chapter is to explain how I came to use Foucault (1988) and how a subject is created. **My view is *because of my data and grounded in my data***. The narratives of the participants demonstrate that my participants draw on different Discourses. They turn the individuals into subjects, because the individuals accept certain ‘truths’, thereby creating the values and beliefs (personal identity) of the individuals. I then use Foucault’s works (power axis) to explain the process. Since I am focusing on the *process*, I will draw on Foucault, to explain **how** an individual **regulates** the self and shapes *the self* and eventually its experiences. I would also like to alert the reader to the longer length of the chapter.

9.2 Immersion 5: Discourses

As said in the previous chapter, the immersion process raised certain questions for me. Why were these women so committed to a career that they had somehow managed a career **and** motherhood? Why was it not one or the other? Why was it so necessary to be a mother? In order to find the answer, I read my data again, randomly choosing transcripts to read the whole story, in the participants’ voices (audio recordings). As I listened to the first four transcripts, I was reminded of a thought that had occurred to me when I had originally begun the immersion process. As I read through the transcripts and listened to the voices of the women (while checking transcribing errors) and then again when writing their case studies, I had wondered why these women said the things they did, and why they did some of the things they did.

When I began the coding process, using the computer software NVivo, I was again struck by how similar they sounded, in terms of thinking and meaning, to each other and also how similar they sounded to ME. A lot of what they said resonated with me. I could identify with them. I could understand what they said. I began to ponder exactly what we had in common and what it was that resonated with me. As I read the codes and across the cases, I began to notice that we were similar as women. I realized we had a lot in common because we had been *brought up* in a similar way. That was strange for me. How was that possible, when I had never lived outside Pakistan and these women had lived all their lives in a different country and NOT in Pakistan, let alone the fact that there were other differences between us: age, family life stage, age of children, years of marriage, social class, and education in UK school systems and University. Despite these differences, we were very similar.

As I read their transcripts, I realized that we had both similar *information* about what was a good daughter, a good girl, a good wife, a good daughter-in-law, a good woman and a good mother. This *information* gave us a similar belief and value system. **This information was our base of knowledge about our behavioural expectations.** Was it ideology? I had used the word ideology in my initial analysis attempts, specifically with reference to patriarchy. I had realized that ideology was too narrow a word because it was not *one* source of information but a *pool of information*, and it was *not class-based*. This *base of information* was quite similar *across class*, and was what we constantly drew on to make sense of our world. I began to look for a word that seemed to fit my requirements for *a pool of information*. However, it was contextual because what made sense or *common sense* to my participants and me, but did not make common sense to others.

I decided to look at the narration as an indication or clue about the rules, experience and work practices (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000). Consequently, I grouped the original NVivo codes under headings or meta-codes.

“*Metacodes* represent a number of codes pulled together into a ‘higher-level’(more abstract) conceptual category or construct.....will help you see the larger picture in your data, the key constructs that could frame your results.” (Bazeley, 2013:233)

What stood out for me across *all cases* were **three meta-code themes**. All the women talked about these three areas, although in varying degrees. Nevertheless, I could see that these narratives played a major part of their lives: their experiences and decisions. I labelled them Discourses, borrowing on Alvesson and Karreman (2000).

“A Discourse or rather indications of it, shows up at a large number of sites in more or less different ways and is, methodologically, treated as being of a more or less standardized nature. The idea is that it is possible to cut through the variation at the local levels through summaries and syntheses **that identify overarching themes operating in specific situations.**” (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000:1134, emphasis added)

The danger they warn of is that the local context may be subsumed under the rubric of the broader Discourse. Bearing that weakness in mind, I initially gave three labels to the meta-codes. I decided to explore the word *Discourse*.

Discourses of gendered nurturing	Discourses of Otherness	Discourses of organizations
Fears of parents	Comments on Sept 11 attack and its impact on their lives	Childcare arrangements
Sleepovers	Parents’ attitude towards religion	Femininity
Primary school type	Observational learning in the home	Socializing at work
Secondary school type	Mothers’ teaching	Processes of selection and recruitment
Secondary school experiences	As Muslims, we are under the microscope	Promotion and progression
Pressures of growing up	Primary school experiences	Motherhood as a barrier
Place of birth UK	University	Long work hours
Lack of freedom	Secondary school experiences	Age discrimination
University as a means of	Not feeling Asian or	Masculinities

freedom	Pakistani	
Role expectations of being a daughter	Being white (behavior)	Boxed in or glass walls
Marriage	No man's land	Importance of contacts in getting a job
I don't want to be conditioned anymore	<i>hijab</i>	Visible due to ethnicity or race
Importance of being married	Coconut	Networking
Parents' attitude towards the marriage	Own attitude about religion	Improving qualifications
Husband's role	Impact of legal regulations	Work - life balance
In-laws relationships	Racism practiced by non-Pakistanis	Sense of achievement
Expectations of being a wife	Racism practiced by Pakistanis	Problems working with women
Expectations of being a mother	Mother's role	At any time have you felt discriminated against?
Family focus on education	Father's role	Will you make it to the top?
Markers of social class	Marrying a Muslim	Where is your career going in 10 years?
		What does part time mean to the participants
		Dressing at work
		Moving jobs
		Why is a job important to you?
		Reasons for quitting a job

Table 8: Meta-Codes and sub codes

I acknowledge that it is probable that the reading undertaken for the literature review may have affected the decisions regarding labelling of Discourses. While the label 'Discourses on gendered nurturing' may be the result of intuition, 'Discourses on Otherness', and 'Discourses on organizations' is the result of themes in my head, resulting from the literature reviews on ethnicity (Chapter 3) and gender (Chapter 2).

9.2.1 What is Discourse?

In order to understand 'Discourses', I had to read the work of Foucault. The Foucauldian discourse

“displaces more general notions of culture as a realm of ideas, concepts and symbols distinct from material practices and, in their place, installs the notion of discourse as material practice.” (Bennett, 2008:97)

Ideology, hegemony, and discourse are all approaches to understanding social power.

However, for Foucault, the difference is in

“seeing historically how effects of truth are produced within discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false.” (Ibid.)

In other words, Foucault sees not *one truth*, but the *effects* of truth or what people consider as true. Secondly, there is a reason (historically) why these people *see it as true*. Foucault referred to *fields of knowledge* as ‘scientific discourses’ in his work.

Individuals are exposed to multiple discourses and accept some and reject others.

Thus, discourses

“constitute the eventual framework of everyday conduct. These texts thus served as functional devices that would enable individuals to question their own conduct, to watch over and give shape to it and to shape themselves as ethical subjects.” (Foucault, 2000:365)

Alvesson and Karreman (2000) argue that the word discourse has no one agreed meaning in social science and organization studies. They also explain that there are two approaches to studying discourse in organizations;

“the study of the social text (talk and written text in its social action contexts) and *the study of social reality as discursively constructed and maintained* (the shaping of social reality through language).” (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000:1126, emphasis added)

It is the latter approach that I will be taking, viewing

“discourses as general and prevalent *systems for the formation and articulation of ideas* in a particular period of time.” (Ibid.: emphasis added)

They call this capital D, “where other levels of social reality are more or less shaped or even subordinated by the power-knowledge relations established in discourse”.

They suggest that if a long-range determination position is adapted, then it

“assumes that discourse, subjectivity, and practice are densely interwoven, and that discourse is primary to subjectivity/practice through its constituting or framing powers. This means that dominant and widespread discourse shapes both how to talk about a subject matter and the meanings we develop about it. The broad, long-range

interest in discourse means the empirical material is treated in a standardized way. It is not the details of the account and its context as much as **a perceived general tendency that is deemed significant to use**, together with other material broadly pointing in a similar direction.” (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000:1126, emphasis added).

This is similar to Foucault’s concept of discourse, where discourse and subjectification are closely linked (Bamberg et al., 2011). Discourse frames the way of thinking. Indeed, empirical research has demonstrated that discourses can uncover underlying social boundaries of gender, ethnicity and religion (Clycq, 2012). For Foucault, Discourse was a body of knowledge. Humans draw on different bodies of knowledge to create themselves. Therefore, these bodies of knowledge have power over people because people create themselves to mirror the Discourse in an effort to become normal, or be part of the truth (as they believe it.).

9.2.2 Foucault, Feminism, and Careers

As mentioned in the literature review, Foucault was a major figure in identity research. I find it anomalous that while feminists espouse post-structuralism (Weedon, 1996; Metcalfe, 2008; Calas and Smircich, 2006), Michel Foucault is largely absent from the ‘critical feminist’ **empirical** research. Whilst there have been MOS researchers and feminists (for example Butler, Sawicki, McNay) who have drawn on Foucault in the last two decades, Foucault in my view, **has been underutilized to explain women in management**, exceptions being Pringle, (2008) and Thomas and Davies (2005). This may be because Foucault has been contentious for some feminists. While some have argued for him (Phelan, 1990) some have argued against him (Hartsock, 1990). Hartsock’s (1990:158) main critique of Foucault is that “we need a usable theory of power”, and in her view Foucault failed to

“provide a theory of power for women.....theories which begin from the experience and point of view of the dominated.....as guides for a potential transformation of power relations-that is for empowerment of women.”

Harstock has focused on two periods of Foucault's works, which deal with truth and power, and completely overlooked his later work on ethics. My view is that he has been misinterpreted and has the potential to provide an alternative to the dominant view in feminist discourse, as argued by Weedon (1996). In fact, Foucault's later work, using technologies of self, ethics and care of the self has great potential (Rose et al., 2006; Leclercq-Vandelannoitte, 2011). As I read through Foucault's work, I gradually began to see how subjects were created and also how subjects exercised choice, not always becoming objects (by using technologies of self). My reading of the Foucauldian lens of technologies of the self is that it takes both agency and structure into account simultaneously. While Foucault may not have had much to say about a political movement of his time, second-wave feminism (Heyes, 2013), feminists have entered a different period in current debates, namely third wave feminism (Snyder-Hall, 2010).

Foucault is considered one of the post-structuralism writers (Weedon, 1996). I therefore tried to understand post-structuralism as well. Jones and Stablein (2006) discuss critical theory and post-structuralist approaches as a means to question 'power' in diversity. These approaches focus on “the specific historical and cultural aspects of power relations in a given setting” (Jones and Stablein, 2006:155). They also argue that **feminist post-structuralism considers gender as constituted through discursive practices and considers categorization processes and power plays in that creation.** Proudford and Nkomo (2006) and Ford (2006:79) also draw attention to the role of discourses in identity construction, arguing “identities are constructed within not outside discourse.” Indeed, **Weedon (1996) suggests that**

Foucault's work can best explain *feminist post-structuralism*. Weedon (1996:vii) draws on Foucault to argue for using post-structuralist theory for feminist practice. She argues for a theory that incorporates social institutions, power and individual consciousness.

“A theory is useful if it is able to address the questions of how social power is exercised and how social relations of gender, class and race might be transformed. This implies a concern with history, absent from many post-structuralist perspectives but central to the work of Michel Foucault.” (Weedon, 1996:20)

Post-structuralism focuses on challenging what is known or what is considered a grand narrative or common sense. While all of Foucault's work is focused on western civilization and French (white) *modern society*, it is to his credit that he realized that *experience* is context-dependent. He defines experience as

“the correlation between fields of knowledge, types of normativity²⁷, and forms of subjectivity²⁸ in a particular culture.” (Foucault, 2000:361)

He uses the words ‘in a particular culture’. This is an important point and will be used later in my discussion, as the context or ‘particular culture’ for my participants is unique and complex.

Some researchers in the career field have used Giddens and structuration theory to help disentangle careers (Duberley et al., 2006; Tomlinson et al., 2013). Some have argued that Foucault and Giddens are quite similar (Donnell, 2003). Some argue that Foucault and Marx share a common focus (Clegg, 1998), i.e. control and resistance in the capitalist workplace. However, Foucault seems to offer more. My view is that Foucault provides a deeper view of the production and re-production processes that (re-)create identity. While identity is an important construct in protean careers (Hall,

²⁷ relating to standards/tending to create or prescribe standards

²⁸ individual responses

2004), and there has been considerable research on career identity (LaPointe, 2010; Duberley and Carrigan, 2013) managerial identity (Srinivas, 2013) and professional identity (Atewologun and Singh, 2010), there is a dearth of career research that focuses on the role identity plays in the construction of a career. This is important given that “the power of careers as a concept is that it links the individual to the organization and, significantly to the wider, changing social world” (Duberley et al., 2006:283).

9.2.3 Foucauldian analytical framework

Foucault explains that there are three axes: the truth axis, the power axis and the ethical axis. He used two ways of “investigating discourses: archaeology and genealogy” (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000:1128). Most researchers (see for example Downing, 2008; Gauntlett, 2008) divide Foucault’s work into earlier studies (*Madness and Civilization* and *The Birth of a Clinic*, which focus on discourses of institutions and their experts and controls) and later works (*Discipline and Punish* and *History of Sexuality*, which talked about how individuals monitor their behaviours themselves).

“Foucault’s emphasis changed, then, from a world constructed from *without*-external discourses imposed on people- to a world constructed from *within*-the individual’s own dynamic adaptation to their surroundings. Note that the wider social environment remains significant; but Foucault had, perhaps, become more interested in people’s subjective responses to it, both as **internalised constraint, and more creative resistance.**” (Gauntlett, 2008:126, emphasis added)

His earlier works focused on *Archaeology* and his later works on *Genealogy*.

Downing (2008:10, emphasis added) explains archaeology as a

“history of the conditions necessary for given things, phenomena or people to occur.....it admits of the possibility of **unconscious functioning**, even if the **unconscious concerned is a collective cultural one rather than the individual’s**. By unconscious, Foucault means **hidden, inaccessible rules, codes and beliefs that have effects in the world; but effects which appear as facts of nature.**”

Foucault himself describes genealogy as “an analysis that can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework” (Foucault, 1991b:59).

Seidman (2013:177), elaborates Foucault’s concept of genealogy as follows.

“It tends to show that the dominant discourses defining the social universe as natural conceal social interests and power relations. Although genealogy assumes that there is a close tie between institutions and discourses, its aim is primarily to disturb the “normalizing” role of dominant discourses. **It reveals how dominant knowledge shape human life by naturalizing and normalizing the construction of social identities and norms.** Discourses that carry public authority shape identities and regulate bodies, desires, selves, and populations. Additionally, genealogy aims to show that these knowledges are entangled in a history of social conflict. Central to this history is the exclusion or marginalization of discourses that give voice to oppressed groups. Foucault intended geology to recover those submerged and denigrated knowledges and the lives of their creators, for the purpose of contributing to their political reactivation.” (Seidman, 2013:177, emphasis added)

Foucault thinks of power as dispersed in society via the vehicle of institutions and individuals (Foucault, 1991b). While power makes a subject (Foucault, 1991b), it also creates resistance.

“If **power** were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but to say no, do you really think one would be brought to obey it? What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn’t only weigh on us a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge and produces discourse. It **needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body**, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.” (Foucault, 1991b, emphasis added)

He has two types of power in his theories: Disciplinary power and Bio-power. He argues that society is no longer controlled by juridical power. That used to be the case in the time of sovereigns, when they exerted power by ‘taking away’ life or money (taxes) in order to ensure their survival. Bio-power or governmentality is the survival of a population. This is what the dominant discourses lead us to believe, in the name of safeguarding society (Foucault, 1990). Consequently, governments, for example, micro-manage our lives through “power (that) gave itself the function of administering life” (Foucault, 1990:138), or Bio-power. Standardization of weight for a particular height, is an example of Bio-power. This includes being within the norm (as in a bell curve), with ‘abnormal people’ outside the norm (outside the bell curve:

outliers), as deviants. Foucault (1991b) explains that governments function *because* of already existing power networks which are embedded in the body, sexuality, the family, kinship, knowledge, technology, etc. through a conditioning-conditioned relationship. Disciplinary power works by ‘making normal’ a particular way of behaving/living (Foucault, 1990). Linked to the concept of Disciplinary power are also **regimes of truth**.

“Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. *Each society has its regime of truth, its “general politics” of truth: that is, the types of discourses which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.*” (Foucault, 1991b:73, emphasis added)

The individual accepts this ‘normalization’ and then makes herself an object by ‘disciplining’ herself. When people concur with a Discourse and do not want to destabilize it, they are under the control of that Discourse. Where technologies of power turn an individual into an object (Ramos, 1994) or a docile body, technologies of the self turn the individual into a subject or a transformed body. For Foucault, individuals are both subjects and objects (Heller, 1996). While power is a major focus of Foucault’s work, power does not have to be negative but can also be productive (Markula, 2003). The focus moves to individuals responsible for their own behaviour while using technologies of self, ethics and care of the self (Leclercq-Vandelannoitte, 2011). Hanna (2013:658) argues that Foucault’s latter perspective (Foucault, 1988c) encapsulated a view that in order to understand a ‘subject’, a more balanced approach was needed,

“that not only explores how subjects are constructed and positioned by means of ‘technologies’ of power and knowledge, but also accounts for the ‘technologies of the self’ through which individuals constitute themselves.”

I will now take the reader step by step through Foucault’s philosophy.

Creation of truth: the Truth Axis

Hegemonic Discourses and counter-hegemonic Discourses create the knowledge that produces practice that is bounded by that knowledge. In the minds of individuals, certain truths are created. These are the norms, values, beliefs, roles and expectations that are a part of their identity and are embedded in them as moral codes.

Technologies of Power: the Power Axis

Power exists all around us. The Power axis is a force field created by hegemonic and counter-hegemonic Discourses that moves individuals between positions of becoming an object and an ethical subject. Power axes create choices for individuals to move back and forth, depending on the hegemonic discourses and counter-hegemonic Discourses. Those individuals who completely abide by the hegemonic Discourses and become subjects of disciplinary power reproduce life through becoming subjects to practices that secure particular identities. The individual becomes a subject by becoming an object to the Discourse and conforming to roles.

Technologies of Self: the Ethical Axis

However, there are some who refuse particular identities through resistance (Prins, 2006). They do not succumb to technologies of power that turn them into an object; rather they turn themselves into Ethical subjects using technologies of the self. Ethical subjects are those that abide by their moral codes, not completely cutting themselves off from 'truth created' by Discourse. They transform their lives and can resist certain Discourses, simultaneously giving into certain other Discourses. While technologies of power are disciplinary and turn individuals into *docile subjects*, technologies of self give room for manoeuvring and produce *ethical subjects*.

In this thesis, I will draw on all three axes: the truth axis, the power axis and the ethical axis. The truth axis will be used to attempt to demonstrate first how the social universe of my participants is defined by dominant Discourses: hegemonic and counter-hegemonic. The power axis will demonstrate how these individuals regulate their identities through disciplinary power. I will then demonstrate how identities are produced, albeit as 'intersectional identities' (next chapter), as they have been subjected to certain dominant Discourses (hegemonic and counter-hegemonic) that made them subjects. However, where there is power there is resistance. Therefore, the ethical axis will demonstrate how the respondents have found ways to empower themselves by using careers as a transformative practice, yet are bound by constraints: glass chains, thereby becoming ethical subjects.

9.3 Creation of Truth regimes: the *Truth axis*

What constitutes truth for these women? What is the knowledge they have about the social reality of their social universe? I will now discuss the 'dominant knowledge' or truth regimes and how these regimes were constituted for BPw women. I will display Discourses emerging from the managers' biographical narratives and how Discourse becomes normalized in the individual.

Through their talk/narratives, I first isolated discursive practices. Language or talk plays a major role in the creation of subjectivity.

“As we acquire language, we learn to give voice-meaning-to our experience and to understanding according to particular ways of thinking, particular discourses, which pre-date our entry into language. These ways of thinking constitute our consciousness, and the position with which we identify structure our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity. Having grown up within a particular system of meanings and values, which may well be contradictory, we may find ourselves resisting alternatives. Or as we move out of the familiar circles, through education or politics, for example, we may be exposed to alternative ways of constituting the meaning of our experience which seems to address our interests' more directly.” (Weedon, 1996:35)

Discursive practices are simply that knowledge put into action, or as Clegg (2000:30) states, “knowledge reproduced through practices made possible by the framing assumptions of that knowledge.” Discourses produced discursive practices that enforce the norms of a disciplinary society.

“Order is maintained through an apparatus of disciplinary techniques and discourses.....in the production of subjects or social selves who are also objects of social control.” (Seidman, 2013:186)

The narratives were a means to search out what was common amongst almost all the participants. By *Narratives*, I mean what they said - ‘the talk’ -. and by Discourse I mean ‘bodies of knowledge’ that the participants draw on. The narratives presented three major overarching themes. I have split them under three headings: Discourses of ‘gendered nurturing’, Discourses on organizations and inequality regimes and Discourses of ‘being the other’, to demonstrate “different modes by which in our culture, human beings are made subjects.” (Foucault, 1983:208) and eventually “how an individual acts upon himself in the technology of self” (Foucault, 1988a:19).

9.3.1 Narratives, Discourses and voices of ‘gendered nurturing’.

The first meta-code theme that emerges is that the participants were brought up as ‘Pakistani Muslim *women*’. Excerpts from participants in narratives, Discourses and voices of ‘gendered nurturing’ are part of Appendix 5. I consider them hegemonic ‘diasporic’ Discourses. Gender is a system of social practice (2.2). This means that the parents used discursive practices and established norms that were part of the parents’ gendered upbringing in their home country. Dwyer (1999a; 1999b; 2000) found that their respondents’ everyday lives involved negotiation of diasporic identities that were configured by gender and that gender ideals and gender roles were reinforced. In a disciplinary society, certain means are employed. The means that were employed to ensure ‘gendered nurturing’ were:

Spatial separation and being under surveillance.

A large majority of the participants attended single-sex or girls' only schools. **This was across social classes.** There were some participants who attended private schools as opposed to public (state-owned) schools. However, their parents chose to send them to an all-girls school. As a result of attending all-girls' schools, the participants had limited exposure to men when growing up. Saleha gave a very detailed description of what it meant to be a "normal" or white teenager who was out of step with her routines. Unlike their white counterparts, who had an active social life, these girls spent very structured days, with activities that included school and then mosque school for the day. They had rigid routines when in school, the only focus being studies. Some were not even allowed to go to the cinema. Interaction or meeting boys and men was rigorously restricted. However, some managed to go to parties and be 'normal', as their brothers were older, had common friends and hung out together with them.

Most of the participants attended university away from home as it was a means to grow up, to be on one's own and experience British life. Similar to previous research (Dale et al., 2002b), the first girl in the family encountered the most resistance when wanting to go to university. Once they were allowed, they were used as role models and a symbol of success by the parents. These role models were then used by girls aspiring to go to university to negotiate their education with parents. Those who were allowed to go to university away from home were very conscious of their responsibilities and never allowed themselves to be free. Like Dale (2002a; 2002b), my participants also found that girls who wished to continue their education faced a more complex situation than boys. For girls, it was important to avoid jeopardizing

the family honour. In my research, most of the women felt they could never forget they were Pakistani, because they were watched by either the men in the community or the women, even though they were living in Britain.

Enforcing the essence of being a woman: Motherhood

Being married was a very important part of being a woman. They were all brought up to understand the role of being a wife, and they could **not think** of not being married and not having children. Both were part of the package of being a woman. The role of being a wife is stressed. It seems marriage and motherhood go together. One cannot be a mother without marriage. This stems from socio-religious contextualization. In Islam, marriage is a means for procreation. There is no place for the unwed mother. In Pakistani society, an unwed woman cannot declare that she is a mother. Therefore, young girls are conditioned to think of marriage as a necessary part of life, and a means to motherhood. Being a mother was a very important part of being a woman. The importance of this role is visible in their voices and in their choices. Their assumptions include the idea that women are made for re-production. This was found in previous research as well (Dale et al., 2002b; Dale, 2002a).

A number of the participants did not have a choice as to *whom they could marry*. They mostly had arranged marriages and were married off to cousins. Some of them had forced marriages. One of the manifestations of patriarchy is male control over women's bodies, with women being used via marriage as a means to control inheritance and ensure a better life for other members of the family. An attitude that prevailed among the participants' families was that women in a family are the property of the husband or the husband-to-be. Once a woman is married, the responsibility for feeding/clothing her rests with the husband. He would also be the

one she reports to, and once she is married the parents no longer feel responsible for her. In other words, a girl is a burden and is meant to be passed on to her husband.

9.3.2 Narratives, Discourses and voices of 'being the other'

The second meta code-theme that emerges is that the participants felt they were 'the other', or the outsider, which is also found in previous research on British Muslim women (Dwyer, 2000). I label this Discourse and counterhegemonic 'host society' Discourse as Discourses of 'being the other'. Shah and Iqbal (2011) claim that multiple (emotional, social, cultural, historical, political, economic and other) affiliations among the Pakistani diaspora influence the patterns of behaviour and the terms of civic engagement in the adopted country (Britain). This leads to a struggle over meanings and competing positions over values and practices that are fluid and dynamic.

Among my participants, there was a distinct feeling of not belonging among a number of them, albeit NOT ALL. Excerpts from participants as narratives, Discourses and voices of 'being the other' are part of Appendix 5. There were a number of stages in their life where this feeling or the struggle was reinforced, and they are voiced through the participants' excerpts. It seems the feeling of being an outsider mostly originated from the participants being bought up as 'Pakistani Muslim *women*'. They felt 'the other' because they **looked different** (skin and dress) and **behaved differently** - not like the norm. This occurred during different phases of their lives; as children, teenagers and adults. They not only felt different from the white race but also from their own race.

Feeling different from the white race:

There were five participants whose heritage was mixed. One participant was biologically from North Africa and was adopted. The other four participants did not look Pakistani, as none of them had ‘brown skin’; one participant has an Arab mother, one an English mother, one a Welsh mother and one an Irish mother. However, all four voiced *feeling different* from a very young age. The ones who did not have mixed heritage and whose parents were both Pakistani immigrants also had feelings of being the outsider, because they were different from the majority white children. This was for three reasons: skin colour, the way of dressing and social norms. For this reason being a minority among the majority made them feel different as a *Pakistani Muslim*: their behaviour and the way they dressed and ate was different. Eating *halal* food was important across almost all participants. However, dressing was different among the social classes within the Pakistani diaspora.

Feeling different from one’s own race:

Some of the participants could not fit into the Pakistani culture. One participant was labelled a coconut - *brown on the outside and white on the inside* - by the Pakistani diaspora (see Appendix 5). They did not comply with the Pakistani norms of ‘being a woman’ either. There were two social classes among them. Those whose parents were factory workers in the UK had come from rural backgrounds, and had never completed schooling in Pakistan. Those whose parents came from professional backgrounds had received university education in Pakistan. The social class difference was apparent in the way they let their daughters dress, i.e. in skirts or pants for educated parents versus *shalwar kameez* (pajamas) under school uniforms for non-educated parents. Social class differences within the BP community and its reflection on attitudes about women have been found in previous studies (Dwyer,

1999b; Dwyer, 2000; Ramji, 2007; Shah and Iqbal, 2011). Ramji (2007) reveals how religion is mobilized as a power resource in the construction of young BP's gender identity and discusses how the mobilization of religion is often ambivalent, contradictory and intersected with other social differences, particularly class. Shah et al. (2010) also trace the interplay of ethnicity with gender and religion that produces differences between, and within, working-class British Pakistani families. Consequently, there were a number of participants who complained of racism from the Pakistani diaspora and feeling they did not quite fit in with the Pakistani community. This is important as it means **that they were subjected to counter-hegemonic Discourses (See Figure 6:174)**. They felt different from the Pakistani community because they had absorbed some Britishness.

9.4 Technologies of Power: the *Power Axis*

Discourse operates as a power. It is, in fact, disciplinary mechanisms as rules that are part of the Discourse. **It creates boundaries within which an individual learns to operate if it wishes to be self-labelled.** It is a system of knowledge that an individual draws on in order to become that self. The individual monitors her actions and behaviours through the 'internal gaze': a kind of self-monitoring. No outside individual is controlling or monitoring the individual. Rather it is the individual herself who is monitoring herself and conforming to the requirements of the Discourse so that she feels that **she has a right to that particular identity.** **Disciplinary power**, a term used by Foucault, works by 'making normal' a particular way of behaving/living. **Technologies of power** turn an individual into an object (Ramos, 1994) or a **docile body**.

“Our selves are constructed through the multiple discourses or narratives within which they are momentarily positioned. Individuals seem to want to make sense of

their biographies, of their significance in the world and of what they are doing in the workplace.” (Ford, 2006:80, emphasis added)

Are the Discourses exercising disciplinary power? If so, then the individual becomes an object by yielding to the dominant discourses/bodies of knowledge as she performs/behaves: the disciplinary norm. Individuals exercise “disciplined obedience” (Clegg, 1998:35). In other words, individuals *do* things because they have been conditioned to think *the act* is a **vital** part of ‘who they are’. As Clegg (1998:29) states,

“Within these, then, some representations achieve a power far greater than others, a power that is neither an effect of human subject and its volition nor of a structure that works behind the backs of such subjects.”

Foucault explains disciplinary power as it,

“applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches himself to his identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power, which makes individuals subjects.” (Foucault, 1983:212)

The deep embeddedness depends on the socialization of the individual and the conditioning of the individual to a Discourse. This *conditioning* is fed by Discourses they have been subjected to over their lives. When people concur with a Discourse and do not want to destabilize it, they are under the control of that Discourse. The individual accepts this ‘normalization’ and then subjects herself to that Discourse and thus becomes an object of that power by ‘disciplining’ herself. In other words, she will be involved in *self-surveillance*. The focus is on the word *self*, as no ‘one other’ is exerting this power. Foucault moves away from the traditional approach of ‘others’ exerting power on humans and brings into focus the fact that *we are exerting power on ourselves*. Its features are “surveillance, supervision, uniformity and normalization” (Seidman, 2013: 313). The individual accepts this ‘normalization’ and then makes herself an object by ‘disciplining’ herself. In other words, she will be involved in *self-surveillance*, or as Foucault called it, the internal gaze, (Foucault,

1990), thus turning herself into an object of that powerful Discourse. The idea of self-surveillance, or self-monitoring, self-control or the internal gaze originated from a borrowed word: “panopticon”. It explains the feeling of being under the gaze or constantly being watched. We inherit norms and we then regulate our behaviour according to the norms. For Foucault, the internal gaze is a tool of power. It works by inducing

“in the inmate and *state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary.*” (Foucault, 1990:201, emphasis added)

What he means is that the effect of the power, of being watched, is so strong that even though no-one is actually watching, a person acts and behaves assuming that she is being watched and behaves just like she would if she were actually watched. As a result,

“a real subjection is born from a fictitious relation. So it is not necessary to use force to constrain the convict to good behaviourHe who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection.” (Foucault, 1990:202-3)

9.4.1 The Subjection process:

Discourse becoming normalized in the individual through norms, rules, values, role expectations and beliefs

The subject/participant speaks or articulates her subject position through her talk/narrative. How she sees the world depends on her location. For example, Ryan (2012:116) contends that young Muslims in London construct their diasporic identity “from the perspective and positionality of living in London”. This results in a unique position of being visible and invisible, particularly for British Muslim women, resulting in their marginalization (Mirza, 2012).

The subjects/participants also reveal ‘the range of subject positions’ and the different choices they have made in life. However, these choices are situated in truth regimes that are historically specific Discourses, which inhere in social institutions and practices. Prins (2006:280) clarifies that the constructionist perspective views the process of subjectification as both

“being subjected to...and.....It also implies that the individual is ‘becoming a subject’, i.e. made into a source of his or her own thinking and acting.”

Indeed, Weedon (2004) suggests a conceptualizing of identity that accounts for unconscious, non-rational and emotional areas as well. She argues that a variety of social practices recruit subjects to form identity positions and to internalize them through repeated acts. We thus learn through conditioning, resulting in becoming a “part of lived subjectivity” (Weedon, 2004:7).

As stated before, Discourse is, in fact, a disciplinary mechanism. The rules are part of the Discourse. Because it is important for the individual to comply with the rules that are dictated by the Discourses because of significant others, the individual makes sure that she, the individual, conforms to the rules. **The British Pakistani woman expects to play a number of roles that conform to the rules or the Discourse.** This ‘expectation’ of roles is dependent on her socialization. Butler (2000: 110 and 111) argues that

“Gender norms operate by requiring the embodiment of certain ideals of femininity and masculinity, ones that are almost always related to the idealization of the heterosexual bond.”.....

“Femininity is thus not the product of a choice, but the forcible citation of a norm, one whose complex historicity is indissociable from relations of discipline, regulation, punishment. Indeed, there is no ‘one’ who takes on a gender norm. On the contrary, this citation of the gender norm is necessary in order to qualify as a ‘one’, to become viable as a ‘one’, where subject-formation is dependent on the prior operation of legitimating gender norms.” (emphasis added)

The British Pakistani woman is taught what is expected of her as a child. This expectation is dependent on the concept of truth. She learns ‘the truth’ from her family, school, friends and the larger environment. Each of these is in turn a product of the Discourses. What feeds into these identities is the raw material (Discourses) that shape these identities. It is the **constant nature of Discourses** which - in other words - are always ‘out there’ and the **changing nature of Discourse** that (re-)shape the identities. In the story below, I demonstrate how gendered subjects are created, or how being *a woman* “is put into discourse”²⁹.

Illustration: Kudrat’s story

As an illustration, I now present the narrative of just one participant and a part of her story. Kudrat is an academic and a mother of two toddlers. I chose her transcript/story because it stood out for me in terms of *how she was constantly disciplining herself*. Kudrat’s interview took place in her office. She was wearing trousers, with a top that covered her hips as well as the rest of her body. She had dark eyes, a brown skin tone and was wearing a *hijab*. **“I like that label and also I like looking at me and thinking wow she is Muslim and she is doing what she is.”** Kudrat was born in the UK in 1980, in the Midlands. Her father migrated from Azad Kashmir³⁰ in Pakistan in the late 1970s to North England at the age of fifteen. He was uneducated and from a village. He worked as a manual labourer and a taxi driver. He went back at the age of 20 to marry a sister of a Pakistani man he met in the UK. Her parents were not related. Her mother was a full-time housewife and had six children (born within nine years of each other) to look after. She also did some sewing at home to earn extra

²⁹ Foucault (1978:11) uses “the way in which **sex** is ‘put into discourse’.”

³⁰ Independent part of Kashmir which is aligned with Pakistan and is not under the control of India.

cash. Her older brother and sister were forcibly married to cousins in Pakistan. The marriages were not successful, and she feels her parents learnt a lesson and allowed her to get higher education. Kudrat is number three among them. She went to a primary school that had a forty percent Bengali/Pakistani and sixty percent white population. She then went to an all-girls secondary school that was popular among the Pakistani community. She wore pajamas under her school uniform skirt.³¹ She felt different from the other Pakistani girls because she was more studious. She did not socialize much, as she had three younger siblings and was expected to come home and look after them.

“I was Pakistani, your mum....., as soon as you get your period, your mum kind of prepares you. **You stand with her in the kitchen and she says you’ll have to do this one day! So there is this training that happens within the house, to prepare you to be a good wife and that’s our culture, our religion to be a good wife, a good daughter in law!**³² That has always been there since **we were sixteen, from when your friends used to disappear because they were getting married, so I felt privileged to have gone to university, have done my masters**³³.For a Pakistani girl it’s always like, **you get a degree, you get married and your husband will cater for you, financially support you, you will live with your in laws.**³⁴ This is just something that is given, it doesn’t have to be said, it’s understood.”

She went to a mixed gender college for her A’ levels³⁵. As she was a good student, she had the option to go to Cambridge, Oxford or one of two other universities. She went for a visit to Cambridge and decided not to go because everywhere she looked there were white people³⁶. Her parents and she decided on another university away from home.

³¹ Practices of host country

³² Socialization and expectations of roles as an adult woman.

³³ The norm is to get married. She feels lucky she could study in a university.

³⁴ Spelling out the norms. Patriarchal system at work.

³⁵ First time she is with boys.

³⁶ Feeling out of place.

“I don’t look at my parents and think you held me back, I respect them. **I know that when my daughter does go to university I will move to the town she moves to**³⁷. I think when you become a parent you realize.”

She found the first few years difficult because she would wear a *shalwar kameez*³⁸ on campus, as she had never worn jeans. She worked in the holidays with a firm while at university.

“**It just wasn’t normal for a Pakistani girl to be working!** But for me ... but my dad was okay, but I didn’t take it for granted, I would be nervous asking him if I wanted to do a job, **because if he said no, it would be NO.** I mean think about it, as a Pakistani girl, you live with your parents, they put a roof over your head, **they expect you to get married and after that your husband takes care of you.** So also they are a little worried that if they educate them too much, how will people react to this, the ones who are considering them for marriage purposes. They generally stereotype. **If she is educated she won’t want to get married. She is a career woman, she won’t want to have children. She is going to leave her kids in the nursery, disown her in-laws, and not take of her husband.** These are stereotypes. You get them. But I do this myself. If I meet someone very strong, I think, I am sure, she has it in her house a certain way, you know.. so!..... You see that you do it yourself. **So for a parent, as soon as a daughter is born it’s like a burden. For them it’s getting her to an age that she can get married and find the best person. They do what they can. They don’t see educating a girl as adding value, giving her skills**³⁹. Some of them see it, but most of them; as a head ache! It’s changing now, but the higher a women is in her career, they see it as less likely, she is to change her career path and work part time, because she is set in her ways. This happened to my sister.”

She completed her Bachelors and Masters at the same university and was offered a scholarship to complete a PhD. Initially her father did not approve, so she found a job with a major consulting group. However, he changed his mind and gave his blessing, so she went back to university after quitting her job. She was awarded a PhD in 2006. The same year she was offered a lectureship in the business school at the same university, which she accepted despite a daily two hour commute. She had been under self-created pressure since the age of 21 to be married.

³⁷ Her gendered nurturing is reproduced.

³⁸ Pakistani dress

³⁹ Spelling out the dominant discourse/norm

“**I put the pressure on me**⁴⁰, because my dad never mentioned marriage! I think that was known to me, **because girls of our culture are normally spoken to about marriage quite directly**⁴¹, I was not spoken to about marriage directly, only by my mum, even then it was just considering people, and then to my mom I would say no! So for me I think, I knew that I had to wait for my education to finish, before I start that new chapter in my life and my education lasted 9 years and **I think it’s the case with a lot of Pakistani women they finish their degree and they get married!**⁴⁰ So I think if you speak to people, they are prepared for that.....**I think in our culture if you are 25 and above and not married, you are considered to be on the shelf!**⁴⁰ I have seen this with my own sisters; we have been through divorces in our family. I have a sister who is 26, who needs to be married now. I understand the whole pressure; the whole idea is Making the community happy; satisfy people from previous generations. Our mentality their mentality; there is such a huge gap! I feel sorry for my parents who are first generation here, because they are listening to people back home and also trying to make us happy. I know a lot of people who can’t reach that balance! **They make others happy at the cost of their children’s happiness.**⁴² And it happens all the time. I don’t know one family, and I am from Birmingham where there is a high concentration of Pakistanis, I don’t know one family who doesn’t have a divorce in their family. This is our reality today and it’s because of trying to keep them happy, wanting them to come here and visas and all.....so it’s the parents trying to please their parents, and of course **their parents mentality is very backward, very traditional, it’s not even religious, its cultural, because religion doesn’t dictate these confinements.**⁴³ **Pakistani culture mostly, has caused this underlying issues,** so I think it’s hard for them! It’s hard for us too, because us second generation has seen our parents struggle. **Its expectations, aspirations, what people expect from you.**”^{44,45}

As she was hitting 28, she tried all sorts of ways to find a suitable husband.

“I, as a Pakistani girl who had these degrees, **my father was told, that you are digging your daughters grave, you are educating her so much.**⁴⁰ In Islam she needs to marry someone who is more educated than her. **Men will feel intimidated by her and her achievements,**⁴⁰ but my mom and dad! They didn’t worry about me, for some reason they just didn’t worry about me. They didn’t talk about marriage to me, **I was 27,I wasn’t married, and I felt the need to be married! I wanted to get married when I was 21, I wanted a family! So to me 27! I had left it too late.**⁴⁵ Because I knew I couldn’t do a PHD and be married.... but now I think you can do it. My daughters can do it, because I think **when you start a family you have responsibilities not just to your husband but your in-laws your children,**⁴⁴ you know there is so much. But I tried! **I tried all sort of unconventional methods, shadi.com and all, met a lot of people who were not suitable.**^{44”}

⁴⁰ Self regulation/disciplinary power at work.

⁴¹ Statement of rules and norms.

⁴² Reason for forced marriage. Using children especially women to bring quality of life to extended family.

⁴³ Referring to patriarchal Discourses in the culture that Disciplines/controls women.

⁴⁴ The shaping of identity.

⁴⁵ Expectations of being a woman: the essence of being a woman is having a family, husband and children.

She met a British Pakistani man while negotiating a business deal for her brother.

They liked each other and got married in 2008. Her husband is a university educated man, and after marriage he completed a part-time PhD.

“because at the end of the day you can educate yourself, **your parents can want you to marry**. But **what about your in-laws**,⁴⁴ is this the question they are going ask them, “**Can my daughter work after marriage?**”⁴⁴ **that’s the condition**. It seems a bit weird right? But my dad did it very subtly. He said when XX’s dad came round, he said, “it would be a shame that she is so educated that she won’t work.” **But my father in law luckily agreed to my dad. But I know a lot of people who have given up work**,⁴⁴ who had positions that you thought would carry on and progress like teachers, barristers! But after marriage, after kids they haven’t done it.”

She also adopted the *hijab*⁴⁶ around this time. It was her own choice.

“I have been aware of other things, which I think wearing the *hijab* and wearing less revealing clothes has helped! Because, **before I got married, I think I had a flirtatious nature, and maybe I was too friendly and I would say naïve**. I would find myself being part of conversations that I would feel uncomfortable in, or **the way the other person looked at me**. But I think wearing the *hijab* has helped me. I **don’t get that unneeded attention that I did before**⁴⁷I feel like I am more modest now. You can dress modestly but you can act very promiscuously; you words your language your looks, so I think having this (*pointing to hijab*) **is a constant reminder that I am a Muslim**,..... Before I wore the *hijab* I was asked constantly so are you Indian? What religion are you? But now with the *hijab* it’s nice to know that people know what religion I am, **and I like that label and also I like looking at me and thinking wow she is Muslim and she is doing what she is. I might not be doing the best job, but at least I am inspiring people that I can work in academia, I can do a PhD!**”⁴⁸,

She had her first child in 2010.

“So, initially **when you get off maternity leave you ask yourself; Why? Why this job? What difference am I making?**⁴⁹ How am I helping people? **I started questioning myself, could I do something else? Is job getting me closer to my faith? Before, it was about going up the ladder. Then I learnt more about my religion and it was getting closer to my religion**. I was more inquisitive about my religion. How is this helping me for my hereafter! You **have family expectations, social expectations community expectations and it so difficult because you are trying to balance all those**⁴⁸. Till this day I get told off. Aunties saying, “you work! **Who is going to take care of your kids?** You are being unfair to them!”

⁴⁶ Muslim head covering; scarf..

⁴⁷ Uncomfortable with her femininity or drawing attention to being a woman.

⁴⁸ Aware of breaking stereotype and securing her identity.

⁴⁹ Pressure to quit job and be a full time, at home mother.

She says *the pregnancy made her decide to put her career on the back burner temporarily* as she knew she would not be able to manage publishing with a young child.

“when I first got pregnant about 3 years ago **I was very realistic about what I can do, what I can achieve**⁴⁹....., Teaching was a 9 to 5, while research wasn't, so it was a temporary change I had to make. It was a very emotional time in my life but I did not think for one moment that I would not go back to work!”

She is now a lecturer with only teaching responsibilities. She gave birth to a second child in 2011, taking time off after the birth of both children (four and six months). Her full-time working career spans six and a half years.

9.4.2 Discussion

In the above section, I have tried to demonstrate that “identity becomes an effect of culture” (Weedon, 2004:155). I have attempted to show the effects of disciplinary power and the choices the participant made. These choices were dependent on the Discourses that the participant was subjected to during her lifetime, but particularly during her early years. The participant, Kudrat, was subject to a range of Discourses. She was exposed to ‘knowledge’/reality from her Pakistani parents as well as the British schools she attended. This is in line with research demonstrating that race and social class shape the intergenerational construction of gender in white and black families in the USA (Hill and Sprague, 1999).

As argued before (West and Zimmerman, 1987), gendering is a situated activity that is interactional as well as institutionalized. In addition, it “involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micro-political activities” (West and Zimmerman, 1987:126) which involve gender display. According to West and Zimmerman (1987:128), “**roles are situated identities- assumed and relinquished as the situation demands**”. They assert that ‘woman’, as a biological sex category, is

a master identity that cuts across situations, therefore “gender is not a set of traits, nor a variable, nor a role, but the product of social doings of some sort” (ibid.). They also argue that culture makes gender invisible. This is possible as each culture has its norms for what constitutes ‘normal’ gender behaviour. An individual automatically does (behaviour) what she is supposed to do, based on her sex category, without thinking that it is gendered behaviour. She is performing ‘gender-appropriate behaviour’ based on the norms of her culture. Gender-inappropriate behavior means that she is not complying with the prescriptive sets of behaviours associated with her sex category or her re-production ‘material’. Recent research has found that women lawyers in the UK (384, mainly white) “internalize the notion that they would assume the major responsibility for household work and child care” (Walsh, 2012:527). Therefore, individuals are ‘constrained’ to act/behave/do appropriate gender-behaviours *repeatedly* in order to remain in a particular sex category. West and Zimmerman (1987:142) also discuss why individuals are ‘constrained’ to adopt gender-appropriate behaviours. They contend that as children one learns appropriate behaviour and then

“new members of society come to be involved in *a self regulating process* as they begin to monitor their own and others’ conduct with regard to gender implications.” (emphasis added)

This is similar to the process of subjectification suggested by Foucault and discussed in detail in the sections above. Moreover, there are power differentials at play in gender. West and Zimmerman, (2009:117) maintain that the

“oppressive character of gender rests not with difference but *the inferences from and the consequences of those differences*. The inferences and attendant consequences are *linked to and supported by historical and structural circumstances*.” (emphasis added)

Subjects and subjectivity are important parts of post-structuralist theory. Weedon (1996) describes subjectivity as

“Conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world.” (Weedon, 1996:31)

However, she clarifies that feminist post-structuralism goes further. It not only asserts that subjectivity is a product of the society and culture we live in, but “the individual is always the site of conflicting forms of subjectivity” (ibid.). She argues, for example, as an illustration, that women as mothers are subject to a range of Discourses: conflicting Discourses, and subjected to contradictions. However, effect of Discourse only happens

“...through the action of the individuals who become its bearers by taking up the forms of subjectivity and meanings and values which it proposes and acting upon them.” (Weedon, 1996:31)

These imply hegemonic and counter-hegemonic Discourses, with the individual choosing her position (see Figure 6:174). My stance is that in the case of Kudrat, the counter-hegemonic Discourses had less effect, as she had limited exposure to them. She went to a school dominated by Pakistani girls, hardly had a social life as a teenager, and used education as a means of emancipation while conscious of her position as a Pakistani woman. The Discourses she was subjected to made her decide ‘what her proper place’ was in life. Her values and beliefs conformed to the widely held beliefs of the diaspora. Seen from the position of the diaspora, she may be a role model. Seen from another context, she may be considered/labelled, traditional.

What stands out is the power relations. Who is exerting power on whom? It is Kudrat who is exerting power on herself, self-monitoring and conforming to the hegemonic Discourses though she may not realize it. She is also re-producing these Discourses (see footnote 36). For Kudrat, there is only one ‘true’ position’ based on Discourse “which is seen as a structuring principle of society, in social institutions, modes of thought and individual subjectivity” (Weedon, 1996:41).

The structure of Pakistani society is inherently patriarchal (Moghadam, 1993; Jejeebhoy, 2001). In South Asia gender roles are traditional, rooted in ancient patriarchy. Bhasin (1993), citing Chakravarti (1993), traces the origins of patriarchy to the arrival of Aryans around 3000 B.C. There is a similarity between Pakistan and India because of shared history. This includes the husband's family being crucial for women (Patel, 2007). The joint family, or sons bringing spouses to their parental home, is a norm. Preference for the male child and son (Segal, 1999) leads to different roles for men and women (Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010). Patriarchy influences "individuals' conceptualization and performance of their roles as parents, spouses, and children within the context of family relationships" (Ibid., 2010:781). It can also override religion. For example, patriarchy influences present-day Indian Muslims, as Waheed (2009:48) claims that customs, tradition and social institutions are indeed more 'Indian' than 'Islamic'. All the above practices are also found in Pakistan, as well as in the Pakistani diaspora in the U.K (Dale et al., 2002a; 2002b; Dwyer, 2000; Ramji, 2007). In addition, these values are superimposed by some Muslim gender roles for women, for example being a mother and wife (Syed, 2008a), with women being used as a "symbol of Islamic culture and honor in Pakistani society" (ibid., 2008a:143). Indeed, in research conducted on Bangladeshi and Pakistani non- working women in the UK, the researchers (Wigfield and Turner, 2012:642) conclude "that the barriers to labour market entry are deep-seated, complex, and rooted in cultural, familial, and societal norms".

Most immigrants from Pakistan were unskilled labourers. They were illiterate, belonged to the lower social class and immigrated in large numbers (Ballard, 2009). The rigidity of the patriarchal mindset is more marked in this stratum of society, which was left historically undisturbed by Muslim invasions (Waheed, 2009) and less

influenced by the Mughals, who treated their women better (Sharma, 2009). Among the middle and upper social classes, it is also considered a status symbol for a woman not to work. The wife is not supposed to be the breadwinner in South Asia (Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010). It is the man's job in the Asian context (Chandra, 2012). The woman's job is to look after the children and the home. Thus, Kudrat is not only regurgitating the Discourse she was exposed to, but enacting it and actively reproducing it. She is simply taking her gender role for granted.

“hegemonic versions of language and subjectivity which most people take for granted and which underpins our notions of common sense, social meaning and ourselves.....common sense has an important constitutive role to play in maintaining the centrality of gender difference as a focus of power in society.” (Weedon, 1996:75)

She is actively and consensually embodying that Discourse. This is how disciplinary power is most effective. It is a subject position that has been assumed because Kudrat fully identifies that position, with *her* interests.

9.5 Final Thoughts

While this chapter has attempted to demonstrate the *gendering* of Kudrat, she has *not* been compliant with disciplinary power *alone*. In Kudrat's case, the Discourse of gendering (hegemonic) which seemed to have a **diluted** effect and was stronger than the Discourse of otherness (counter-hegemonic) which seemed to **no** effect. She is indeed resisting the traditional roles and norms of homemaker by still pursuing a career. What control is the Discourse of otherness having on her and the other participants in this thesis? I explore the role of the Discourse of otherness in depth in the next chapter, while still attempting to answer the broad research question: **How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers in professional and managerial contexts?**

Chapter 10: Production of intersectional identities

10.1 Chapter Synopsis

So far, I have demonstrated how *being a woman* is shaped by Discourses. I have demonstrated the part of *Discourses of gendered nurturing* as the hegemonic Discourse. Now I turn to the part played by *Discourses of otherness*: counter-hegemonic Discourses and the impact they have on the creation of identities. This chapter and will attempt to answer the sub-question:

How are *intersections* of gender with ethnicity, nationality and religion revealed in their narratives?

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate how intersections of ethnicity, gender and religion are revealed in their narratives. An individual draws on various identities to make sense in order to act in a particular situation. Not only does one see each social category in the narratives, but also the overlap. Because of the nature of these Discourses (gendered nurturing and otherness, and later organizational regimes), these women are shaped into stigmatized/negative/intersectional identities.

10.2 The Discourse of otherness and intersectional identities

Hall (2000:17) argues for the centrality of Discourse in the manufacturing of identities:

“Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices by specific enunciative strategies.”

As demonstrated in the literature review, these women are an ethnic minority and a religious minority. Both race and ethnicity are viewed as socially constructed in the

literature, as it is humans who have chosen these terminologies for sense-making.

Indeed, Du Gay et al. (2000:2) suggest that this approach proposes that

“identities are constituted through the reiterative power of discourse to produce that which it also names and regulates; that identities are constituted in and through ‘difference’ and that, as a result they are inherently **‘dislocated’** (*that is, dependent upon an ‘outside’ that both denies them and provides the conditions of their possibility*); and that subjects are ‘interpellated’ by or ‘sutured’ to the subject position made available in discourse **through the operation of the unconscious.**” (emphasis added)

The historical context suggests that ethnic minorities in the UK are “subjugated, colonized and inferior” (Hall, 1990:227). As Hall (1990) argues, it reduces ‘non-west’ people to seeing themselves as ‘the other’, in the categories of knowledge of the West. Thus, while Hall argues that cultural identity belongs to the marginal, and Foldy argues that power operates to create them, Slay and Smith (2010:85), borrowing Goffman’s (1968) term *stigmatized* cultural identity, categorize African-American journalists as having a **stigmatized identity** (due to group membership), as “social stigma is generally carried by minority groups (Ferree, 1979) in a society.” The minority experience has been framed as being bi-cultural (Thomas and Aldefer, 1989). However, as discussed (section 3.3.3), there is a major difference between the bi-cultural perspective and the social marginality perspective (Bell, 1990), with social marginality implying feelings of inferiority in the individual. Empirical evidence indicates that religion (being Muslim) can also construct feelings of being ‘Other’ (Essers and Tedmanson, 2014). As a result, Collins (1999:85) implies that the individual is wearing lenses of “otherness” to see the world. She will always see the world differently because of her social location. Another way of explaining this feeling would be to say that the individual becomes embedded with ‘otherness’. This is problematic, as Prins (2006: 288) asserts “belongingness is an essential ingredient of ethnicity”. An ethnic minority is “the other”, and as race is viewed as a social relationship (Mason, 2000) and context “as a relational construct” (Tatli and

Ozbilgin, 2012), the view of the majority (white or men or any other) expressed through their actions and talk (relations) will leave an impression. I draw on Ahmed (2004) to describe ‘impression’ as the action of an individual leaving an *enduring* mark. Ghorashi and Sabelis (2013:78) suggest that societal Discourses of otherness “severely limit chances for the inclusion of others”. While some researchers focus on the link between Discourse and identity, Shields (2008: 307) explains identity in psychological terms as “awareness of self, self-image, self-reflection, and self-esteem [. . .] a quality that enables the expression of the individual’s authentic sense of self”, thus implying that self and identity are synonymous.

The literature, grounded in the notion of dual identities; the host and diaspora, suggests that feelings of being ‘the other’ will be present, resulting in pressure for ethnic minority individuals to assimilate and fit in (Bell, 1990; Thomas and Aldefer, 1989; Kamenou and Fearfull, 2006). Prins (2006:288) elaborates belonging as follows:

“Belonging refers to an experience of ‘fitting into’ certain intersectional locations-locations that may be manufactured by hegemonic discourses of ethnicity, nation, culture and race, but also by articulatory practices around family, gender, age, religion, sexuality or class.”

Holvino (2010:251) on the other hand, likens it to “a kind of belonging and not belonging,” a ‘both/and’ orientation” because the group (in this instance, for example, BPw), ethnic minority women (BME) in the UK) stands apart from the majority white women. She argues that this position (of being) creates a different consciousness and a different way of knowing and knowledge production. A tool for tackling both identity and oppression is intersectionality (Nash, 2008). Warner (2008) also emphasizes the critical nature of the perspective, as intersectionality assumes “identities are couched within status and power relations”. Many academics

have suggested intersectionality (see for example Anthias, 2013, Bilge and Denis, 2010, Bose, 2012, Holvino, 2010) as a way to focus on **location resulting from intersections**. Intersectionality “emphasizes the interaction of categories of difference” as well as unpacks and makes visible structures that create that difference (Hancock, 2007:63). Indeed,

“intersectional analysis is a lynchpin feminist tool that connects the study of newly visible struggles to the insights we have learnt from prior analysis of *other formerly invisible struggles*.” (Ackerly and McDermott, 2012, emphasis in original).

However, there is a debate about how intersectional identities should be viewed. While Gauntlett (2007) has suggested the ‘lego identity’ as a metaphor, I prefer a food metaphor (see for example Ken, 2008; Bowleg, 2013), and in particular the view of Ken as she looks at intersectionality as a *process*, similar to other identity theorists. Ken (2008:155) talks about the production of race, class, gender and other social categories as interconnected, interdependent and contextual. Ken (2008:152) sees intersectionality as a process carried out “in our bodies, human and institutional”. She argues that the metaphor of sugar “allows us to emphasize structural and individual forces at work in their continual and mutual constitution” (ibid.). Her position reinforces two points: firstly the *continuation of identity formation*, and secondly the *role of the individual and the structures* in the identity formation process rather than an emphasis or separation of either.

Just as sugar gets produced, used and experienced, so race, class and gender get first produced, processed, used and then absorbed.

“Every aspect of race, class and gender has been and is produced under particular social, historical, political, cultural and economic conditions (155) [. . .] how these production processes have typically (and deliberately) relied on grander ideological supports in the form of religion and science to buttress their institutionalization.” (Ibid.:158).

The production of race, class, and Muslim religion is based on the colonial history of the UK and the recent events in the U.S.A. (9/11) and the UK (7/7). These have affected the way the majority population view the minority population. In other words, the minority population is produced (grows up) in the fields of the host country (in society), subjected to these inputs (Discourses): Discourses of otherness, not belonging, or of being an outsider (See Figure 6:174). Ken also makes clear that we have to study the origins of the ingredients (how the sugar was produced), taking into account the processes that feed into the growth of that ingredient. In addition, when we study identities, we cannot do so in isolation, but have to keep the context and the factors that led to the creation and re-creation of that identity, up to the point in question, constantly in the picture. As Ken (2008:159) states, the production is “deliberate, ongoing, and institutionalized”. These Discourses affect the identities that are produced (See Figure 6:174: **Step 2**). Identities can be multiple. However, the identities produced in my participants are stigmatized, negative or intersectional as a result of the Discourses that feed into their creation (See Figure 6:174: **Step 1**).

Furthermore, the effect is not additive, but an intermingling osmosis because of simultaneous interaction in one mixing bowl (the individual) of the various identities (See Figure 6:174). She explains how race, class and gender (all ingredients like sugar, flour, butter and eggs) are first processed (made into a cookie dough, then baked), to produce (cookies), and used (tasted; experienced in the mouth) and then absorbed in our bodies. Therefore, when one tastes the cookie, it is very difficult to tell each ingredient apart. She also stresses that the ingredients intermingle. Thus just as the ingredients come together and affect and transform each other, so do the identities. This is ‘mutually constituting’ each other.

Additionally, experience or taste is different for each person. Just as different tongues can experience the taste of a cookie differently in the mouth, so can

“race, class and gender’s meaning transform when they come in contact with those who taste them, who enact them, who need them, who rely on them, who hate them, who are oppressed by them who get advantages from them, who do not realize they are there, who do them.” (Ken, 2008:164)

Just as food or a cookie is absorbed by our body and can make us, for example, gain weight, so race, class, gender and other categories can shape us. **Therefore, in the same way as we see the cookie as a whole and cannot see the ingredients within it, we cannot see the different categories clearly within an individual.** Indeed, these individuals, who are a mix of race, class, religion, gender and other categories, will experience a phenomenon differently from somebody with fewer or more social categories. Likewise, these social identities interact (See Figure 6:174) to produce “qualitatively different meanings and experience.....that cannot be explained by each alone” (Warner, 2008:454).

A critique of intersectionality is the emphasis on fragmentation of identities (Walby, 2007), and the fact that it does not look into the social construction of the categories or the history behind that construction (Warner and Shields, 2013). However, Holvino (2010:258) claims that a feminist poststructuralist analysis would unpack the process, while Calas et al. (2014:41) posit that feminist post-structuralist analysis will help in “observing actors’ contradictory locations of domination and subordination at different times in different places”. I thus draw on Foucault’s work to illustrate the construction and re-construction of identities that stem from being **labelled**, as well as **feeling**, a part of that category.

10.3 The creation of Intersectional Identities through a Foucauldian lens.

Collins (1998:79, note 5) drew on Foucault's concept of disciplinary power to explain power differentials in race and gender in her seminal work. So far, I have demonstrated how *being a woman* is shaped by Discourses. However, the participants have two other social categories, minority ethnicity and minority religion; that contribute to '*being the other*'. These social identities (gender, religion, and ethnicity) are negatively constructed within the participants' gender: being a woman has negative connotations in the diaspora, while ethnic and religious minority have a negative connotation in the host society. Thus the identity of a British Pakistani woman is intersections of negative (Werbner, 2013:403) identities that are visible as a whole. If we look at BPw, the main identity is gender. They are women first and foremost, and this shapes their behaviour. However, BPw may appear as one *whole identity*, but the whole is a construction, using many identities that feed into that whole identity (See Figure 6:174). An individual draws on these various identities to make sense, in order to act, in a particular situation.

In the section below, I will attempt to demonstrate how intersections of ethnicity, gender and religion are revealed in their narratives, as well as the Discourses which feed into them. Not only does one see each social category in the narratives, but also the **overlap**. In the narrative of the participant Aliza (pseudonym), I attempt to unravel each category (McCall, 2005:1787), while trying to demonstrate the simultaneous effect of the co-construction of categories and their interaction on each other. Aliza is among the top layer of management in a large organization. She is married and has one teenage child. I chose Aliza's story because it stood out for me in terms of *how successful she was, yet how wary of the system*. She felt marginalized in

her organization because of the ethnic minority status accorded to her by the society she lived in.

“when I didn’t get this head of partnerships job, I was joking with my colleagues here ‘cos they were shocked ‘cos they said ‘wow, you would have been really good at that job’. **I said to them ‘obviously I’m not white enough ‘cos my name’s** ⁵⁰ [participant]’ you know.”

In my view, identity creation occurs throughout a lifetime and different experiences shape the self constantly. I draw on research (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1255), to focus on both levels of voice: surface and deep. While I have provided excerpts as surface texts, I have provided deep analysis by presenting the analysis as footnotes within their voice/excerpt.

10.3.1 A narrative of experiences and intersectional identities:

Aliza was born in Pakistan in late 1961. She came to the United Kingdom as a 3-year-old child in 1965. Her father, who comes from a town near Islamabad, immigrated in 1963 and was a factory worker in the UK. She went to primary school in Bradford. She was aware from a young age that she was different.

“Um... I suppose the discrimination was like from other children because **they weren’t used to brown children and it was like they’d physically come up and go ‘haven’t you had a wash?’ ...Um... and then there was all this sort of ‘go back to the jungle’** kind of comments all the time. And dealing with that as a kid because you really didn’t know where it was coming from. ...Um... and **then teachers kind of either kind of being, very subtle subtly discriminatory to quite patronising. ...Um... you felt it.**” ⁵¹

She went to a mixed-gender school and eventually to university. She used to be taken along as an interpreter at a young age, and became quite aware of the problems of integration vis-a-vis her community.

“I used to be the main interpreter from the age of about 8 or 9 ...um... at that time, we used to be taken out of school to go to hospitals, especially with the women

⁵⁰ Narratives/Discourses and voices of being the other.

⁵¹ Narratives/Discourses and voices of being the other.

when there were antenatal clinics and things. **And I think I just kind of must have absorbed a lot of like the experiences that they were having and the way that the staff spoke to them and the way that things happened. And I could kind of see that discrimination and inequality from quite a young age.**"⁵²

Aliza stated that the "minorities" stuck together, but they were not allowed to be friendly with the boys. She elaborated that it affected all the Asian girls, not just the Pakistani girls, and explained why:

"it was **more with the Asian boys, you knew you'd get into trouble if you got seen talking to the Asian boys or hanging around with them more than the white boys**"⁵³. ...Um..., so you didn't form like close relationships or friendships with the boys at all. ...Um... but the boys it was really weird at that time and I don't think that happens now, **it's almost like they kind of most of them knew of you because the communities were very small so they might know my brothers or they might know the fact that my father, ...um... who my father was. So they almost kind of kept an eye on you as well**"⁵⁴. And so if they saw you talking to white boys or whatever they'd come and think that they were your big brother or whatever and say 'what are you doing that for?' and blah blah blah. **So they almost had this thing around controlling you even though they weren't your brothers. They were just from the community and sometimes you didn't know them at all**⁵² and they'd actually say 'I know your brother' or whatever. So with Asian girls it was really really hard, hard time. ...Um..."

In the above excerpt, we see how she is being subjected to patriarchal Discourses. She is under surveillance by the men in her community. She was the first one in her family to go to university (in 1981), and 'had to fight for it' because as women, they were subjected to Discourses that encouraged them to think of marriage as their goal in life.

"Cos at the time there was still fear in the Pakistani community, ...um... and I suppose **I didn't come from a professional middle class Pakistani family** neither, like girls you know, **my father's big thing was 'well if you get so much education where am I going to find a husband for you'** [laughter] and all that kind of stuff. ...Um... so despite all of that I think I had a drive and I pushed and I kind of went and got my education..... So **for girls it's like ok, you want to study, and then they let you go to a certain point**, and it's like ...um... and **then they put these barriers on it. So I was quite lucky that I went away to study** ...um... whereas most of the girls that were growing up with me in

⁵² Narratives/Discourses and voices of being the other.

⁵³ Narratives/Discourses and voices of being a woman in the diaspora.

⁵⁴ Being under surveillance.

Bradford, **if they did go they stayed in Bradford or they went to Leeds so they didn't have to leave home.** And then **once they finished their degrees it's like 'you've got to get married now'.** ...Um... and **'why do you need to work?'**⁵¹ And especially if they then arranged the marriage with somebody who had a good job **'why do you need to work?'** because it was only seen as money."

In the above excerpt, we see how she considers herself lucky that she was allowed to go to university away from home. She was *now a subject of counter-hegemonic Discourse* because, although the norm in the diaspora was to get the girls married at a young age, her father allowed her to finish university. Her class comes into play as well, as she states that she did not come from a professional middle-class Pakistani family. What is implied here is that fathers from the working class brought up girls differently from fathers who were educated/professionals. The practices were slightly different for each class within the Pakistani community in the UK

She had an arranged marriage to a second cousin that ended in a divorce. She knew quite early on in the marriage that she did not want to live with that man. It took her five years to get the divorce with the consent of the family **"cos I didn't want to just do it without their support."**⁵⁵ Again, the excerpt below reveals the gender Discourse she was subjected to and the assumption that women of the family could be used for other members of the family.

"This cousin's sons are not there, they're really not, they're not going to get anywhere', so there was all this pressure. So and even now, **you know girls particularly, it's like that economical, we're like the economical solution to some of the problems that they have with their relatives back home.....**⁵⁶ I know why they do it, **it's an economical thing, especially from people who came from you know not middle class, not professional backgrounds and stuff.** I don't know if it's ...um... how, but then I meet some of the doctors and stuff and it's happening in those circles as well. To be a doctor in Pakistan you have to be very, from an affluent background and **they come here and then they're arranging, you know their children's marriages and things, and I think there's**

⁵⁵ Demonstrates the role of significant others and how important relations are in the context of BPw.

⁵⁶ Narratives/Discourses and voices of being a woman in the diaspora.

people already here, you know why are you doing that? But it still seems to be.”

Her ‘ethnic’ identity also underwent a change:

PARTICIPANT: “I think that the ...er... ..er... ..um... when I was growing up I think we had more of an Asian identity, ...um... and I think the Muslim sort of identity’s come more in the last since 9/11 ...um.”⁵⁷...

Work was an important part of her identity as a young woman. She recounts what she said to her father when her first husband and her father wanted her to give up work.

“and I remember sitting in the room and I said ‘you might as well get the knife from the kitchen and just stab me, **because I’m not working for the money, it’s it’s my life and it’s my career, it’s like I’m trying to build a career, it’s part of me and who I am.**”⁵⁸ I’m not working because I need, you know..... it’s about money’.”

She started work in 1987 and eventually moved to London in 1990 as she felt the opportunities were greater there. When she met her current husband, an academic of Pakistani origin, she quit work and moved back after marriage, at the age of 30, to the north in 1992.

“I’d got really good connections in the Department of XXXX, I would have climbed up quite quickly if I was in London. And then I kind of fell in love and [laughter] decided to follow ...um... **my mother was still alive and she was saying ‘oh no you need to move to Sheffield ‘cos it’s nearer to Bradford, if [husband] moves to London’, and ...um... ‘if he comes to London then we’ll never see you’,**⁵⁹ **so there again there was that kind of pressure. ...Um... but in terms of my career it was career suicide**⁶⁰ because coming to Sheffield,and especially in senior and middle management, so it was very very difficult. **And as a woman it’s really hard, and then being a Pakistani woman it was even even harder.**⁶¹ ...Um... so ...Um... **and then I had kind of five years out and I did my Master’s degree as well and I had my daughter.**⁶² ...Um... and then there was a job in the XXX...um... and one of my friends called me and she saw it in the Guardian when my daughter was about twenty months old. And said ‘...er... I think you should

⁵⁷ Post 9/11, feeding into Discourses of being the other and reshaping identity between her being a teenager and a middle aged woman.

⁵⁸ Career as a means for empowerment and resistance to diasporic Discourses.

⁵⁹ Demonstrates the role of significant others (here her mother and husband) and how important relations are in the context of BPw.

⁶⁰ Her willingness to give into the cultural Discourse and her acceptance of her role as wife and mother in the traditional sense.

⁶¹ She is aware how difficult it will be to get back to a job/career, yet gives it up. Brings into question, “State of happiness” or *Teleologie* (Foucault,1991).

⁶² She is still resisting cultural Discourses by not playing ONLY a mother role and wife role.

apply for this job, it's not as senior as you'd probably like and left London but it's a good stepping stone to get back in', and that's what I did."

In the excerpt above she is talking about the period in her life when she re-married and became a mother. She realizes that she would have done well if she had continued working in London. Despite the bright future, when she marries, she decides to leave London and move to an area close to her mother, and does not ask her husband to move. We can see the gender role socialization of *the 'good' daughter and wife*, and therefore the context of her words "*so there again there was that kind of pressure. ...Um... but in terms of my career it was career suicide*". Family taking precedence over work is common for Asian women, who are with "often made to sacrifice their career" while considering family a "natural offshoot of woman/motherhood" (Chandra, 2012:1045). Hite (2007) found that Hispanic women found career choices complicated, as they tried to maintain their cultural expectations of marriage and motherhood while trying to succeed in their careers. In the excerpt, one can see the intersections of the gender identity with the religious identity (a mother is revered in Islam - hence Aliza's deference to her mother's wishes) and nationality, all mutually constituting each other. The intersections of the mother identity and the career identity are at play as well. This excerpt also demonstrates the processes of social practice (Holvino, 2010) or the norms of expectations regarding being a woman that make her a good daughter/wife/mother /daughter-in-law/sister, and the embeddings of these structures. She finds these negotiations of identities tough. "*And as a woman it's really hard, and then being a Pakistani woman it was even even harder.*" Her identity as a Pakistani and a woman (gender with nationality) emerges. However, both these categories are shaping each other. As I have demonstrated, in the socio-historical structural context one category cannot be seen in isolation from the other. Moreover, like some other empirical research (Prins, 2006),

her excerpt suggests “an attachment to one’s ‘origins’ is important to many people’s health and well-being” (Prins, 2006:288).

10.4 Organizational Discourses and Intersectional identities

When the participants enter the workforce, they encounter another set of Discourses based on hegemonic organizational Discourses (Grey, 1994) and inequality regimes (Acker, 2006a) that require compliance with the structures, norms, procedures and practices of organizations. This is the third meta-code theme that emerges from the narratives of the participants. The participants were facing work environments that Acker refers to as, *inequality regimes*.

“All organizations have inequality regimes, defined as loosely interrelated practices, processes, actions, and meanings that result in and maintain class, gender and racial inequalities within particular organizations.” (Acker, 2009:201)

In an earlier piece of work, she argues (Acker 1990:139) that “organizations are not gender neutral and images of men’s bodies and masculinity pervade organizational processes, marginalizing women and contributing to the maintenance of gender segregation in organizations”. Controls, however, are a vital part of organizations, some visible and many invisible. For example, accounting practices are part of the visible controls. However, there may be many practices created in organizations that are implicit or invisible.

“Normative control seeps into the unspoken codes of the workplace, the dress code, acceptable behaviour towards colleagues and clients and so forth.” (McKinlay and Starkey, 1998:11)

The participants’ narratives reveal formal and informal controls by organizations as well as subtle discrimination. Sometimes participants demonstrate reticence in expressing their views. For example, Bierema’s (2005) research demonstrated that while the women participants showed some awareness of gender inequalities, they were not willing to openly talk about the disparities. In the case of my participants,

they voiced their concerns openly. An excerpt from a participant's narrative relating to the Discourses and voice of 'inequality regimes' in organizations is part of Appendix 5. Within the meta-code theme of inequality regimes, two areas dominated.

Male environment:

A theme that repeatedly emerged in their narratives was that almost all the organizations these women worked for were dominated by men. The dynamics were, therefore, different for them (Kanter, 1977). In previous research, racism and sexism have been reported at work in the UK by ethnic minority women (Davidson, 1997), and racism reported by South Asian respondents (Rana, 1998). A number of the participants felt that there was an implicit assumption that they were expected to behave in a masculine manner, which conflicted directly with the way they had been brought up (as women).

Stereotyping:

A number of participants felt under pressure and faced discrimination, as reported in previous research (Healy et al., 2011a; Kamenou and Fearfull, 2006; Kamenou, 2007; Kamenou, 2008; Kamenou et al., 2012). The participants felt stereotyped and visible because they belonged to an ethnic minority. They felt stereotyped because of class, religion, age, ethnicity, motherhood and gender. They did not want to be stereotyped because of their gender, age, ethnicity, religion or motherhood, and made special efforts to break the stereotype. The participants were conscious of working in male-dominated organizations and also conscious that work patterns' and processes assumed that the worker was a man, and that the worker was white, as Acker (2006a) says. **Most of the time, this came into conflict with their gendered nurturing,**

while at other times it reinforced the feelings of “being the other”. The early gendered nurturing and practices by the participants’ parents - ensuring segregation and not allowing social integration with either boys or white girls after school - shaped their identity and created unfamiliarity with men (and the white culture), which is later visible in the interactions of the adult women in the workplace, where they have to interact with mostly white men.

10.4.1 A narrative of inequality regimes and intersectional identities

As an illustration of intersectional identities interacting with inequality regimes and organizational Discourses, I continue with Aliza’s story. While Aliza took some time off work to have a daughter, she found a job when her daughter was about two. While her gender role socialization was so strong that she *seemed* to put her career on the back burner, she did it *only for a short while*. She went back into full-time employment and continued to progress to a top management position in her organization. She has been with the same organization (which employs about a million people) for a number of years. Her boss reports to the CEO. Unlike Kanji’s (2011) findings, she was not the main bread earner, so was not under pressure to return to work.

In the excerpts below she talks about why she feels she will not be able to go any higher.

PARTICIPANT: “and I thought all these years I’ve been trying to prove that I can do every, you know I’m a strategic ...um... leader, I’m really good at change management, I’ve got really good influencing skills and negotiating skills, I’m really good at strategy and policy, and I can do it around anything. **But each time it feels like, ...um... now there’s a, again we’re going through a re-configuration and I have to apply for other jobs in the system and I’ve applied for a job recently which, the job I think I could do with my eyes closed. And I got interviewed, and then they decided not to appoint anybody, they said ‘you were the best person for the job but we’re not going to appoint now’. But again I was really disappointed because I think **they couldn’t see beyond, my sort of ...um... [job] role, you know they pigeon hole you, I’m an Asian woman, you know ‘she’s good at that but she won’t be****

good at this'. And I think that's been a real in terms of my whole career, throughout my whole life I just feel I've had to really always fight that⁶⁴. Yeah and also it's like, I don't know, even now, it just feels you know I have a track record, a lot of what I've done both in this role and my previous roles has become national, ...um... but there's still, I feel like I'm invisible. ...Um... whereas if I was a white man ...um... they'd think 'wow isn't it great'.

INTERVIEWER: Why didn't you say white woman?

PARTICIPANT: Because I think with white women it's got better, it's got better much more than any ethnic minority women, but they still struggle."

It seems from her narrative that her ethnic identity is viewed negatively in her workplace. She put in long hours and worked very hard. She hired nannies when her daughter was young, and then asked her sister to move her family close to her home so that she could help care for her daughter.

"they require you to be very flexible in how you work. Like I said, if you're in management you're expected to be at meetings at eight o'clock in the morning, you're expected to you know go to conferences, you're expected to travel."⁶³.

She also feels visible because of her ethnicity.

PARTICIPANT: "I think ...um... in terms of promotion as well I feel I've had to work, even if you look at this organisation, I've been here for the last five years and all my counterparts, male and female, in terms of delivering and stuff, I don't feel, they feel the pressure that I do, just unconsciously, you just feel you've got to work twice as hard and if you speak to a lot of white women they'll say 'we have to work twice as hard as our male white, you know, counterparts'. So I do feel that because you're the only, sometimes, and you're more visible ...um... at that level. ...Um... so everybody knows if I'm not in the office everybody knows, if I haven't met a deadline everybody, whereas there's many of them nobody kind of really notices."⁶⁴.

Most important was the role that her husband, who is a full professor at a university, has played in her career. Her intersectional identity is visible in the excerpt; what comes to the forefront, however, is her diasporic 'woman' identity.

"If I was in a traditional relationship with a traditional Pakistani guy there's no way I would have been able to do it.⁶⁵ But because my husband's really supportive ...um... and completely trusts me⁶⁶
and later

⁶³ Organizational expectations and conforming to organizational Discourses.

⁶⁴ Narratives/Discourses and voices of being the other.

⁶⁵ It seems she would not have insisted on a career as her right.

⁶⁶ It is important to her that her husband is happy with her decisions and she has his support.

My husband's very liberal, you know, all of those things, like tonight we've got our Christmas thing, I'm going to go home very late. ...Um... but my, you know other Asian women colleagues, **their husbands are much more traditional, they don't want them to go, after work.** ...Um... **to these places where there's going to be men and your colleagues are men.** And **all of these are barriers** like for example, **all the conferences that you go to, sometimes they're two three days,** you're away, and some of the and I think **those are major barriers for women but particularly ...er... Asian women and particularly probably Muslim women, it's a major issue.**⁶⁷ Like there's no problem about me going away for two three days, ...um... and I always have done, but it would be, you know, for quite a few women that I know who work in the system, **their husbands will never allow it.** In fact with me, my colleagues will come and pick me up or whatever, and you know, **my husband and I have a very good relationship so, you know, my white men colleagues have picked me up from home and taken me to a conference and dropped me back again.**⁶⁸ So I think that's not been a barrier for me but I have certainly seen it.”

She feels that networking is ‘critical’. It seems that at senior positions one has to have others to help one climb up the last few steps.

“If he was there and maybe one or two of the chief execs that I knew who got jobs there, **they would have made sure I got in, because they trust me.** And everybody, **what happens is in the [company] is that the leaders who get the jobs then they take their comfort blankets with them, the people that they feel safe and who are loyal to them..... so I know when I apply for these jobs that actually I'm applying without having those connections.**⁶⁹ So **I'm not going to get them.** Whereas if I apply in a job where I know that people there know of my work, they really respect me, or I've got a track record or they have a relationship of some kind with me, ...um... then you've got a much better chance.”

Although Aliza is in a senior position, she feels she has encountered the glass ceiling.

“so I've got to I feel like I've got to a point now **where you know, ...um... I I'm not going higher because I'm not, I'm not in the radar of the big leaders.**”⁶⁹.

Here she is specifically referring to a lack of mentors. She mentions in her narrative that the fact that she has the ability and got along well with the bosses helped her move up the hierarchy.

“but I said ‘it's here as well, it's just that it's so subtle and more invisible but it's happening.’ **You can't move around unless you are networked.**⁷⁰ And I suppose, **the reason I've probably got more senior than maybe other people in the system from similar backgrounds, is that I am good at networking, that's one of my**

⁶⁷ Narratives/Discourses and voices of being a woman in the diaspora.

⁶⁸ Her glass chains. She cannot break away from the diasporic expectations.

⁶⁹ Narratives/Discourses and voices of being the other.

⁷⁰ Organizational practices that lead to feeling of otherness.

strengths as well, I'm good ...um... at delivering, I'm good at networking and influencing some of the leaders and stuff, and I know how the system works. Because a lot of people, they are doing their little job, it's a big system, like I said it's XX employees, but **they don't know how to, how to influence the system, who to go to because it's so complex and so difficult.**"⁷¹

She later on comments on the difficulty of being included in the inner circle of the organization

"I said 'I don't play football, I don't go scuba diving and I don't get invited to [female CEO's]'s garden parties."⁷¹.

The social differences codes that are defined in society at the macro-national context (Syed and Ozbilgin, 2009) are then carried forward to the meso-organizational level and eventually to the micro-individual level and her subjective experiences. This excerpt also demonstrates the processes of identity practice (Holvino, 2010), i.e. how respondents perceive that *others* in organizations see the individuals and how the *individuals* see themselves. Aliza is acutely aware that she is an outsider in the organization. The other members of the organization do not see her as one of them, as in practice, she feels she is excluded from the informal activities which seem to her either culturally *white* or *gender-driven* (male hegemony) consequently re-enforcing her feelings of being an outsider in the organization, resulting in narratives of inequality regimes.

10.5 Final Thoughts

This chapter has answered the sub-question: ***How are intersections of gender with ethnicity, nationality and religion revealed in their narratives?*** I have demonstrated through one story the creation of a whole identity, through exposure to the Discourses of gendered nurturing, otherness and organizational inequality. The

⁷¹ Narratives/Discourses and voices of being the other.

Discourses force the participants into stigmatized/negative/intersectional identities. These identities intersect and affect each other (see Figure 6:174 **Step 2**). What is visible is the whole and not the separate parts. Individuals bring a ‘whole’ identity into the workplace which in reality is *identities*, which then interact with workplace structures, processes and practices (see Figure 6:174, **Step 3**). Sometimes, they create constraints and sometimes opportunities.

In the next chapter, continuing with the immersion process, I try to understand why the participants are so committed to a career, while retaining a focus on the broad research question: **How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers in professional and managerial contexts?**

Chapter 11: Ethical self and Immersion 6

11.1 Chapter Synopsis

So far, I have demonstrated that ‘truth’ is created through Discourses, hegemonic and counter-hegemonic, and the power axis operates to create subjects. However, this seems to imply an individual has no agency. For Foucault, agency is exercised through resistance to dominant Discourse, but can be done in an ethical manner through “technologies of the self”. Using technologies of the self, I will attempt to demonstrate how BPw construct careers as a transformative practice.⁷² This chapter will attempt to answer the sub-question:

How have BPw’s careers *progressed* (developed/ evolved over time)?

My analysis breaks away from a hegemonic view in career research by taking a contextual life approach, as in my view there is too much focus on the individual and his/her agency without considering contextual factors.

11.2 Technologies of self: the *Ethical Axis*

Where technologies of power turn an individual into a docile body; **technologies of the self** turn the individual into a transformed body. Individuals can thus simultaneously undergo and exercise power. This is a major part of Foucault’s later work, when he focused on the making of the subject in ‘ethics’ (Ramos, 1994). Power does not have to be negative, but can also be productive (Markula, 2003). Power is not just a means of domination but can become a means of freedom (Hanna, 2013). A way out of the technology of power is **practicing ethical self-care**, which Foucault

⁷² To escape the disciplinary power of gendered nurturing.

derived from the Greeks. It encapsulates both agency and structure operating simultaneously (Skinner, 2012). The concept envisages “an ethical practice based on self-care instead of a moral practice based on societal laws.” (Markula, 2003:98-9)

She further elaborates,

“Foucault emphasizes that only through a critical awareness of the limitations of the self in one’s **cultural condition**, can the outside be folded into the inside. In addition, practices of freedom necessitate **a responsible use of power** in all everyday situations: by focusing on self-care, the individual begins to care about others.....It is important not to pre-assign any practice as “liberating” or “oppressive” without a **careful consideration of the cultural context where an individual woman’s identity is formed.**” (emphasis added)

Hanna (2013) elaborates that **care of the self** is threefold: *an ethical relationship to oneself* requires a person to be reflexively engaged with oneself. While morality is defined by Hanna (2013:663) as a code of knowledge that one is “obliged to follow”, ethics is the type of “person one aspires to be”. *He describes the relationship to others* as at “the very heart of a care of the self”. He explains that

“therefore for Foucault a “care of the self” is not simply looking after oneself, but rather his **ethics is intersubjective and relational**. One **learns to act** in a way which **does not prioritize one over others** but which takes on a concern for others and a **responsibility to others** that is fundamentally grounded through an emotional relationship to the other.” (Hanna, 2013:664, emphasis added)

Thought and critical reflection is the thinking exercised by an individual when it is subjected to different Discourses and reflexively picks one over the other. As Hanna explains

“Thus, in order to “care for the self”, individuals need to fully understand what they are engaging in, in order to disobey the “rules”, or reconstitute the self in a different way. This is not an easy process and the individual is not simply able to resist and “escape” dominant subjectivities. However, the possibility of understanding the individual as both dominated and agentic, whilst difficult, has the potential.”(Hanna, 2013:666)

Foucault (1991a) contends that this relationship to oneself has four aspects:

1. Which is the part of me which is concerned with moral conduct? *Substance ethique* or Ethical Substance (Ontology).⁷³
2. How am I invited to recognize this moral obligation? *Mode d'assujettissement* or mode of subjection (Deontology).⁷³ “The way in which the individual establishes his relation to the rule and recognizes himself as obliged to put it into practice” (Foucault, 2000:366). The individual recognizes she is bound to the moral code and must act accordingly and moves to the next step.
3. What means can I use to change myself to become an ethical subject? *Travail ethique* (a self-forming activity or Ethical work)⁷³ undertakes an activity that is keeping individual bound to the moral code, yet simultaneously transforms the individual into an autonomous ethical agent. *This is technologies of self.*
4. What kind of being do I want to aspire to? (for example pure, free, master, an empowered woman). *Teleologie*

These four aspects are interdependent and independent, because the kind of being (4) will dictate the means (3) to become an ethical self and also (2) the moral obligation, “so they accept these obligations in a **conscious** way” (Foucault, 2000:366). Therefore, the moral codes create rules and a framework for everyday living. Individuals then watch over themselves and shape themselves into ethical subjects. Hanna (2013:669) states,

“He presented this fourfold model through which we can explore the ways in which individuals “care for the self” thus allowing an understanding of subjectivity in which the individual is both subjected by social structures and agentic in their relationship to the self.”

⁷³ Terms used by TAYLOR, D. 2011. Practices of the Self. In: TAYLOR, D. (ed.) *Michael Foucault [electronic resource]*. Durham [UK]: Durham UK : Acumen.

In addition, Foucault (2000) elaborates on ‘morality’ as:

- *a set of values and rules* of action that are disseminated through institutions such as family, educational and religious institutions
- *the real behaviour* of individuals in relation to the rules and values that are recommended to them.

He also explains that the values counterbalance one another, thus providing spaces or “loopholes”, allowing people to respond and behave differently.

“In studying this aspect of morality, one must determine how and with what margins of variation or transgression individuals or groups conduct themselves in reference to a **prescriptive system that is explicitly or implicitly operative** in their culture, and of **which they are more or less aware**. We can call this level of phenomena, ‘the morality of behaviours’. There is more. For a rule of conduct is one thing; the conduct that may be measured by this rule is another. But another thing is still the manner in which **one ought to form oneself as an ethical subject acting in reference to the prescriptive elements that make up the code**. Given a code of actions, and with regard to a specific type of actions (which can be defined by their degree of conformity with or divergence from the code), there are different ways to ‘conduct oneself’ morally, different ways for the acting individual to operate, not just as an agent but as an ethical subject of this action.” (Foucault, 2000:365-6, emphasis added)

Foucault’s theory of power resides *within* a subject via **ethics**. In Foucault’s words, ethics is,

“the kind of relationship you ought to have with yourself.....and which determines **how the individual is supposed to constitute himself as a moral subject of his own actions**.” (Foucault, 1991a:352, emphasis added)

David Gauntlett describes ethics as

“as a person’s concern for and care about themselves; **the standards** they have for **how they would like to be treated**, and **how they will treat themselves**....**the rules one sets for one’s own behaviour**.....a set of internal ideas or loose rules- then ‘technologies of the self’ are what is actually done about it: *the ways that an individual’s ethics are manifested in their mindset and actions*.... *The ways in which available discourses may enable or discourage various practices of the self*.....The ethics are our set of standards to do with a particular sort of person; the technologies of the self are how we think and act to achieve this.....may be practiced for the individual’s own sake.” (Gauntlett, 2008:135, emphasis added)

11.3 Ethical Selves

Foucault suggests that technologies of the self, or *practicing ethical self-care*, enable an individual to become an ethical subject. In my view **the ethical self** is the embodiment of the practice of ethical self-care. The relationship with the self involves “self-formation as an ethical subject”. As described by Foucault (2000: 367) this self-formation is

“a process in which the individual delimits that part of himself that will form the object of his moral practice, defines his position relative to the precept he will follow, and decides on a certain code of being that will serve as his moral goal. And this requires him to act upon himself, to monitor, to test to improve and transform himself.”

I draw the reader’s attention towards technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988a), or how one turns oneself into a subject

“technologies of the self, which *permit* individuals to effect by *their own means* or with the *help of others* a certain number of operations on their own bodies and *souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being*, so as **to transform themselves** in order to attain a certain *state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality*.” (Foucault, 1988a:18, emphasis added)

What a *state of happiness* means can differ among individuals. Among the BPw, the state of happiness incorporates their need to be a *mother* (see table below). Drawing on Foucault’s (1991a) aspects of the ethical subject, I elaborate the four aspects with reference to the BPw:

Aspects of Foucault’s ethical subject	The British Pakistani Woman
Which is the part of me which is concerned with moral conduct?	The diasporic self or the cultural identity
How am I invited to recognize this moral obligation?	The essence of a woman is being a mother
What means can I use to change myself to become an ethical subject	Career
What kind of being do I want to aspire to?	An empowered ‘happy’ woman

For BPw, careers have empowered them and are a means of transformation. By embodying ethical self-care, they have *moved away* from the domination of technologies of power and becoming ‘docile bodies’. They have transformed themselves. As Heller (1996:101) argues,

“no group, no matter how socially politically or economically hegemonic, can ever control all of the mechanisms of power that constitute a social formations power diagram.....no hegemonic group can ever exercise complete control over every counter-hegemonic group; those other groups will always have access to some mechanisms of power that they can use to resist their domination. No group, therefore is ever completely powerless.”

However, as technologies of the self demonstrate, ethical self-care incorporates basic principles and takes into account constraints. BPw are still linked to their Discourse, for example by being mothers, as the essence of being a woman lies in the mother identity. While they are still tied to the cultural roles of being married and being a mother, they have done so by NOT giving up a career. Hanna suggests that technologies of self

“Examine the ways in which individuals are positioned by broader structures and how they are coerced into particular ways of being.....to acknowledge the ways in which individuals actively accept, reject, or disrupt the broader constructions that constantly shape and constrain them via their critical reflection and relationships with the self, and relationships with others.” (Ibid.:670)

BPw are using the *ethical self*, based on care of the self (Hanna, 2013) or practicing ethical self-care (Foucault, 1988a), to *guide their careers*. Self has generally been in the background in careers, the exception being protean careers. In protean careers, the self acts as an “internal compass” (Hall, 2002:32). Indeed, Stead and Bakker (2010), discussing self in career theory, argue for a revised conceptualization of the self in the post-modern working world. The *ethical self* incorporates the basic principles mentioned above: an *ethical relationship to oneself*, a *Relationship to others* and *Thought and critical reflection*. This position has been taken previously in career research (Kopelman et al., 2012) in discussing why some people love their careers.

They introduce the idea of a career with a heart, asserting that it requires a process of *mindful negotiation with relevant others; a reflective capacity and consideration* “of broader issues of life and well-being” (ibid.:163), as well as “the entire trajectory of a person’s work over time”. Some elements of technologies of self also echo the three parameters of kaleidoscope careers: authenticity, challenge and balance (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005). O’Neil et al. (2008:737) also argue for a means to

“deepen our understanding of the complex synergies created by the flows of knowledge, skills and experience among a woman’s multiple life roles as a dynamic system.”

11.4 Careers as a transformative practice

Careers can be interpreted in terms of how people construe themselves (Kamoche et al., 2011). In my view careers can also be used as transformative practice in an effort to ‘free’ the self. While the bulk of the critical view of careers has talked about organizations as sites of resistance to hegemonic organizational Discourses, I introduce to the reader the idea of organizations as sites for transformation, and **careers as a transformative practice**. So while organizations serve as means of controlling employees, organizations can offer **‘potential to loosen constraints and thus resist normalization’**, (using what Taylor says (see page 254 above)).

The literature review in Chapter 3 indicated that P&B/BMw had used religion to resist hegemonic cultural Discourses to get education and employment. I add to that debate by positing that **careers can be a means of emancipation from hegemonic cultural Discourses/practices of the subordination of women by the diaspora**. BPw in this research have used career as a means of freedom from the traditional roles expected from them, i.e. that of a *mother/homemaker only*, breaking from the hegemony of the dominant Discourses of the diaspora. As Hanna (2013:669) makes a case for ‘care of the self’, he argues that Foucault expected individuals to resist, as

they have the power to do so, by turning themselves into subjects: “they possess the scope for resistance to dominant subjectivities with the ability to craft new ways of being”. Downing posits that Foucault argues “the modern self is constituted through and by means of, the operations of various kinds of disciplinary mechanisms” (Downing, 2008:2), thereby, becoming a *subject to*. Once these Discourses are embedded in us, we have become a *subject of*. Heyes (2011:160) explains:

“When a norm (which Foucault understands as a standard to which individuals are held as well as by which populations are defined) imposes itself on us, we are pressed to follow it. In this sense, *assujettissement*⁷⁴ describes a process of **constraint** and **limitation**.”

As demonstrated, individuals are subjected to multiple normalizing Discourses during their life. These Discourses create boundaries of ‘facts’ or ‘truth’. People draw on these Discourses to make sense of the world they live in and also to create a self. For BPw, role expectations are a vital part of identity. Role expectations depend on the contextual culture and the role of relevant others. It also requires “interaction with others, who express these expectations and react.” (Grote and Hall, 2013:267). The role of being a wife and mother is important for the participants. Thirty-one women have been married, and 23 are mothers, out of a sample of 37.

While they have absorbed hegemonic diasporic influences, they have also absorbed counter-hegemonic Discourses (**Step1**: Figure 6). All 37 have used careers as a transformative practice by continuing to pursue careers, concurrently juggling the work - life balance. Having family and work responsibilities concurrently has been found to be essential in previous studies. For example Rout et al. (1999) conducted a comparative study of 15 career women in India and 15 women in England of Indian

⁷⁴ A word used by Foucault.

origin. They found that for British Indian women, family roles were highly valued (as for the Indian women). However, **the British Indian women had “different notions of equality”**. As Taylor (2011:173) elaborates,

“Subjectivityis rather formed in and through relations of power.we **are simultaneously enabled and constrained by the same institutions and norms**. We therefore find ourselves confronted with the task of figuring out when and how we are enabled and when and how we are constrained, of determining ways in which **existing practices have the potential to loosen constraints and thus resist normalization**, and of employing those practices not only for the that purpose, but also in order to develop new and different practices-new and different ways of relating to ourselves and others. We need, in other words, to be able to reflect critically on the very process of becoming a subject.” (emphasis added).

All 37 women had a clear sense of career identity or the importance of work in their life, and felt empowered. Their answer to the question “Where do you see yourself in ten years in terms of your career?” reveals these influences. Almost all the women had plans to continue with work, but weave it around their families. The exceptions were the women who had no current husband/partner and whose responses were career- and not family-focused. The work life-balance was stated explicitly as important by Fatima, Nasreen, Bilquis, Tania, Sitwat, Saleha, Gulbano, Bushra, Aliya and Madiha. As some of the excerpts demonstrate, sometimes when they are confronted with conflicting Discourses, they reflect and re-create a self (technologies of self) which is pleasing to them, based on their goals and ideals. For example, Fatima states

“And then another opportunity came up and I got that as a, as a housing manager, I got that on a temporary basis. But by this time, I’d got married, and I’d had a young child, and my child was one year old, like ten month old, and it was very difficult trying to get out of the house, drop her off, then come back to a full-time job and look after her. **And then I decided to actually go part-time.** I said ‘**because at the end of the day, if I wanted to work full-time I could do and I could neglect you**’,[her children] I said ‘**but what I’m trying to do**’, I said ‘**I’m trying to balance my life, my work life, but at the same time making sure my children have got time, so that they know their mum was around**, so that, I can help them, keep an eye on homework, is their swimming kit up to date, is their homework diary marked, you know, so that I’m on top of those things as well.” (Fatima)

For Fatima, ‘the good mother’ Discourse (Goodwin and Huppertz, 2010) has power. While one may become a subject and submit to normalizing Discourses through the conduit of disciplinary power (technology of power), one may also resist one/multiple Discourses and transform oneself. **However, while empowering oneself, one is simultaneously constraining oneself using technologies of self.** Even though we may be resisting, we do not resist with complete freedom.

“I could probably have been a lot further ..em even now in my career. I have just kind of not pushed myself very far....family reasons really...my children have been young and I quite like the fact that I work very close to home and I like the fact that I can have a bit of a socialwork life balance. So I could have though, there have been opportunities that I could have moved progressed further. Chosen not to. So may be in ten years time now with the children growing up, yeah I probably see that I will be working in a more strategic role...em... more so than I am now. And may be in a bigger, more national organization.a more of national role rather than a local...that’s where I would like to see myself in ten years.” (Bilquis)

“you know, I’m not prepared to work the way I used to work, I physically can’t because I’ve got a young family, but I’m just not prepared to to do that. ...Um... it may be that I have to, become more of a, sort of, manager rather than a researcher. And I sort of have been, I mean I have a few management roles and I think that might be one way that I may have to or sort of be pushed into to going.” (Saleha,)

The work-life balance seemed important to these women, as they want to give time to members of their family - children, husbands, parents and siblings. Some of the women who did not have children mentioned cutting down on the number of hours worked when they did have children. Except for four women who did not mention ‘family’ as part of their plans, all said this. They have woven their careers around the family. This includes the husband and parents. The role of family, parents, siblings, their offspring’s and their own children, grandparents, aunts, uncles, community (a total set of relationships), is a vital part of the lives of these women. They have constructed their careers while fulfilling expectations and managing their roles as mother and wife. Because of their socialization, the role of wife and mother is crucial. For all these women, the role of the reference group has been important while they

negotiated their careers. The husband's role has been highly supportive. For the women who had young children, the husbands played a major role in childcare. For example Kainat, Mahnaz, Jabeen, Mehreen, Shafiq, Aliya, Nasreen, Saleha and Shaista all pointed out how supportive the husbands were.

“But fortunately after I got married, my husband was so supportive, and the family that I came to, ...er... my in-laws were very ...um..., very well educated, and my mother-in-law was a real believer in, women sort of being independent, and ...um..., so I had got a lot of support from within my husband's family, which was really encouraging. And my husband was very encouraging also and said in fact he, probably, you know disappointed that I didn't take more advantage of the fact that I could do, things that I wanted to do. So you know if I'd of got a job abroad, ...um... and a good job abroad, he'd of been quite happy for for us to move. You know he was ...um... very supportive, and still is really. So ...um... so that's how I think it's worked, you know when you said it's unusual that I've stayed in work, I don't think I could have if I didn't have my husband's support to do that.” (Bilquis)

The parents have been highly supportive, particularly the mothers. At times, in-laws have been supportive with respect to childcare as well. Ismet's, Mahiha's and Kudrat's in-laws took care of the children, and Mahnaz, Mehreen, Tania, Farwa, Sanam and Abida relied heavily on their mothers for childcare. Therefore, the reference group played a major role in enabling the women to continue careers. There are many influences on a person's career (Grote and Hall, 2013). However, Grote and Hall (2013) fail to consider cultural factors when describing referents. Reference groups can act as social drivers and as social constraints. In the case of the participants, the reference group has been a social driver in the pursuit of careers. The above findings suggest that family plays a major role in enabling these women to pursue careers. Thus, it seems that the participants have drawn on “loopholes” (Foucault, 2000) and the threefold **care of the self** as elaborated by Hanna (2013):

- *An ethical relationship to oneself* which requires a person to be reflexively engaged with oneself.

- *A relationship to others* where “one learns to act in a way which does not prioritize one over others but which takes on a concern for others and a responsibility to others that is fundamentally grounded through an emotional relationship to the other” (Hanna, 2013:664).
- *Thought, and critical reflection* as the thinking exercised by an individual when she is subjected to different Discourses and reflexively picks one over the other.

While being enabled to pursue careers, these women have also woven career pathways that are complying with gender norms and expectations. I use Foucault’s (1988a) quote (see page 250 of this thesis): thus they have complied with the moral codes (still under the effects of disciplinary power and bound to the moral code) and **used their own means** (hard work, being a good student) and the **help of others** (husbands/parents) to achieve **a state of happiness** (empowered woman) **by** using an activity or means (careers) and thereby turning themselves into ethical subjects.

With respect to BPw, there are multiple societal Discourses in action. These women were born and brought up in the UK, went to primary school and eventually to university in the UK and were confronted with post-colonial, post 9/11-7/7 Discourses, as well as masculine organization Discourses. They use counter-hegemonic Discourses of the host society to create a third space (Bhabha, 1994), thus subverting dominant forms of cultural identity. The effects of all these Discourses are visible in the creation of hybrid identities, although these are intersectional, negative and stigmatized identities. As stated, among my sample, the notion of mothering seems to be an important component, at times even the essence of being a woman.

These women have not broken this ‘disciplinary power’.⁷⁵ Their perception of mothering is not negative. It is something that most aspire to and managed to weave into their careers, or as Foucault would put it, **have created a way of thinking about subjectivity** (Heyes, 2011), or disciplined themselves to be ‘certain kind of persons’ (ibid.:162). What is this disciplining? **Why have they created ‘a way of thinking of subjectivity’?**

Women who are managing young children and are in full-time work are in the majority in my sample. The debate between traditional and contemporary/non-traditional models is still an area of discussion and research in career literature (Arthur, 2008; Rodrigues and Guest, 2010; Savickas, 2011; Bendien, 2013). As shown in the literature review, there are linear career pathways and alternative career pathways. For the sample in my study, linear, traditional careers paths are still predominant. Some recent empirical research points to traditional career paths still being used by women (McDonald et al., 2005; O’Neil et al., 2004; Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005; Cabrera, 2009). Among the participants, currently, eight women are not on linear pathways, while 29 women are on traditional/linear career paths. With respect to the participants of this study, Sullivan and Baruch’s (2009) assertion that traditional careers should not be assumed to belong to a bygone era and not to be applicable in contemporary careers, is correct. Some research also points to women giving up linear careers (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005; Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006; Mallon and Cohen, 2001), especially after becoming mothers (Correll et al., 2007; Rubin and Wooten, 2007; Cahusac and Kanji, 2013). Given that 23 women were

⁷⁵ A foucauldian term.

mothers, it is surprising that all but two were in full-time work and were managing to fulfil their role expectations and yet at the same time felt empowered as career women. In my sample, in choosing the linear career path participants have broken away from the traditional ideology (Goodwin and Huppertz, 2010) of ‘at-home, full-time mother’, yet continued to be a good mother by using family members as primary childcare givers. The focus on ‘good mother’ was more to do with a reluctance to use formal childcare facilities, as found in a previous study (Duberley and Carrigan, 2013). While this chapter helped me understand why the participants were so committed to a career, it still did not answer some other questions in my mind. I still pondered **why it was so necessary to be a mother and why they have created ‘a way of thinking of subjectivity’?**

11.5 Final Thoughts

This chapter has attempted to answer the sub-question: **How have BPw’s careers progressed (developed/ evolved over time)?** Using technologies of self (Foucault, 1988a; 1988c), I demonstrated how BPw construct careers, using careers as a transformative practice.⁷⁶ For Foucault, agency is exercised through resistance to dominant Discourse and this is done in an ethical manner through “technologies of the self”. For Foucault, subjectivity is an *activity* we perform, that is always bound by constraints. The constraints can take various forms. For some BPw, it is their femininity, for some it is the role of a good wife, for some it is religion, for some it is being a good daughter, and for most it is different concerns simultaneously. However, while accepting these constraints, as ‘ethical subjects’ they have transformed

⁷⁶ To escape the disciplinary power of gendered nurturing.

themselves and now feel empowered. They have created ‘a way of thinking of subjectivity’ (Heyes, 2011). However, this raised more questions for me and I continued with the immersion process, looking for an answer to the broad research question: **How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers, in professional and managerial contexts?**

Chapter 12: Glass chains and Immersion 7

12.1 Chapter Synopsis

In this chapter, still drawing on Foucault, technologies of the self and the notion of ethical selves, I demonstrate how the individual is never free from Discourse. I propose that individuals constrain themselves through *glass chains* (imperceptible links to our moral codes). While Foucault talks about links to moral codes, he does not give these links a name. *Glass chains* are the **imperceptible links**. They allow us limited movement, but not complete escape from disciplinary power. The individual is pulled towards the Discourse embedded in intersectional identities through our moral codes (Figure 6:174) so that the individual behaves in a certain way. *Glass* because they are invisible, and *chains* because they hold us back or constrain us without our being aware that *they even exist*. *Glass chains* connect us to the “prescriptive elements that make up the code” (Foucault, 2000:365). I will demonstrate that the participants’ are still wearing links to their Discourse in various ways. Consequently, they are still bound to Discourses (by *glass chains*) even though they may think otherwise.

12.2 The notion of Glass Chains

Earlier, Du Gay et al. (2000:2) suggested that subjects are ‘interpellated’ by or ‘sutured’ to the subject position made available in Discourse “**through the operation of the unconscious**”. In the previous chapter, I established that being a mother was vital to the participants’. I now explore how they were ‘sutured’ to the subject position or bound to Discourses.

In Figure 6:174, I have demonstrated in **Step 1** that individuals are subjected to hegemonic and counter-hegemonic Discourses. Discourses (hegemonic and counter-

hegemonic) are a power that creates/shapes the self in **Step 2**, in the case of my participants creating intersectional identities. Hegemonic and counter-hegemonic Discourses simultaneously influence the *behaviour* of an individual. Foucault defines **acts** as

“real behaviour of the people in relation **to the moral code** which is imposed on them. I think we have to distinguish between the code which determines which acts are **permitted or forbidden** and the code which determines the **positive or negative value** of the different possible behaviours.” (Foucault, 1991a:352, emphasis added)

Two facts need to be highlighted in the above quote. Firstly, according to Foucault, ‘the code’ has rules (forbidden/permitted) and values (positive and negative). Secondly, moral codes precede behaviour (the act). This *set of values and rules of action* (moral codes embedded in Discourse) have been disseminated through institutions such as family and educational and religious institutions, and affect the *real behaviour* of individuals as they adjust themselves (technologies of the self) in relation to the rules and values that are recommended to them. Furthermore, Foucault explains that the ‘prescriptive system’ or moral codes are “explicitly or implicitly operative in their culture, and of which they are more or less aware” (Foucault, 2000:365-6.). While Foucault talks about moral codes, he does not explain the ‘suturing’, or how we are linked to the moral codes. Foucault talks about links to moral codes but does not give it a label. I call these links to the moral codes GLASS CHAINS (See Figure 6:174). I assert that these links to moral codes are invisible to an observer and at times *invisible even to the individual*. **Glass** because they are invisible and **chains** because they hold us back or constrain us without our being aware that *they even exist*. The participants are still tied to their Discourse in various ways. They are bound to Discourses (by *glass chains*). They affect our behaviour by constraining us or holding us back at certain times, without our being explicitly

aware, thereby allowing *limited* movement. They, in fact, are suturing us to our subject positions. *Glass chains* connect us to the “prescriptive elements that make up the code” (Foucault, 2000:365).

I further argue that these moral codes, nurtured through Discourse and embedded in us, are similar to an *impression*, explained by Ahmed (2004) as an *enduring* mark. We are therefore cast or moulded (Czarniawska-Joerges and Höpfl, 2002) “**through the operation of the unconscious**” (Du Gay et al., 2000:2). Within my participants, I can see the moral codes (rules: forbidden/permitted and values: positive and negative), “and the links to the moral codes”, which are invisible to people at large, but of which the participants are “more or less aware” (Foucault, 2000:365-6) because of similar “cultures” (ibid.). Consequently, as Collins (1999:85) posits the individual “will always see the world differently because of her social location”. *Glass chains* is a metaphor I am using to elucidate a diluted form of disciplinary power. It is *self-exercised* by an individual to *keep herself within her moral codes* yet allows her freedom; although it is limited freedom. While technologies of power give *no room* for manoeuvring, glass chains, within technologies of self, give room for manoeuvring. While disciplinary power completely subjugates a person and results in the individual re-producing Discourse through the practice of choices that produce a life dictated by that Discourse, and consequently in docile selves, *glass chains* allow individuals to become ethical selves and transform their lives ethically. Thus the notion of *glass chains* underpins ethical selves (Figure 6:174).

In the sections below, I will use excerpts from the participants’ narratives to highlight the moral codes and their behaviour which is the result of the *glass chains* (the imperceptible links to moral codes). However, the notion has wider applicability as it

explains the ‘link to the Discourse’ or link to the moral code: moral codes that are created through Discourse. In the case of my participants, their culture, in the form of behaviour dictated by gender, religion or nationality, is made visible. However, any individual can wear glass chains. Moral codes may vary based on the culture, but that *link* to the moral code is the *glass chain*.

12.3 Glass Chains in action: Regulating participants

A moral code is deeply embedded in an individual with rules (forbidden/permitted) and values (positive and negative) (Foucault, 1991a). The Muslim religion has certain rules. For example, Muslims can eat only certain animals’ flesh. Pig is forbidden. Alcohol consumption and getting drunk is forbidden. Sex outside marriage is forbidden. Moreover, any animal meat must be slaughtered in a certain manner, otherwise that meat is forbidden for consumption. If the animal is slaughtered according to the prescribed rules, it is labelled *halal*. In the UK, *halal* meals are not available easily. Nonetheless, the participants would *not eat* non-*halal* food even when away from home, when no one was watching or enforcing the rule. They were exercising self-constraint or following the Islamic norms. Glass chains are visible in the talk of the BPw participants. For example, Aliza, who is 51, had this to say:

PARTICIPANT: “Oh yeah, yeah I mean that was *a big thing*. ...Um.. *you know we had to eat halal*, so at school ...um... in them days you used to have the meat and two veg, and being Asian kids we didn’t want to eat boiled vegetables, so we used to just have the pudding, and I remember the the dinner ladies used to feel sorry for us and give us two plates of puddings and deserts and stuff. *Yeah the halal thing was a big thing in my family*.

INTERVIEWER: I’m surprised that as a little girl you didn’t break the rule, I mean I would have thought that you know.....

PARTICIPANT: *No no I didn’t break the rule at all*, it’s really really weird because, when I went to university, I *was really really surprised because I met other students from Muslim students from Iran and Iraq and everywhere and they broke the rule*. As soon as they’d arrive and they’re interpretation was ‘oh we’re on Christian land so we can eat it’. *And actually some of them broke it where they were eating bacon and pork, and as Pakistani kids we were like really shocked that ...er... Muslim students from other parts of the world, because it was so instilled in us. It was like ‘you have to make sure it’s halal, you have to make sure it’s halal’*.

INTERVIEWER: *As an adult now have you ever broken it or?*

PARTICIPANT: *As a, I can't, I have tried, because I'm not particularly practicing religious, but I just can't do it.*

INTERVIEWER: Yeah yeah I understand.

PARTICIPANT: I just psychologically can't do it. *So and when I was at university my friends used to joke 'cos we used to we used to have the odd drink but I wouldn't eat non-halal food.'*

The last sentence also reveals her moral code. As she was a Muslim, pork, alcohol and non-*halal* meat were all forbidden. However, she allowed herself to drink as a young adult as part of university experience, but could not bring herself to try non-*halal* food. As a professional woman who has to socialize as part of work, she will not drink alcohol, but will go to a pub. **This adherence to certain moral codes is the glass chains.** *Glass* because they are invisible and *chains* because they hold us back or constrain us without our being aware that *they even exist*. They affect our behaviour by constraining us or holding us back at certain times, without our being explicitly aware, thereby allowing *limited* movement.

For some participants, the glass chains began to exert themselves as soon as they entered university. As adult women, it seemed a number of the participants felt different because they did not comply with the white norms for intimate relationships.

PARTICIPANT: “...Um... yeah [laugh]. I have actually, all my life, but I think that's *because of who I am as well as the cultural thing, 'cos I've, things like decisions I've made like ...um... you know, with my husband, he's been the only man I've ever been interested in and been with, ...um... that's made me feel very different to other people in this country.* And then I feel very different to Pakistanis because, you know, ...um... I want to work, and I don't immediately want to start a family and have children. You know, ...um... so yes, I do.” (Sana)

They live in a country where being married may not be a norm any more, yet these women were insisting on marriage. They could not imagine having children without marriage. Their glass chains held them back from breaking an implicit code. Safia, who is currently involved with a non-Muslim, said this:

“I am not married but I have met someone who I think might be *it*. Maybe I would get married. *I would want to be religiously married.* I think it would be a bit of a problem as he is an American catholic born but *atheist and I am not going to have*

children if I give birth to them and they are not Muslims. So we will have to see. I again expect him, [to marry] being a Muslim [herself]. That's fine I can't force him to be something they are not *but I definitely want* he's actually a man who is very open to the word and I don't know... it's too early to have that conversation but I don't anticipate too many problems. He is a very sensitive human being.” (Safia)

Farwa, Saleha, Aliya, Madiha, Zainab, Sana, Asma and Sanam married white British men. Farwa, now 43 years old and a manager, was under tremendous pressure to marry a Pakistani man of her parents' choice at the age of 18. She left home to avoid this. During that period, she began living with a white man and soon became pregnant. Her father came to visit her and found her six months pregnant and unmarried. Her parents asked her to come home so they could take care of her. Farwa went back but says she got married for her parent's sake.

Respondent: *“I knew though when I got married that I wasn't going to stay with him. I knew it. I knew it.* I knew that, I'm not going to be with you for very long. And it, yeah it didn't, two and a half years, something like that, and I broke up, and then, I've been on my own ever since.

Interviewer: So basically you tied the legal knot.

Respondent: *To save face, for family and, yeah.”*

Farwa is divorced now and has not seen her husband since her younger son was a few months old. She says she is glad her husband disappeared from their lives, as she could bring her boys up as Muslims. Madiha, now a 41-year-old career officer, was married to a Pakistani-origin man when she was 17 years old and had two children. She had an unhappy married life. Her in-laws treated her badly, and her husband was violent. He eventually divorced her, as he fell in love with a Bangladeshi woman. She is now happily married to a white man who converted to Islam. She says it was important for her to marry him as she was part of the Pakistani diaspora, and she lived among them. It took a while for her children to accept him, but they are all settled now.

Interviewer: “Why did you have to get married? You could have lived with him.

Participant: Because, *oh god no, because obviously we're Muslims* and I live, I still live in the same community ...um... you know, I'm regarded quite highly in ...um... my community. ...Um...

Interviewer: So he's moved into that house of yours.

Participant: Yeah. *He reverted to Islam, and he went to, you know, the mosques and things.*"

Aliya, now a 45-year-old consultant and a mother of three, fell in love with a white English man. She met him when she was 30 years old. He converted to Islam. Even then her parents resisted her marriage and would not approve.

"I remember speaking to mum and dad about it and they were devastated. Absolutely devastated at the time, and I remember thinking oh my goodness, I didn't expect that. *Because you, you know, he's prepared to convert and again, by the book rather than what people say..... Anyway so ...um... mum and dad said 'no, we don't allow it, what will people say?'* And I said 'well look, in Islam it's allowed, and I'm allowed to marry somebody who's a', and in fact if I've helped him convert, then surely that's the best thing you can ever do? People say I go to jannat, I don't know if that's true but, anyway so ...um... so yeah they said no, and I said to him, *I said 'look, my parents won't allow it, I can't do it, I just can't do it, I cannot, as much as I'm', I was, you know, there was a bit of resentment, thinking I'm 33 now, I'm not an 18 year old, I'd been, you know, I've travelled, I've worked, I've made decisions good, bad, ugly, you know. I think I'm old enough to know what I want. So I said no to him* and we sort of, you know, didn't speak after that. I think he realised it was not going to happen ..."

However, after a few months her parents capitulated and gave their blessing, and she married him. Zainab, who is now a 27-year-old manager and is a young mother, married a white British man whom she had known since university when she was 19 years old. Her parents were not happy about the situation, so he converted to Islam, and they got married in 2010. Sana, who is 29-year-old lawyer, married a man she had met when she was eighteen, in 2001. They had a civil ceremony and then had a blessing in the church. She feels she is not a Muslim.

"Um... I mean, yeah it's rare nowadays because of equality and diversity, *so I usually say I'm no religion, because I think it's hypocritical to call myself a Muslim if I don't really, I'm not, I don't observe Muslim things.* And *I don't drink* but that's more out of respect to, well I think it's more out of habit because I never have and I have no desire to. *I don't eat pork* ...um... but that's out of respect to my mother, ...um... you know, so I wouldn't call myself a Muslim, *I usually say I'm no religion.*"

However, the contradictions also appear in her conversation about having a boyfriend.

“And I didn’t want to have a physical relationship with somebody who I didn’t know was in love with me, ...um... *and I definitely think that is because of my mother, you know, and the cultural background, and I’m really glad in that sense that, you know, it helped me, saved me from more pain,* ...um... But yeah, I mean it was, when *my white friends heard about this experience they were just astounded that, you know, it was only this one person throughout my life and even now that I’m married, that I haven’t had fun,* you know, and just had frivolous casual relationships with men, which they all have, you know, and how can I still be happy now being married, because don’t I regret not doing that, you know, before when I was young. **So it has really shaped, I think, a lot of my decisions.**”

Asma, who is 34 now and has a mixed heritage (white mother, Pakistani father) and is a lawyer by profession, married a white English man. Her mother and the Pakistani mother lived in the same house in the U.K and had a daughter each (Asma was one) a few weeks apart. She met her husband soon after qualifying, dated him for a while, then moved in with him after six months. They got married in 2011, as it was important to her father. Sanam, who is 53 now and has two young adult daughters, married a white man when she was 26. She had met him while at university. She never got the approval of her parents and left home to get married. He became a Muslim. For five years, she never saw either parent. She saw her mother many years later after the birth of her first child, in the hospital. Her father was so upset at her mother for meeting her even then that he never spoke to her for many years. As the stories and narratives demonstrate, the person preventing them from breaking that code was they themselves. These are all women who have successful careers and are in the workforce at managerial levels. They are economically independent women and theoretically can do whatever they want. Yet their choices do not seem to be **free** choices. They seem to operate in a third space (Bhabha, 1994), practicing ethical self-care (Foucault, 1988a) by making choices that are acceptable to the *self* (which is still bound to the moral codes). The glass chains are not only visible in their decisions regarding life partners but are also visible in the everyday activities of university life.

“It was fine and once again there was girls that were rebelling, ...um... a lot, but I think well I, *I just, I don't know, I'm just so glad that I didn't kind of go down the drink avenue, or the other avenue what they did.* I mean I had a good company of friends, and some of those friends, you see the thing is, I don't know what it was with some of those girls. Maybe it was the instant freedom, or the fact that they tried a drink and thought we like it, or they're hanging around with Hindus and Sikhs and English girls, and they they feel that they had to drink. But ...um... I was hanging around with a girl that didn't really drink, and another one, she drank a little. And some of the English girls. But nobody every forced me to drink, and they accepted me for who I was, so if I wanted to go, if we wanted to go to a party, and everyone wanted to go to a disco it was fine, you know, 'cos that's what they do and you know you go to Freshers' Week, you go, *you go and mingle, but you don't have to have a drink.*” (Fatima)

Bushra is 47 years old, married to a professional, the mother of two teenagers, a consultancy business owner, and a solicitor by professional training. She comes from a working class background. She commuted daily to a university away from home till her third year, when she was allowed to live on campus.

“And then when I went to university, again my social scene opened up, and, even then, *II feel I always had a cautious head on me, I was always very wary of the fact that, you know, I always want to do thing with the confines of what my parents think would be right. So, and because they hadn't put a stop on integration, which I thought was a very very sensible thing to do, 'cos then perhaps I would have been one of these people that went off and went do lally, I didn't, it was a really seamless sort of integration, but I felt different. Because I didn't do the social things, social fun things, that my English peers were doing. And I felt as if I can't do that. So you know, basic things like, you know, the art of flirtation for example. Which is something you're always taught to look down, you don't look a man in the eye etc.* Not to the degree that perhaps the Bangladeshis would, but you know, you wouldn't outwardly flirt with the male, you know, sex. *Because you felt as if you needed to be humble.* Even those sort of things, you had to learn[emphasis by the speaker] later on, because you thought if you don't do it you're not going to get on in the world, you know, women have an asset, you've got to be able to use part of that. *But that's not a natural thing, that's something that was had to be self-taught, because it so went against the grain of of how you ought to be operating as a, as a Muslim, as a Muslim woman. You know. So and and you always used to feel, I as growing up, I found the male attention really embarrassing.* I didn't know how to deal with it. Because I wasn't taught to go out and basically, you know, deal with them, so you know, that sort of segregation thing where you would automatically veer towards girls and not the boys etc. That took me a long time to break out of.”

The glass chains are most visible in the narratives of after-work-socializing at *the interstices of work life*, (Werbner, 2013a). Parveen, who has taken time out to

homeschool her children, was a successful lawyer and speaks of her time at the law firm.

“when we were working we had to socialise ...um... and I found, *initially I found it very uncomfortable*, ...um... you know because after, you would have after after work *drinks in a pub for example, and I would find that really uncomfortable because* ...um... you know, even if we even if you're having dinner in a pub for example, you would have dinner and then people would start drinking and then by the end of the *evening it would get very ...um... you know, people would start behaving in ways that they wouldn't ...um... ..er... or saying things that they wouldn't normally. So it was uncomfortable and especially when you're the only one who's not drinking, then that is somewhat, that is something that is picked up upon.* ...Um... so things like that were always quite, were always awkward.”

In the excerpt above one can see multiple Discourses at work that have created glass chains leading to her feeling of discomfort. The work Discourse means she *has* to socialize, the Muslim discourse means she cannot and will not drink alcohol; yet she will go to a pub because that is where the work colleagues are going, and while all around her are having alcohol she will be the odd one out and feel excluded. This feeling was also present in Asma, who was **not** brought up as a Muslim as she had a white British mother. She grew up eating pork. However, she does not drink alcohol for health reasons.

Participant: “I mean I do have to say interestingly that when people say that let's go for a drink, being a thing you do at work... aaaa. as a non drinker, as somebody who doesn't drink *I already find it that's it's something that's exclusive you know that excludes if you don't drink.* So it's not because I feel uncomfortable because of my background, it's just because I don't like doing it. For health reasons.

Interviewer: OK, how does it exclude one?

Participant: Well... *the thing is the drinking culture is just quite, you know 'why aren't you drinking? aren't you having another one? Why aren't you getting high?* Where as, you know if we all went for a nice meal, or a nice lunch it would be a different environment, so I don't really like work related drinking, I mean I'm leaving soon so I'm going to have an evening at pub but you know it's, it's not my choice, it's not my favourite thing.”

While most of the participants gave in to this work norm, Shirin has resisted. Shirin is a junior lawyer who is ambitious and has done well in her law firm.

“...um... they go, I mean at the beginning *I felt like I had to socialise, I felt like I had to go to the pub ...um...* on a Friday or whatever it was, and I did used to. *And I'd never been to a pub before that.* So when I went to uni I didn't go *but when I started the firm, they'd be like 'let's go out for drinks'. And I thought well*

yeah, because I need to get to know them, so I did go a couple of times. ...Um... but as I've become more, into Islam and my own din *and I'm just thinking actually you know what, I'm not going to go to a pub ever again.*"

So while telling their stories, glass chains were visible in their narratives about work, when they talked about marriage and having children, as well as when they were socializing in a pub. Self-identity

"will regulate our desires, behaviours and social relations.....Foucault described a system of social control that operates less by repression than by the very cultural meanings and self-identities that it produces." (Seidman, 2013:182)

This regulation through the glass chains is visible in the narratives of these women. The *gendered nurturing* creates hurdles for these women to assimilate into the work culture or corporate work culture that has *gendered hierarchies*. It creates shackles that hold them back from fully integrating, fully embracing and fitting in with the norms of work culture, whether it is through dress, talk, socializing, or the importance of being married and being a mother. Within the sample I have discovered certain glass chains. However as Knights and Kerfoot (2004:449) assert, men "are also imprisoned by the demands of masculine discourses to be independent, tough manly protective and responsible 'breadwinners' for them".

12.4 Final Thoughts

I have so far proposed that Discourses create social structures (norms, expectations, beliefs and value systems) and institutions (family, schools, etc.). Social structures have an effect on the self, while simultaneously the internal dynamics of self-processes (*glass chains, disciplinary power and technologies of self*) direct us to choose between docile selves or ethical selves. The participants in my research used the *ethical self* and chose careers as a means of transformation for the self, while still maintaining links to their moral codes; overwhelmingly choosing motherhood **and** careers. As I had still not found the answer to the broad research question: **How do**

highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women *experience* careers in professional and managerial contexts?, I try to understand *experience* as I look across cases in the next chapter. For example, how each talked about finding a first job or promotion. I looked for similarities and differences in work experiences. As the literature had given me some indications, I was specifically looking for racism or sexism across the work experiences. In particular, the excerpts (participants' narratives/voices coded in NVivo 10) told me how each participant looked at the *experience*, the variation in the *experience* and the influence of gender, class, age, race and religion on these *experiences*.

Chapter 13: Career experiences and the reproduction

13.1 Chapter Synopsis

This chapter will attempt to answer the sub-question: **How does the BP woman find the experience of being a manager/professional in the workplace**, whilst working in organizations, in the UK? I demonstrate how *some* of the participants' career experiences are the consequences of intersectional identities and glass chains working simultaneously within inequality regimes inside organizations, resulting at times in invisible barriers to progression (Step 4: Figure 6:174). All obstacles, formal, informal and invisible perpetuate and re-produce Discourses and narratives of otherness (Step 5: Figure 6: page 174). Indeed, being at the intersection of disadvantaged groups creates a situation that perpetuates and reproduces inequalities.

13.2 Organizational practices: Formal, informal and invisible barriers

I have so far proposed that Discourses create the norms, expectations, beliefs and value systems of individuals. I have also demonstrated that the identity of a British Pakistani woman is constructed negatively within the Pakistani diaspora, as these women are subjected to patriarchal norms. The ethnic identity is negatively constructed because of post-colonial Discourses, and the Muslim identity is negatively constructed because of post-9/11 discourses. Each British Pakistani woman is visible as a whole, but in reality, has intersectional identities (Werbner, 2013a), because in each case the identity carries a stigma. The internal dynamics of self-processes (*glass chains and technologies of self*) create the *ethical self*, which chooses careers as a site for resistance and a means of transformation for the self. These individuals venture into the corporate world and encounter another power that expects compliance: the organization. Every organization has its own distinct context

and managerial Discourses (Step 3: Figure 6:174), which can be “multiple, fragmented and distinctive” (Halford and Leonard, 2006). This results also in outcomes that are not “singular or fixed at either an organizational or individual level” (ibid.:660). The employee is expected to become a subject to organizational norms (Cooper and Burrell, 1988; Koenig et al., 2011). Organizational Discourses target employee subjectivity and compliance (Halford and Leonard, 2006). Consequently, a model employee is compliant with organizational desires. As Clegg (1998:44) states:

“the discourse of organization theory represents and reflects back upon the practice of organization. This practice is irremediably part of the conversation that is culture, relatively enveloped and contained within the organizational form.”

Moreover, as Acker (2006a:44, emphasis added) argues, not only are inequality regimes in flux, they are “linked to inequality in the *surrounding society*, its politics, economic conditions, history, and culture.” This view bears similarity to those of post-colonial researchers, and in particular of Stuart Hall (Hall, 1990; Hall, 2000; Hall and Back, 2009). While some studies point to racism and sexism (Davidson, 1997; Bell and Nkomo, 2001; Nkomo et al., 1989), some researchers claim that overt racism is in decline in Britain today (Tomlinson et al., 2013).

In the case of my participants, the feelings of being socially marginalized and of being an outsider are apparent in their narratives in the previous chapters. As the narratives reveal, they **feel** they are encountering discrimination in the workplace specifically because they are women, they are of a minority race, and they are of a minority religion. According to Werbner (2013a:415), the challenge of intersectionality is,

“to identify those ‘negative’ identities like race, class, ability or gender that *reproduce inequality and stigma almost surreptitiously, in the interstices of everyday life.*” (emphasis added)

This chapter will therefore focus on the interplay of power (normalized via Discourses) within identity. It will attempt to demonstrate how the identity of an individual is affected by organizations and their “inequality regimes”, which end up further re-producing feelings of being the other (see Figure 6:174).

“Inequality processes shape work organizations and the experiences of employees at every organizational level.” (Acker, 2009:202)

13.2.1 Organizational practices and ‘being the norm’.

Inequality regimes are defined as “interlocked practices and processes that result in continuing inequalities in all work organizations” (Acker, 2006a:441), or as “interrelated practices, processes, actions, and meanings that result in and maintain class, gender and racial inequalities within particular organizations” (Acker, 2009:201). She defines *inequality* in organizations as “systematic disparities” (ibid.:202). This definition covers a large area, defined by others as formal and informal barriers. Acker argues that the bases for inequality are race, gender and class, with her conception of inequality regimes incorporating intersectionality. For Acker, structural barriers include techniques for organizing work hierarchies. These include job and wage classification systems. Recruitment and hiring is another area of practice where inequalities are created. The ideal worker varies from job to job, and processes/procedures are created to encourage the hiring of that ‘ideal’ worker, at times to the detriment of gender or race. Similarly, wage-setting and supervision are affected by what the organization (in other words its managers) assumes about is appropriate in terms of skill requirements and fair wages with respect to women and race. She also asserts that the process of creation and re-creation of inequalities is dynamic.

While there may be formal and informal barriers, some argue that subtle discrimination can become an informal and invisible barrier to career progression (Van Laer and Janssens, 2011). Subtle discrimination and indirect discrimination has been called aversive racism by Dovidio and Gaertner (1986; 1989; 2000). Not knowing the ‘right behaviour’ in an organization means that you are not the norm. “Acceptance into a majority group may depend on how well one’s identity is perceived to comply with cultural norms” (Hatmaker, 2012:2). Not being the norm can make an individual visible (Kanter, 1977), just like “people of any kind who are rare and scarce (ibid.:207). **This visibility (because one is deviant and is linked to the moral code) can become an invisible barrier to progression.** Simpson and Lewis (2005:1263) argue that *the norm* makes the occupants of the norm invisible, “evading scrutiny and interrogation while the devalued ‘Other’ is problematized and made to embody difference”. Consequently fitting in is crucial. As Prins (2006) argues, fitting in is essential for belonging. Dryburgh (1999) explains that fitting in is essential to the internalizing of professional identity, which is dependent on the culture of the profession. Acker (2006a:451) states

“What is appropriate varies, of course, in relation to the situation, the organizational culture and history, and the standpoints of the people judging appropriateness.”

The dilemma for the participants is that they are unable to ‘fit in’ wholeheartedly. The participants are wearing glass chains linking them to their religion, diaspora or gender. People around them (other employees/bosses/subordinates) are not aware/not conscious that these women are ‘Pakistani women’. The participants are aware of the expected behaviours that come with being British Pakistani women, versus what is expected on the job. This not only creates ‘conflict’ or emotional labour, but also invisible barriers. This ‘conflict’ has been discussed by Werbner (2013b:41), when she explains the case of a second-

generation British Pakistani woman who goes to Pakistan. She argues that being bi-cultural had created a “ ‘double consciousness’, an awareness of competing rules, expectations and a doubling up of a subject's sense of belonging and alienation, which no return home can reverse”. My findings are in line with her assertion. I add to her position by asserting that these imprints or links to moral codes or glass chains can hold an individual back from becoming ‘the norm’ in organizations (and societies), and thus can become an **invisible** barrier to progression.

Furthermore, the narratives of the participants demonstrate that some of them have grown up knowing more about the Pakistani diaspora world and the Pakistani way of life than the British way of life, which makes them feel different. This has resulted in their not being adequately socialized to cope with the work world, mainly because the work world is white and masculine (Acker, 2006a). In Britain, they are not considered a part of the majority population (BWM: British white majority). They are BME (Black and Minority Ethnic). These women bring their intersectional locations to the work world, which are lacking (because of these identities) to an extent, and have to learn the ways of a white and largely masculine organizational world. While they may not be aware of it, their gender, ethnic and religious/national links to moral codes become glass chains, holding them back from wholeheartedly assimilating to organizational work practices, and inadvertently reproducing the feeling of being the ‘other’ (Czarniawska-Joerges and Höpfl, 2002) and enhancing the feeling of social marginality (Prasad et al., 2007).

13.2.2 Organizational practices and glass chains at work.

While the participants in my research encountered both formal barriers and informal barriers, in this chapter, I focus on **invisible barriers and the inability to fit in or**

merge and become invisible as an outcome of glass chains interacting with inequality regimes. While the Protestant work ethic and ‘myths of the frontier’ leave ‘cultural imprints’ on organizations (Prasad and Caproni, 1997), it is equally possible for diasporic Discourses to leave their own cultural imprint on an individual. In the last chapter, I named these cultural imprints or links to moral codes ‘glass chains’. These imprints or links to moral codes or glass chains can hold an individual back from becoming ‘the norm’ in another Discourse. Practices that are considered ‘the norm’ by insiders, i.e. the British white majority (BWM), could be seen as ‘strange’ by outsiders (BME). Indeed, gendered organizational cultures create pressure on women (and some men) to be masculine or conform to masculine behaviour in organizations (see 2.4.3 above). With respect to BPw, they feel *outsiders* not only because they ‘look different’ but because they **behave differently** or “who you act as being” (Vignoles et al., 2011:2). When ethnic, religious or gender identity faces conflict with organizational practices that are white and male (Acker, 2006), it can create emotional labour (Syed, 2008b).

For example, the norms of working in UK organizations include practices that imply a certain dress code and certain social skills for both men and women. Although noone voiced religion as a barrier to work performance, the participants’ comments revealed that they were conscious of their religious nurture and it was something that held them back from completely assimilating or becoming the ‘norm’. Mostly, it was *visible* in the way they dressed, what they ate, and how they behaved. They made a conscious effort to dress ‘modestly’ yet *look western*, as has been found in previous research (Rana, 1998). This was also a strategy to become invisible or disappear as “visibility as Other is a problematic state of alterity” (Lewis and Simpson, 2012:151). The definition of ‘modest’ was not to show bare arms or legs or cleavage and to wear

loose clothes, thus trying to remain within the prescription of public appearance for women in Islam. If they wore a dress, it would be with black stockings and boots so that the skin on their legs was not visible. Generally, they wore trousers to work. As Syed (2008b) argues, the conflicting requirements of one's societal and employment contexts may require one to transgress one's moral values to fulfil job requirements. According to him, there may be “tension between work role, managerial culture, personal identity and wider social contexts”, ultimately resulting in “conflicting display rules, imposed by work and society” (Syed, 2008b:194). Furthermore, BPw's gendered cultural upbringing, which includes gendered role expectations and gendered behaviour (Dwyer, 2000; Dale, 2002a; 2002b), comes into conflict with organizational expected behaviours. For example

“I mean culturally as a Pakistani woman you're sort of taught to be, reserved, taught not to put yourself forward, not to be ...um... assertive, you know, those aren't qualities which are encouraged. ...Um... but as a lawyer you have to be like that. ...Um... so in a way it was it was unnatural for me to go and be assertive, to be pushy, to be bossy, but another candidate would have no problem doing that, because they haven't been told that they shouldn't be like that.” (Parveen)

“When I first started working I think, you know I think, even despite those things I think it is still uncomfortable to talk to men, when I first started working. Not to the, you know, so for example, banking's a very male dominated industry, so you would often find yourself as the only woman in a meeting with ten men right. So when you first start working that is a little bit uncomfortable. But, I've got to the point now where it doesn't bother me at all, ...um... and you know, you kind of, you kind of just have to get over it right. I mean.” (Salma)

Another important finding related to their gendered cultural upbringing includes not knowing enough white behaviour.

Participant: “yes. So the culture, the corporate culture like you are saying, you know the expectations people have of you, the way you operate, the way you interact, the way you communicate, it's all culturally defined. **There are a certain etiquette that I was not familiar with, you know. First time I started to entertain clients, I never did that in my family, in my career. I did not even know how to entertain clients because it was not part of my upbringing. But other people in the company had that knowledge and currency. They knew how to do those things. I have had to learn those. Now I can do it because I have learnt how to do it. How to network, that was not part of my environment. So now I have learnt how to network. And now I have learnt how to identify, those individuals that can help**

me to succeed. But I still will not compromise my identity. So that has pulled me back I am sure. (Nasreen)

PARTICIPANT: **So I've I've always known, I've always consciously known, that So if I look at the ZZZZ department, I'm the only Asian girl in the whole of the ZZZZ department. So there's what, over two hundred people who work in ZZZZ, in XXXX's.**

And, there's me and yes I'm absolutely there, but do I feel different? Yes I do. And **there's, and every so often, it's it's it's certain things that make me feel different. And maybe that's maybe that's because I don't share a joke with somebody, I don't understand a joke with somebody. Maybe it's because there's certain things that I won't do that they will do. There's certain things that people come back from a weekend away and the way that they will share their news. There's there's something always there underneath the surface that always, I always know that I'm different.**" (Suraiya)

Along with the expectations of being *white* and *male*, it seems the findings of this research add another category contributing to the 'otherness Discourse', namely class.

As Mehreen and Suraiya explain:

PARTICIPANT: "...Er... not gender, I suspect it was to do with ...um...(long pause) it was to **do with what university you'd been to. It was to do with how white middle class you are, it's to do with your background. And there's a lot of that to do with your background. So it's not specifically to do with gender as well, there's a lot of class.** (Mehreen)

PARTICIPANT: **Because most people who come from a certain family in the UK, so [female colleague] comes from a family who lives in Chelsea, who ...um... you know, and she's been privately educated as a, as a young female, ...um... and she knows how, all of these things, happen, you know. She could easily adapt to a golf course, to a tennis course, because she's been brought up with with those things.** She probably played played golf since the age of 7 or 8, because that's what her parents do. So where we're told to make *handi*⁷⁷ and, you know, *chapattis* and all those type of things, actually **that's probably the last thing that they're taught, they're taught to go on a ski, go how to ski, how to play golf, how to do all those things.** So if I take, and I'll give you an example, a live example, [director's] children, so [director's] children go to a private school, they have since since they were kids. ...Um... ...er... **you know, they they go on about six holidays a year, two of them are skiing holidays, ...um... and the other holidays are doing various things. [Director] takes his his son shooting, rugby, skiing, golf, he's and little one's played golf since I think the age of about 8, 7, 8.**" (Suraiya)

Moreover, the processes of exclusion that constitute a glass ceiling in the cases of my research participants are not only class and race processes. They include gender processes (Acker, 2009; 2006) as well.

⁷⁷ Curry and bread: a meal.

PARTICIPANT: “Yeah and still a lot I think. But even, you know in the west, when we look at women, why so many more women, don’t make it to the top. I think women, are just built so differently from men as well, we don’t have that same sense of ego, and we don’t have that same sense of or maybe because we’re able, because we have children, we get a get out clause from the keep driving forward. And, I think sometimes women also reach a level where they think I’ve had enough, I don’t want to do, what it takes to get to the next level, because it might not sit with our values or ...um... whatever. You know in business there’s a lot of trampling on others often, to get to where you want to be, and I think that women will drop out of that, far quicker than men will.” (Sitwat)

Intersectional identities are negative or ‘stigmatized identities’ (Werbner, 2013a).

The intersectional location is visible in their voices and in their choices.

Interviewer: “is it because you are a woman or is it because your Pakistani.

Participant: Both. It’s a double-edged sword. **My race and my gender and my nationality all go together, so it is a triple disadvantage, and now as in the past few years, as a Muslim. There is so much Islam phobia in the UK.** And you know if you say you are a Muslim you can just see the fear in people’s eyes because they associate a Muslim terrorism, one with fundamentalist views, and it is well documented that Islam phobia is very high.” (Nasreen)

It has been argued that being at the intersection of two disadvantaged groups does not “necessarily translate to multiple jeopardy at the level of careers” (Sang et al., 2013).

This is not my position. I argue instead that being at the intersection of disadvantaged groups creates a situation that perpetuates and reproduces inequalities. This can be as a result of not only inequality regimes that are considered a norm in organizations, but also the consequences of intersectional identities and glass chains working simultaneously within inequality regimes, resulting at times in invisible barriers to progression. The practices in the organization, for example, socializing after work in a pub, can and do come into conflict with the participants’ moral codes. The work culture was in direct conflict with their upbringing.

“I’m getting, I’m trying to get some networks in where I’m trying to get some professional networks so I can feed off people, but what these kind of people are mainly men at the moment, because there aren’t, the level I’m at, that some of the women are at lower levels, and I know I’ve got a ceiling that I want to get to but, they’re mainly men. And you know, but I don’t really, I’m not really bothered but, when they want to go out and stuff, it’s you know, you don’t always want to be out with them all the time, do you get me, because then there’s this perception of,

even though I don't think there's anything wrong, ...um... you don't want to be out with them all the time. **As a woman you feel it.**" (Fatima)

This results in re-enforcing the feelings of exclusion or of being an outsider, and becomes an invisible barrier in organizational progression if they do not network as per the requirements of organizational norms and practices. Indeed, Knights and Clarke (2013:352) claim "insecurity figures in the way that work is experienced and identity rendered fragile and precarious". In addition, as voiced by the participants, the cultural imprints require constant explanation, as their behaviour (as a result of the glass chains) was not 'the norm' in the organization but a deviation.

PARTICIPANT: "my mum was quite unwell at the time, and I wasn't married so I was at home with my brothers, and I was trying to look after my mum as well as study, and as well as doing, doing my degree, as well as working part time and I would need ...um... time off sometimes or, you know. at the last minute because, you know, I had to take my mum somewhere, **and I don't think they understood, that within sort of our community or certainly within my family in my community, that this is the responsibility that we have, I don't think they understood that. ...Um... so that that I found difficult, and I I always used to find difficult that, I always had to explain, you know all the time about ...um... I I wear Pakistani clothes because of this, or I, you know, I have to take time off because of this, or I look after my mum I don't want to go to the pub with you guys after work, I don't want to do this. You know always constantly having to explain** and I think, I don't think there was any malice behind that, I think it was mainly because a) I was the only one b) they wasn't used to it and c) because I was the only one it was easier to just give everything to me to do with Asian people, rather than, let's learn about, what the Asian culture is about. ...Um... so I don't think there was any any harm behind it, I think it was just ignorance, more than anything else." (Alina)

Explicitly some had to re-learn behaviours in order to integrate, as there was an implicit assumption in organizations that they were expected to behave in, for example, a masculine manner by being assertive, talking back, taking a stand and not being a 'doormat'. As managerial women, they were required to take a stand or a position; to talk back to the bosses.

"And I think I had to address that and say, **you know what, it's ok to speak to men, it's ok to sort of, you know, you'll have to deal with it, because I wasn't allowed to go out with men, I didn't want that attention 'cos it embarrassed me, and I felt very uncomfortable with that.** ...Um... and really I learnt it more after university, and being more secure, and more comfortable in male environment.....um... and, I just thought, you know, I'm going to

have to deal with this, you know, I'm not doing anything wrong, I have to deal with it. **But it was a concerted effort that I had to make about addressing redressing the fact that I didn't know how to talk to men. That was the honest truth about it. So I thought I'm going to have to do this.** And then obviously, that's been further sort of built on, through work, you know, going into and having to fight your own corner, being more independent, because, you know, we were very protected, I was very protected when I was growing up. I didn't, I wasn't independent in mind." (Bushra).

For those women who cannot fully integrate into the work culture because they do not know **enough** 'white male behaviour', it becomes an invisible barrier. All obstacles, formal, informal and invisible, perpetuate and re-produce Discourses and narratives of otherness (Step 5: Figure 6:174). Indeed, being at the intersection of disadvantaged groups creates a situation which perpetuates and reproduces inequalities.

I now use certain parts of Gulbano's story and excerpts, to demonstrate her struggle with the glass chains and her **experience** of workplace bullying. This experience was a consequence of *intersectional identities* and glass chains working simultaneously within inequality regimes inside organizations. While Salin and Hoel (2013) assert that workplace bullying is also a gendered phenomenon, particularly in how targets and third parties make sense of and respond to workplace bullying, I leave it to the reader to determine which moral codes within the intersectional identities these glass chains were linked to in Gulbano's case: gender, ethnicity, religion or nationality. Gulbano has now set up her own business. Her last job in the corporate world ended in 2009, as global head of marketing and planning of a large organization. Her working career spans 24 years. She compares her upbringing with her work environment and also reveals the *glass chains*. Being a woman matters in most contexts, but more so in South Asian culture, as women are taught to be deferential not confrontational.

“So you know, so that was my first company that I worked for. ...Um... then ...um... what happened after that? I think there there must have been pockets, I think there was a little bit of workplace bullying, you know, **if you are an Asian you’re expected to behave a certain way and whatever. And I had to learn a lot of skills as well, so I had to really up-skill myself because I was, and it was just my nature, I was a little bit too ...um..., not hard-nosed enough, and sometimes in business you need to be hard-nosed. So I came across as an Asian girl, I came across as a girlie first of all in a high tech environment that was male dominated.** Then on top of that, the perceptions or stereotypes you have of Asians.

INTERVIEWER: What are the stereotypes they have here?

PARTICIPANT: Asian girls are meek, they’re doormats, they’re subservient, ...er... in fact I even had a general manager who was very supportive of me, **he gave me that feedback that ‘sometimes you’re quite subservient’. But it’s not subservience, it’s actually in our culture, we’re brought up where there’s an older person speaking, you let them speak, or you’re respectful if someone comes, or you’re respectful when you’re offering tea or whatever. But here they interpret it as being subservient. Whereas it was like a politeness. Or I was eager to please.”** (Gulbano)

As a result, she had problems of workplace bullying in her early career.

“I have **two traits, one is I’m a people pleaser, to a certain extent I have to stop that.** Or, at least hold my own position so I don’t disempower myself. But the second, is if an English person makes that statement or they think that a woman is running around **being a doormat, it’s because that’s their perception of what a doormat does. They don’t understand our cultural nuances.** So those are two conflicting things, the need to be polite, and you say ‘no no no’ to a cup of tea twice of whatever, and then there is a third element was ...um... I maybe had a bit of a confidence ...um... issue as well. Which was, I’d want to put myself forward but I wouldn’t speak up or, that self-advocacy, wouldn’t speak up for myself or whatever. So people would just think they could rail road me. Or if I showed an element of niceness it was almost like showing a sign of weakness.”

Later, when pointing out that she had to re-learn behaviour, she inadvertently reveals subtle discrimination.

“Because when I did these courses afterwards, [Company] sent me on a gravitas course or whatever, and even he said was one of my things, especially with that managing director that I got into a fight with you know, **was that ...um... I didn’t match his behaviour.** So he was being aggressive with me, whilst I was busy working away at all hours and doing all the work, he would still be, I should have matched his behaviour.

INTERVIEWER: What do you mean, I can’t understand, what do you mean by matched his behaviour?

PARTICIPANT: So if we’re in a meeting, and, **you make a funny joke about me in the meeting about my presentation, subtly in front of ten people you’re showing me up.** So then when you stand up to give your presentation, I say

something subtle about your presentation, you see what I mean? **Or is someone is aggressive or using aggressive language with you, that's what men do, is they match the behaviour, and that's what I needed to do back, rather than being the shrinking violet and wanting to close up, I needed to be sitting, you have to learn these skills, I really believe you have to learn these skills."**

She was bullied because of her gender socialization as an Asian woman. It is this socialization as a woman that is embedded through years of growing up in a household governed by patriarchal Discourses. These values create the chains that these women wear, which are invisible to society but which pull them back/hold them back from moving as fast as they should or could (see **Step 4**, Figure 6:174). The chains are most visible in the talk of *socializing at work*, with various identities at work (the intersectional location) which prevent them from networking and in fact create barriers for them to move up in organizations, which have norms that are dictated by different Discourses. The choices they make in reality are not real choices, for they are prisoners of their glass chains. They are tied to certain Discourses. Gulbano says:

"That's very disempowering though in a western society, because, even what I've noticed in American society, that of their menfolk and of business, women are demanding. And if you don't demand, you're not valued, you don't get things. That was the thing, is that I was less valued because of, I was always there to be you know, like a puppy dog you know, whatever, I just wanted to do my best. And I think sometimes that was misread or, and I think that's one of the reasons why I was bullied a little bit in the workplace as well, in my early years."

13.3 Completing the circle of the 'Truth-regime'

While Healy et al. (2011a) claim that the inequality regime at times left no choice for the women but "to adopt individual strategies of resistance.....reproducing the stereotype" (483), I have demonstrated in the section above that some career experiences are the result of inequality regimes interacting with glass chains. The narratives of the participants demonstrate that truth, or the right way for my

participants, is defined by the dominant Discourses that they have grown up with. The dominant Discourses come from the diaspora society [*Discourses of gendered nurturing*] as well as the host society [*Discourses of being other*]. All these Discourses have shaped the individuals who have resisted, subverted and drawn on different Discourses to keep constructing and reconstructing their identity. What I have learned from these interviews is that the deeper the embeddedness of the Discourse (way of thinking), the more difficult it is to break free. In the workplace, *organizational Discourses* dominate, and these individuals feel marginalized. As a consequence of career experiences that are negative, the socially marginalized feel further marginalized, and therefore the Discourse of being the other is re-produced (**Step 5**, Figure 6:174). I use one excerpt to demonstrate the completion of the circle of the truth regime (**Step 5**, Figure 6:174).

“But yeah, it depends on the company and who you are talking to, what identity I take. As I said, **I’m a chameleon**, you know, like you have to be. Because if I actually, when I was younger I used to find it very difficult, I used to think where do I fit into, which country, truly. And I used to say no man’s land. You know there’s no man’s land where, you know, between the borders. I I was actually, I am there sometimes, I don’t, **if I’m in England they will never truly accept me as being English. Pakistanis never truly accept me as being Pakistani. So where do you fit? There’s no country so I say it’s no man’s land.**” (Roohi)

‘Casting’ seems to come to a finale, in which Discourse has more power: belonging or not belonging, or as Prins (2006:288, emphasis added) explains:

“**Belonging refers to an experience of ‘fitting into’ certain intersectional locations**- locations that may be manufactured by hegemonic discourses of ethnicity, nation, culture and race, but also by articulatory practices around family, gender, age, religion, sexuality or class.”

The participants have managed to break some of the ‘glass chains’. They have acquired from the host society a feeling of freedom as women.

PARTICIPANT: “I would say I’m, a I’m a, Pakistani British woman.

INTERVIEWER: And what’s British about you?

PARTICIPANT: Just the sense that I feel **I have ...um... the freedom to express myself, ...erm... I I don’t feel scared**, ...um... that you know I’m in a position that, you know, **the sort of violence**, and the things that you, the corruptness that you have in like say maybe Pakistan, **I feel I’m away from that and I feel I’m in a country**,

that, you know, I don't have to be scared to be a woman, I don't have to be scared to be at a certain level, **and the fact that I can be myself** and, find respect in that rather than, the stuff that you see on the news, whether that's true or not I don't know. ...Um... so yeah to me that's what being British is about, is the fact that I feel that I can contribute to society which I don't know if I could if I was in Pakistan.”
(Alina)

Equally, they have not been able *to learn through observation* the implicit norms of the host society, as they have not been *allowed* to mix with whites or males till the time they started to work. Consequently they are still wearing different chains: expectations of the good Muslim, good mother, good daughter, good wife, good sister, good professional, good manager. As Roohi says:

“When a female married, you're, and that was when I started thinking **that as a woman what are you? You're someone's daughter, you're someone's wife, you're someone's sister. You're never an individual. You're never your own, you're not an individual in the sense of having your own, no identity apart from the identity when you're associated with a man.** I found that very difficult.”
(Roohi)

Thus, the participants are never *Discourseless*. They move around and through life (and careers) wearing glass chains, imperceptible links to their moral codes. Consequently choice is never a *free* choice.

13.4 Final Thoughts

The purpose of this chapter was to look at the experiences of British Pakistani women working in organizations in the UK. I discovered that at times the identities held by glass chains create invisible barriers to progression, as they prevent individuals from wholly embracing organizational roles/expectations. Thus, at times, Discourses are re-enforced through the experiences of an individual. Being at the intersection of disadvantaged groups creates a situation that perpetuates and reproduces inequalities.

Chapter 14: Understanding careers through life narratives

14.1 Chapter Synopsis

In this chapter, I pull together the themes of the previous chapters: Discourse and the creation of truth, disciplinary power and glass chains, intersectional identities, technologies of the self and career as a transformative practice or a means of empowerment, and lastly the career experiences of the participants, which at times reinforce certain “truth regimes”. I answer the broad research question: **How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers in professional and managerial contexts?** Through Mehreen’s story, I will demonstrate “the individual’s construction of meaning, knowledge and experience”, (Bujold, 2004:474), and at the same time show the importance of group relations. Of all the participants I met, I was struck most by the resilience and commitment of Mehreen, who ploughed on and is a highly successful woman. While my aim is to capture careers holistically and to pay special attention to context, I have done so through the lens of the individual using her voice. Her narratives reveal how social structures are created and how she exercised agency. Therefore, my view could be considered interdisciplinary (Arthur, 2008).

14.2 A Feminist Post-structuralist Approach to Understanding

I view gender, ethnicity, religion and identity, as socially constructed and embedded with power relations through Discourses circulating in a particular society. A critique of new career research/theory is that it emphasizes agency at the expense of constraints (Lapointe, 2013). I look at identity work, within the context of the participant in this chapter, not as a ‘moment of time’; rather, I am attempting to

capture a 'lifetime'. Identity work continues throughout life, inside and outside work organizations. Identity positions that one constructs can both empower and constrain. Choices can be made reflexively, and one can negotiate one's position at the intersections of different identities.

Central to this thesis is the adoption of a post-structuralist feminist approach that draws attention to fluid identities, contradictory subject positions and subjectivities (Ford, 2006). Ford (2006) explains that the post-structuralist strand of identity theorizing is different from the social theorizing on identity, which uses Giddens' work. According to her,

“The post-structuralist strand, in contrast, offers insight into the problematic of identity and cultural difference and the theoretical deconstruction of identity categories, notably the significance of power in the construction of identity through difference..... . Post-structuralist approaches recognize the significance of context and the role and power of discourse in shaping organizational and social practices.” (Ford, 2006:79)

It is important to point out that while the participants were exposed to similar Discourses, each chooses which Discourses to draw on (Halford and Leonard, 2006). It is also important to draw attention to the concept of 'doing gender' (West and Zimmerman, 1987) and seeing gender as a social practice. Nentwich and Kelan (2014) suggest,

“Research should focus on the identity practices within the situation analyzed rather than assuming that somebody or something as a specific gender identity *per se*. Especially the themes of **flexibility and context specificity** as well as **gradual relevance** ⁷⁸/**subversion** have shown that it is precisely these conflicting ways of 'doing gender' that would provide insight into how gender identity is done and how gender as an external reality is created while doing a job.” (Nentwich and Kelan, 2014:131, emphasis added)

I chose the narrative approach to the investigation of career (Bujold, 1990; Bujold, 2004) as my literature review revealed the inadequacy of capturing holistically the

⁷⁸ Should show where gender construction is relevant and show situations where gender is less relevant: 129

complexity of careers through traditional methods. I now present one complete life story only, out of the 37 participants, so that the reader has a sample of the richness of a case. Each case is different, each story unique, and each case needs to retain its individuality and chronology, which is so important for a life-story approach, to set the context. Arthur (2008:167) suggests that careers be looked at as “**one person, one career, and one lifetime**”. I use excerpts as “voice” and give my interpretation as footnotes only, to keep myself (the researcher) in the background and the participant at the forefront and visible. I also attempt to reveal “the complex inter-relations between discourse, gender and identity dynamics”, which are “not only hidden but also considerably underexplored in organizational life” (Ford, 2006:97). “Experience is understood as the correlation between fields of knowledge, types of normativity, and forms of subjectivity in a particular culture.” (Foucault 2000:360). I will use Mehreen’s story and excerpts from the transcripts to show the interplay of Discourses (fields of knowledge), the identities constructed (through types of normativity) and choices (as subjectivity), while the individual adjusts to different cultures at home and work (See Figure 6:174). I draw on research (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1255) to focus on both levels of voice: surface and deep. While I have provided excerpts as surface texts, I have provided deep analysis by presenting the analysis as footnotes within their voice/excerpt, drawing on Figure 6, p: 174 above.

14.3 “One person, one career, and one lifetime” (Arthur, 2008)

Case Study Mehreen: “I see myself as a British Pakistani, Muslim”.

I met Mehreen in a coffee shop in a large departmental store. She had light make-up on, and appeared Pakistani in her looks (brown skin, large dark eyes) with straight shoulder-length hair. She was wearing pants and a top. Here is her story.

Mehreen was born in the north of England in 1973. Her father immigrated to the UK in the late 1960s with the aim of becoming a textile engineer. He was the only member of his family who came from a village near Islamabad, to attend a university in Pakistan. He married a woman who came from a family that had some education. Her mother moved to the UK in 1970s. Dale et al. (2002a) also suggest that most Pakistani immigrant women came to UK as part of the family reunion process. Her parents had four girls and then two boys. In sub-continental culture, where patriarchy still flourishes (Moghadam, 1993; Basu, 1999; 2008; Bhasin, 1993; Bhopal, 1997 Chakravarti, 1993), the pressure on women is to produce a male offspring, and this is manifested in Mehreen's mother continuing to have children until she had a boy.

Mehreen's primary schooling was in a school that had few Pakistani children and was not the local area school. This was a deliberate choice by her father, as he thought that the local school, dominated by Pakistani children, did not provide good quality education. This is in line with the findings of previous research by Dale (Dale et al., 2002a) and Shah et al. (2010), where the parents who valued education highly desired and ensured success for their children. Both studies also found that the parents placed a high value on education culturally, as they felt that family status was elevated by the high education and professional occupation of the child. Parents supported them materially and emotionally. Shah et al. (2010) also emphasize how structural constraints, selective school systems and racialized labour markets influence the effectiveness of 'ethnic capital' in promoting educational achievement and social mobility.

While in primary school, Mehreen found the teachers encouraging. Her father's family was already living in the same town in the north of England, and he realized

that in order to avoid family pressure to get his daughters married at the age of sixteen he would have to move to another town. When Mehreen was around eleven years old, they moved south.

“and I liked a challenge, so I always like to ...um... like to stretch myself and be challenged *and a lot of that comes from my parents, ‘cos in our family, which we realized was different from other families, there wasn’t this, girl boy divide that you can’t do things because you’re girls.*”⁷⁹ Our parents always brought us up that we could do whatever we wanted to, put our mind to, and *that the boys weren’t by any way to be treated very differently.* I think we really respected that, ...um... that *they gave us the chances, especially we’d seen that our father had, our father didn’t talk to his father, for the last fifteen twenty years of his life.* ...⁸⁰ Um... just based on the fact that he’d educated his girls, and he sent them away. I mean this was twenty years ago so at that stage, you know, many people didn’t. ...Um..., but we appreciated that *our parents had made some sacrifices for us.* *...Er... so, so we were always conscious of that when we went on to university and to do things.*”

Dale (2002a) found that girls who wished to continue their education faced a more complex situation than boys. For girls, it was important to avoid jeopardizing the family honour. One way of ensuring this was by sending them to an all-girls school. Mehreen attended an all-girls secondary school dominated by Pakistani girls, who were not interested in studies but focused on getting married. As a result, she felt isolated from her community, with most of her friends either white or Sri Lankan girls.

“it wasn’t an academic girls’ school *and it was full of ...um... full of Pakistani girls who were just going to get married at 16 who had no interest in education whatsoever.* ...Um... *so, it was actually quite a tough school, because girls who were interested in education were, were not the norm.*”⁸¹ And I don’t think my parents realized that. So it wasn’t hard, *but we were a little bit isolated from the rest of the Pakistanis.* All my friends were either English or Sri Lankan or something, *‘cos they were more understanding of the fact that we would go on and have an education, and I had nothing in common*⁸² with *the Pakistani girls who were just*

⁷⁹ Counter-hegemonic Discourses (fields of knowledge): not gender-biased, as opposed to the dominant cultural Discourse.

⁸⁰ Again her father breaks away from the norm.

⁸¹ This is an example of hegemonic cultural Discourse.

⁸² Here she is subjected to Discourse from the host society. Education and not marriage is the norm at 16 years of age.

going to get married at 16 and were just interested in Bollywood, ...um... and all the Bollywood heroes and so on, so I had absolutely no interest in that."

Mehreen did well in GCSEs and got a scholarship to an excellent school for her 'A' levels. Previous research on P&B/BMw reveals that girls felt that education provided then a route to independence, something to fall back on and higher self-esteem (Dale et al., 2002a; 2002b). She found this period academically and socially challenging, but she feels that this education prepared her academically for university education, which she found quite easy. She joined a university away from home to study medicine. Dale et al. (2002b) also found that parents were less encouraging for girls to move into university as they would be unable to police their activities and preferred them to get married. Some of the girls resorted to negotiation with their parents to be allowed to go to university, offering assurances that parents could be confident that they would not bring dishonour to the family. Here we can see power being exercised through the panopticon and through practices of a disciplinary society (Foucault, 1990). Dale et al.'s (2002b) study also revealed that a girl who was allowed to attend university was made into a role model for the rest of the girls in the family and a means for negotiating the same privilege (education/career) by them, while others parents looked on her as a symbol of success.

Mehreen found university life good and made excellent friends with a number of white girls⁸³ - friendships that have lasted to date. All four sisters managed to get a university education.⁸⁴ However, the expectation to get married was always an underlying pressure. Dale et al.'s (2002b) study also revealed that all the women

⁸³ It is possible that the input from the host society's cultural Discourses continued through these women friends .

⁸⁴ The family is breaking the norm by letting all the girls get an education in a university.

assumed that they would eventually get married and have children. This is in keeping with the conjugal role (Shah et al., 1986) and the maternal role (Hussain et al., 1997) of women in Pakistan. Mehreen had deflected marriage when her parents wanted her to get married to a cousin at the age of 18, but after graduation the pressure came on again. Her twin sister married their cousin as soon as she graduated. Mehreen agreed to get married a year after her graduation in 1997 to a highly educated Pakistani.⁸⁵ It was also assumed that the husband and in-laws would have a major role to play in their *negotiated* decision to study further/work (Dale et al., 2002a; 2002b), accepting the power that the mother-in-law and the husband carry.⁸⁵ Mehreen was doing a house job at that time. between 1997 and 1998. She continued working in a hospital from 1999 to 2001,⁸⁶ and after two years, because of pressure from her husband, who wanted to have a family,⁸⁵ she gave birth to her first child in 2002.⁸⁷ She went back to work, leaving the baby with her mother,⁸⁹ as she was adamant about having a career.⁸⁸ Her husband was supportive.⁸⁹ While he lived/worked in one town, Mehreen was in another town working as senior house officer (SHO), during 2002-2004. The baby was taken care of by Mehreen's mother, who was in another town. She continued working and sat for the MRCP examinations.⁹⁰ While she was preparing to appear for the second part of the MRCP examination, she discovered that she was pregnant with her second child. She moved in with her mother to have the baby.⁹¹ After the birth of her second child, she managed to complete the MRCP

⁸⁵ Dominant cultural Discourse in action and the individual becomes a subject to it and complies.

⁸⁶ Resisting cultural Discourses by insisting on a career.

⁸⁷ Dominant cultural Discourse in action and the individual becomes a subject to it and complies.

⁸⁸ Resisting cultural Discourses by insisting on a career.

⁸⁹ Significant other/relationship to others: a component of the ethical self.

⁹⁰ Resisting cultural Discourses by insisting on a career.

⁹¹ Dominant cultural Discourse in action and the individual becomes a subject to it and complies.

exams and work 36-hour shifts while her mother was completely responsible for childcare.⁹² By the time her first child was two years old, her second child was six months old, and she was professionally qualified to go into general practice and leave hospital medicine. However, she realized that she enjoyed hospital medicine and did not want to have a career just because it was family-friendly.⁹³

“Once I decided I was going to stay in hospital medicine, the only thing I liked was XXXX.⁹⁴ And the, and everybody told me ‘you can’t do XXXX, *it’s a man’s field, women don’t do XXXX, at all*’.⁹⁵ And I was advised by everybody, *especially women with children, especially Asian women with children, ‘you just don’t do XXXX’*. And I was like ‘*why not?*’”⁹⁶

Once she had made the decision to continue working in a hospital, she decided she wanted to pursue XXXX with a difficult sub-speciality training.⁹⁴

“which, out of all the specialties in XXXX’s the most difficult one you can do. *And again everybody said to me ‘you can’t do that. You’ve got children, you have to be in hospital all the time’*. And I said ‘of course I can do it, there’s no reason why I shouldn’t.’”

She took up various positions in different towns while undergoing training for XXXX, until she finally got a job as a registrar in a well-known university hospital.

“I was the first girl registrar there in in XXXX for seven *years, so it was full of older men. ...Er... older guys who were a lot more senior in training. There was discrimination, but it wasn’t racial, it was sexual, ...er... sexist discrimination*. But, *I’ve accepted, that that’s just the way it is*. So for me I don’t get too stressed about that. ...Um... because when you, when you come into a male dominated field, it is actually really really tough, *and I don’t think the discrimination would be because of my race, I think it’s been because of my sex, more. ...Er... I accepted that they would be like that, I mean they would give me the worst jobs, ...er... they wouldn’t let me have my training, but I was quite vocal, ‘cos I was quite confident in myself, so I would fight back, and I think they had a bit of respect for that, because they do, if you’re, if you’re seen to be weak they’ll just do it more*.”⁹⁵ So when I started, it wasn’t, it wasn’t too much of a shock, I’d never, I’d never come across it before, but I knew XXXX was full of men and I knew it would be like that.

⁹² Resisting cultural Discourses by insisting on a career

⁹³ having an ethical relationship to oneself; choosing.

⁹⁴ A highly specialized field of surgery that is not mentioned to keep anonymity.

⁹⁵ Resisting masculine Discourses by insisting on a career where women were not the norm.

⁹⁶ Resisting gendered, racial Discourses by insisting on a career where very few women were mothers.

...Um... as *I've become more senior, it's become more, the discrimination has become more evident ok. And I find that a bit of a shock.*"⁹⁷

She worked as a registrar in XXXX for the period 2004-2005. She was the first female to get that job in that prestigious hospital, and faced sexism. Her race receded into the background, and her gender took the forefront. If one's job is linked to one's gender identity, it makes 'doing gender' a complicated activity (Nentwich and Kelan, 2014).

"Ok, it's the toughest medical specialty to get into. And the nature of the male is very very competitive, the one who enters it. When I entered XXXX, I didn't realise,..... I entered XXXX purely because I enjoyed it as a specialty. What I didn't realise, and what I've learnt subsequently, is that the *men who enter XXXX is because, XXXX ...er... has a lot of private practice and there's a lot of money in XXXX. So that's why it naturally attracts candidates who are interested in money, and who are competitive.* ...Um... and then although in the junior years there wasn't that competition, *but in the senior years of my XXXX training, when I started training in a specialty where there's potentially money, then I started finding that they would start discriminating, that the powers that be would give me lower lists, [participant] you go and do this whilst we do the important', and I found that quite difficult, ...er... to deal with.*⁹⁸ *I subsequently realised that everybody has to deal with that.* And there's a reputation of women in XXXX as being complete bitches.⁹⁹ Everyone says *each female specialist is a bitch, ok. And what I've realised is they didn't enter XXXX like that, but the nature of XXXX has made them become like that, because they've had to fight for everything.* ...Um... *if you don't fight you will automatically be stepped on.*¹⁰⁰ And that's a difficult thing to do, because, *I'm by nature more of a passive person, I avoid conflict, if I do that I will automatically be be trodden down, so I've had to change myself into somebody who's a lot more aggressive, ...um... takes their stance.*"¹⁰¹

Beginning in 2005, after some difficulty, she found a job with another prestigious university hospital, where she spent the next four years.

INTERVIEWER: [Seeking clarification by repeating what she said before] "*they interview everybody whatever, but they select the person they've already decided on?* And *they* means that particular group, the six or seven consultants...they have already.....

PARTICIPANT: Yeah, I mean it's not all jobs, 'cos some jobs they haven't got any candidates, but a lot of the high ranking jobs they will already have decided. So one

⁹⁷ Encountering the glass ceiling.

⁹⁸ Coping mechanisms.

⁹⁹ Similar to Acker, 2006.

¹⁰⁰ Gendered occupational Discourse.

¹⁰¹ Re-learning behaviour and trying to break gendered upbringing: glass chains.

of my colleagues I was speaking to him yesterday, he's in Canada, I was saying 'look this is really depressing this job situation'. He said 'I applied for a job, I was the better candidate, when I rang them up they told us that in the 30 years of their or their ...um... they've been appointing consultants, *they've never appointed someone who's been outside their own training, trainees', so they always appoint their trainees because they know them. So basically don't bother applying.*¹⁰²

INTERVIEWER: So that 'old boys network' or whatever.

PARTICIPANT: Yeah yeah yeah, absolutely. *This is why you need to go and chat with them, you need to go out with them in the evening, you need to go to dinners, you need to go to the conferences and sit with them whilst they're getting drunk, 'cos that's where all the decisions are made.'*¹⁰³

It is through networking that an individual can find a mentor. Mentors help in guiding and speeding the career climb. Networking and mentoring play an important part in career progression, particularly for women (Joshi, 2006; Nabi, 2003; Blake, 1999; Boone et al., 2013; Bova, 2000; Chandler et al., 2011; Culpan and Wright, 2002; de Cabo et al., 2011; Eddleston et al., 2004; Ely, 1994; Ramaswami et al., 2014; Roan and Rooney, 2006; Sealy and Singh, 2010; Maxwell, 2009).

Mehreen talks of the stereotypes she faced in her profession and the learning she was forced to do in those four years. Again, she seems to encounter issues because of her gender.

"Yeah yeah. Really aggressive and really difficult women. ...Um... and that's just the general ...er... opinion. *Everyone who sees a female specialist they think she must be really aggressive, really difficult, not a very nice person.* ...Um...¹⁰⁴ but what I've, but as I said it's because they've had to fight for everything ...er... to get their training to to get recognition, to get anything, they've had to *fight.*¹⁰⁵ ...Um... *so that's why by nature they'll become aggressive, because they know as soon as they're soft and they're passive that they're just going to be discounted,* ...um... and my personality's had to change a little bit with that. So that's tough and then and then dealing with the politics is is tough as well over the last few years."

Mehreen became pregnant with her third child in 2007. Her husband, who had lost his job, moved in with her and took over childcare. He found a job eventually in an

¹⁰² Discrimination and biases based on in-group/outgroup.

¹⁰³ Importance of networking.

¹⁰⁴ Encountering Stereotyping.

¹⁰⁵ To break the glass chains.

Arab country and moved out. She remained in that university town, continuing with her job and hiring nannies to take care of her three children.

“...Er... .. there’s a real hierarchical system, so if a certain consultant likes you they’ll train you. If you’re not in favour they don’t train you. I was lucky, I got my training, but what I found was that the more senior registrars would try and brush me off, and say ‘you can’t, you can’t do this list, it’s a really good list, we’ve put you on some other’. And when I’d say ‘why?’ they’d just say ‘you can’t, you’re not that, you’re not that experienced’. *So it was, it was very subtle, but it was there, and I’m quite vocal and I shouldn’t be.*¹⁰⁶ *But what I did was when I found that this this this ...er... dishonesty was happening, it wasn’t just, how they’d allocated what your training was, I actually wrote an email to all the consultants and said ‘look, I don’t believe that the rota is fair, above all everyone has to be trained, and the way the allocation has to be should be transparent. What is the reason certain person is doing this?’ And that meant that the people who were in charge of the rota turned against me, saying ‘why is she saying this?’ Every single one of the consultants came up to me individually and said ‘we know it happens, we know it happens, ...um... and you’re right, we know that certain people are maneuvering things for their own benefit’. Not one person did anything about it. So they all knew. And the reason, and then, one of them who’s the programme director, he said ‘yeah I know you’re having issues, we’ll talk about it, ...er... but, ...er... sometimes that’s just how the way it is’. As in it’s acceptable behaviour.*¹⁰⁷ And the reason they thought it was acceptable behaviour was that because they’d all done the same. They were all obviously consultants in a big tertiary centre. ...Um... in a big hospital, to get that you *have to be the best, to get to being the best in XXXX you obviously, are single-minded in what you do, you don’t care about what everyone else is doing.*¹⁰⁸ *And that’s what I find at real odds. that there’s no justice, no no compassion for other people, it’s just all about me me me me and how I get to the top.*¹⁰⁹ ...Um... and so as a result of that I was victimized, ...um... which is why I had to leave.”

In order to move up the hierarchy, she needed to have a Ph.D.

INTERVIEWER: “again going back to [name of university], you distinctly said you found, if I remember correctly, there was discrimination there, they didn’t want you to do a Ph.D.

PARTICIPANT: Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Again that seems it was because of the gender issue, or what?

PARTICIPANT: ...Er... not gender, I suspect it was to do with ...um... ..(long pause) *it was to do with what university you’d been to. It was to do with how white middle class you are,*¹¹⁰ *it’s to do with your background. And there’s a lot of that to do with your background. So it’s not specifically to do with gender as well, there’s a lot of class. ...Um... consultants are all white middle class, they naturally feel more at ease with white middle class ...er... people to train with, than somebody who’s not. So when I come into, so the consultants I know, would prefer*

¹⁰⁶ Resisting organizational Discourses of ‘male is norm’ and compliance.

¹⁰⁷ Encountering discrimination.

¹⁰⁸ Ethical self and moral codes in action.

¹⁰⁹ Thought and critical reflection: a component of ethical self.

¹¹⁰ The norm is white, male, middle class: Acker, 2006.

to have a boy¹¹¹ with them, because they can talk about football, they could talk about cricket, they can talk about rugby. When they're training me, I can't talk about these things,¹¹² I have no interest. So they'll automatically try and prefer, have somebody else, and train someone else, than me."

That university where she had been working was not welcoming about her getting enrolled in their Ph.D. programme. She did not want to disturb her domestic set-up, so she stayed in the same town. For two years, she commuted four hours a day to another university, much further away, which had accepted her in their Ph.D. programme.

"I have been lucky, although there's been discrimination I managed to get over that, is that I get on with the men quite well.¹¹³ Ok. And I've had to change my thinking, I will go into a pub, though I don't drink, but I will sit with them,¹⁰⁹ and I will go out in the evenings, and I will socialize with them.¹⁰⁹ And even when it comes to talking about women, or talking about things, I've become quite male, in that I will join in.¹¹⁴ And that's, and you have to do that, to ...um....."

and later

"I mean they say to me, 'cos sometimes I say 'well don't you see me as a woman?' They don't. They see me as another male. Which I'm a bit affronted by 'cos I am so female, but to be able to survive (Laughs) but you know, to them women are, the vulnerable women who are, the nurses, who are the secretaries, who are the representatives, who are going after them.¹¹⁵ Whereas ...er... me because I don't go after them, I don't do anything, they just see me as another, another male. And they don't see me as a, as a, as competition or anything."

She juggled her studies, childcare and commutes, but found it difficult. However, Mehreen did not give in to the competing demands of work and family.¹¹⁶ A year ago, her husband volunteered to look after the children while she completed her studies.¹¹⁷ So now her children are in another country with their father, while she flies out as often as possible while she completes her Ph.D. The role of husband is

¹¹¹ Male is norm.

¹¹² Encountering class and gender discrimination.

¹¹³ Broken some of her glass chains linking her to femininity.

¹¹⁴ Becoming genderless.

¹¹⁵ Discrimination and sexual harassment.

¹¹⁶ Resisting motherhood Discourse (Goodwin, 2010, 2011).

¹¹⁷ Role of significant other and reference group in careers: Grote and Hall, 2013.

crucial in the career of Mehreen, and has been found to be so in other research (Kanji, 2011).

PARTICIPANT: “Ok ...um..., so I was at the [specialist] conference last week, *there was probably about a thousand [specialist] of which I could see 20 women. ...Um... and most of them won't have children.* In fact majority. *There was probably one or two or three of us who have children, out of a thousand*¹¹⁸

PARTICIPANT: Yeah, mostly not mothers.

INTERVIEWER: So being a mother is a barrier.

PARTICIPANT: Oh yes completely. *Especially with the hours, that we have to work.*”

She says that once the Ph.D. is done, her family will move around with her. She will undergo some more training with the same university hospital and then complete a fellowship in Canada, in order to become a consultant specialist. Her working career spans fifteen years.

PARTICIPANT: “*But I suspect it's probably because my husband has allowed me to be independent*¹¹⁹

INTERVIEWER: Look at the words you're using.

PARTICIPANT: I know, I know, I know. It's not because my husband allowed me, it's because I am independent. ...Um...”

What has the career meant for her?

“*Why it just gives me so much strength having my own career and saying 'you don't like it, you know where to go..... ok, deal with it'. And that's giving me a lot more confidence to get away from this*¹²⁰..... I know, it's a terrible thing to do, to say my husband allowed me to do it. But it's a mentality,¹²¹ it's been there for years hasn't it. Oh isn't it great that my husband let me study, isn't it fantastic that he let me do this. *When the reality is I'm capable of doing this and I've done this and I've worked hard and I should take all the credit for it. ...Um... but it is very difficult to get away from that.*¹²²

INTERVIEWER: But that's the Pakistani bit in you you see.

PARTICIPANT: Yeah, yeah, *that's the Pakistani bit in me, absolutely, it's still there, it will always be there. But it's trying to break away* [laughter].”¹²³

¹¹⁸ Motherhood as a barrier.

¹¹⁹ Dominant cultural Discourse in action.

¹²⁰ Careers as a site of resistance from cultural Discourses.

¹²¹ Glass chains.

¹²² Glass chains.

¹²³ The ethical self.

14.4 Discussion

“Identities can be regarded as the meeting point in discourses and practices in which we position ourselves as the social subjects of particular discourses. Thus discourses and related discursive practices form the means through which individuals’ identities are crafted.” (Ford, 2006:79)

As an individual grows up, she is subjected to multiple Discourses that influence compliance with certain norms (hegemonic) and certain other Discourses that influence non-compliance with those norms (counter-hegemonic). An analogy would be the power of a magnet to pull an individual to either side. When counter-hegemonic Discourse has power, the individual can use technologies of self to create an ethical self. In this study, while the participants use careers as a site of resistance, drawing on career as a means of empowerment, they succumb to certain hegemonic Discourses. When BPw step into the workplace, they encounter another set of Discourses - organizational Discourses - based on inequality regimes. Inequality regimes and individuals’ intersecting identities, along with the glass chains they are wearing, affect their career experiences and at times create invisible barriers, which reproduce Discourses of inequality regimes and Discourses of otherness (See Figure 6:174).

Mehreen’s identity has been shaped by the dominant Discourses she has been exposed to in her life. As Discourses change, so does identity, thus keeping identity fluid. Mehreen has been exposed to hegemonic cultural Discourses and counter-hegemonic Discourses. Both these Discourses have exercised power. A way out of the technology of power is to practice ethical self-care. In Mehreen’s case, she resisted the cultural Discourse by insisting on a career as a specialist surgeon, yet gave in to another cultural Discourse, that of marriage and motherhood. These are some of the glass chains, the invisible links to the moral codes. Mehreen’s life story

narrative reveals that identity positions “are sites of constant struggle and negotiation” (Prins, 2006:284).

Women in careers tend not to have children. Being a mother of three children makes Mehreen the odd one out. Similar phenomena have been demonstrated in research into law firms (Walsh, 2012), in a study in Australia (Wood and Newton, 2006), as well as in research across the Ukraine, Iran and the USA (Mortazavi et al., 2009), as women have to bear social costs (Tower and Alkadry, 2008). Tower and Alkadry’s study examines the social costs of female career progression using a survey of 1,600 respondents from different levels of the public sector. The results show that working women have an increased incidence of being single or divorced, and have fewer children or are childless. There is also ample research on work - family conflict affecting women (Metz, 2011; Mortazavi et al., 2009; Armstrong et al., 2007), with women giving up careers after becoming a mother (Rubin and Wooten, 2007; Cahusac and Kanji, 2013; Cuddy and Fiske, 2004; Dale, 2002a; Duberley and Carrigan, 2013; Eagly and Carli, 2007). Yet Mehreen chose to be a mother and continued trying to achieve her career aspirations and goals.

Her career journey may have been made easier by a supportive spouse. The ‘spouse’ is important in career progression, and wives playing the supportive role is taken for granted in men’s careers, The role of the husband is crucial in the career of Mehreen, and this has been found in other research on women. For instance, Kanji (2011) asserts that partners’ attitudes to family life prove to be as important as mothers’ attitudes in guiding employment decisions and keeping women in full-time employment. Some recent research on careers has critiqued the under-emphasis of reference groups in careers (Grote and Hall, 2013).

Mehreen embarked on a career as a specialist in a medical field that was dominated by men. Her race receded into the background and her gender took over. She is seen in the organizational world as a **woman**, and her career journey has been a challenging one. This is not unusual but usual. There is ample research on women facing gendered organizations (Acker, 1990; Benschop and Doorewaard, 1998; Haynes, 2008a; Hodgson, 2003; Mavin, 2008; Mills, 2002; Ozbilgin and Woodward, 2004; Rutherford, 2001; Scholarios and Taylor, 2011; Sealy and Singh, 2010; Smith and Calasanti, 2005; Sools et al., 2007), as well as research on sexism (Bem, 1993; Corsun and Costen, 2001; Eveline et al., 2009; Foley et al., 2002; Glick and Fiske, 1996; Glick and Fiske, 1997; Glick et al., 2000a; Glick and Fiske, 2001b; Latu et al., 2011; Masser, 2004; Rowe, 1990; Ryan and Haslam, 2007a; 2007b; Sakalli-Ugurlu and Beydogan, 2002; Glick and Fiske, 2011). Indeed, Ford (2006) talks about a predominance of macho-management approaches in her empirical study of leadership behaviours. These macho-management Discourses seem to draw on hegemonic masculine Discourses: competitive, controlling, self-reliant and individualistic.

Mehreen has learnt to survive, despite the male being the norm. There is no denying that her career is important to her. Some might consider this her professional identity, which is an important part of her, especially if she is highly educated (Stone, 2007), while others might consider it her career identity (LaPointe, 2010). While multiple aspects of people's lives affect work and vice versa, people do try and keep work and life separate (Ford, 2006) and give prominence to professional career Discourses (Grey, 1994; Ford, 2006). However, it should be noted that Mehreen has not chosen between a mother identity and a professional identity (Hatmaker, 2013), but has chosen to entwine the two (Haynes, 2008b). Moreover, she takes up multiple subject positions, oscillating "within and between" Discourses (Ford, 2006:96), and

presenting “a multiplicity of subject positions within an organization - both within one individual as well as across a number of individuals”. Mehreen’s story reveals both structures and agency. Previous intersectionality studies of marginal groups demonstrate agency through subversion and creative re-appropriation (Prins, 2006). Mehreen’s story does not demonstrate a choice between structure or agency, but rather a focus on duality (Duberley et al., 2006). A major critique of explanations of how societal role expectations affect men and women’s preferences and behaviour, when it comes to combining work and family life, is the tendency for theories to either consider working women as subjects of roles or agents “that disregard societal norms” (Pas et al., 2014:180). According to Pas et al., the theories swing between gender role theory and preference theory, looking at one or the other for answers. Mehreen’s story demonstrates the internalization of gender roles, and that gender role prescriptions play an important part in the individual’s choices. However, the pursuit of one (agency) has not resulted in the abandonment of the other (structure). Indeed, agency and structure have been combined, and ‘working’ is seen as embedded in external and internal relational contexts (Blustein et al., 2004; Blustein, 2011). Thus the individual and the social environment are operating simultaneously.

While structures/social environments do not change in the short run, the individual can adapt to the structures in the short run. Mehreen has exercised agency as an ‘ethical self’. She has not abandoned a primary role of her cultural Discourse, which embodied the essence of being a woman: being a mother. Why did she not abandon the primary role? Was it her subconscious dictating her choices or was it the normalization of a certain Discourse that made that role a **vital** part of whom she wanted to be? **This vital part of who we are, the link to our moral codes, is the glass chains.** As found in previous research (Ross, 2004), the actions of the minority

individual are crucial. Mehreen's narratives also demonstrate that it is not just organizations that create/play a role in career progression, but the individual herself. In the case of Mehreen, sexism or inequality regimes seem to be a major part of her career experiences, leading to re-production of inequality regimes and eventually re-producing Discourses of Otherness through being a woman (Czarniawska-Joerges and Höpfl, 2002). Mehreen has not resisted organizational Discourse by abandoning a career. **Being a consultant means she has to be part of the system/organization.** At times, she has challenged the system, but paradoxically has **played along most of the time.** She has faced all the obstacles along the way with a focus on her end goal: to be a quality consultant in her field of specialization. She has performed gender in a particular way in order to gain male acceptance, i.e. by acting like one of the boys (Powell et al., 2009a). Powell et al. (2009a) identified a number of coping strategies that undermine being a woman, and, in fact, contribute towards re-producing "an environment that is hostile to women" (ibid.:411). She thus succumbs to dominant organizational Discourses of 'male is the norm'. In any case, being a 'biological female' means that it summons for others (as well as the self) a range of gender-appropriate behaviours for that sex category (West and Zimmerman, 1987). Moreover, gender means creating differences in the workplace and other public settings through the physical features of social settings (male/female toilets), standardized social occasions (drinking and pubs) and status. This occurs in hospitals and operation theatres as well, where being a woman (biologically) signals assumptions about the sex category as well.

14.5 Final Thoughts

My position, like some other researchers (Ford, 2006; Hall, 2000), is that individuals are never Discourse-less. The element that stands out in Mehreen's story is the

doggedness or persistence which enabled her to reach a position where she *feels* the presence of a glass ceiling. The structures are present and probably will be present for some time before women can ‘break the glass ceiling’ in most professions and organizations. However, it is the **presence** of women versus their absence in careers which will make the difference. *Agency is crucial* to reaching the glass ceiling in large enough numbers to break through it. However, this journey to the top, as demonstrated by Mehreen, and understood through the works of Foucault, has been undertaken by **practicing ethical self-care (Foucault, 1988a): *ethical relationship to oneself, relationship to others, thought and critical reflection (Hanna, 2013).***

Chapter 15: Concluding Chapter

15.1 Chapter Synopsis

The purpose of this chapter is to present the central arguments and insights of this thesis and explain the theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions to knowledge. While I acknowledged in Chapter 1 that my life experiences could influence this research in various ways (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009), I also now acknowledge that the research process has influenced me and has left a mark on me (Ahmad, 2004).

15.2 A Review of the Research Motivation and Questions

This thesis began with an intellectual puzzle (Mason, 2002). I could not understand why Pakistani-origin women were among the lowest in the BME group in managerial positions in the UK (EOC, 2007:9). I assumed that as these women were living in a society/country (the UK) which allowed them the freedom to choose if they wanted to work, they would exercise that choice. While conducting preliminary inquiries, I found research that implied that ethnic groups in the UK could be marginalized because of their religion (Bradley et al., 2007; Bunglawala, 2008), thus making it a triple burden.

The literature review revealed a blind spot in the body of literature on BPw. British Pakistani *adult* women are under-researched in academic research and management studies in the UK, despite BPw being a sizeable group of BME women in the UK. I thus decided to focus on highly educated, *second-generation British Pakistani women* who experience careers in professional and managerial contexts. I therefore located 37 British Pakistani women in careers, to ask exactly what problems they were facing. The idea was to understand BPw's career progression, to give voice to

their experiences in managerial and professional positions and thus to detect barriers that could be creating the low numbers of BPw in management/professional roles. Chapter 3 elaborates how I reached the broad research question: **How do highly educated, second-generation British Pakistani women experience careers in professional and managerial contexts?** The context of *British Pakistani women (BPw)* and the phenomenon of *experience in careers* necessitated a review of the literature in four areas: Gender and MOS, Ethnicity and MOS, Identity and MOS and Career and MOS.

A review of research on Ethnicity and MOS revealed that while there is a debate about essentializing and giving primacy to demographic categories in research (Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012), there is also empirical evidence to demonstrate that biases based on demographic categories do exist (Oikelome and Healy, 2007; Pringle, 2008; Jyrkinen and McKie, 2012; Ghumman and Ryan, 2013). Therefore, demographic categories still hold important in diversity research. Moreover, in everyday life, grouping, categorization and identity play an important role. Within empirical research on ethnic minorities, two themes dominate: identities and prejudice/discrimination. Hall argues that cultural identities are also in process, and are subject to the “continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power” (Hall, 1990:225), reducing ‘non-west’ people to seeing themselves as ‘the other’ in the categories of knowledge of the west. “This inner expropriation of cultural identity cripples and deforms” (ibid.:226), and so ‘we’ belong to the marginal. It also creates stigmatized identities. Social stigma is carried by minority groups (Ferree, 1979) in a society. Goffman (1968) suggested the notion of stigma and within that, stigma that arises from notions of race, nation and religion. Stigma is socially constructed (Devers et al., 2009; Manzo, 2004), resides in the social context and affects the feelings and

behaviours of those targeted (Major and O'Brien, 2005). The struggle to manage two identities results in hybrid (Mishra and Shirazi, 2010; Pichler, 2007) and at times diasporic identities (Dwyer, 2000). Bell (1990) also posits that it also results in double consciousness, looking at oneself through others' eyes, while Holvino (2010) posits that this double consciousness also creates their world view and knowledge production. According to this stream of research, ethnic minorities feel like outsiders or the 'other' (Collin, 1990). The literature review suggests that it seems likely that they will feel 'outsiders', and they will encounter discrimination and prejudice in their interactions with the host/majority society. Literature also reveals that British Pakistani women are marginalized within their community because they are *women*, and within society because they are *Muslim* women and an *ethnic minority*. British Pakistani women are *on the margins, within their community* and *on the margins outside the community (in UK society)*. They are "border women" (Bell and Nkomo, 1999:71). Thus, gender, race, ethnicity, nationality and religion are all important categories of difference, identified ex-post (Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012). Chapter 4 elaborates how I reached the sub-question: **How are intersections of gender with ethnicity, nationality and religion revealed in their narratives?**

Within organizations, the literature on gender reveals that women in careers are still experiencing prejudice and discrimination, and depicts prejudice and discrimination as an *outcome of racism and sexism*. Prejudice is defined as a negative attitude, and discrimination is defined as overt behaviour. There is a large body of literature in gender and MOS studies on gendered/inequality regimes. Within this body, three themes emerge: the glass ceiling, masculine as a norm in organizational culture and motherhood as a bias. Indeed, there is ample empirical evidence from research to suggest that gender still matters. Research on the experience of being a *female ethnic*

minority manager is limited in the UK. Most of that research claims that obstacles are greater for *ethnic* minority women because of direct and indirect discrimination, while some literature claims that there is a third layer of discrimination due to religion. I thus reached a sub-question in Chapter 2: **How does the BP woman find the experience of being a manager/professional in the workplace?**

A review of research on career and MOS revealed two views: Critical (career as a form of control) and a pro-career view (career as a reward mechanism). In CMS, organizations exercise disciplinary power and control through careers (Savage, 1998). Careers are a project of the self (Grey, 1994), with individuals self-monitoring their behaviour to fit in with organizational norms, leading to linear careers. The alternative view suggests different models, with some researchers focusing on life choices (Marshall, 1994; Hakim, 2002), with the debate revolving around structure and agency. It is generally viewed as an *either/or* perspective as opposed to the duality perspective proposed by some researchers (Duberley et al., 2006; Tomlinson et al., 2013; Forrier et al., 2009). In practice, however, professionals and managers make career decisions, keeping in mind personal and family life (Chudzikowski et al., 2012; Lee et al., 2011) and not in isolation. Research on the careers of women reveals that there are multiple influences that affect careers (O’Neil et al., 2008). It also reveals that there is no strong theory or model that applies to women in careers. However, the literature implies that women do not follow a *relationless* model. They make career decisions keeping the larger context and relationships in mind. Chapter 5 elaborates how I reached the sub-question: **How have BPw’s careers progressed (developed/ evolved over time)?**

15.3 A Review of the Research Design

The literature review highlighted a number of oversights in methodology (see Table 3:114). Researchers (Gilroy, 1998; Ahonen et al., 2013) have called for a rethinking of strategies for tackling racial thinking and practices, with some researchers advocating using Foucault and genealogy to study marginalized groups (Prasad, 2009). I therefore opt for a multi-paradigm approach to capturing the complexity of the organizational phenomena. I draw on Hassard and Wolfram Cox (2013) for a critical post-structuralist paradigm. I use a relativist ontological framework and a social constructionist epistemology to approach this research and capture career experiences. My theoretical perspective is feminist post-structuralism. I use the biographical narrative interview method as a means to capture the ‘life’ context/story as well as the complex/multiple influences on the individual (my unit of analysis), responding to a call from Arthur (2008).

While Choo and Ferree (2010) suggest that intersectional analysis be used to understand issues of culture, institutions, power, multiple inequalities and interpersonal interaction, Holvino (2010) suggests a feminist post-structuralist lens be used to unpack the processes of identity practices, institutional practices and social practices within intersectionality. Weedon (1996) suggests using Foucault’s work to interpret feminist post-structuralist theory, while McIlveen and Patton (2006:23) suggest a Foucauldian lens to examine career development practices critically to unpack “the assumptions of power and identity”. As my aim is to make visible domination and oppression, I draw on Foucault. Foucault plays an important role in understanding the connection between constructed reality (knowledge), the Discourses that feed into their production and the power forces enmeshed in that field of knowledge or Discourse. As I mentioned before, my objective is to access surface

structures and deep structures within the voices of the participants (Simpson and Lewis, 2005). I do so by using the narratives of the participants to let the data speak to me. I went through multiple immersions, arriving finally at the insights.

15.4 A Review of Central Arguments of the Thesis

A major argument of this thesis is that as gender still matters and *being a woman* is still a major matter, **gender needs to be in the forefront among all the social categories**. Academic researchers continue to discuss and demonstrate the persistence of sex/gender inequality, both in societies and organizations (Acker and Van Houten, 1974; Acker, 1989; Acker, 1990; Acker, 2009; Calas et al., 2014), with the demands of both business/management cultures and contemporary work being gendered (Sabelis and Schilling, 2013). Ridgeway (2009:157) also argues for gender as a primary frame and background identity, as

“we cannot understand the shape that the gendered structure of society takes without taking into account the background effects of gender as a primary cultural frame for organizing social relations.”

Ely et al. (2011) claim that the lack of women at the top is due to an increase in second-generation forms of *gender* bias as “an invisible barrier to women’s advancement”. Thus, GOS researchers are still making a case for gender being a primary lens (Calas et al., 2014). What needs to be highlighted in research in GOS is that gender itself is created in context/culture/society, and gender should be brought to the fore among all categories (Broadbridge and Simpson, 2011:476). Moreover, it is not only society that plays a role in gendering. Ely et al. (2011) contend that **organizations also play a role in the gendering process**, a view posited by other theorists as well (Acker, 1990). However, in GOS the interaction of identity and organizations is underplayed. As Ely and Padavic (2007) clearly spell out, there is a need for research to focus on the interplay of *gender* identity, power and structure

within organizations, and specifically to inquire if organizations contribute to *gender* identity creation. Extending that idea, I attempt to understand how **BPw managers' identities are constructed and re-constructed within organizations**. This is particularly significant as identity remains *in process/under construction* throughout a lifetime (Hall, 2000). What needs to be highlighted in **one piece of empirical work is the construction process or the production process** (Czarniawska-Joerges and Höpfl, 2002). This means looking into the raw material that goes into making a product, and the processes that lead to finishing the final product. However, “casting can be a circular process” (Czarniawska-Joerges and Höpfl, 2002:4), and so identity is always *in process* and *under construction*, within and outside organizations.

A review of research on Identity and MOS revealed that **identity research in MOS is largely gender/ethnicity blind** (considering the large body of work on identity in organizations), particularly as identity is central to understanding behaviour and “is a lynchpin in the social constitution of self and society (Ybema et al., 2009:302). A human being is always *under construction*. This has been demonstrated in identity studies (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002; Atewologun and Singh, 2010) as well as gender studies (West and Zimmerman, 1987; West and Zimmerman, 2009). I argue that **identity needs to play a central role when studying both men and women in organizations**. If they are **ethnic minorities, then the view becomes complicated**. As gender, race, religion and nationality are categories, a social construction (Berger, 1967), a system of social practice and a process, I argue that *intersectional* identities (because of the context: BPw), should be viewed as a construction/ process as well. Research has demonstrated that intersectional identities result in creating inequality, and that “individuals can de facto contribute to reproducing inequalities along those same identity axes” (Boogaard and Roggeband, 2010:53).

Identities also lead to life choices, whether in career (Fouad and Byars-Winston, 2005; Ariss et al., 2012) or elsewhere. Thus, this thesis argues for a link between culture – identity - choices, which is an underexplored area in careers for women. A blind spot in research is identified, which this study aims to fulfil by using a holistic, processes-centred approach (Lee et al., 2011; Zikic and Hall, 2009) which addresses the development of the individual and changing contexts (Vondracek, 1990), as well as taking into account the constraints that people face (Inkson et al., 2012) that could affect agency. While theorists talk about different parts of the gendering process, attempts to link all of them are limited.

15.5 A Review of Central Insights of the Thesis

“Experience is understood as the correlation between fields of knowledge, types of normativity, and forms of subjectivity in a particular culture.” (Foucault, 2000:360)

This definition of experience is the foundation on which I analyse the empirical material and make sense of the participants’ sense making. I also argue against essentialism, and therefore do not have a grand theory or draw on. Rather like Qin (2004:307-8), I argue for micro-theories which are situated.

The thesis reveals three insights. The first is related to the discussion **on choices that women make with respect to careers and taking employment** (Hakim, 2002). The second insight is linked to **the notion of choice as a free choice**. The third insight is related to the idea that if **identity** is always in process, then it is **a lifetime process and does not stop with an individual entering an organization but continues within organizations and beyond**.

O’Neil et al. (2008:727), presenting a review of women in careers research between 1990 and 2008, identified four patterns: “women’s careers are embedded in women’s

larger-life contexts, families and careers are central to women's lives, women's careers paths reflect a wide range and variety of patterns, and human and social factors are critical for women's careers". They also found that the major hurdle is the male-dominated organizational dimension that continues to dominate organizations' Discourse, and the ideal manager. They claim that even though organizations may change structures, the cultures remain the same, pointing to informal mechanisms in organizations or norms of networking /socializing, etc. The findings of this thesis correspond with the claims of O'Neil et al. (2008:727). However, it adds a new dimension as well. **I have discovered that my participants make choices based on ethical selves** (borrowing on Foucault – see also Chapter 11 and Figure 6:174).

I add to the debate on **careers for women by suggesting ethical selves (drawn from Foucault's technologies of self) as a theory. Ethical selves** could be explored with respect to future work. For example, is it just a particular ethnic group or some other groups of women or men? In addition, the idea of Ethical selves takes the debate away from the question of either structure **or** agency and focuses on **both**, structure and agency, playing a role in choices. It provides a broad lens through which all the influences at play can be identified: historical, cultural, organizational, social, relational and individual.

Linked to the notion of choice in ethical selves is the insight of glass chains, and thereby never being free from Discourse, discussed in Chapter Twelve. **I thus challenge the assumption of free choice.** While disciplinary power completely subjugates a person and results in the individual re-producing Discourse, through making choices that produce a life dictated by that Discourse, *glass chains* allow individuals to become ethical subjects and transform their lives ethically. *Glass*

chains is a metaphor I am use to elucidate a milder form of disciplinary power. While disciplinary power gives *no room* for manoeuvring, glass chains do. It is *self-exercised* by an individual to *keep herself within her moral codes* yet allow her freedom; albeit limited freedom. The individual is never free from Discourse. The individual becomes a subject of the dominant Discourses and **generally appears to remain within the norms** because of disciplinary power/panoptical surveillance methods that **pull the individual towards the Discourse, so that the individual behaves in a certain way thus becoming an *object* of that power.** Glass *chains* (imperceptible links to our moral codes) allow **us limited movement** but not complete escape from disciplinary power. We are still bound to the Discourses by *glass chains*. *Glass* because they are invisible and *chains* because they hold us back or constrain us without our being aware that *they even exist*. **The adherence to certain moral codes is the *glass chains*.**

Borrowing from the notion that **identity is always in process** and the argument of Ely and Padavic (2007) that identity work continues in organizations, I demonstrate how *some* of the participants' career experiences are the consequences of intersectional identities and glass chains working simultaneously within inequality regimes inside organizations, resulting at times in invisible barriers to progression. These obstacles, formal, informal and invisible, perpetuate and re-produce Discourses and narratives of otherness. Indeed, being at the intersection of disadvantaged groups creates a situation that perpetuates and reproduces inequalities. As the literature postulates that identity is always under construction, I argue that **the identity of an individual is affected by organizations and their "inequality regimes"**. Organizational cultures have not changed, and being a woman or ethnic or religious

minority makes individuals feel marginalized (Broadbridge and Kerfoot, 2010). This **further re-produces feelings of being the other**, as argued in Chapter Thirteen.

15.6 Contribution to knowledge: Theoretical contribution

Foucault's work plays a prominent role in this thesis, as I draw on a number of his concepts to explain the findings. My research contributes on a number of fronts to the field of career, gender and ethnic studies:

Contribution to the field of careers

Much of the research on women in management talks about the challenges and barriers that women face in organizations, also called inequality regimes. The discussion also centres on the incompatibility of motherhood and full-time careers. A theory of careers for women has yet to evolve. **I present Foucault's work as an option for a theory of careers. Underpinning ethical selves is the notion of glass chains, which challenges the view of free-choice.** I define these chains as imperceptible (glass) links (chains) to moral codes that are embedded (internalized) in identities that have been created through Discourses. Glass chains are the invisible links to the Discourses. For each individual, Discourses can be different and can be multiple. Thus *chains* is used in the plural and not the singular. While I use BPw as a sample and present a situated micro-theory (Qin, 2004), these insights could be explored with respect to other groups.

Contribution to the field of gender, identity and ethnicity in organization studies

Much of the ethnicity literature talks about the identity issues and challenges one faces as an ethnic minority. Indeed, a large body of work exists on the intersectionality approach. This approach argues for viewing ethnic women at the intersection of gender and ethnicity, and for highlighting the powers that operate to

dominate them at this location. While studies may argue for simultaneity and complexity (Holvino, 2010), few do so empirically, succumbing to dominant discourses in research (Slay and Smith, 2010). Ken's metaphor of sugar resonates with my view and theoretical argument that **identity is always *in process*. It is not time-bound or place-bound.** This research attempts to fuse gender with ethnicity, nationality, religion and class, and uses intersectionality as a lens through which inequality regimes (Acker, 2006a) are explored. Do intersectional identities interact with inequality regimes? What happens when and if they do interact? These questions have been raised by Harding et al. (2013) and Ely and Padavic (2007), who specifically ask for research that looks at complex interactions between gender, identity and power in organizations. **However, the literature under-explores what happens after intersectional identities (Werbner, 2013a) are created, and particularly what happens when ethnic minority women bring their intersectional identities to the workplace.** Alvesson et al. (2008:5) argue there should be a simultaneous focus on both the organization **and** the wider society as resources that feed into an individual's processes of identity creation. Research demonstrates socialization can persist throughout a lifespan, affecting identities in organizations (Collinson, 2003; Cooper and Thatcher, 2010; Foldy, 2012), including gender identity (Bendien, 2013). My research contributes to identity studies by looking at context and processes (Brown, 2014), particularly *in process* or ongoing identity construction (Alvesson et al., 2008), thus returning to the original metaphor underpinning social constructionism (Ainsworth and Grant, 2012). While some researchers have suggested models which incorporate non-work identities (national, gender, family) within organizational contexts and personal preferences (Ramarajan and Reid, 2013), this thesis empirically demonstrates the link. Identity *needs* to play a

central role in gender as well as ethnic studies. Therefore, the thesis aims to make a theoretical contribution to gender and organization studies by using a '*gender with*' approach (Broadbridge and Simpson, 2011), and to diversity studies (gender/ethnicity) by bringing identity to the fore. It also attempts to build on Acker's work by bringing the interaction of intersectional identities (and the notion of glass chains) into the inequalities regime.

15.7 Contribution to knowledge: Methodological Contribution

Contribution to the field of careers

I break away from a hegemonic view in career research by **taking a contextual approach**, as in my view there is too much focus on the individual and his/her agency without considering contextual factors. Context "is crucial to an understanding of career" (Gunz et al., 2011:1617). Despite this position, Gunz et al. acknowledge that the bulk of career research does not take a holistic view of careers. This research looks at careers holistically, in all their complexity. From the individual's perspective, it emphasizes 'perceptions' and 'interpretations', while paying attention to the macro-environment of the individual as well as how significant others can influence careers (Grote and Hall, 2013) or the relational aspect. It therefore draws in the concepts of culture, identity and choices.

I take a life approach to career. Career is regarded by me as a movement over time (Bailyn, 2004). I view careers as a movie versus a snapshot, as careers last a "whole working life" (Inkson et al., 2012:331). This fits in with the general definition and meaning of career as "the individually perceived sequence of attitudes and behaviours associated with work-related experiences and activities over the span of the person's life."(Hall, 2002:12) and later "the sum of all of a person's jobs over that person's life

span” (Kopelman et al., 2012). While research recommends a lifespan approach (Super, 1957; Super, 1980; Sterner, 2012), few researchers have attempted to incorporate the life context, with the exception of Lee et al., (2011) and House (2004), who have used quantitative measures, raising another series of questions as to whether measures can adequately capture the complexity of careers (Zikic and Hall, 2009). I thus use a social constructionist ontological framework to approach career research and capture career experiences. I accomplish the holistic and life approach by using life story narratives and a Foucauldian lens to view careers. Therefore, this research attempts to make a methodological contribution to the field of career by using social constructionism and Foucault.

Contribution to the field of gender and ethnicity in organization studies

I use an intersectional lens to view identity. This was important, given the context of BPw as participants, and the critique offered by diversity scholars (see Table 2 of Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012:184), who identify three areas of weakness: non-consideration of intersectionality and *multiple* forms of difference, lack of context and static accounts of diversity that ignore the interplay of power and inequality. This research adopted a conscious approach towards revealing power, and particularly hidden dimensions of power, and uses a post-structuralist approach as a means to question ‘power’ in diversity (Jones and Stablein, 2006). Proudford and Nkomo (2006:337) call for “unpacking the historical, cultural, social and political context within which racial dynamics are enacted”. This was done using Foucault’s work. So while each individual is separate within a similar group, they may have similar experiences that might make certain interpretations and propositions “plausible” (Alvesson and Karreman, 2011:27).

The level of exploration is a multi-level approach: micro, macro and meso. Syed and Özbilgin, (2009: 2436) explain the necessity to use **a multi-level approach in diversity**, as it “captures the relational interplay of structural- and agentic-level concerns of equality” that covers macro-national, meso-organizational and micro-individual levels of analysis. They argue that issues of diversity and discrimination are complex and shaped by many factors. The macro-factors cover socio-political factors, legal frameworks, demography and history. These affect which social identity comes to the fore in, for instance, the workplace. The organization becomes the meso-level, where rituals, processes and practices are explored, and the micro-level considers individual agency and power as well the human ability to enact change. Kamenou et al. (2012) have used this approach to study employers’ perceptions of ethnic minority women in the Scottish labour market. The literature review suggests that an analysis of the *careers of women* must embrace an all-inclusive perspective incorporating the interplay between the broader domain of society and the individual (similar to Fagenson’s GOS perspective) rather than an individualistic perspective. Despite an early call from Fagenson (1990) to women in management researchers to combine a *person-centered* perspective (factors that are internal to a woman) with an organization *structure* perspective, with *systems*; research in GOS continues to focus on one or the other area. The main body of work in gender and organization studies centres on organizations as a basis of inequality (Calas and Smircich, 2006a).

Researchers are not using a combined lens to answer the broad question of why there are few women in organizations/top management/boards. Fagenson contends that it is not an either-or issue (either due to gender or organizations), but rather that “both organization structure and individual’s gender can shape and define women’s behavior on the job (ibid.:271), arguing that work organizations are affected

by a larger context (societies) which have cultural values, histories, etc. Viewing organizational inequalities as linked to inequalities in the surrounding society is a view similar to Acker's (2006a).

15.8 Contribution to Knowledge: Empirical contribution

Contribution to the field of gender, ethnicity and organization studies

This research uses life stories and excerpts to capture the richness of the intersections of social categories through the voice of the participants. I draw on research (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1255) to focus on both levels of voice: surface and deep. I have tried to remain true to the **voice of the participant** by letting the focus be on what the participant is saying, and keep my interpretations in the background by using footnotes as a means of bringing my voice in. The attempt has been

“to produce rich empirical analyses that capture the intersubjectivity of organizational life in a thoughtful and empathetic fashion, and to demonstrate how individual and collective self-constructions become powerful players in organizing processes and outcomes.” (Alvesson et al., 2008:7)

This research draws out the subtle and critical differences of self (Qin, 2004), and demonstrates empirically that culture which is visible as the dominant values in a society plays an important role, **specifically in cultural expectations and cultural roles**. Rout et al. (1999) have suggested this. They argue for taking into account social construction and meanings associated with each role, which may differ across cultures. Culture plays a role in shaping gender differently. The meaning of being a woman varies from culture to culture. While culture plays a role in work - life research literature (Peus and Mattausch, 2008; Kamenou, 2008), it has been under-explored in MOS regarding women. This research has demonstrated that culture affects gendering and identity creation, which affect choices.

Contribution to the field of careers

My research responds to a call from Sullivan and Baruch (2009), who suggest that more research is needed on **under-represented populations and minorities**. It attempts to offer an account of career experiences through the voices of a group of women who are an ethnic minority in the United Kingdom. I consider this group socially marginalized, as academic research on this group in the UK confirms that they are on the margins of their diasporic community because they are women, and on the margins of UK society because they are a religious and ethnic minority. It thus responds to a call from Prasad et al. (2007), who recommend looking at career issues for the socially marginalized. It also answers a call from Arthur (2008:180), when he cites Schein (2007) and Savickas (1993) to argue that it is important **“to become better at hearing other people’s voices and pursu(e) greater variation in the methodologies we use to highlight career phenomena.”** Arthur (2008:167, emphasis added) suggests that careers be looked at as the “interdependence between work and the wider life course (so that we) take the passage of time into account (and develop a) holistic view of career. **Let us focus on one person, one career, and one lifetime** in which that person can work, learn, make friends, start a family, pursue hobbies, have fun or whatever”. Chapter 14 presents the life story of one participant and her career.

15.9 Reflections on Limitations

The methodological choices (discussed in Chapters 6 and 7) were made after careful deliberation. While there are always research limitations, as no research process can be perfect or unbiased (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009), each area was carefully evaluated. Was there anything I could have done differently? Upon reflection, I do not think so, because I had already taken the pros and cons into account and made choices that suited the research best, at the same time taking into account the

weaknesses. For example Alvesson (2003) critiques the interview method. Being aware that I as a researcher could/would influence the research process during data collection (interview) and data analysis (Buckner, 2005), I tried to counter that weakness by presenting an audit trail. However, I do acknowledge that the audit trail I have detailed could be insufficient for some readers. Yet I did maintain a reflexive position during data collection and analysis, to add rigour to the research, and I have explained my position (6.3.1).

On reflection I could have analyzed the data using some other methods. My choice of a Foucauldian lens is grounded in the data. By using Foucault and his concepts of Discourse and power I have used a wide lens. If I had not let the data illuminate my analytical path, I could have used a microscopic lens. I could have used other methods of qualitative analysis, for example, conversation analysis and within it, a Voice-centred relational method (which could be considered for future projects) (Doucet and Mauthner, 2008; Paliadelis and Cruickshank, 2008; Byrne et al., 2009) or a psychodynamic approach. Although I used theoretical sampling as a basis for my decision to stop collecting data because the interviews were not generating any further insights, I could have interviewed a few more women or used comparative samples (which again could be considered for future projects). I also had to use snowball sampling rather than a case study using one organization or two, as it was so difficult to find participants who fit the sampling criteria *and were willing* to take two or three hours out of their busy days, in large numbers in one or two organizations. The snowball sampling I used has a broad base, which helped to remove a bias of snowballing sampling, namely - participants nominating people who are similar to them. As the participants' demographic details demonstrate, I got a variety of ages, occupations, professions and career stages. My biggest regret is that I have not done

justice to **each** participant's story in this thesis by including all 37 in the tome. However, I look forward to future research projects to build on this research and utilizing the same data

15.10 Building on this research

This research has generated rich data and some insights. The findings of this thesis could be developed further. There are a number of theorists I have drawn on in this thesis but, have not discussed in depth due to word count restrictions. A discussion of their work and this empirical work offers opportunities for publication. Furthermore, I wish to publish a book with all the stories, as these women are role models for young British Pakistani women. I have large amounts of data that could be analysed further and in more depth. I also want to expand my ideas of **ethical selves** and **glass chains** by studying other groups and contexts. Barley (1989:59) has advised looking at careers, identities and institutions, calling for research to look

“beyond even relations of production, to the family, to religion, and to the structure of communities.”

This holistic perspective has been largely missing in career research. In particular, ethical selves using Foucault's technologies of the self has great potential, as it looks at structure and agency through one lens simultaneously. Seminal career researchers have been asking for an interdisciplinary approach since 1989 (Arthur et al., 1989), with some researchers advocating 'culture' as a framework to capture internal and external career (Derr and Laurent, 1989). It seems that their perspective has been largely ignored, as they (see for example Arthur, 2008) are still issuing an interdisciplinary call. Foucault's work, underpinned by social constructionism, has great potential to look at careers in depth. In particular, it meets Cohen et al.,

(2004:407)'s requirements for the study of careers, as they argue that an approach is required that:

“Transcend(s) dualisms which prevailed in career theory, facilitates analyses of the relationship between careers and the social contexts in which they are embedded, and illuminates issues of power and ideology which are often eclipsed by more positivist research approaches.”

A Foucauldian lens of analyses using all three axes takes into account simultaneously the structures (macro and meso) that operate in the power axis and how individuals (micro/agency) interact within them. It transcends dualism by taking into account human choices which are contextual and perspectival.

15.11 Concluding Thoughts

As I write this chapter, I reflect on my journey. My data has taken me to unexpected places, and I had to go back to the literature a number of times to centre my findings. Therefore the thesis you read is written after a number of re-drafts of all chapters. While the thesis seems linear, the process of producing it was iterative, messy and exceedingly time-consuming. This thesis begins with an intellectual puzzle (Mason, 2002). It solves the puzzle by holding culture/society, organizations and individuals responsible. While previous research has mostly focused on organizational barriers, this thesis focuses on the way we conceptualize ourselves (because of the culture or society we are exposed to) and thus create barriers for ourselves, which at times we are not even aware of. While humans may *want* simple solutions, in reality human beings are complicated. The narratives of the participants reveal this complexity, which I hope has been captured in this thesis. Furthermore, career is just a part of life and cannot be separated from total life. In studying human beings and their behaviour, there are many influences that create that behaviour. Therefore, career research needs to capture ‘life’ and the ‘complexity’ that accompanies life.

The question of why Pakistani-origin women were among the lowest in the BME group in managerial positions in the UK (EOC, 2007:9) has been answered using Foucault. While most women from the British Pakistani diaspora succumb to disciplinary power and become docile bodies, the few who have entered careers, have done so using ethical selves. They have resisted some Discourses, yet remain linked to others. I also realize that while I am studying sense-making by my participants, I am also undertaking sense-making myself. I am trying to make sense of how my participants *have made sense of their lives*. Michel Foucault's work has been central to this sense-making activity, and I pay tribute to the great philosopher, who lived in the same times that I live in. To a large extent this thesis has been cathartic, and a labour of love. Firstly, my 37 participants have made me realize that women are not alone on this journey in life. There are many women who have gone through similar experiences. What gives me strength is their strength. As a woman, a Pakistani woman, I acknowledge my insecurities and realize that finding others like myself (BPw) who have overcome difficult situations secures my 'self'. Secondly, while living in their narratives and trying to understand them and their choices, I have begun to understand what I am and why I am.

Lastly, I have tried to produce qualitative research that meets the eight "Big-Tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research (Tracy, 2010:840; see Table 1: Annexure1): worthy topic, rich rigour, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, and ethical and meaningful coherence. I leave it to the reader to judge whether and where I have succeeded.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Visuals

840

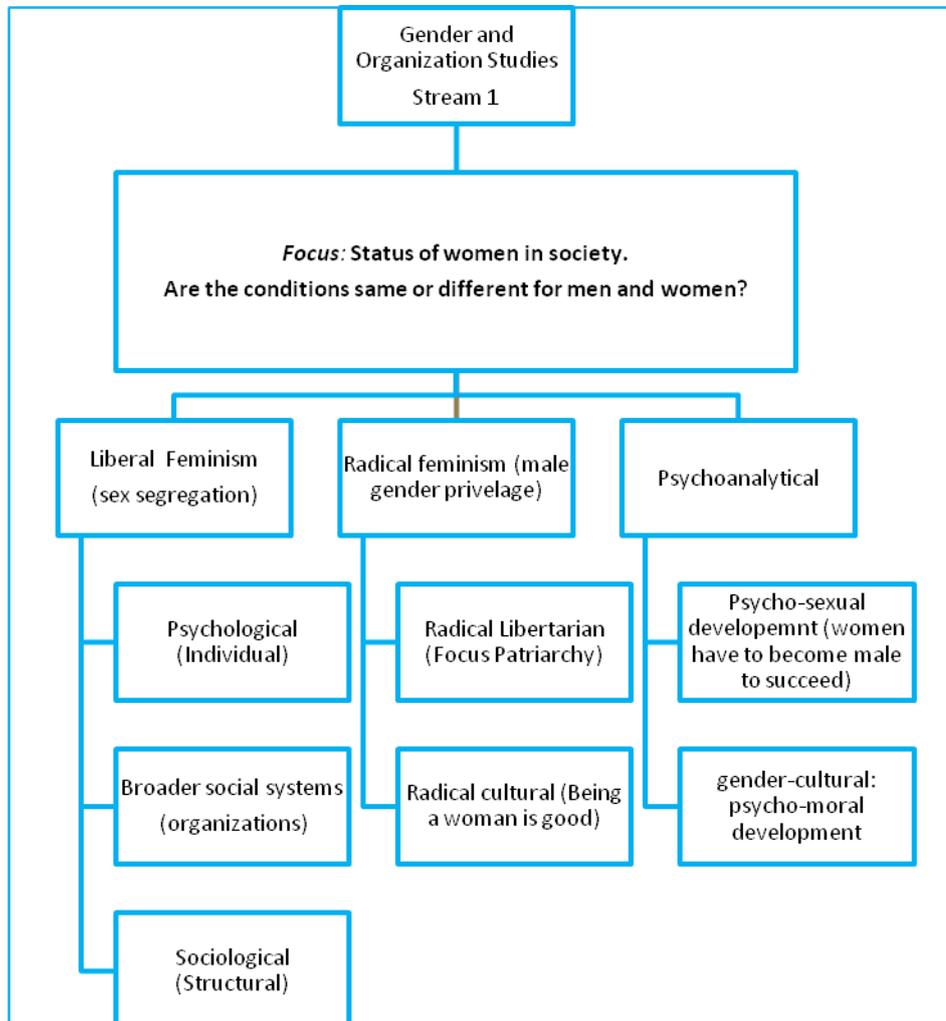
Qualitative Inquiry 16(10)

Table 1. Eight “Big-Tent” Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research

Criteria for quality (end goal)	Various means, practices, and methods through which to achieve
Worthy topic	The topic of the research is <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relevant • Timely • Significant • Interesting
Rich rigor	The study uses sufficient, abundant, appropriate, and complex <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theoretical constructs • Data and time in the field • Sample(s) • Context(s) • Data collection and analysis processes
Sincerity	The study is characterized by <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-reflexivity about subjective values, biases, and inclinations of the researcher(s) • Transparency about the methods and challenges
Credibility	The research is marked by <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thick description, concrete detail, explication of tacit (nontextual) knowledge, and showing rather than telling • Triangulation or crystallization • Multivocality • Member reflections
Resonance	The research influences, affects, or moves particular readers or a variety of audiences through <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aesthetic, evocative representation • Naturalistic generalizations • Transferable findings
Significant contribution	The research provides a significant contribution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conceptually/theoretically • Practically • Morally • Methodologically • Heuristically
Ethical	The research considers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Procedural ethics (such as human subjects) • Situational and culturally specific ethics • Relational ethics • Exiting ethics (leaving the scene and sharing the research)
Meaningful coherence	The study <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achieves what it purports to be about • Uses methods and procedures that fit its stated goals • Meaningfully interconnects literature, research questions/foci, findings, and interpretations with each other

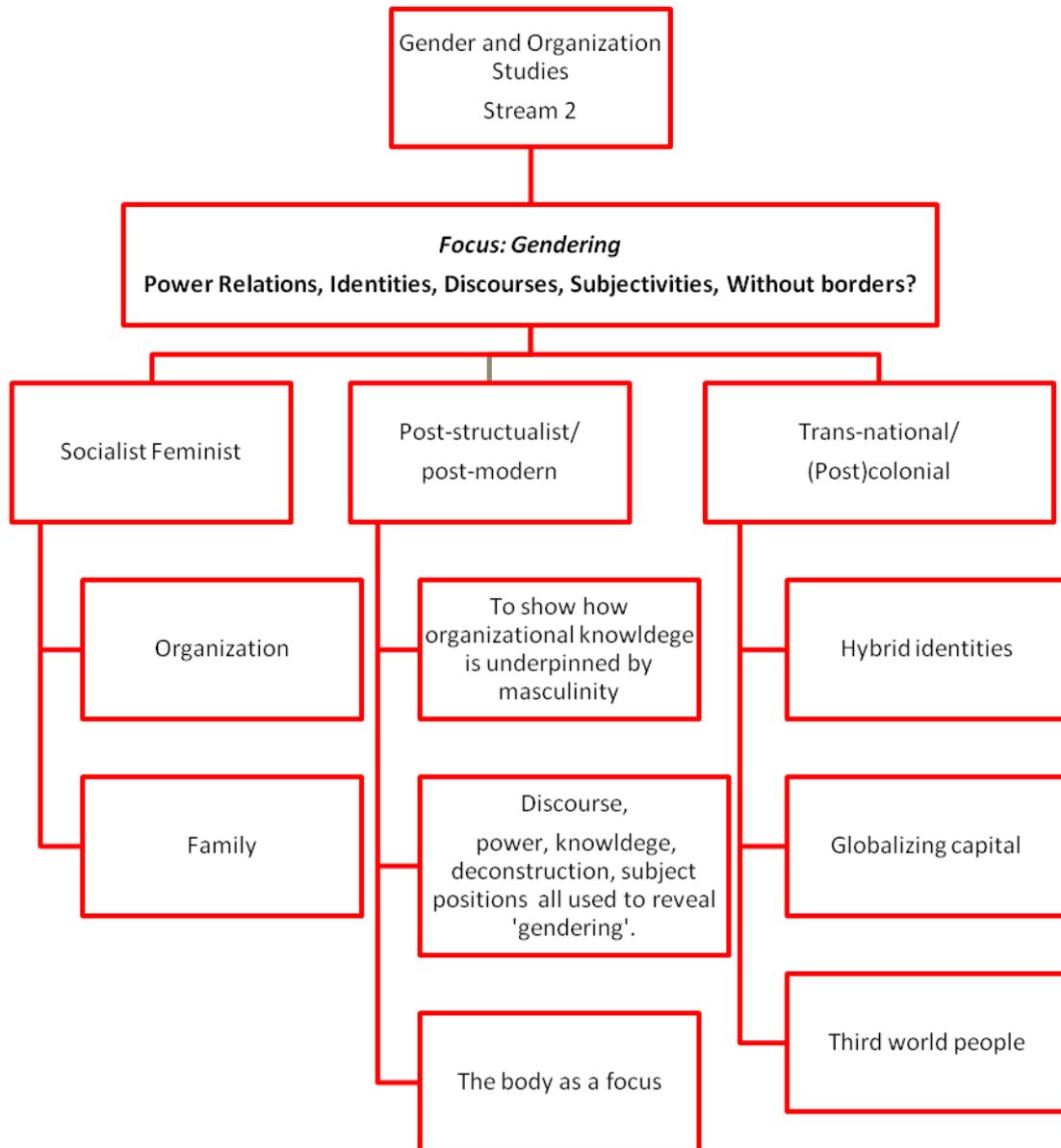
Source: Tracy, S.J. (2010). Qualitative Quality: Eight “Big-Tent” Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research

Stream 1 in GOS



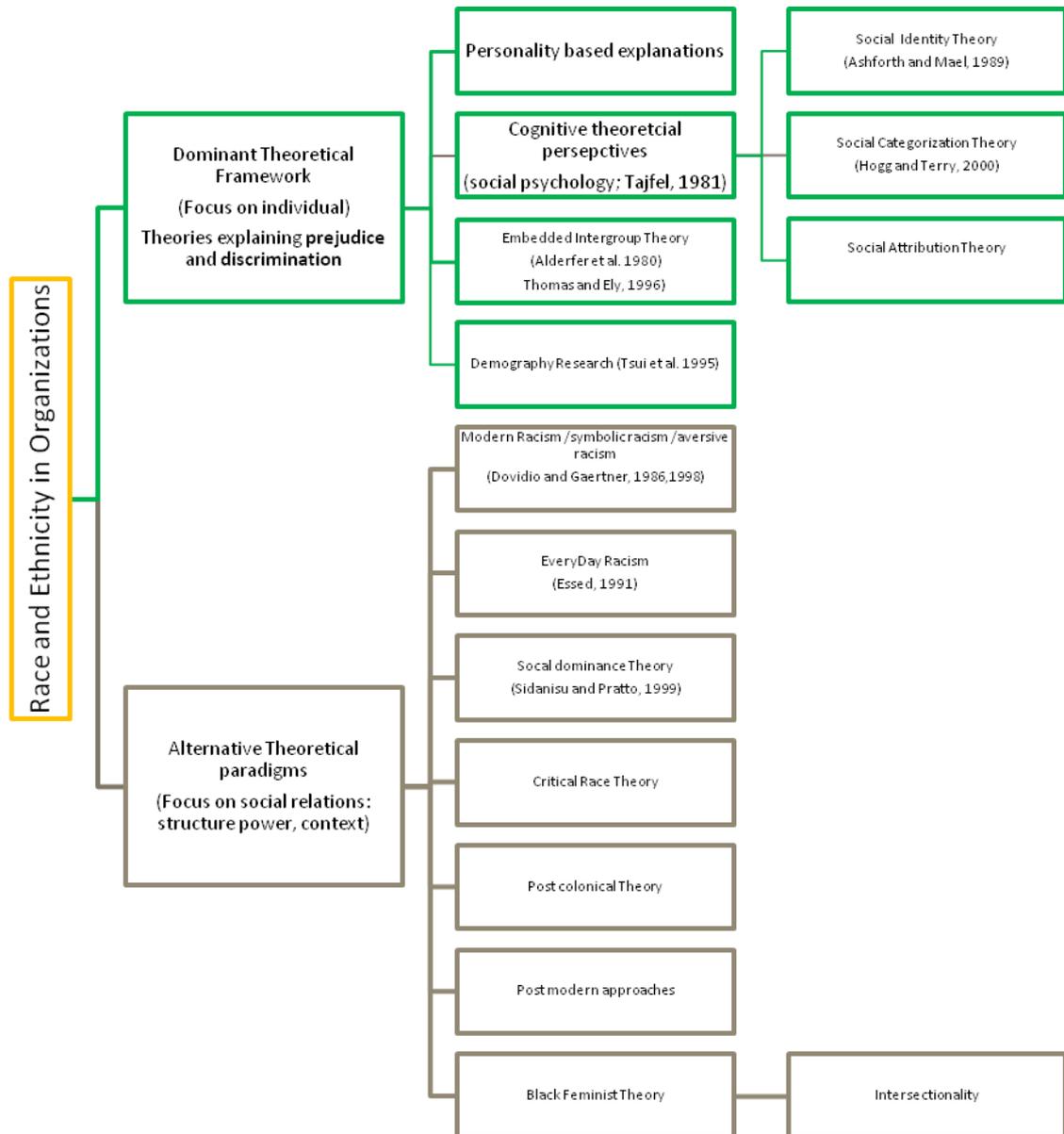
Source: Diagram based on discussion in Calas and Smircich (2006)

Stream 2 in GOS



Source: Diagram based on discussion in Calas and Smircich (2006)

Race and Ethnicity in Organizations



Source: Diagrammatic overview of the major theoretical frameworks as explained by Nkomo and Stewart (2006) and Proudford and Nkomo(2006).

Appendix 2: Samples of personal journal

A sample of my reaction on meeting a participant.

She came to pick me from the station in a four wheel drive. She looked very Pakistani, dark skinned, big eyes. As I got into the car, I saw a white baby in a car seat at the back seat. I said, “What a cute baby....whose is it?” and she said “Mine.” I was startled but never said anything to her. We reached her house and she undid the baby and took it into the house. As I entered the hallway, I saw a wedding picture in a silver frame with her in it as a bride and a white man standing next to her who looked like the groom. There was another picture of these two with other people. Seemed like a family photo. She saw me looking at the pictures and said, “That’s my family with us at my wedding”, so I knew the white man had to be her husband.”

A sample of my reflections on an emotive interview

I was surprised and taken aback. I did not know how to handle this adult woman who seemed to have gone to pieces in public! My first instinct was to make her somehow stop crying and I did it by calming her down with the tone of my voice and talking to her in abstract terms. She turned around and said, “You don’t understand. My marriage is following apart. What should I do?” Of course, I could not give her an opinion and had to remain objective and even though she had forgotten that I was just a researcher, I had not. I was conscious of it and I had to tell her that the decision had to be hers and that she should think and take things slowly. Again I resorted to philosophical perspectives on life to keep the conversation abstract and general and to give her time to pull herself together. I was also conscious that the other participant was texting me and I needed to get to her. So I hugged this participant and said bye and left. I was upset and shaken by her emotional outburst and remained upset during the other interview, that night and next day. I could not talk to anyone else about it and lighten my emotional load as I had to protect the participant. I emailed her a few days later again because I was concerned for her mental state and texted her also a few times after that, again conscious of my role as a researcher and keeping my concern general rather than specific. She replied every time to me so I was reassured that she seemed all right. I sent her the transcript as she had requested. About six months from the date of the interview she texted me to say she wanted to pull out of the interview as she was going through a messy divorce. She did not want me to use her data. I assured her I would not. Her data was rich and even though I felt not ready to let go of the data, I understood her perspective. I think she probably felt she had said too much.

Appendix 3: Letter and consent form for the participants



PhD student/Seminar Tutor
 Department of Management Learning and Leadership
 Office: Room C34, C Floor,
 Charles Carter Building
 Lancaster University Management School
 Lancaster LA1 4YX
 +44 1524 510944

Dear Participant,

Thank you for agreeing to play a part in the project.

I thought I should introduce myself so that you have some idea about my background. I am currently a full time PhD scholar at Lancaster University. I am a Pakistani citizen, 51 years old with three children aged 25, 23, and 19. I have worked in a bank and run the family business for a short while but spent most of my working life as a teacher in higher education. Consequently, I am an academic by profession and am on sabbatical from a Pakistani University.

My PhD topic is related to career progression among British Pakistani women. I would like to talk to women who are currently employed at managerial (they can be owner/manager) or professional levels.

I am enclosing an information sheet which will give you the details of the study. The information sheet and consent form are part of the university ethics requirements. Interviews can be held anytime between October 2012 and March/April 2013. Please do let me know when and where we could meet.

I would be grateful if you could put me in touch with any other participants who fit the profile. I need about 40 women in total. It does not matter where they are located in U.K, as I would travel to meet them wherever and whenever it is convenient for them. I have also created a group on LinkedIn called "[British Pakistani Managerial and Professional Women](#)".

In case you need some more information from me, please do let me know. Participants may also contact an independent person at Lancaster University about this project. My supervisor Dr Caroline Gatrell would be happy to hear from you by e-mail c.gatrell@lancaster.ac.uk, by phone 01524 510918 / 510913 or at the Department of Management Learning and Leadership, Charles Carter Building, Lancaster University Management School, Lancaster LA1 4YX.

Thank you again

Shehla Arifeen
 07516180436
s.arifeen@lancaster.ac.uk

Management Learning and
 Leadership

Lancaster LA1 4YX
 United Kingdom
 T: +44 (0)1524 510930
 F: +44 (0)1524 510910
 E: managementlearning@lancaster.ac.uk
www.lums.lancs.ac.uk



PhD student
 Department of Management Learning and Leadership
 Office: Room C34, C Floor,
 Charles Carter Building
 Lancaster University Management School
 Lancaster LA1 4YX
 +44 1524 510944
 Mobile Number 07516180436

Informed Consent Form

Please complete if you are happy to take part in the study.

Title of Study: Career progression of British Pakistani women managers and professionals in U.K.

Name of Researcher: Shehla Riza Arifeen

**Please tick
the box**

- | | | |
|----|--|--------------------------|
| 1. | I confirm that I have read and I understand the research information sheet for the above study. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. | I have spoken to the above researcher and understand that my involvement will include being interviewed at a time and place mutually suitable. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. | I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. | I understand that any data or information used in any publications which arise from this study will be anonymous | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. | I understand that all data will be stored securely and is covered by the data protection act. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. | I agree to take part in the above study. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Appendix 4: Example of NVivo coding Sheet

The screenshot shows the NVivo software interface with a coding sheet titled 'All codes'. The interface includes a menu bar (File, Home, Create, External Data, Analyze, Query, Explore, Layout, View) and a toolbar with various editing and analysis tools. On the left, there is a 'Nodes' pane with a tree view showing 'All codes', 'Participants', 'Relationships', and 'Node Matrices'. Below that is a 'Sources' pane with 'Nodes' selected. The main area displays a table of codes with the following columns: Name, Sources, References, Created On, Created By, Modified On, and Modified By. The table contains 40 rows of codes, each with a circular icon next to the name. The codes are organized into hierarchical groups, such as 'Childhood' and 'Employment'. The status bar at the bottom indicates 'SRA 102 items'.

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
as Muslims we are under the microscope	3	3	31/05/2013 22:34	SRA	03/11/2013 13:23	SRA
But I don't want to delegate my children's wellbeing	2	2	11/09/2013 12:52	SRA	30/09/2013 17:27	SRA
Childhood	0	0	28/05/2013 15:40	SRA	28/05/2013 15:40	SRA
non aspirational secondary school	3	4	28/05/2013 18:01	SRA	25/09/2013 12:43	SRA
order of birth	22	25	28/05/2013 17:18	SRA	31/10/2013 23:03	SRA
place of birth UK	28	33	28/05/2013 16:43	SRA	01/11/2013 14:22	SRA
pressures of growing up	22	35	28/05/2013 15:45	SRA	02/11/2013 07:42	SRA
Primary school experiences	22	43	28/05/2013 15:43	SRA	31/10/2013 23:52	SRA
Primary school type	20	24	28/05/2013 15:42	SRA	02/11/2013 07:29	SRA
secondary school experiences	37	104	28/05/2013 15:44	SRA	02/11/2013 07:48	SRA
secondary school type	23	31	28/05/2013 15:44	SRA	02/11/2013 07:29	SRA
sleepovers	9	9	28/05/2013 17:41	SRA	31/10/2013 09:36	SRA
university	32	82	29/08/2013 07:13	SRA	02/11/2013 07:51	SRA
difficulty in fitting in	1	1	28/05/2013 15:41	SRA	03/09/2013 09:30	SRA
being white (behaviour)	18	40	28/05/2013 15:47	SRA	02/11/2013 08:14	SRA
coconut	3	5	03/08/2013 09:31	SRA	02/11/2013 08:19	SRA
Friends as an adult	9	11	31/05/2013 17:22	SRA	31/10/2013 23:52	SRA
no man's land	21	35	28/05/2013 15:47	SRA	03/11/2013 17:12	SRA
not feeling asian or pakistani	9	14	28/05/2013 15:46	SRA	29/10/2013 18:05	SRA
school experiences	4	8	28/05/2013 15:45	SRA	28/10/2013 06:58	SRA
Employment	1	1	28/05/2013 19:25	SRA	29/08/2013 15:07	SRA
age discrimination	5	5	30/05/2013 14:57	SRA	29/10/2013 04:25	SRA
At any time have you felt discriminated	36	72	30/05/2013 15:26	SRA	03/11/2013 16:43	SRA
boxed in or glass walls	11	14	31/05/2013 16:48	SRA	02/11/2013 08:11	SRA
dressing at work	27	41	30/05/2013 15:04	SRA	31/10/2013 23:57	SRA
Importance contacts in getting a job	2	2	31/05/2013 20:21	SRA	11/10/2013 14:46	SRA
Importance contacts in getting a job	2	2	08/11/2013 08:11	SRA	11/10/2013 14:46	SRA
Improving qualifications	7	12	29/08/2013 08:35	SRA	30/10/2013 08:16	SRA
long work hours	10	15	28/05/2013 21:00	SRA	01/11/2013 14:21	SRA
Masculinities	27	72	30/05/2013 15:23	SRA	02/11/2013 08:04	SRA
motherhood as a barrier	19	52	28/05/2013 20:58	SRA	02/11/2013 08:18	SRA
moving jobs	4	4	30/05/2013 15:10	SRA	26/10/2013 08:06	SRA
Networking	15	17	31/05/2013 21:54	SRA	02/11/2013 08:03	SRA
problems working with women	7	7	31/08/2013 10:21	SRA	29/10/2013 19:08	SRA
Processes of selection, recruitment, promotion	20	38	28/05/2013 19:26	SRA	02/11/2013 08:04	SRA
promotion and progression	32	105	28/05/2013 20:53	SRA	02/11/2013 07:58	SRA
Reasons for choosing that line of work	15	20	31/05/2013 15:46	SRA	02/11/2013 08:06	SRA
Reasons for quitting a job	17	19	30/05/2013 15:18	SRA	02/11/2013 08:16	SRA

Appendix 5: Excerpts

Example of Narratives, Discourses and voices of ‘gendered nurturing’.

<p>Meeting boys and men was rigorously restricted</p>	<p>Dates! oh really bad. Totally not allowed, not even really spoken about, it wasn't something I would have even, brought up. It was, probably the most awkward conversation I've ever had in my life with my parents [laughter] was, ...um... when I was in eighth grade, so I must have been like 12 or something, ...um..., because we had a graduation ball, eighth grade graduation ball, and I really wanted ...um... to go with a boy, because everyone went as couples. And I had actually been asked already by this guy ...um... that I knew. And just asking my parents whether he could come and collect me from my house, it was like just, so hard for me to get the words out [laughter]. (Zainab)</p>
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Example of Narratives, Discourses and voices of ‘being the other’.

<p>Being called a coconut by Pakistani groups</p>	<p>When I used to walk in, I'd be there in a skirt, and when I first started, I remember the Pakistanis they were the most racist towards me. White people I got on, because when I speak, you can't tell me that, I don't have a twang,Pakistani boys at that time, thought they, because I must be, they thought I was Iranian or Turkish or something, they used to want to go out with me. Well I've been brought up very traditional, you don't go out with boys, that's end of it. So I used to tell them to get lost., I was into more English music, R'n'B, black music, ...er... so when, when I used to go in, I used to speak to everyone. ...Er... but the Pak, the girls didn't like me. Because they didn't know how to deal with me. I didn't have two <i>gotaan</i> and I didn't wear traditional, I wore, I was quite, I'm thinking trendy in my time, 'cos I always liked clothes, so I used to wear English clothes but very trendy English clothes, 'cos my family have always <i>mashallah</i>, they've always done well.The girls, Pakistani girls at the college, ...er... I had a boy come up to me and say 'who', you know, he was proper racist towards me in terms of 'where you come from? Look at you, you think you're a <i>chiti</i> ? (white?) You know, you're a coconut'. They called me coconut, now that's a term. (Uzma)</p>
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Example of Narratives, Discourses and voices of ‘inequality regimes’.

<p>Male environment:</p>	<p>This is a very male controlled environment that I work in. So my Chief exec is a male. She was a female. Most of the directors are male. Most of the doctors that are in divisional positions, director positions are male. So you see a lot of female managers. But when it comes to the most senior posts in this (organization), you are more likely to come across them being male. I think when you are in meetings, I mean I have been to the exec board before when I have sat and presented to the executive team and I...you have to consider the fact that eighty percent of them are male and that is in the back of your mind. My director’s male and perhaps I.....interact with him differently to how I would if he was female. So I think there is a difference. I think there is undoubtedly a difference in how you respond to them.(Bilquis)</p> <p>I was the only Pakistani. I was the youngest. And I had a very tough time in the first year. Even though I delivered great results, the culture of the company was very..... it was like working with sharks. And they couldn't understand me because.... not verbally but,..... they were all white men, who were all between 50 and 55 maybe 60, they had long distinguished careers and certainly did not meet many Asian women. So there was a lot of stereotyping. I had to work a lot to establish my credibility with them. Which was really tough. (Nasreen)</p>
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