

The London School of Economics and Political Science



Crafting an Identity: An Examination of the
Lived Experiences of Minority Racial and
Ethnic Individuals in the Workplace

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Declaration

I certify that the thesis I have presented for examination for the PhD degree of the London School of Economics and Political Science is solely my own work

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Abstract

This research enquiry is concerned with how racial and ethnic identity is both managed and experienced by individuals within the workplace. This thesis is comprised of three separate and distinct empirical studies conducted with the purpose of uncovering the lived experiences of minority racial and ethnic individuals. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods are used in order to study individual experiences of race and ethnicity from multiple complementary perspectives.

Study 1 is a quantitative empirical study that uses biculturalism as a lens to conceptualise the experience of minority racial and ethnic individuals. The key contribution of this study is the establishment of a reliable and valid instrument to measure bicultural identity integration in the workplace.

Study 2 is a qualitative empirical study that investigates how minority racial and ethnic individuals experience their ethnic identity in the workplace. The key contribution of this study is the development of a typology that identifies three distinct pathways through which an individual's heritage culture can intersect with race, class and professional identity to influence their work-based behaviours.

Study 3 is a qualitative empirical study that examines how minority racial and ethnic individuals experience their racial identity through the use of employee resource groups. The key contributions of this study are the development of a theoretical framework to conceptualise employee resource groups in general and a typology that identifies five roles that employee resource groups play to enhance the careers of minority racial and ethnic individuals as part of their social identity management processes.

For my Mother

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Chapter 1: Introduction

“Diversity may be the hardest thing for a society to live with, and perhaps the most dangerous thing for a society to be without.”

William Sloane Coffin Jr.

1.1 General overview

This research enquiry is ultimately related to the broader question of how racial and ethnic diversity is both managed and experienced within the workplace. This subject is important because contemporary organisations host an increasing number of individuals from a variety of racial and ethnic groups. In particular, this thesis is concerned with how these individuals experience race and ethnicity, and the influence these experiences have on their work-based outcomes. This thesis is comprised of three separate and distinct empirical studies conducted with the purpose of uncovering the lived experiences of minority racial and ethnic individuals within the workplace. Each study uses a different methodology and different criteria for the selection of participants. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods are used and this reflects the variety of the research questions addressed in each study. The mixed method research approach employed here is for the purpose of studying individual experiences of race and ethnicity from multiple complementary perspectives. What follows is an overview of the research context, a discussion of key terms important to this thesis and an outline of the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Organisational approaches to managing racial and ethnic diversity

Diversity as a management approach recognises and values heterogeneity in the workplace for its potential to lead to better organisational outcomes (Özbilgin & Tatli, 2011). Consequently, this approach encourages organisations to proactively promote a heterogeneous workforce as part of a performance driven business case for diversity (Richard, 2000). Kersten (2000) recognises the broad appeal of diversity management and its use of harmonious metaphors such as the orchestra, the salad bowl or the patchwork quilt to describe enrichment through heterogeneity; but argues that this can marginalise structural and institutional issues of race, ethnicity and gender discrimination. The shift towards diversity management followed the general disenchantment with the unfulfilled promises of equal opportunities frameworks in delivering progressive changes in the labour market (Tatli, Vassilopoulou, Al Ariss &

Özbilgin, 2012). Rose (1997) suggests that the prevalent form of equality based initiatives require minorities of any kind to adjust and adapt to white male standards; this is considered problematic because of the inherent challenges for individuals that differ from this racialised and gendered norm. Rather than emphasising individual differences as an organisational commodity, inclusion as a management approach is focused on the degree to which individuals consider themselves to be part of critical organisational processes (Nishii, 2012). The focus on inclusion by organisations is indicative of attempts by management to remove barriers that block employees from using their full range of skills and competencies (Roberson, 2006). Here, diversity, equality and inclusion have been described as management approaches to accommodate individual dimensions of diversity within the workplace. This thesis aspires to complement these approaches through its examination of how race and ethnicity are managed in the workplace from the perspective of the individual.

1.3 A discussion of key concepts relevant to this thesis

The terms 'minority racial', 'minority ethnic' and 'minority racial and ethnic' are used repeatedly throughout this thesis to describe groups and individuals. It is therefore appropriate to address my particular use of these contested terms and the meanings I attach to them in the context of this thesis.

1.3.1 A biological perspective on race

Racial classification was the focus of evolutionary biologists attempting to categorise humans on the basis of presumed patterns of biological difference (Bonham, Warshauer-Baker & Collins, 2005). In their attempts to create a human taxonomy similar to those used to categorise other species, 18th century scientists asserted that humans belonged to four (Linnaeus, 1758) and then five distinct groups or races (Blumenbach, 1795). These scientists claimed that differences in skin colour, physical characteristics and geography were associated with scientifically measurable differences in character, intelligence and temperament (Smedley, 1993). Studies supporting these claims have since been refuted as severely flawed (Gould, 1981) and current genetic data refutes the notion that races are genetically distinct human populations (Bonham et al., 2005). Yet, in descriptions of human variation,

categorisations of racial groups persist and have been used historically in part to justify slavery, colonialism and genocide (Miles and Brown, 1989).

1.3.2 A cultural perspective on race

Given that race has no scientific foundation, use of the term has evolved from definitions restricted to biological denotations to definitions that have socially constructed connotations (Quintana, 2007). I refer to a legal definition to illustrate the socially constructed nature of race in modern society, this is appropriate because Rattansi (2007) argues that given the dynamic and contested nature of the term race, an unambiguous definition would be critical to enforce anti racist legislation within a state.

1.3.3 A legal definition of race

In 1983, the House of Lords in their role as the court of last resort deemed that Sikhs were a racial group entitled to protection under the 1976 Race Relations Act. In their ruling they stated that a racial group was required to meet two essential conditions. The first condition was a long shared history, of which the group is conscious as distinguishing it from other groups, and the memory of which it keeps alive. The second condition was a cultural tradition of its own, including family and social customs and manners, often but not necessarily associated with religious observance. In addition to those essential conditions the following characteristics were also considered to be relevant: a common geographical origin, or descent from a small number of common ancestors; a common language, not necessarily peculiar to the group; a common literature peculiar to the group; a common religion different from that of neighbouring groups or from the general community surrounding it and finally being a minority or an oppressed or a dominant group within a larger community (Mandla Sewa Singh v Dowell Lee [1983] 2 AC 548). This elaborate and potentially ambiguous definition illustrates how contemporary notions of race are socially constructed and influenced by culture and behaviour (Miles and Brown, 1989). Rattansi (2007) argued that the difficulty with a cultural definition of a racial group is that it becomes challenging to distinguish race from the concept of ethnicity.

1.3.4 Ethnicity and culture explored

The use of ethnicity as a construct is not without its problems; both ethnicity and culture are dynamic and contested terms that are often broadly interpreted (Fenton, 2003). Ethnic identity may be considered to be a primary identity alongside gender; as such it is less subject to change and mutability than other social identities (Jenkins, 2008). However, once people try to define specific ethnic groups, the criteria in use often becomes inconsistent, leading to the view that ethnicity and culture like race are socially constructed (Barth, 1969). Eriksen (1993) refers to ethnicity not as a property of a group but an aspect of a relationship between agents who consider themselves to be culturally distinctive from members of other groups. What constitutes membership of a cultural distinctive group is unclear, LaFramboise, Coleman & Gerton (1993) suggest that behaviour is indicative of culture and that members of a cultural group can be defined by the extent to which an individual is competent within that culture. The authors suggested that culturally competent individuals had to meet the following criteria. Possess a strong personal identity, have knowledge of and facility with the beliefs and values of the culture, display sensitivity to the affective processes of the culture, communicate clearly in the language of the given cultural group, perform socially sanctioned behaviour, maintain active social relations within the cultural group, and finally negotiate the institutional structures of that culture (LaFromboise et al., 1993)

1.3.5 The complex discourse of race, ethnicity and culture

Given the complex and troublesome nature of terms like race, ethnicity and culture, organisational scholars often avoid prescriptive definitions of these terms in favour of a focus on the meanings attached to these concepts in the workplace (Nkomo, 1992). The term race is laden with the legacy of power, colonial domination and political oppression and suggests anatomical differences that may be considered to be unequal (Gilroy, 1987). My use of the term race is to acknowledge this legacy and the enduring influence that it has on individual outcomes within the workplace (Cox and Nkomo, 1990). I recognise that the term ethnicity is often used as a code word for race (Miles and Brown, 1986). Moreover researchers like Quintana (2007) suggest that it is less meaningful to make distinctions between racial and ethnic groups arguing that some individuals are racial, others are ethnic and some individuals are both racial and ethnic.

This suggestion is not appropriate for this thesis because my goal is to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the role of race (Nkomo, 1992) and ethnicity (Kenny and Briner, 2013) within the workplace. This involves recognising the distinctions and meanings associated with individuals who encounter a complex combination of racial and ethnic experiences in their careers. This complex interplay is observable in this thesis, for example the first study in this thesis (see chapter 3) examines how individuals manage the demands of their multiple cultural influences within the workplace with a particular focus on heritage culture and organisational culture. The second study in this thesis (see chapter 4) examines the extent to which the heritage culture of individuals influences their work-based behaviour. In this study the distinction between racial and ethnic experiences is the most pronounced in the thesis, consequently an intersectional approach (Crenshaw, 1991) is used to analyse the findings. In contrast, the third study in this thesis (see chapter 5) explores the collective experiences of individuals who congregate in the workplace on the basis of their shared racial identity for the purpose of enhancing their work based experiences.

My reference to both race and ethnicity acknowledges the complexity surrounding these concepts and the importance of distinguishing between experiences individuals believe to be racially salient compared to those that individuals believe to be ethnically salient. I acknowledge the potential benefits of a unified theory of race and ethnicity (Markus, 2008), however the specific context of this study makes it inappropriate to use the terms race and ethnicity interchangeably or to follow examples of other researchers like Kenny and Briner (2013) who choose a single term (either race or ethnicity) to refer to both race and ethnicity as constructs. My decision is further complicated by national contexts represented in this thesis. Two of the three studies (chapter 4 and chapter 5) are conducted within the United Kingdom so choosing the term most commonly used to describe different socio-cultural groups within the UK, ethnic or Black, Asian, Minority Ethnic (BAME) may be appropriate (Bhopal, 2004); however the first study (see chapter 3) has participants that live and work in the United States where the term race is more commonly used (Cox, 1990).

1.3.6 How race and ethnicity are used in this thesis

In this thesis I use the term minority racial and ethnic individuals to refer to individuals who are members of a minority racial group or members of a minority ethnic group and those individuals who may identify as belonging both to a minority racial group and a minority ethnic group. This term is used to describe people that are referred to as BAME in the UK (Bhopal, 2004) and 'people of color' in the USA (Quintana, 2007). In a manner similar to (Kenny and Briner, 2013) I will refer to race when I cite work by those who use that term and I will use ethnicity when citing scholars who use that term. The term minority or minority group will be used when citing works that make no distinction to which minority group they are referring. However I assert that my use of the term minority refers to a specific work based context that recognises not only the size of the populations of the particular racial and ethnic groups of interest in this thesis but also the lack of influence and power (Wellman, 2001).

1.4 Race and ethnicity in organisational research

Research has shown that minority racial groups experience disadvantage within the workplace as a consequence of prejudice and discrimination. For example, black employees have difficulty enjoying the benefits of a mentor relationship (Thomas, 1990). Moreover minority racial individuals have been shown to be excluded from important social networks within the workplace (Ibarra, 1995). These experiences can lead to lower levels of job satisfaction and high levels of attrition (Blackaby, Leslie, Murphy & O'Leary, 2002; James, 2000; Milkman, Akinola & Chugh, 2015; Ziegert and Hanges, 2005). Both Thomas (1990) and Ibarra (1995) provide examples of how studies that explore the work based outcomes of minority racial groups tend to be comparative in nature. Therefore these studies often emphasise the differences in work-based outcomes between minority racial groups and their counterparts who do not belong to minority racial groups (Cox and Nkomo, 1990). Studies of this kind typically characterise minority racial employees as inherently disadvantaged, in need of assistance and lacking the resources necessary to succeed within the workplace (Ramarajan and Thomas, 2010). Comparative studies of this nature have made important contributions to our knowledge of the workplace experience of minority racial and ethnic groups, however they may be subject to two closely related limitations that I address as part of this thesis.

1.4.1 Critique of race and ethnicity in organisational research

The first limitation is that comparative studies such as Ely (1994) and Ibarra (1995) treat minority groups as homogenous and in these examples specifically, women and 'minorities' are aggregated into a single group to be studied. Therefore dismissing or conflating racial and gender differences while reinforcing existing racialised and gendered normative workplace identities (Özbilgin and Tatli, 2008). The second limitation is that models based on racialised and gendered normative identities may not be appropriate for other groups within a heterogeneous workplace (Ragins, 1997), this is salient given the increasing population of racial, ethnic and cultural groups entering the workplace in Western societies. For example 21% of people of working age in England and Wales as well as in the United States are from minority racial and ethnic groups (Office of National Statistics, 2016; United States Bureau of Labor statistics, 2014). Consequently, not enough is known about differences within minority groups within the workplace because of the preoccupation of comparative studies exploring differences between minority and non minority groups (Blake-Beard, Murrell & Thomas, 2007).

This thesis addresses the limitations of the comparative research studies described above. The studies that comprise this thesis explore the variety of minority racial and ethnic experience within the workplace and demonstrate that minority racial and ethnic individuals do not have homogenous work based experiences. Each of the studies in this thesis is concerned exclusively with minority racial and ethnic individuals. Comparisons are made between individuals within these studies but this serves to illustrate the heterogeneity within minority racial and ethnic groups.

1.5 The structure of this thesis

Chapter 2 introduces the overall research design and methodologies used in this thesis. This chapter makes two important contributions to the thesis: first it introduces critical realism as the research paradigm for this thesis. This includes an explanation the ontological assumptions and the corresponding epistemological commitments that underpin the studies conducted. Second, it presents an opportunity for me to locate myself in proximity to the research, declaring my interests and motivations. Finally I provide a general overview of the research methods for each study.

Chapter 3, 4, and 5 are empirical chapters. As discussed, this thesis is presented as a series of three separate and distinct papers; each has its own research methods, findings and discussion sections that address their respective limitations and consider future research.

Chapter 3 is a quantitative empirical study conducted with the purpose of investigating differences in the way that minority racial and ethnic individuals experience their ethnic identity in the workplace. In this chapter biculturalism is used as a lens to conceptualise the experience of minority racial and ethnic individuals. The quantitative research methods used include online surveys, exploratory factor analysis, confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation modelling. The key contribution of this chapter is the establishment of a reliable and valid instrument to measure bicultural identity integration in the workplace.

Chapter 4 is a qualitative empirical study, like chapter 3 this study is concerned with how minority racial and ethnic individuals experience their ethnic identity in the workplace. The focus on this chapter is how the heritage culture of minority racial and ethnic individuals influences their work-based behaviours as high status professionals. The qualitative research methods used include semi structured interviews and thematic analysis as part of a grounded theory approach. The key contribution of this chapter is the development of a typology that identifies three distinct pathways through which the heritage culture of minority racial and ethnic individuals intersects with race, class and professional identity in order to influence their work-based behaviours.

Chapter 5 is a qualitative empirical study and the final empirical chapter. The previous chapter was primarily concerned ethnic identity; this study examines how minority racial and ethnic individuals experience their racial identity in the workplace by investigating the role of employee resource groups in enhancing the careers of minority racial and ethnic employees. The qualitative research methods used in this chapter are identical to the previous chapter and include semi structured interviews and thematic analysis as part of a grounded theory approach. The key contributions of this chapter are the development of a theoretical framework to conceptualise employee resource groups in general and a typology that identifies five roles that employee resource

groups play to enhance the careers of minority racial and ethnic individuals within the workplace.

Chapter 6 synthesises the overall findings of this thesis. This chapter discusses the common themes within the thesis addressing the relationships between them as appropriate. It also discusses the theoretical, practical and methodological implications of the thesis and directions for future research are presented.

1.6 Summary

This chapter established the research context and defined key terms important for interpreting the studies that comprise this thesis. In the next chapter I introduce the overall research design and methodologies used in this thesis and provide a general overview of the research methods for each study.

Chapter 2: Research Design & Methodology

2.1 Chapter overview

This chapter introduces the overall research design and methodologies used in this thesis. This chapter is presented in two stages; the first stage outlines the importance of a research paradigm and introduces critical realism as the research paradigm selected for this thesis. This includes an explanation of the ontological assumptions and the corresponding epistemological commitments that underpin the studies conducted. I also conduct a reflexive review to locate myself in proximity to the research, declaring my interests and motivations.

The second stage of this chapter provides a general overview of the research methods for each study, more detail can be found in the methods section of each respective chapter.

2.1.1 The importance of a research paradigm

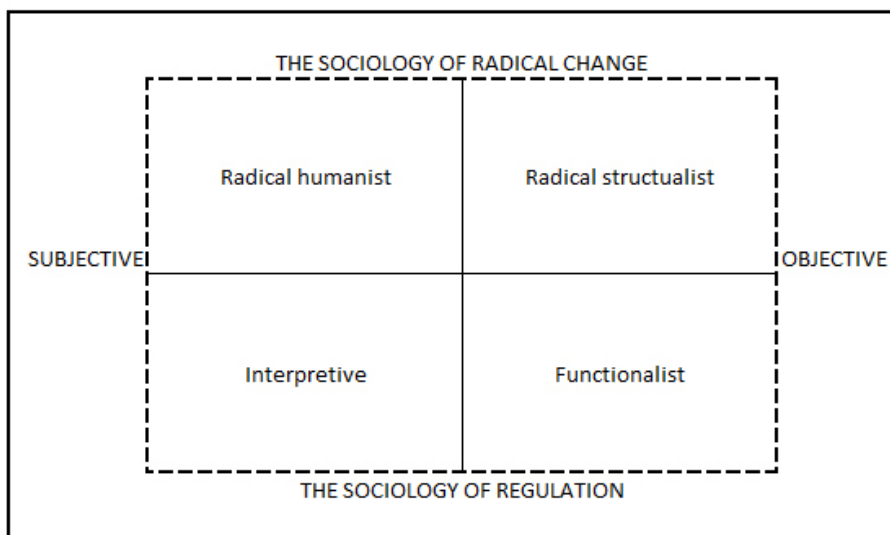
Trigg (2001) argues that philosophy in social sciences should not be an optional activity, advocating that the philosophical groundwork should be completed before the 'doing' phase of any research. When engaged in empirical research, there is a temptation to launch into data collection assuming that any methodological or theoretical problems will be easily addressed (Laughlin, 1995). The careful selection of a research paradigm can help to mitigate these issues. Kuhn (1962) defines a paradigm as an unprecedented scientific achievement that is sufficient to leave enough unsolved problems for future research and attract other scientists from competing modes of scientific activity. A paradigm therefore enables the scientific community to formulate questions and select methods capable of addressing these problems in order to design appropriate avenues of inquiry. In this way, a paradigm allows a scientist to define what is relevant and to establish meaning from what they have learnt. Thus paradigm-based research is "an attempt to force nature into the preformed and relatively inflexible box that the paradigm supplies" (Kuhn, 1962, p24). This metaphor exhibits how a paradigm simultaneously enables and confines the development of knowledge.

2.1.2 Key research paradigms in social science

Burrell and Morgan (1979) suggest that it is possible to understand different approaches to social science research in terms of two key dimensions of analysis: the first dimension is the regulation view - radical change dimension, this reflects

assumptions about the nature of society. The second dimension is the subjective - objective dimension, this reflects ontological assumptions about the nature of science. The authors developed a framework based on the relationship between the two dimensions shown in Figure 2.1. This framework presents four distinct paradigms within which all social scientists are claimed to be located (Burrell and Morgan, 1979), with fundamentally different perspectives for analysing social phenomena. A detailed examination of these paradigms is beyond the scope of this chapter; this framework has been introduced for illustrative purposes only.

Figure 2.1 Four paradigms for the analysis of social theory



Source: Burrell and Morgan (1979), p. 22.

Realism is located to the right of the diagram representing objective assumptions about social science, proposing that the social world is external to individual cognition, made from tangible, immutable structures. This differs from the view of constructionism that is located to the left of the diagram; its subjective suggest mean that the social world is made of concepts, names and labels constructed by individuals to make sense of the external world (Mir and Watson, 2000).

2.1.3 An introduction to critical realism as a research paradigm

Bhaskar (1978) distinguishes the critical realist paradigm from the subjectivist and objectivist parameters of the framework (Burrell and Morgan, 1979) using a stratified ontological approach that has corresponding implications for the epistemological commitments of the paradigm. Simply put, ontological assumptions refer to what can be known about reality and epistemological commitments indicate how reality can be known (Bryman and Bell, 2007). The critical realist stratified ontology can be conceptualised as three distinct domains of reality illustrated in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 Critical realist domains of reality

	Domain of Real	Domain of Actual	Domain of Empirical
Mechanisms	✓		
Events	✓	✓	
Experiences	✓	✓	✓

Source: Bhaskar (1978), p. 13.

The first domain is the domain of the real; here social mechanisms, social events and experiences take place. The social mechanisms that reside here are real because they have causal efficacy and affect behaviour (Fleetwood, 2005). An example of a mechanism would be racism. An example of a social event may be a racially motivated act of discrimination, specifically the denial of a job opportunity by an employer to a potential candidate.

Next is the domain of the actual, this is where individuals experience the events caused by the mechanisms in the domain of the real. These events often take place without being able to easily observe the social mechanisms that caused them. In the example provided, it is possible that neither an observer nor the job candidate who experiences the racial discrimination may be able to easily discern the cause of the event.

The final domain is the domain of the empirical. Bhaskar (1978) conceptualises this domain as the place where social scientists attempt to interpret the events experienced

in the domain of the actual (in this example: the unsuccessful job application due to racial discrimination) using the mediated knowledge of mechanisms and structures located in the domain of the real (in this example: racism). In the domain of the empirical, scholars attempt to study representations of both the events and the mechanisms that caused them; they may have limited representations of the mechanisms, events and experiences that took place. As a result critical realism analyses these mechanisms as tendencies that may be either unexercised or exercised and unrealised (Bhaskar, 1978).

Racism and professionalism: a critical realist example

Porter (1993) provides an account of how critical realism can be used to reveal a tendency that may manifest in the workplace. Conceptualising racism and professionalism as social mechanisms that exist in the workplace; the study found that although racial prejudice existed in the observed case, it did not intrude into the workplace because of the greater value placed on professionalism. In this case, the achievements and performance of individuals were deemed to be more important than the racial identity of the individual, despite finding that racism did manifest itself 'behind the backs' of racialised minorities in the organisation. The study suggested that professionalism was tempering the effects of racism. As a paradigm critical realism explains racial discrimination as a potential tendency that is exhibited under particular circumstances, but not all circumstances (Porter, 1993).

2.1.4 Epistemological implications of critical realism

The ontological assumptions of Bhaskar (1978) explain the critical realist view of reality; these in turn have epistemological consequences. The distinction between the domain of the actual and the domain of the empirical (Figure 2.2) describe the relativist epistemology of the critical realist paradigm (McEvoy and Richards, 2003). Critical Realists acknowledge that information is conceptually mediated through the senses (Fleetwood, 2005). As a result it is value laden and may be limited in its use. This approaches moderate forms of constructionism (Kwan and Tsang, 2001) and recognises the standpoint of the observer (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). This feature of critical realism is an important reason for its choice as a research paradigm in this thesis. In

particular critical realism accommodates the role of the researcher, allowing for an analysis of their proximity to the research and how this may influence the study.

2.1.5 The role of the researcher: a reflexive review

Buchanan and Bryman (2007) consider the location of the researcher to the research subject; they argue that the identity of a researcher influences the choice of methodological framework of any study. This reflexive influence extends to the conduct, analysis and interpretation of the data itself. Researchers and their subjects are interactively linked; knowledge is value laden and any claims made by a research project are relative to the values of the researcher, regardless of the methodological framework (Riege, 2003). As a black professional with over 15 years of experience as an accountant including working within professional service firms, I have developed value-laden opinions about the workplace pertinent to this study; however I also have tacit knowledge of these professional environments. This makes my role as a researcher uniquely valuable and well informed.

My personal motivation

My motivation to conduct this research came about as a consequence of reading an edition of Accountancy Magazine (Farmbrough, 2009) that I received as part of my membership subscription to the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales (ICAEW, 2016). There was a particular article called “It does matter if you’re black or white” (Farmbrough, 2009) that explored the under representation of black accountants in the accounting professions in the United States and in the United Kingdom. I became fascinated with this phenomenon and this led me to search for an explanation of these outcomes in the labour market. I wanted to understand why according to Farmbrough (2009) there were so few black accountants in the United Kingdom. During my initial investigation it became apparent that much of the research in the field was qualitative, this in part could be explained by the lack of a complete and reliable body of data detailing race or ethnicity in the UK accounting profession. (Duff, 2011; Johnston and Kyriacou, 2007). I became interested in the lived experiences of black accountants and the meanings associated with these experiences, evidently the scope of my research widened.

In correspondence with my research, my reading expanded and I encountered an influential paper by Bell (1990). This paper specifically explored the bicultural experiences of black female professionals. It was here I was introduced to biculturalism as a concept. Bell (1990) is a qualitative paper based in organisational research; however when I further investigated biculturalism, I discovered the work of Benet-Martínez and colleagues (Benet-Martínez and Karakitapoglu-Aygun, 2003; Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002) and observed that much of the biculturalism literature was quantitative in nature. I recognised an opportunity to explore how minority racial and ethnic groups manage and experience the workplace using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

In order to assess how I was to achieve this I conducted a pilot study (see 3.4.1.2) based on the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale-Version 1 instrument (BIIS-1) and contacted Professor Benet-Martínez with a query regarding the reliability of the BIIS-1 instrument. I was provided with a new instrument called Bicultural Identity Integration Scale, Version 2R (BIIS-2R) (Huynh and Benet-Martínez, 2010). This instrument was more reliable than its predecessor and I used this as a basis to develop a measure of BII in the workplace. Shortly after these events I attended the Equality, Diversity & Inclusion conference in Athens where I met Dr Showunmi who was leading a doctoral consortium. At this point I was starting to talk about biculturalism and how I intended to use it in my research, however during this consortium it was made clear to me that I needed to conceptualise biculturalism more coherently in the context of race and ethnicity in the workplace. I am grateful to both Professor Benet-Martínez and Dr Showunmi for the influence they had on my research and this is evident from the content and structure of my thesis.

A reflection on my impact on the research

This research does not claim to be wholly objective or value free; the decision to use critical realism as a methodology is an indication of this. Subjectivity as part of the research methodology allows for the re-evaluation of ways of knowing and developing theories about how social inequality can be understood (Haynes, 2006). I acknowledge these influences and the impact my identity may have on the research and assert that my involvement in the research process is an opportunity rather than an intrusion (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Reflexive interplay is crucial in ensuring transparency of the

work and acknowledges the engagement with the respondent (Kim, 2008). As a black professional I hoped to be able to build rapport with respondents quickly and develop social bonds that may encourage responses that may not have been received by individuals who do not share my heritage or professional experience (Hammond and Sikka, 1996; Kyriacou, 2009). Similar to Haynes (2008) I am aware that I am on the margin of academic discourse, Moreover, I am part of an 'other' group in both the workplace and academia (Mattocks and Briscoe-Palmer, 2016).

This research has potential opportunities that may not exist with a researcher with a different ethnic and professional background. My personal involvement has the benefit of reducing the potential for respondents to be treated as 'minoritised' subjects, this is the result of a practice where researchers patronise groups and cultures in a process of benign inferiorisation (Kim, 2008). Moreover I do not have to consider issues of white privilege (Wellman, 2001) in explaining the experiences of potentially disadvantaged groups, however I do need to consider my privilege as a researcher and my ability to shape research experiences (Anderson, 1993). The relativist epistemology of critical realism accommodates this ongoing reflexivity and the critical realist epistemology enables me to recognise this as part of the research process. Furthermore, the methods section in each chapter allows readers to interpret the extent of my personal involvement in each study.

2.1.6 Critical realism in the professional workplace

Critical realism has been used several times as a paradigm within the healthcare professions including but not limited to nursing, social work and medicine (Houston, 2001; Littlejohn, 2003; McEvoy and Richards, 2003; Pilgrim and Bentall, 1999). Given my interest within the workplace, it seems appropriate to explore how critical realism has been used in organisational and occupational contexts. What follows is a brief description of two key features of critical realism relevant for this thesis: a mixed methods research strategy and a focus on theory development.

2.1.6.1 A mixed methods research approach using critical realism

Littlejohn (2003) reveals how critical realism can traverse both qualitative and quantitative research methods illustrating how critical realism can transcend the

subjectivist vs. objectivist debate itself. The study is concerned with identifying the circumstances necessary for the existence of an autonomous psychiatric nursing profession, independent of the existing psychiatry and psychology professions. Psychiatric nursing is presented as capable of alleviating a perceived tension between psychiatry and psychology; these disciplines are characterised as having opposing paradigms regarding their approaches to mental distress. Psychiatry is described as using objectivist methods, asserting that mental distress arises from mental causes that require medical treatment as the primary means of amelioration. Alternatively, psychology is described as using subjective methods; the author postulates that mental distress arises from psychological causes that require psychotherapy as the primary means of amelioration. Littlejohn (2003) argues that mental distress must be an intransitive real phenomenon existing outside of its study, that mental distress must not arise primarily as a medical condition and that human contact provided must be able to ameliorate mental distress. The stratified ontology of critical realism is central in identifying mental distress as a real phenomenon and identifying the disciplines of psychiatry, psychology and psychiatric nursing as conceptual methods capable of ameliorating the condition.

2.1.6.2 Critical realism as an alternative research paradigm

Pilgrim and Bentall (1999) used critical realism as an alternative to existing research paradigms. Pilgrim and Bentall (1999) explore the contemporary western medical notion of depression and focus on the two major epistemological positions: medical naturalism and social constructivism, concluding that they provide an inadequate basis for formulating mental health problems. Using a critical realist view, they suggest that the combination of anti depressant medication and cognitive behavior theory with a more “holistic understanding” (Pilgrim and Bentall, 1999, p272) of the social determinants of misery (including exploring the patients individually attributed meanings) as a more suitable form of problem formulation and intervention. These specific examples are relevant for this thesis because they provide an example of when both quantitative (objectivist) and qualitative (subjectivist) research methods are used in a study to address a related phenomenon. In this regard critical realism uses mixed methods in a manner that does not compromise quantitative or qualitative approaches

or their underlying assumptions and provides a coherent approach to make theoretical contributions in this thesis.

2.1.6.3 A theory driven research approach using critical realism

McEvoy and Richards (2003) assess critical realism as a suitable paradigm for both theory driven and policy driven evaluation research in nursing. Its emphasis on generative mechanisms is celebrated as a vehicle for creating a theory driven approach. Houston (2001) contrasts critical realism with Constructionism, highlighting the shortcomings of Constructionism and identifying the potential of critical realism to return depth to social work through its attention to tendencies and the meanings behind the actions of individuals. Houston (2001) suggested that critical realism had significance for social work because it addressed the structures that “determine, constrain and oppress” (Houston, 2001, p. 846) their activities. This is relevant for this thesis in order to elucidate structures that may be obscured within a workplace context.

2.1.6.4 The versatility of critical realism as a paradigm

The examples above illustrate the versatility of critical realism as a paradigm. Both Littlejohn (2003) and Pilgrim and Bentall (1999) are concerned with finding an appropriate method of engaging with their chosen phenomena of interest. This is a consequence of existing objective and subjective methods being considered inadequate or incomplete. McEvoy and Richards (2003) uses the knowledge of countervailing causal mechanisms to focus on the research conduct itself. This demonstrates the emancipatory potential of critical realism to manifest in different forms. This has positive implications that are transferable to this thesis because of my interest in investigating the lived experience of minority racial and ethnic individuals using a variety of research methods that are quantitative and qualitative as appropriate to the specific phenomena that I examine.

2.1.7 Summary and critique of critical realism

In the context of Burrell and Morgan’s (1979) paradigm, critical realism has been presented as a scientific paradigm that extends beyond the limitations of traditional dimensions through the use of a stratified ontology (Bhaskar, 1979). The ontological commitments of critical realism suggest that there is no logical difference between

study of the natural and social sciences (Bhaskar, 1979). Some commentators regard critical realism as an incarnation of the positivist ideal of a unified science (Klein, 2004).

The critical Realist paradigm is appropriate for this thesis because it challenges the status quo allowing intellectual borrowing from a wider scope of disciplines (Merino, 1998) and provides a framework that seeks to explain the structural mechanisms that suppress 'other' groups. This is essential for this thesis. The critical tradition emphasises the need to understand the historical and social context of a phenomenon (Laughlin, 1987) and this is best observed in Chapter 4 which addresses the historical context of the structures that influence the activities of the professions (Abbott, 1988). Critical Realism has been successfully employed in the healthcare professions (Houston, 2001; Littlejohn, 2003; McEvoy and Richards, 2003; Pilgrim and Bentall, 1999) and the examples provided emphasised different aspects of critical realism using both quantitative and qualitative methods to explore phenomena that others deemed to be intransitive (Littlejohn, 2003). This thesis is concerned with the experiences of minority racial and ethnic individuals in the workplace and as such is interested in the causal mechanisms that influence these individuals.

Despite the benefits of critical realism for this study, there are limitations that should be addressed. Through the use of the stratified ontology, the sense mediated nature of knowledge and temporal delays; critical realism provides an explanation for why observations may not correspond with the actual events themselves (Bhaskar, 1979). In practice this makes it difficult when conducting research to identify the cause of observed events. In this thesis as with all social science research it may be difficult to assess if known mechanisms such as racism or professionalism are being tempered by unknown mechanisms in the workplace. This highlights a practical issue for analysis using this paradigm: it may become problematic to recognise the effects of mechanisms such as racism or professionalism because critical realism acknowledges there may be a temporal difference between the cause and effect of a mechanism. The problem of recognition is amplified if there are several mechanisms in play, some of which are unknown. This highlights the need for replication of scientific tests where possible and clarity regarding the methods used. As a result the outcome of such a study would be explanatory and not predictive of future events or circumstances. The recognition of the

role and values of the researcher to the study are a vital reason for the appropriate choice of critical realism for the thesis. The nature of the research makes it appropriate for me to refer to my personal motivations and inspiration for the study. Constructionism places too much emphasis on my role as an individual, whereas the dominant paradigms in organisational research appear to ignore much of the role of the researcher on the outcome of the study. Critical Realism provides an opportunity to honestly acknowledge my values as well as provide transparency in order for users of this research to assess any potential bias. The unique combination of my role as a practitioner and as a researcher is intended to benefit the study and critical realism celebrates this opportunity.

2.2 Overview of research design

In this section of the chapter I provide an overview of the research methods used within the thesis. This thesis combines three separate and distinct studies; each study uses a different methodology and different criteria for the selection of participants. The variety of research methods used reflects the variety of the research questions addressed in each study. What follows is an overview of the three studies. The aims, research method and analytical techniques of each study are presented in Table 2.1.

2.2.1 A mixed methods research approach

This thesis employs a mixed method approach using a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods as appropriate. The use of different methods to study the same phenomenon is referred to as triangulation (Gaskell and Bauer, 2000). The use of a mixed method approach here (online surveys, observations and interviews, See Table 2.1) is not to confirm the results of a single phenomenon but to check the consistency of the research findings among related phenomenon. The context of this thesis is the investigation of how minority racial and ethnic employees experience the workplace given the potential for them to experience disadvantage as a consequence of their social identities. I characterise this experience in several ways throughout the thesis making regular references to ethnic penalties (Berthoud, 2000; Heath and Cheung, 2006) driven by occupational segregation (Elliott and Lindley, 2008) and the exclusion of minority racial and ethnic employees from social networks (Ibarra, 1995). The use of mixed

methods allowed me to study this phenomenon from multiple complementary perspectives.

My use of the term triangulation here is intended to describe method triangulation, i.e. the use of quantitative methods and qualitative methods in a complementary fashion to answer different questions to provide a well integrated image of the phenomenon under investigation (Patton, 1999). The benefits reaped from this approach were experienced during the research process; for example, in the first study in the thesis (See Chapter 3) I develop an instrument to represent the bicultural experience of minority racial and ethnic individuals in the workplace. The items that were generated for the instrument were informed by the qualitative interviews conducted in the second study in the thesis (See Chapter 4). The interview protocols for this qualitative study included questions about the influence of their heritage culture on their careers and questions about the culture of their organisation (Appendix 2).

In the second study of the thesis I examine the role of heritage culture in influencing workplace behaviours in a professional environment. This notion of experiencing heritage culture in the workplace was influenced by the different cultural experiences found in chapter 3. The studies were iterative in nature and not conducted in a neat linear or sequential fashion, this means that they are to a large extent complementary with shared conceptualisations. What follows is a brief overview of the research methods for each study in this thesis and the precautions taken to ensure that the findings and the conduct of the research are itself are of a suitable quality, more detail can be found in each respective chapter.

2.3. Chapter 3 Research Design Summary

The goal of the first study is to investigate how members of minority and racial groups manage the demands of multiple cultural influences in the workplace. This was achieved by developing biculturalism theory beyond existing conceptualisations of national or heritage based cultures in order to highlight the importance of bicultural identity dynamics for minority racial and ethnic individuals. In this chapter I develop an instrument to represent the bicultural experience of these individuals in the workplace: bicultural identity integration (BII). Moreover I hypothesise antecedents and outcomes

related to different bicultural experiences for minority racial and ethnic individuals in the workplace and develop a theoretical model to illustrate these hypothesised relationships.

This study is presented in five phases based on the recommendations in the survey measure development literature by Hinkin (1998) and other scholars (Anderson and Gerbing, 1988; Costello and Osborne, 2005; Cronbach and Meehl, 1955). Phase 1 describes the initial generation of survey items from a review of the literature and qualitative interviews. In Phase 2, the questionnaire is administered to a sample that represents the population of interest and the psychometric properties were assessed using exploratory factor analysis. In Phase 3 confirmatory factor analysis was used to assess the goodness of fit of the proposed factor structure to the data. In Phase 4, I ensure that the measure is related to theoretically relevant constructs. Finally in Phase 5, I investigate the antecedents and outcomes of BII testing my hypotheses. This data is analysed using several quantitative techniques including exploratory factor analysis, confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation modelling.

2.4 Quantitative research quality: validity and reliability

In quantitative research, validity is concerned with the integrity of the conclusions generated from research and reliability refers to the extent that the results of the study are repeatable (Bryman and Bell, 2007).

In chapter 3 I establish a reliable and valid instrument to measure bicultural identity integration within the workplace. Specifically I demonstrate that the measure has content validity (See section 3.4.1), construct validity (See 3.4.2), convergent and discriminant validity (See section 3.4.4.3). A brief overview is provided here, more detail can be found in chapter 3.

Content/Substantive validity

Substantive validity is the extent to which the items of a scale reflect the construct of interest (Anderson and Gerbing, 1991), it is similar to content validity but focuses on specific items. Content validity normally assesses the entire scale. The measures of validity are related because a scale cannot have content validity if its items do not possess substantive validity. In the first phase of the study I test the substantive validity

of the scale through a pilot study using an exploratory factor analysis. The results of this process indicate that the majority of the items load on 4 factors corresponding to cultural harmony, cultural conflict, cultural blendedness and cultural compartmentalisation. The results of the pilot study are based on a small sample and so the reliability is limited, however they indicate that the items capture the constructs intended.

Table 2.1 Overview of research studies

Study	Purpose	Methodology	Sample	Analytical Technique	Chapter
Study 1	Investigate the differences in the way minority racial and ethnic employees experience their ethnic identity in the workplace Design a new instrument to measure Bicultural Identity Integration in the context of the workplace	Qualitative interviews Online surveys (working employees)	Black accountants and lawyers (N=18) Minority racial and ethnic employees (N=53) Working employees (N=1592) Minority racial and ethnic employees (N=195) Minority racial and ethnic employees (N=163)	Thematic Analysis Exploratory Factor Analysis Confirmatory Factor Analysis Structural Equation Modelling	Chapter 3
Study 2	Examine the role of ethnicity in shaping the work based behaviour of minority racial and ethnic professionals	Qualitative interviews	Black accountants and lawyers (N=18)	Grounded Theory Thematic Analysis	Chapter 4
Study 3	Investigation of the role of employee resource groups in enhancing the careers of minority racial and ethnic employees	Observation Qualitative interviews	Members of a black employee resource group (N=18) Informant interviews within the firm (N=8)	Grounded Theory Thematic Analysis	Chapter 5

Construct Validity

The objective of the second phase is to establish the construct validity of the measure by examining how well the new items confirmed expectations regarding the psychometric properties of the new measure. The data was collected using online surveys at three time points and exploratory factor analysis is used to identify the latent constructs being measured by the scale items, the pilot study provides limited evidence of four potential constructs. Here I observed high inter correlation between items within the same factors and this suggested construct validity but on its own this is insufficient (Hinkin, 1998); The results of the scales identified indicate the scale is internally consistent because the item correlations and alpha reliabilities for all four subscales are high. The extracted four-factor solution is consistent with the proposed taxonomy of bicultural identity integration from phase 1.

I further tested this in the third phase to show that the four-factor model found in the exploratory analyses fits the sample data collected. The results indicate that, as hypothesised BII is comprised of four unique dimensions of cultural conflict, cultural blendedness, cultural harmony and cultural compartmentalisation. The results indicate that these measures are a good fit for the data and are reliable. This provides evidence to show that the instrument has both content and construct validity and is reliable.

Convergent and discriminant validity

Convergent validity represents the extent to which a scale relates to similar constructs; discriminant validity represents the extent to which a scale demonstrates low or null correlations with measures that are dissimilar (Campbell and Fiske, 1959; Hinkin, 1998). The objective of the fourth phase is to demonstrate that BII is related to theoretically relevant constructs (convergent validity) but is distinct from unrelated constructs (discriminant validity). I assessed convergent and discriminant validity in two ways. First, the significance of the zero-order correlations between the various scales was examined. Second, I assessed whether a single-factor model provided a better fit to the data than a multi factor model for which the latent BII constructs and bicultural competence constructs were in separate factors. The results demonstrate that

the four distinct dimensions of BII developed in this study have convergent and discriminant validity.

Criterion related validity.

In phase 5 I use structural equation modelling to test for criterion related validity. Criterion-related validity is demonstrated by showing a relationship between BII and constructs to which it should theoretically relate. I found evidence to support that BII was related to several hypothesised constructs to which it should theoretically relate, therefore providing evidence of criterion related validity.

2.5 Chapter 4 Research Design Summary

The goal of this chapter is to examine the role ethnicity plays in shaping the work-based behaviour of minority racial and ethnic professionals. This is important given the embodiment of professionalism is based on the exclusion of race, gender and culture (Levinson, 1993). In order to address my research aims, in this chapter I develop a theoretical typology to guide future research and address the following questions:

- To what extent does the heritage culture of black professionals influence their professional careers?
- How does the heritage culture of black professionals influence their behaviour in the workplace?
- Are there any observable differences that distinguish the experiences of black professionals currently employed within their chosen profession with black professionals who have chosen not to be employed within their chosen profession?

I chose to use qualitative methods of data collection and analysis using grounded theory as a research strategy, this seems appropriate given my intention to build theory on complex, multifaceted processes. The grounded theory approach enabled me to develop a theoretical account that was firmly based in the data collected (Martin and Turner, 1986). Lincoln and Guba (1985) recommend case studies for qualitative research because it has the capacity to provide “thick descriptions” of the data (Lincoln and Guba,

1985 p.359). I followed this advice choosing extreme cases because of my intention to build theory. Also in extreme cases, the dynamics being examined tend to be more visible than they might be in other contexts; moreover the use of extreme cases in organisational studies are consistent with my grounded theory strategy (Eisenhardt, 1989; Pettigrew, 1990). I analysed the data using a thematic analysis in an iterative process of simultaneously collecting data, analysing the data, and seeking new informants (Clark, Gioia, Ketchen, Jr & Thomas, 2010). This continued until no additional themes emerged from the data, what Glaser and Strauss (1967) termed “theoretical saturation”.

2.6 Chapter 5 Research Design Summary

The goal of this chapter is to examine the role of employee resource groups in enhancing the careers of minority racial and ethnic individuals. My aim in this chapter was to review and align distinct approaches in order to present an overarching theoretical framework to conceptualise employee resource groups more generally. Further, I explore an employee resource group within an organisational setting in order to understand the role employee resource groups play in enhancing the careers of their members. In order to address my research aims, I develop a theoretical typology to guide future research concerning how employee resource groups are used to benefit minority racial and ethnic individuals in the workplace. Specifically, the research questions addressed in this chapter are:

- What are the key roles played by employee resource groups that benefit its members in the workplace?
- How can an employee resource group enable individuals to enhance their careers in the face of disadvantage?

This chapter shares the aspirations of Chapter 4 to enrich theory around contemporary careers to guide future research concerning how minority racial and ethnic professionals experience the workplace. The qualitative methods used were identical to those in study 2 using grounded theory and extreme case studies.

2.7 Qualitative Research Quality

Credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability are concepts analogous to validity and reliability in quantitative research (Riege, 2003) and are more appropriate for measuring the quality of qualitative research and have been considered in the research design for chapters 4 and 5.

Credibility

This thesis uses the “thick descriptions” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985 p.359) of the case study approach in order to reveal internal coherence in the findings and establish credibility. This is analogous with internal validity in quantitative research (Riege, 2003). The use of informant interviews in both qualitative studies (See section 5.3.4.2 and 6.3.4.2 respectively) provides an alternative form of evidence to use as part of a triangulation of sources (Patton, 1999). Along with regular peer and supervisor reviews and debriefings particularly during the coding and analysis stage, the credibility of the research was increased in order to mitigate any bias.

Dependability

Dependability is analogous with reliability in quantitative research (Riege, 2003) and this study has tried to ensure dependability through a stable and consistent process of research design showing congruence between the methodology chosen to address the research problem and the research design selected to approach it. The rationale for these decisions is made explicit and provided in detail in every chapter. Furthermore I have conducted a reflexive review to locate myself in proximity to the study; the problem of researcher bias is mitigated by the transparency of this process.

Transferability

Transferability is analogous to external validity or generalisability (Riege, 2003), my discussion of the critical realist paradigm was clear in identifying tendencies and not general outcomes for qualitative research, these qualitative studies seek to explore these tendencies within an existing theoretical framework. All findings are compared to the existing literature to assess the transferability of the results. The clarity of the methodology is also intended for other researchers to be able to reproduce these studies in the future (Laughlin, 1999)

Confirmability

Confirmability corresponds closely with construct validity in quantitative research (Riege, 2003) and is established in this study in part by retaining the raw data from the project for peer review as well as ensuring that all transcripts are agreed for use in the study by the participants.

Ethical considerations

Ethical guidelines as stipulated by the London School of Economics research policy were followed: participants gave informed consent before participating and their responses were guaranteed for confidentiality. They were also informed that their participation was completely voluntary and they were free to withdraw from the study at any time. My contact details were provided with each study, as were the contact details for the London School of Economics Research Governance Manager. A review of the study found no unusual ethical concerns that should affect the conduct of this research.

Ethical issues in business research manifest in four key areas: whether there is harm to participants, whether there is a lack of informed consent, whether there is an invasion of privacy and whether deception is involved (Diener and Crandall, 1978). Each of these areas will be briefly addressed in turn: The nature of the study means that there is minimal risk of participants coming to physical harm; however the personal nature of the subject matter may be stress inducing for participants if negative experiences are discussed. My familiarity with the research context and my presence as a black professional may alleviate any potential anxiety. I ensured that interviews were conducted in a mutually agreed location to ensure that the participant was in a comfortable environment. I sought advice from my supervisor and other academics to develop interview techniques to ensure that the process was accommodating for the participants.

An information pack was provided to participants who expressed an interest in participating in the research. The information explained that participation was voluntary and that participants are free to withdraw from the study at any time and that they would receive a copy of all transcripts for confirmation of their content. This

ensured that all data in this thesis is used with the consent of participants. The information pack explained how the participant's right to privacy would be protected and the anonymity of the participants is to be maintained at all times using pseudonyms and no reference to the real names of individuals or organisations. This will also ensure that the research process does not harm non-participants. By adhering to the agreement I hoped to reduce the scope for misunderstandings or any perceived deception. In chapter 3 Participants were compensated between \$0.35 and \$0.50 for their time. For both chapter 4 and 5, participation was on an unpaid voluntary basis.

2.8. Chapter summary

This chapter has outlined the multi-method approach to data collection deployed in this thesis, outlining the overall rationale for the methods, sample and data analyses chosen for the three studies conducted. In doing so I also located this thesis within the critical realist paradigm and explained its ontological assumptions and epistemological commitments. Further details about each study's method can be found in the following respective empirical chapters.

Chapter 3:
Study 1: An Empirical Investigation of
Bicultural Experience in the Workplace

Introduction

3.1 Chapter overview

Following the methodology outlined for this thesis in the previous chapter, this chapter presents the findings of the quantitative empirical study conducted with the purpose of uncovering the differences in the ways that minority racial and ethnic individuals experience their identities in the workplace, as well as the development and introduction of a new instrument that measures Bicultural Identity Integration measure (BII), in order to represent the bicultural experience of individuals

3.1.1 Introduction

People have more opportunities than ever before to engage with others who are culturally different from themselves. Throughout the world an increasing number of individuals are being extensively exposed to cultures other than their own as a consequence of long-term migration, globalisation and improvements in information technology (Huynh, 2009). Migration is considered to be one of the defining global issues of the early 21st century and has played an essential role in this cultural phenomenon. The International Organisation for Migration defines migration as “the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification” (International Organisation for Migration, 2016, p1). Unprecedented human mobility means that all of the sovereign states of the world are now either points of origin, transit or destination for migrants (International Organisation for Migration, 2005). This movement of people has created opportunities for ongoing intercultural contact, leading to many societies becoming culturally plural: comprising people of many cultural backgrounds living together in a diverse society (Berry, 1997).

Evidently, the population of racial, ethnic and cultural minorities in Western societies is increasing. Considering the United Kingdom and United States of America as examples: 13% of the populations of both the United Kingdom and the United States of America

were born in another country; currently 27% of children born in the United Kingdom have parents who were born outside of the United Kingdom (Office of National Statistics, 2014). In the United States 25% of children under the age of 18 has at least one parent who was born in a foreign country (United States Census Bureau, 2014).

3.1.2 An increasing number of racial and ethnic groups in the workplace

Population changes caused by a combination of the increasing number of racial and ethnic groups travelling to the United Kingdom and the United States to live and work and subsequently increasing numbers of second and third generation minority racial and ethnic individuals of working age entering the labour market are important drivers that are altering the composition of the workplace. 21% of people of working age in England and Wales identify as being not white British (Office of National Statistics, 2015); 21% of people of working age in the United States are from minority racial and ethnic groups (United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). In short, there are a greater number of individuals from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds than ever before in the workplace and this presents a challenge for both individuals and organisations regarding diversity, equality and inclusion.

In this chapter I argue that organisations are not racially or ethnically neutral spaces, given that race and ethnicity have been shown to be salient in the workplace (Cox, 1990; Cox and Nkomo, 1990). I investigate the experiences of minority racial and ethnic individuals from a perspective that does not imply that they are inherently deficient (Nkomo, 1992). Moreover, I assert that minority racial and ethnic experiences in the workplace are not homogenous. Specifically, minority racial and ethnic individuals can vary in the way that they experience their racial and or ethnic identity in the workplace. For example different other-group orientations, that is differences in individual attitudes toward other racial groups may explain potential variance within racial groups. Black individuals with higher other-group orientations have been shown to prefer organisations portraying little or no racial diversity because they present the best opportunity for maximising interaction with other groups (Avery, 2003).

Furthermore, the experience of minority racial and ethnic individuals has been shown to vary in terms of remuneration, for example researchers have found evidence of an

ethnic penalty in the workplace (Heath and Cheung, 2006). The ethnic penalty describes the shortfall in earnings that remains after controlling for characteristics that would reasonably be expected to influence remuneration such as age, education and local employment rates. A study by Berthoud (2000) found evidence of a hierarchy of earnings in the British workplace with different ethnic groups incurring different ethnic penalties and corresponding levels of remuneration. At the lowest levels of earnings are Black Africans, Black Caribbeans, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis who receive the highest penalties in terms of their earnings and access to employment. Chinese and Indian employees experience a smaller penalty but compete on more equal terms than their minority ethnic counterparts.

Despite these important findings, not enough is known about the different ways that minority racial and ethnic groups experience the workplace and more research is required to explore the nuances of everyday work experience from a minority racial and or minority ethnic perspective. This chapter extends existing literature to investigate differences in the ways that minority racial and ethnic individuals experience and manage their identities in the workplace, as well as exploring the influences that these differences may have on important workplace outcomes such as well-being.

3.1.3 Aims of the chapter

The goal of this chapter is to investigate the differences in the way that minority racial and ethnic individuals experience their identities in the workplace. I have four specific aims in order to achieve this goal. My first aim is to understand how members of minority racial and ethnic groups manage the demands of multiple cultural influences in the workplace. My second aim is to examine how experiences can vary between individuals from minority racial and ethnic groups. A third aim is to use biculturalism as a lens for understanding these differences in the workplace and my final aim is to develop existing biculturalism theory beyond existing conceptualisations of national or heritage based cultures. These aims are discussed in detail below.

Managing multiple cultural influences

The first aim is to understand how members of minority racial and ethnic groups manage the demands of multiple cultural influences in the workplace. Bell (1990)

argued that African Americans are by necessity bicultural, managing a broad sociocultural repertoire as they move back and forth between two primary racialised environments, the first being the workplace which is dominated by white American culture and the second being their non work environment which is dominated by Black American culture. This bicultural experience is punctuated by the ongoing struggle to conform to the cultural norms of each environment and the different values and behaviours required to participate in both. For example in the study Bell (1990) explains how in a professional environment a black woman actively pursuing career advancement may experience difficulty signalling her intentions to an employer as part of a work based cultural norm. Outside of the workplace these signals may challenge gendered views on child rearing and home making responsibilities which may be cultural norms in her personal life, influenced by Black American culture. The difficulty experienced is a consequence of managing cultural norms that may be perceived to be incongruent.

A defining feature of this bicultural experience is the cultivation of a double consciousness; this term is not intended to define a neurological condition, instead it is a phrase coined by Du Bois (1903) to describe the circumstances where an individual in a racialised environment dominated by the culture of the majority population, attempts to view themselves through the eyes of a member of that majority group and therefore adjusts their behaviour as appropriate for several reasons including to avoid reinforcing negative stereotypes. This requires sustained effort on the part of the individual and represents a form of identity work that is salient to members of minority groups. Individuals engage in identity work in order to negotiate the boundaries between their different social identities (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003).

For minority racial and ethnic employees, identity work is likely to involve negotiating the boundary between their racial identity, their ethnic identity and their workplace identity. Studies of identity work in organisations have been concerned with how organisations and their leaders can manage the multiple conceptions of the organisation that manifest in multiple organisational identities. For example the Pratt and Foreman (2000) study of multiple identities within the workplace was not interested in identities located within a single individual and was “not interested in how

a given individual manages his or her own multiple identities” (Pratt and Foreman 2000, p19). Rather, the authors were concerned with the perspective of the organisation and acknowledged that there have been few attempts to link individual identity management dynamics with the broader dynamics facing individuals within their organisations.

In this chapter, I directly address the dearth of research in this area and seek to contribute to the literature by exploring how minority racial and ethnic individuals manage their multiple identities in the workplace. Most broadly, individuals engaged in identity work are actively crafting their self-narrative (Ibarra and Barbulescu, 2010). Here, I argue that this self-narrative meaningfully varies not just across but also, importantly, within specific racial and ethnic groups.

Heterogeneous experiences among minority racial and ethnic individuals

My second aim is to examine how experiences within the workplace can vary between individuals from minority racial and ethnic groups. An important common experience for minority racial and ethnic individuals is to manage their behaviour in the context of negative stereotypes (Steele and Aronson, 1995). More specifically, Carbado and Gulati (1999) posit that because members of minority groups are more likely to perceive themselves as subject to negative stereotypes, they feel a need to do significant amounts of extra identity work to counter those stereotypes in the workplace. For minority racial and ethnic individuals, the stronger the perceived negative stereotype, the stronger the incentive to perform additional identity work in order to signal to employers their congruence with the organisational culture (Carbado, 2007). The manner in which individuals interpret and respond to these circumstances may vary. In this chapter I examine how this experience varies between minority racial and ethnic individuals. Bell (1990) found that for minority racial groups, identity work was a challenging but necessary element of their bicultural experience. In this study I define biculturals as individuals who identify as members of more than one distinct social group and who exhibit a behavioural repertoire that stems from having knowledge and access to several distinct cultural schemas appropriate to those groups.

The use of biculturalism as a conceptual lens

My third aim is to use the perspective of biculturalism as a lens for understanding differences in the workplace experiences of minority racial and ethnic individuals. Moreover, I highlight the importance of bicultural identity dynamics for minority racial and ethnic individuals. My final aim is to develop existing biculturalism theory beyond existing conceptualisations of national or heritage based cultures. This is achieved by the development of a theoretical model that demonstrates the antecedents and outcomes related to different bicultural experiences for minority racial and ethnic individuals in the workplace. Organisational culture has been shown to be salient for organisational performance (Barney, 1986), however little is known about how organisations can accommodate the bicultural identities of their employees.

3.1.4 Chapter summary

What follows is a literature review (section 3.2) that includes a brief introduction to the acculturation literature upon which the biculturalism literature draws much influence. This presents definitions and outlines theories relevant to this chapter. Next, I provide a critical discussion of the biculturalism literature and a review of some of the key research in the field. On the basis of this I provide the core hypotheses in this chapter and theoretically develop a conceptual overview of a model that proposes antecedents and outcomes of bicultural experience in the workplace (section 3.3). In the empirical part of this chapter (section 3.4), I present the research design, which includes the rationale for the studies conducted as well as the selected methodology, including the selection of participants, measures and analytic procedures. In this chapter I also introduce and present the development of a new measure of bicultural experience that will be used in the subsequent empirical analysis. Data is presented from a sample of minority racial and ethnic individuals and this is followed by a discussion of key findings and limitations (section 3.5). Finally, the overall findings are presented as well as the theoretical and methodological implications of the studies and suggestions for future research (section 3.6).

Literature Review

3.2 Section overview

This section presents a brief introduction to the acculturation literature in order to provide a foundation for understanding the core principles upon which the biculturalism literature is based. This is followed by an introduction to biculturalism theory that defines key terms relevant to this study.

3.2.1 Acculturation as a process of change

Acculturation refers to the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members (Berry, 2005; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Velder, 2006). Acculturation can describe both collective and individual cultural changes, however it is most often studied as a process of cultural adaptation in migrants (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010). In this chapter I am interested in acculturation as a phenomenon experienced by individuals, my concern is not with acculturation as a collective change among members of a particular population, nor is my intention here to characterise acculturation as a phenomenon experienced exclusively by recent migrants.

My interest in introducing acculturation is as a process of cultural adaptation for individuals, specifically the cultural adaptation of minority racial and ethnic individuals within the context of the workplace. Graves (1967) explored the distinction between acculturation as a collective or individual phenomena and proposed the term psychological acculturation to account for changes experienced by an individual as a consequence of their contact with a different culture and the changing nature of the cultural group to which they belong. Therefore psychological acculturation describes cultural and psychological changes that influence a person's behavioural repertoire. This ongoing process of change leads to long-term psychological and sociocultural adaptations. Psychological adaptation concerns affective responses such as well-being, sociocultural adaptation is based on behavioural responses related to an individuals competence in managing tasks required for daily intercultural living (Berry, 2005; Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001).

3.2.2. A Uni-dimensional approach to acculturation

Early conceptualisations of psychological acculturation presume that individuals have a single cultural identity that can be exchanged for another cultural identity as part of a linear process (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000). Park (1928) located individuals on a one-dimensional continuum in which relationships with the culture of an individual's birth or upbringing (referred to here as the heritage culture) are discarded over time as migrants adopt the culture of the host country (referred to here as the mainstream culture).

Uni-dimensional models of acculturation of this nature present a bipolar understanding of acculturation and they are limited in their utility because they are unable to address important circumstances relevant for the acculturation process. Here are three examples of limitations of a uni dimensional approach to acculturation.

The first limitation is a failure to address the potential for individuals to have more than one cultural identity. Research has shown that individuals can have multiple identities (Ashforth and Mael, 1989), the uni-dimensional approach is unable to accommodate this.

The second limitation is that it fails to address individual differences; specifically differences in individual preferences towards their heritage culture and the mainstream culture as well as variances in an individual's ability to engage with the mainstream culture.

Finally, the third limitation is that the uni-dimensional perspective claims that the mainstream culture replaces the heritage culture as a cultural framework as a consequence of a linear acculturation process; this provides an incomplete picture of acculturation with no explanation as to how this is achieved, nor does it identify the circumstances required for this process (Ryder et al., 2000).

3.2.3 A multi dimensional approach to acculturation

Berry (1997) developed a bi dimensional perspective of acculturation based on two core assumptions that addressed the key shortcomings of the uni-dimensional

perspective. The first assumption is that individuals differ in their culturally based values, attitudes, and behaviours. The second assumption is that individuals are capable of having multiple cultural identities simultaneously, each of which may independently vary in strength (Ryder et al., 2000). Under these circumstances, acculturation can be conceptualised as a non-linear process in which both heritage and mainstream cultural identities are free to vary independently.

Consequently Berry (2005; 2006) theorised that acculturating individuals face two primary issues: The first is their heritage cultural orientation, the extent to which they are motivated to maintain the cultural identity and characteristics of their heritage culture. The second is their mainstream cultural orientation, the extent to which they are motivated to maintain the cultural identity and characteristics of the mainstream culture. The acculturating individuals described are conceptualised as participants in a culturally plural society that includes not only immigrants and sojourners but also indigenous peoples and settled communities of “ethno cultural groups” (Berry, 2006, p30) descended from earlier waves of migration.

Four acculturation strategies transpire from a combination of these individual preferences: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation (Berry, 2005; 2006) (See Figure 3.1). These are explained in more detail below.

3.2.3.1 Assimilation strategy

An individual can be said to have an assimilation strategy if they are not motivated to maintain their heritage culture and characteristics but seek to develop and maintain the cultural identity and characteristics of the mainstream culture. This is akin to the uni-dimensional continuum presented by Park (1928).

3.2.3.2 Integration strategy

An individual who is motivated to maintain both their heritage cultural identity and characteristics and maintain relationships with larger society is using the integration strategy (Berry, 2005). For an integration strategy to work in the manner described there is an assumption that migrants are free to choose and successfully pursue this strategy, this would require the host society to be open and inclusive in its orientation

Figure 3.1: Overview of acculturation strategies

Adapted from Berry (1997)

In contrast, an individual who seeks to maintain their heritage culture, identity and characteristics but is not motivated to engage with the mainstream culture can be described as using the separation strategy. These individuals are the opposite of those who assimilate, they reject the mainstream culture in favour of preserving their heritage cultural identity, and this may be achieved by avoiding contact with mainstream society.

Finally, the marginalisation strategy occurs when an individual is not motivated to maintain their heritage cultural identity and characteristics nor are they motivated to form relationships within the host culture. These individuals are said to typically lose

cultural affiliation, rejecting their heritage culture and failing to adopt the practices of the mainstream culture. The validity of marginalisation as a strategy to acculturation has been called into question, because it is unclear how migrants can develop a cultural identity without drawing on either the heritage or mainstream cultures (Rudmin, 2003).

3.2.3.5 Critique of the multidimensional acculturation paradigm

Scholars have complimented the Berry (1997) paradigm but also argued that it lacks explanatory force and that it should be expanded to include, a greater focus on subcultures, dominant group attitudes, acquisition of cultural skills or the influence of the receiving society in influencing the behaviour of minority groups in this context (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997; Navas et al., 2005; Piontkowski, Rohmann & Florack, 2002). In particular, the attitudes of the dominant group can influence the acculturation strategies of minorities. For example when sought by the dominant group an assimilation strategy may be expected to create a melting pot where everybody is expected to conform to an agreed norm: discarding their heritage culture in order to adopt the practices and outlook of the mainstream culture. However, when a separation strategy is demanded and enforced by the dominant group, it results in cultural segregation; marginalisation, when imposed by the dominant group it is a form of social exclusion (Berry, 2006; Piontkowski et al., 2002). These brief descriptions highlight the influence of the dominant group's preferences over the experiences of acculturating minority groups.

Integration has been identified as leading to the most adaptive functioning of individuals, those who inhabit either one culture or the other exclusively (assimilation or separation) will be less functional, and those who are unable to effectively affiliate with any cultural group (marginalisation) have the worst outcomes (Berry, 2006). Given that integration is the most adaptive acculturation strategy, the framework does little to pinpoint individual or sociocultural antecedents and fails to describe how individuals go about integrating and maintaining the dual cultures (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005). The biculturalism literature attempts to address this shortcoming and is introduced below.

3.2.4. Biculturalism: An integrated acculturation approach

Bidimensional frameworks were developed to understand acculturation as a process, however it has been used as a basis for studying biculturals (Berry, 1997; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Several researchers identify biculturals as acculturating individuals that pursue the integration acculturation strategy. This is because integration is the only strategy that accommodates biculturalism, a circumstance where the individual strongly endorses values and practices from both the receiving and heritage cultural contexts (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martinez, Lee & Leu, 2006; Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2007; Schwartz and Zamboanga, 2008). Researchers have identified multiple types of biculturalism, which suggests that Berry's conception of "integration" may encompass multiple subcategories (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; LaFromboise et al., 1993).

3.2.5 Biculturalism: Competing Definitions

There is no commonly agreed definition of biculturalism and consequently, research has often defined the construct in different and ambiguous ways. What follows is a review of the core approaches used to conceptualise biculturalism in the literature.

A Uni-dimensional construct

In a uni-dimensional model of acculturation biculturalism represents a mid-point in a linear process of discarding the cultural traits of one's heritage culture and adoption of the cultural traits of the host culture (Navas et al., 2005). Here biculturalism signifies a temporary point when the dominant cultural schema of an individual is transforming from one defined culture to another. This is a temporary process given the assumption that individuals are only able to have a single dominant cultural identity.

Internalising multiple cultures

Biculturals have been described as individuals who have been exposed to and internalised more than culture (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos 2005; Benet-Martinez et al., 2006; Huynh, Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2011). This definition suggests that biculturalism represents the successful conclusion of an acculturation process and does not distinguish between individuals at different stages of internalising a culture. This

reflects the difficulty in identifying individuals who have started the process of internalisation compared to those have successfully internalised a culture.

Temporal considerations

Several studies attempt to address this by focusing on respondents who have been in the host country for at least five years (Cheng and Lee, 2013; Cheng, Sanchez-Burks & Lee, 2008; Mok, Morris, Benet-Martinez & Karakitapoglu-Aygun, 2007). An explanation for this period of time is not provided in the papers mentioned. Presumably these scholars consider this to be an acceptable length of time for an individual to be considered bicultural, however it does not acknowledge the extent to which they have acquired or internalised a culture

Dichotomous issues

The bicultural literature is underpinned by acculturation theories concerned with individual orientations towards two distinct cultural identities, however the use of the term bicultural is not intended to be dichotomous. Downie, Koestner, ElGeledi, & Cree (2004) use the term tricultural to refer to a diverse sample of minority racial and ethnic groups managing their heritage culture, English Canadian culture, and French Canadian culture in Quebec. Fitzsimmons (2013) defined multiculturals as individuals who have internalised two or more cultural schemas distinguishing them from biculturals who had internalised only two cultural schemas. In this chapter the term bicultural is used to refer to more than one cultural identity.

Demographic attributes

Other definitions of biculturalism are based on demographic characteristics for instance: being half Mexican, half English (Berry, 1997; Schwartz and Unger, 2010). This definition is problematic because it assumes that membership of an ethnic group confers cultural knowledge of that group. This may not be the case, particularly for second and third generation minority groups who subject to their acculturation orientation may have limited access to the cultural knowledge of their ethnic group. Hong, Morris, Chiu & Benet-Martínez (2000) assert that biculturals are capable of accessing the knowledge systems of more than one culture in response to the cultural context requirements arguing that biculturalism is achieved at a point where each of the

internalised cultures is “alive inside of them” (Hong et al., 2000, p710). Identifying the point at which biculturalism has been achieved under these circumstances may be ambiguous, difficult to observe and is likely to vary between individuals.

Cultural schemas

Biculturalism has also been described as the ability to switch between cultural schemas and behaviours in response to cultural cues, where cultural schemas represent knowledge about the values, norms, and beliefs of a particular culture (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; Brannen and Thomas, 2010; Hong, 2010; Saad, Damian, Benet-Martínez, Moons & Robins, 2012). This definition assumes that access to a cultural schema represents cultural knowledge of that group, if not membership of the group.

In summary it appears that existing conceptualisations of biculturalism are inconsistent or appropriate under a very specific set of circumstances, a more general definition of biculturalism is required to accommodate more of the agreed attributes of the construct.

3.2.6. A more inclusive definition

In this study, I define biculturals as individuals that self identify as members of more than one distinct social group and exhibit a behavioural repertoire that stems from having knowledge and access to several distinct cultural schemas appropriate to those groups. Identifying with a social group is fundamental to this definition of biculturalism. Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep (2006) suggest that “identification” has been used with two specific meanings regarding individuals and social groups: the first is to describe a state, this refers to that part of an individual's identity that derives from his or her association with a social group. The second, less explored meaning is as a process of aligning identity with that of a particular social group. In this study, biculturalism is conceptualised as the latter, a process through which individuals derive their identity from their association with social groups and the meanings attached to them as they develop comfort and proficiency with more than one cultural schema.

In the context of this study, a bicultural must identify with a particular social group as well as possess cultural knowledge of that group. It is important to distinguish this point because a person can have knowledge of a cultural group without identifying with

it and are therefore not biculturals as defined here. For example, tourists may be able to acquire knowledge about a different culture and apply this knowledge to guide their behaviour in a particular cultural environment, without actively identifying with that culture (Brannen and Thomas 2010). Addressing the limitations of existing definitions is important to reduce ambiguity given the advent of studies in this potentially broad field of research.

A critique of the new definition of biculturalism

The new definition provided above addresses several of the limitations of earlier conceptualisation of biculturalism: First it allows researchers to recognise that an individual may have multiple cultural identities and provides the theoretical scope to engage all of them, in line with established literature such as the social identity theory literature (Hogg and Terry, 2000). This definition therefore accommodates existing conceptualisations of tricultural and multicultural individuals (Downie et al., 2004; Fitzsimmons, 2013). Second, the definition extends the scope of biculturalism beyond the literature's attention on heritage-based groups to social identity groups. This permits researchers to consider biculturals who are members of non-heritage based groups with established cultural schemas. The existing biculturalism literature is concerned with cultural groups defined by individual's heritage, birth or where they are domiciled. The new definition provided includes membership of social groups where membership is a function of individual agency. This may include organisations, religious groups and subcultures not recognised by the existing literature. A fundamental part of this definition is the importance of self-identification by the individual, in the case of non-heritage cultures; individuals become members of these groups as a consequence of a decision by the individual. This has both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages are that it allows individuals to self-select their group membership, this serves to recognise biculturalism as a process of change instead of an outcome, recognising that membership of a group does not assume the complete internalisation of the appropriate cultural schemas as existing definitions imply.

The disadvantage of this definition like previous conceptualisations is that it remains difficult to distinguish between individuals at different stages of the bicultural process because there is not a defined behavioural repertoire that is broadly accepted to signify

cultural membership or internalisation of a cultural schema. Research on biculturals has predominantly been concerned with the experiences of sojourners, immigrant and international students (Ward, Stuart & Kus, 2011). This reflects the biculturalism literature's concern with the experiences of transient and recently settled populations. However biculturalism as defined in this study also accommodates the children of migrants. These individuals are likely to be deeply embedded in their heritage culture through their families for whom identification and involvement with their heritage cultures and the mainstream national culture, is the norm (Phinney and Devich-Navarro, 1997; Schwartz et al., 2010). These culturally embedded individuals are the focus of this study because they too must balance the values and norms of their heritage culture while simultaneously managing another set of cultural values and norms.

3.2.7 Section summary

This section presented the primary theoretical lenses relevant for this chapter: acculturation and biculturalism. The next section theoretically develops the biculturalism literature in order to create a construct that best represents the bicultural experience of minority racial and ethnic individuals within the workplace.

Theory Development

3.3 Section overview

In this section I critically discuss the biculturalism literature, review key research and theoretically develop a new construct that more effectively represents bicultural experience within the workplace. Part of developing a theoretical construct is establishing a nomological network: a predictable pattern of relationships with other meaningful constructs derived from theory (Cronbach and Meehl, 1955). In this section, I develop core hypotheses for a theoretical model that proposes antecedents and outcomes of bicultural experience in the workplace.

3.3.1 Dimensions of Bicultural Identity Integration

Benet-Martínez et al. (2002) proposed a theoretical framework to understand how bicultural individuals cognitively and affectively organise their cultural identities. Biculturals are theorised to vary on a continuum called Bicultural Identity Integration (BII). BII is concerned with the extent to which an individual sees their cultural identities as being compatible and integrated, or oppositional and difficult to reconcile. This linear construct reflects the acculturation underpinnings of the biculturalism literature. In their study, variations in BII are measured using the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale – Preliminary (BIIS-P) (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). This instrument assessed perceived opposition between Chinese and American cultural identities in a multi statement vignette that was rated as a single item and read as follows

“I am a bicultural who keeps American and Chinese cultures separate and feels conflicted about these two cultures. I am simply a Chinese who lives in America (vs. a Chinese-American), and I feel as someone who is caught between two cultures. “

The authors acknowledged that BIIS-P conflated perceptions of distance and compartmentalisation between cultures, which they thought might capture empirically different components of an individual’s bicultural experience (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). To address this issue, in their study of Chinese American students, Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) extended the theoretical development of BII as a construct and this was measured by a new instrument called Bicultural Identity

Integration Scale-Version 1 (BIIS-1). Here BII was reconceptualised from a uni-dimensional construct to having two independent components: cultural blendedness vs. compartmentalisation (Cultural blendedness) and cultural harmony vs. cultural conflict (Cultural harmony) (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005).

Cultural blendedness is the degree of overlap or distance perceived between the two cultures. On the other hand, cultural harmony is the degree of compatibility or tension perceived between the two cultures. In particular the authors sought to develop a nomological network of constructs and address some of the shortcomings of the BIIS-P instrument.

Cultural harmony was recognised as capturing affective aspects of the bicultural experience. This was supported by its pattern of antecedents e.g., neuroticism and discrimination. Lower cultural harmony was found to be associated with greater perceived discrimination and more strained intercultural relationships. Cultural blendedness is the behavioural component of BII, lower cultural blendedness has been linked to performance-related challenges such as lower openness to new experiences and communication barriers (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005).

In short cultural harmony reflects how biculturals feel about their multiple cultural identities, in contrast cultural blendedness reflects how biculturals behave regarding their multiple identities. These separate constructs were shown to have different antecedents and outcomes, however the aggregate of these two dimensions was conceptualised as overall BII. This led to a series of studies that have demonstrated that BII is a meaningful variable of biculturalism with associations with important outcomes. Table 3.1 presents a summary of key studies using BII in the biculturalism literature, identifying which BII instrument was used in each study. The following section presents a brief description of some of the key outcomes from the literature.

Table 3.1 Key scholarly research using Bicultural Identity Integration (BII)

Author	Description	Findings	Measure	Sample
Benet-Martinez et al., 2002	Three studies exploring how cultural frame shifting between two culturally based interpretative lenses is moderated by BII	Biculturals who perceived their cultural identities as compatible (high BII) responded in culturally congruent ways to cultural cues	BIIS-P	N= 65 Chinese American Students N= 176 Chinese American Students N= 35 Chinese American Students
Benet-Martinez and Haritatos, 2005	A study to explore the components and antecedents of BII	Cultural conflict and cultural distance have distinct personality, acculturation, and socio demographic antecedents.	BIIS-1 BIIS-P	N= 133 first-generation Chinese American students
Benet-Martinez et al., 2006	A study to examine the complexity of cultural representations in monocultural and bicultural individuals	Biculturals representations of culture were cognitively more complex than those of monoculturals	BIIS-P	N=179 students 79 Anglo Americans 100 Chinese Americans N=261 Chinese American students

Author	Description	Findings	Measure	Sample
Cheng et al., 2006	A study to examine how the valence of cultural cues in the environment moderates the way biculturals shift between multiple cultural identities.	High BII individuals respond in culturally congruent ways low BII individuals respond in culturally incongruent ways when exposed to positive cultural cues.	BIIS-1	N = 220 179 first-generation and 41 second-generation Asian American students
Mok et al., 2007	A study examining the relationship between bicultural individuals' identity structure and their friendship network.	High BII was associated with larger and more richly interconnected circles of non-Chinese friends	BIIS-P	N=111 First Generation Chinese American students
Cheng et al., 2008	A study to explore creative performance among biculturals due to access to multiple identity relevant knowledge domains	Asian Americans with High BII were more creative in developing dishes when Asian & American ingredients were available	BIIS-1	N = 61 Asian Americans 40 first generation Americans 21 second generation Americans

Author	Description	Findings	Measure	Sample
Huynh, 2009	3 studies to expand on measurement of BII in an ethnically diverse sample of bicultural individuals from different generational groups	A new instrument to measure BII was developed with meaningful correlations with personality traits, acculturative stress, and psychological well-being.	BIIS-1 BIIS-2R	N= 108 multi racial students N= 1049 multi racial students
Saad et al., 2012	A study to test if enhanced creativity among more blended biculturals was due to increased idea generation	High BII blendedness predicted domain-general creativity in bicultural but not in monocultural contexts, mediated by idea generation	BIIS-1	N= 177 Chinese American students
Cheng and Lee, 2013	An experimental study manipulating recall of positive or negative bicultural experiences	BII is malleable based on biculturals' recall of past bicultural experiences. BII was higher when recalling positive bicultural experiences than negative bicultural experiences.	BIIS-1	N=174 Second Generation Asian American students

3.3.2. Bicultural Identity Integration: key studies

Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) made several important contributions to the literature: Individuals that score high on BII (high BII) identify with both heritage and mainstream cultures and see themselves as part of a hyphenated culture, e.g. Korean American instead of Korean or American. Biculturals with low scores of BII (low BII) also identify with both heritage and mainstream cultures, however they are more likely to feel trapped between the cultures and prefer to keep them separate. Moreover those with higher BII are more open and less neurotic than those with lower BII. Biculturals with higher BII have less anxiety and depression than those with lower BII (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005). In contrast, high BII biculturals perceived their cultural identities to be compatible, and low BII biculturals perceive their cultural identities to be oppositional. BII was found to moderate bicultural frame switching: the ability to shift between culturally based interpretative lenses in response to cultural cues. Both high BII and low BII individuals were shown to engage in cultural frame switching in response to external cues. High BII individuals exhibited prime-consistent behaviour: behaving in a more Chinese way when exposed to Chinese primes and behaving in a more American way when exposed to American primes. Interestingly, those low on BII exhibited a prime-resistant effect, behaving in a more American way when exposed to Chinese primes and behaving in a more Chinese way when exposed to American primes.

As a result of internalising several cultural schema, biculturals have been shown to develop higher order cognitive processes in order to manage complex cognitive cultural representations (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; Brannen and Thomas, 2010; Hong, 2010; Saad et al., 2012). For example biculturals have an ability to integrate ideas in potentially novel and creative ways (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky & Chiu, 2008) and enhanced creative performance in tasks that require knowledge in cultures that they are familiar. Individuals with high BII scores were shown to be better at simultaneously accessing and applying multiple identity related knowledge systems than those with low BII scores (Cheng et al., 2008). In their study of Chinese students, Mok et al. (2007) showed that BII influences behaviour in terms of social networks. These studies have shown that bicultural individuals may feel and behave differently in a given environment subject to their individual level of BII. Moreover, the use of BII as a construct allows researchers to explore differences between minority ethnic groups

based on the way these individuals perceive their heritage culture and the culture of the receiving society.

Critique of Biculturalism Literature

A prevalent limitation of BII research to date is the homogeneity of the samples used. As illustrated in Table 3.1, the majority of studies measuring BII have been based in the United States and used Asian and Asian American students as participants. Consequently, it is unclear if the structures and associations with BII found apply to bicultural individuals from other ethnic groups. Huynh (2009) addressed this concern by testing BII theory on an ethnically diverse sample of bicultural individuals and developed a reliable BII instrument called Bicultural Identity Integration Scale, Version 2R (BIIS-2R) (Huynh and Benet-Martínez, 2010). This measure is more reliable than its predecessor and this can be observed in their corresponding cronbach's alpha coefficients. BIIS-2R has the following cronbach's alpha coefficients: cultural harmony ($\alpha = .86$), cultural blendedness ($\alpha = .81$); in contrast BIIS-1 has the following cronbach's alpha coefficients: cultural harmony ($\alpha = .74$), cultural blendedness ($\alpha = .69$).

A second limitation of the literature is the preoccupation with universities and colleges as a sociocultural domain. It is likely that the choice of Universities and College campuses was selected for the potential ease of attracting suitable research participants and the role of educational institutions as bastions of social reproduction and cultural norms (Bruner, 1996). However, by focusing on the experiences of college students, not enough of the biculturalism literature has addressed the experiences of bicultural individuals in other sociocultural domains.

Huynh (2009) broadened the scope of bicultural research but did not address concerns about the homogeneity of the sociocultural domains explored in several BII studies. In their Relative Acculturation Extended Model, Navas et al. (2005) identify several sociocultural domains across which the bicultural experiences of individuals can vary, suggesting that there is no one single attitude or strategy for biculturals in each different domain. Given the potential for differing acculturation orientations in different sociocultural domains. It is possible that BII preferences may also vary. Given that most BII studies to date have used bicultural students, more research is required to

understand the experiences of biculturals in other social domains such as the workplace. This is particularly important given that biculturals are an increasing workforce demographic with skills that may help solve central problems in teams and organisations (Hong, 2010).

A number of studies have identified potential benefits associated with being bicultural that are relevant to career outcomes and organisational performance in the modern workplace such as recognising social cues and responding to social cues (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005) and creativity (Cheng et al., 2008). To date bicultural research has focused on transient groups with little attention paid to biculturals born into an environment where they are a minority group. The majority of bicultural studies are concerned with individuals who may be lacking in the social resources and competencies required to function effectively in the host society. This is reflected by the concern of several of the key studies in measuring linguistic ability of the participants (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez et al., 2006; Mok et al., 2007). A focus on biculturals in the workplace implicitly acknowledges that they have the appropriate linguistic and comprehension skills to function in an important cultural domain and allows greater investigation of their workplace experience.

To date bicultural research has been concerned with measuring individual attitudes to one or more heritage based cultures, however little is known about how individuals with advanced social resources and cultural competence in more than one culture manage the bicultural demands of non heritage based social groups to which they belong. There is an emerging literature based on identity integration (II), which is relevant to this study, some of which also examines the intersection of race or gender and professional identity). For instance, Sacharin, Lee & Gonzalez (2009) explore how women in professional and managerial occupations negotiate their work and gender identities. In their study, businesswomen were primed with either their professional or their gender identity. Women who saw their gender and work identities as more compatible exhibited an assimilation effect and behaved in a more task oriented fashion when primed with their professional identity than those primed with their gender identity. Moreover, in a study of graduate students from low socioeconomic backgrounds, higher levels of integration between class and professional identities were

related to lower stress and fear of professional failure, and higher levels of professional satisfaction and persistence (Cheng et al., 2008b). Relatedly, a study of male nurses found that higher levels of integration between gender and professional identities predicted higher levels of job satisfaction and organisational commitment (Wallen, Mor & Devine, 2014). In short, identity integration may be a more generalised concept that describes individuals' perceptions of compatibility and conflict between any number of social identities, including those related to ethnicity and profession.

I propose that BII is a multifaceted phenomenon, comprising affective, cognitive and behavioural components between which the interactive relationships are not yet entirely understood. The development of BII as a construct may still be in its infancy, it's development from a unitary continuum to a bi dimensional construct mirrors the development of the acculturation concepts upon which it is based (see Section 3.22 and 3.23).

3.3.3. A Multi dimensional measure of Bicultural Identity integration

The single-item instrument BII-SP was useful in identifying some of the possible variables in the BII nomological network however it provided a limited and perhaps unreliable assessment of the various psychological processes that may underlie BII (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005). As a nascent construct it may be possible that BII is broader than its existing conceptualisation, given the narrow scope of previous research samples. Further development of BII is necessary in order to address the limitations of existing conceptualisations and measures.

As part of the development of BII on a diverse bicultural group, Huynh (2009) identified a factor (in addition to cultural conflict vs. harmony and cultural compartmentalisation vs. cultural blendedness) called identity clarity vs. ambivalence; this was discarded because it double loaded on the cultural conflict vs. harmony factor. It is therefore unclear if BII as a construct should be confined to its existing conceptualisations and measures within the literature, it is possible that BII as a measure of bicultural experience is comprised of several distinct constructs. The apparent bipolar dimensions of existing measures of BII may in fact be independent dimensions when examined under circumstances that are different to historical studies.

Russell and Carroll (1999) showed that positive and negative affective well-being are independent states, rather than two opposite poles of the same bipolar dimension. In a similar vein, Schaufeli and Bakker (2004) found that burnout and engagement commonly conceptualised as a continuum (Maslach and Leiter, 2008) exhibit different patterns of possible causes and consequences. It may be possible that cultural conflict v cultural harmony may be separate constructs rather than two opposite poles of the same bipolar construct. In this chapter I will test the assumption that BII is comprised of two constructs, in line with my theoretical argument it is therefore hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 1: Bicultural identity integration is comprised of four separate dimensions: cultural harmony, cultural conflict, cultural blendedness and cultural compartmentalisation.

3.3.4. Antecedents & outcomes of Bicultural Identity Integration

The previous section provided theoretical and methodological support for the further development of bicultural identity integration as a construct. In this section I present antecedents and outcomes of bicultural identity integration illustrated in Figure 3.2.

3.3.4.1 Organisational context for Bicultural Identity Integration

The context of an organisation is relevant for understanding bicultural experience in the workplace. As discussed previously in section 3.2.3 biculturalism represents an integration strategy of acculturation; these circumstances assume that the host society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity with relatively low levels of prejudice (Berry, 1997). In this chapter I suggest that for biculturals to choose and successfully pursue an integration strategy of acculturation between their heritage culture and the organisational culture in the workplace, the workplace must have relatively low levels of discrimination. Understanding how biculturals perceive discrimination within their organisations may be useful for predicting BII.

Perceived Discrimination

Discrimination occurs when selective or prejudicial treatment unfairly places current or prospective employees at a disadvantage based on their group membership. Perceived discrimination is an individual perception of discrimination in a particular context. A

sense of belonging to a culturally or ethnically distinct group may trigger this perception, therefore perceived discrimination can be considered to be a culturally relevant stressor (Sanchez and Brock, 1996). Sanchez and Brock (1996) found that perceived discrimination contributed to higher work tension, decreased job satisfaction and lower organisational commitment to an extent greater than common work stressors such as role ambiguity or role conflict. Ensher, Grant-Vallone & Donaldson (2001) found that greater perceived discrimination in organisations was related to less job satisfaction, organisational commitment and organisational citizenship behaviours. As a workplace stressor discrimination incurs a cost on both individuals and organisations and prevents biculturals from achieving mainstream values in organisations (Bell, 1990).

Perceived discrimination is among the most debilitating stressors that immigrant and individuals from minority groups face (Berry et al., 2006). Experiences of discrimination introduce biculturals to the reality that the ethnic group to which they belong is regarded as unwanted, inferior, or unfairly stereotyped in the receiving society. As a culturally relevant stressor, the children of ethnic minority migrants may also be subject to prejudicial treatment and not be accepted as full members of society (Schwartz et al., 2010).

A typical example of such discrimination in organisations is the denial of employment or promotion because of one's ethnic or racial background. Overt forms of discrimination such as these are less frequently encountered in society thanks to changing attitudes and improved legislation; however many covert forms of discrimination remain (Park and Westphal, 2013). Covert forms of discrimination refer to inappropriate interpersonal mistreatment, for example excluding minority group members from informal social networks (Ibarra, 1995). These subtle forms of discrimination are less visible, ambiguous and consequently not easy to identify or remedy (Van Laer and Janssens, 2011). Empirical studies have found that perceived discrimination is predictive of bicultural conflict, low cultural harmony and low blendedness in Chinese American students (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005). Perceived discrimination was also found to predict greater identity conflict in Chinese sojourners in Singapore (Leong and Ward, 2000) and ethnic groups in New Zealand

(Ward et al., 2011). For biculturals, perceived discrimination has been shown to lower commitment to the new culture and leads to a greater orientation to an individuals heritage culture (Barry and Grilo, 2003).

Given the importance of perceived discrimination as an acculturation and workplace stressor and the prevalence of discrimination in the workplace. The empirical evidence suggests that perceived discrimination appears to have both affective and behavioural consequences for individuals that have been well established in the literature. Switching between social identities has been identified as a strategy used by individuals to mitigate many negative consequences of workplace discrimination (Shih, Young & Bucher, 2013), such behaviour may be indicative of compartmentalisation of social identities. Other ways to modify individual behaviour in the face of disadvantage may involve identity work (Carbado and Gulati, 1999) or creating a façade of conformity in order to appear to correspond to organisational norms (Hewlin, 2003), these have been shown to occur when cultural values are in conflict. Given the affective and behavioural consequences of perceived discrimination and in line with theoretical and empirical research positing an association between perceived discrimination and bicultural identity integration, it is therefore hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 2a: *The degree to which individuals perceive discrimination in their organisations is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in harmony.*

Hypothesis 2b: *The degree to which individuals perceive discrimination in their organisations is positively associated with the degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in conflict.*

Hypothesis 2c: *The degree to which individuals perceive discrimination in their organisations is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals blend their heritage culture and their organisational culture.*

Hypothesis 2d: *The degree to which individuals perceive discrimination in their organisations is positively associated with the degree to which individuals compartmentalise their heritage culture and their organisational culture.*

3.3.4.2 Individual differences and Bicultural Identity Integration

A premise of this study is that minority racial and ethnic experiences in the workplace are not homogenous (see Section 3.1.2). Moreover I assert that there are behavioural preferences and differences between minority individuals in the way that their bicultural identities. In this section I suggest that understanding individual traits and dispositions may be relevant in predicting BII in the workplace. The first trait is self-monitoring; this is relevant because of its concern with how individuals manage their behaviour in different social environments. The second trait is personality, individuals have been shown to have different personalities and this may influence their bicultural experience.

Self-monitoring

Self-monitoring is an individual trait reflecting the extent to which individuals differ in their responsiveness to social cues. Specifically self-monitoring involves the degree of concern individuals have for behaving appropriately in a given social setting (Snyder, 1974; Snyder and Gangestad, 1986). Sensitivity to social cues and the ability to adapt individual behaviour to the requirements of a situation have been shown to vary across individuals: low self-monitors tend to express emotions and attitudes that reflect their true selves. Alternatively, high self-monitors tend to rely on social and interpersonal cues to direct their behaviour (Gangestad and Snyder, 2000).

Research has shown that biculturals are well equipped to adapt their behaviour in cross-cultural settings (Nguyen and Benet- Martínez, 2007) and this suggests that biculturals may be high self-monitors. Given the motivation for biculturals to manage how they present themselves in the workplace and their ability to respond quickly to cultural and situational cues (Hong et al., 2000), understanding the nature of any relationship between self-monitoring and biculturalism in the workplace may be important for organisational outcomes.

Self-monitoring has been shown to have a positive overall effect on important work related outcomes such as promotions (Kilduff and Day, 1994) and individual performance (Mehra, Kilduff & Brass, 1998). Minorities who can shape their identity to the needs of an organisational context are found to be more likely to succeed to fill key positions and ascend to leadership roles (Carbado and Gulati, 2004). Moreover self-monitoring has been shown to mitigate the negative impact of minority group stereotypes and may have similar benefits for those who need to overcome the lower performance expectations of others (Flynn and Ames, 2006). In this context, self-monitoring may function as a disarming mechanism that forms part of a bicultural individual's behavioural repertoire, this is not limited to individual behaviour but it may also include the modification of their style of speech and the way they dress (Livingston and Pearce, 2009).

There appears to be no empirical studies exploring the relationship between biculturalism and self-monitoring, however in their study of acculturation strategies of Polish migrants in Italy; Kasic, Mannetti, & Sam (2006) found that self-monitoring was positively related to sociocultural adaptation, which can be understood in terms of social skills and interactions. Studies have shown that self-monitoring has a strong positive association with individuals choosing to adjust their behaviour in order to create a façade of conformity (Hewlin, 2009) and this reflects the behavioural aspects of the bicultural experience. Given the behavioural nature of self-monitoring as a construct and its relationship to sociocultural outcomes, any relationship between self-monitoring and BII is anticipated to be behavioural in nature.

Biculturals who engage in self-monitoring may experience conflict between their heritage culture and organisational culture, however they may have the intellectual resources to manage these circumstances through self-monitoring. High self-monitors will be more capable of compartmentalising their cultural identities than low self-monitors because they will be more capable of adapting their behaviour as appropriate. In contrast low self-monitors may be motivated to join organisations in which they can blend their cultural identities because of the difficulties they experience in managing separate cultural contexts. In line with theoretical research positing an association between self-monitoring and bicultural identity integration, it is therefore hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 3a: *The degree to which individuals self monitor in their organisations is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals blend their heritage culture and their organisational culture.*

Hypothesis 3b: *The degree to which individuals self monitor in their organisations is positively associated with the degree to which individuals compartmentalise their heritage culture and their organisational culture.*

Personality

Personality has been found to influence outcomes important to organisations (Judge, Heller & Mount, 2002); moreover it has been shown to be associated with biculturalism and adjustment (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005). Contemporary research on individual differences in personality has centred around a five-factor theoretical model for describing the structure of personality (Ilies, Fulmer, Spitzmuller & Johnson, 2009). This model establishes five factors of personality distinguishing between differences among individuals' dispositions (Digman, 1990): Agreeableness, Openness to Experience, Conscientiousness, Extraversion and Emotional Stability (this construct is often referred to as neuroticism, indicating low emotional stability). What follows is a brief review of the five factors each followed by relevant hypotheses.

Agreeableness

Agreeable individuals are courteous, good-natured and cooperative, they have pro social tendencies towards others and value social harmony in the workplace (Maynes and Podsakoff, 2014). Research has shown that agreeable people are predisposed to seek out interpersonally supportive and accepting environments and agreeableness has also been shown to predict organisational citizenship behaviour (Ilies et al., 2009). Agreeable people contribute to the work environment because they tend to be empathetic, cooperative, and friendly (Barrick and Mount, 1991). Being agreeable is likely to be important for biculturals in the workplace because they are accountable to multiple audiences and face the constant challenges of having to negotiate several sets of cultural norms, practices, identities, and values. Agreeable biculturals are less likely to report conflict in their cultural identities (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005;

Huynh, 2009). The value they place on cooperative environments and harmonious interpersonal relationships suggests that agreeableness will be positively related to harmony and negatively related to conflict. In line with theoretical and empirical research positing an association between agreeableness and bicultural identity integration, it is therefore hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 4a: *The degree to which individuals are agreeable is positively associated with the degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in harmony.*

Hypothesis 4b: *The degree to which individuals are agreeable is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in conflict.*

Openness to experience

Openness to experience is characterised by an active imagination, intellectual curiosity and broad-mindedness (Barrick and Mount, 1991). Individuals that are open to experience have a need to seek opportunities to learn new things and are very tolerant of diversity (McCrae, 1996). Individuals who are open are often viewed as adapting quickly and efficiently to unexpected outcomes in the workplace (LePine, Colquitt and Erez, 2000). Such individuals are less likely to be stressed by new experiences or see conflict in intercultural encounters (Hsu, 2009). In the biculturalism literature, low openness was shown to be a predictor of cultural conflict and a separation acculturation strategy, thus placing individuals at risk for negative acculturation experiences (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005). Huynh (2009) hypothesised that those low on openness may prefer to keep their cultural identities separate, and found that the relationship between blendedness and openness was weak. The research suggests that biculturals that are open to experience are less likely to see their cultural identities as conflicting, therefore it seems reasonable to expect that individuals high in openness may see their cultural identities as being in harmony. Given the weak relationship between openness and blendedness in previous studies, I would not expect there to be a relationship between openness to experience and blendedness or openness to experience and compartmentalisation. In line with theoretical and empirical research positing an

association between openness to experience and bicultural identity integration it is therefore hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 5a: *The degree to which individuals are open to experience is positively associated with the degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in harmony.*

Hypothesis 5b: *The degree to which individuals are open to experience is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in conflict.*

Conscientiousness

Conscientiousness is associated with the traits of being dependable, responsible and achievement oriented (Barrick and Mount, 1991). Individuals who are conscientious tend to be diligent, organised and will persevere until the task is finished (Benet-Martínez and John, 1998). Conscientiousness has been found to predict organisational citizenship behaviour because these behaviours contribute to an individual's personal sense of achievement on the job (Ilies et al., 2009). In terms of their work outcomes, being conscientious benefits individuals but its relationship to bicultural experience regarding their cultural identities is unclear. In their study of Australian sojourners in Singapore (Leong and Ward, 2000) found that conscientiousness has a weak relationship to psychological adjustment. However both Huynh (2009) and Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) found a weak relationship with cultural harmony and no relationship with cultural blendedness. Furthermore conscientiousness was the only Big five measure to be excluded from the nomological network predicting antecedents of BII (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005).

There are no established relationships between conscientiousness and bicultural identity integration and it appears that any relationships identified have been weak. I therefore do not expect there to be a relationship between conscientiousness and bicultural identity integration.

Extraversion

Extraversion is a personal orientation toward other people that summarises traits related to sociability, expressiveness and positive emotions (Benet-Martínez and John, 1998). Those who are more extraverted tend to be more sociable, talkative, and outgoing, while those who are more introverted tend to be more reserved and shy (DePaulo, 1992). Being extraverted may be particularly useful for demographically different people in enhancing others' work-related impressions of them. People form positive impressions of minorities in organisations who are high in extraversion because the additional information they provide in the social context may reduce the association of negative stereotypes in a way similar to self-monitoring (Flynn and Ames, 2006) (See section 3.3.4).

Research has generated mixed results for the relationship between extraversion and biculturals. For example, a study of Malaysian and Singaporean students in New Zealand indicated that extraversion was predictive of enhanced psychological well-being (Searle and Ward, 1990). However, in native English-speaking expatriates in Singapore, extraversion was associated with increased feelings of boredom, frustration and depression (Ames and Ward, 1989). Extraverted individuals are less likely to feel strained by an environment that is not multicultural because of the interpersonal resources and gains associated with being sociable and outgoing (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005). I anticipate that extraversion is affective in nature and will have relationships with the affective elements of BII. It is likely that extraverted individuals will be better able to manage relationships between their cultures and promote harmony given their social and outgoing nature. In line with theoretical and empirical research positing an association between extraversion and bicultural harmony and conflict it is therefore hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 6a: *The degree to which individuals are extraverted is positively associated with the degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in harmony.*

Hypothesis 6b: *The degree to which individuals are extraverted is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in conflict.*

Emotional stability (Neuroticism)

Neuroticism is the term commonly used to describe individuals with low emotional stability. Neuroticism is often considered to be an overall anxiety ('psychological strain') measure (Kalish and Robins, 2006). People high in neuroticism tend to experience negative emotions such as anxiety, depression and anger this can lead to low self-evaluations and low job satisfaction (Judge et al., 2000). Regardless of situational factors, there are individuals who are predisposed to perceive cultural conflict or are sensitive to these conflicts, due to their neurotic personality (Huynh, 2009; Ward et al., 2001). Furthermore, biculturals who perceive the greatest cultural harmony between their cultures tend to have lower neuroticism and higher emotional stability and resilience (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005). Biculturals are often required to switch cultural frames and codes in response to their environment, individuals high in neuroticism are likely to experience more anxiety during this process than individuals low in neuroticism (Molinsky, 2007). Relationships between cultural blendedness and lower neuroticism were found to be weak, in contrast lower acculturation stress and lower neuroticism predicted greater cultural harmony, which predicted greater psychological adjustment (Huynh, 2009). Neuroticism has clear strong relationships with the affective components of BII this is exhibited in its relationship to depression and anxiety. In line with theoretical and empirical research positing an association between emotional stability (neuroticism) and bicultural harmony and conflict it is therefore hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 7a: *The degree to which individuals are neurotic is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in harmony.*

Hypothesis 7b: *The degree to which individuals are neurotic is positively associated with the degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in conflict.*

3.3.4.3 Well-being outcomes

Well-being is the extent to which one experiences optimal psychological functioning, broadly defined as subjective feelings of happiness and a lack of stress in one's life (Diener, Sapyta & Suh, 1998). Psychological well-being is a component of psychological adjustment to the acculturation process that is commonly examined in the biculturalism literature (Schwartz et al., 2010). In particular, BII has been found to predict biculturals' psychological well-being (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005). Huynh (2009) found links between the perception of conflict between a person's two cultures and lower psychological well-being. Using Multicultural Identity Integration (MII), an extension of BII from two to three cultures (specifically: ethnic culture, English Canadian culture and French Canadian culture) Downie et al. (2004) found that those higher on MII also had greater well-being. The strategic importance of well-being is increasingly recognised because of the direct economic benefits it brings to organisations (Hecht and Allen, 2009). Therefore, understanding how differences in bicultural experience influence individual well-being may be important for both individuals and organisations. What follows are hypotheses for well-being constructs that are deemed relevant within the workplace for biculturals:

Burnout: emotional exhaustion

Burnout is a metaphor that is commonly used to describe a state of mental weariness (Schaufeli and Bakker, 2004). Burnout represents a disconnect between the worker and the workplace and is defined as a psychological syndrome of exhaustion, cynicism, and inefficacy, experienced in response to chronic job stressors (Leiter and Maslach, 2003). Of the three aspects of burnout, emotional exhaustion is the most widely reported and the most thoroughly analysed (Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter, 2001). Moore (2000) defines emotional exhaustion as the depletion of emotional and mental energy needed to meet job demands. This refers to feelings of being overextended and as a consequence, workers feel they are no longer able to give of themselves at a psychological level (Maslach and Jackson, 1981; Maslach and Leiter, 2008). Conceptually emotional exhaustion resembles traditional stress reactions and has been linked to turnover intentions, absenteeism and low morale (Maslach and Leiter, 2008). Furthermore, emotional exhaustion seems to be correlated with various self-reported indices of personal distress, including physical exhaustion and insomnia (Maslach and Jackson,

1981). People who are experiencing emotional exhaustion can have a negative impact on their colleagues, both by causing greater personal conflict and by disrupting job tasks. In this sense, emotional exhaustion can be contagious and perpetuate itself through informal interactions on the job (Maslach et al., 2001).

This interpersonal dimension of emotional exhaustion is what makes emotional exhaustion relevant for biculturals. As a response to job related stressors, those having difficulty managing the differences between their heritage and organisational cultures may experience emotional exhaustion. Alternatively the demands of engaging in additional identity work and may lead to emotional exhaustion (Carbado and Gulati, 2004). Minorities who feel that they must shape their identities to the needs of an organisational context may find this process exhausting. Empirical results show that emotional exhaustion is generally predicted by high work demands and lack of job-resources (Schaufeli and Bakker, 2004). For biculturals, the demands of being in the workplace may require high effort, which may lead to increased levels of stress or anxiety. This is likely to be greater for individuals who actively compartmentalise their cultural identities, perceive conflict between these identities or feel obliged to create facades of conformity at work (Hewlin, 2003). In contrast, emotional exhaustion may be an unlikely outcome for biculturals who are able to blend their identities or perceive their heritage and organisational cultures as being in harmony. In line with theoretical research positing an association between emotional exhaustion and bicultural identity integration, it is therefore hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 8a: *The degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in harmony is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals experience emotional exhaustion in the workplace*

Hypothesis 8b: *The degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in conflict is positively associated with the degree to which individuals experience emotional exhaustion in the workplace*

Hypothesis 8c: *The degree to which individuals blend their heritage culture and organisational culture is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals experience emotional exhaustion in the workplace*

Hypothesis 8d: *The degree to which individuals compartmentalise their heritage culture and organisational culture is positively associated with the degree to which individuals experience emotional exhaustion in the workplace*

Affective well-being

Affective well-being encompasses a range of consciously accessible feelings including attitudes, moods and traits (Fredrickson, 2001). Affective well-being is understood to have an influential role in a wide range of organisational processes that influence the work life of individuals: feelings of enthusiasm typically mark the high end of the positive affective well-being dimension and feelings of anxiety mark the high end of the negative affective well-being dimension (Totterdell, Wall, Holman, Diamond & Epitropaki, 2004). Researchers have found that differences in BII can lead to different adjustment outcomes that can influence the affective well-being of an individual. What follows is a brief review of the four dimensions of affective well-being each followed by relevant hypotheses.

Pleasant affective well-being

The acculturation process is typically characterised as being challenging and stressful. Acculturative stress refers to adverse effects of acculturation such as anxiety, depression, and other forms of mental and physical maladaptation (Berry, 2006). A stress and coping framework for acculturation was first developed by Berry (1997; 2006) to explain the factors affecting acculturative stress and adaptation. The biculturalism literature has inherited this maladaptive focus with several studies concerned with how individuals manage the stress of acculturation with little focus on pleasant forms of affective well-being. To my knowledge there are no bicultural studies that refer directly to enthusiasm or comfort as part of emotional well-being. In their study of Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong and natives of Mainland China; Chen, Benet-Martínez & Bond, (2008) discovered that those higher on BII were found to have greater well-being. In addition, perceived harmony between biculturals have been

shown to have small to moderate positive correlations with higher general well-being and lack of depressive symptoms (Huynh et al., 2011).

Schwartz and Zamboanga (2008) suggest that a high blended bicultural approach implies the greatest level of individual comfort with one's ethnicity. Moreover endorsing the cultural practices of both the heritage and receiving cultural contexts should help an individual to be comfortable in both settings (Schwartz and Unger, 2010). Biculturals with higher BII have greater adjustment outcomes than those with lower BII, this is associated with less anxiety and depression as well as greater subjective happiness (Huynh et al., 2011). By its nature, I would expect affective well-being to be related to the affective elements of BII. The experience of cultural conflict within the workplace is contrary to the experience of positive affective well-being; therefore cultural conflict may be negatively related to affective well-being and cultural harmony may be expected to be positively related to affective well-being. In line with theoretical and empirical research positing an association between positive affective pleasant well-being and bicultural identity integration, it is therefore hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 9a: *The degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in harmony. is positively associated with the degree to which individuals experience high activation pleasant affect (enthusiasm) in the workplace*

Hypothesis 9b: *The degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in conflict is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals experience high activation pleasant affect (enthusiasm) in the workplace*

Hypothesis 9c: *The degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in harmony is positively associated with the degree to which individuals experience low activation pleasant affect (comfort) in the workplace*

Hypothesis 9d: *The degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in conflict is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals experience low activation pleasant affect (comfort) in the workplace*

Unpleasant affective well-being

The biculturalism literature is primarily concerned with negative affective experiences of individuals as a consequence of adjustment problems as part of the acculturation process: for example individuals that are likely to perceive conflict are more likely to experience adjustment problems such as depression and anxiety (Ward et al., 2001). This suggests that there are links between the perception of conflict between a person's two cultures and lower psychological well-being and higher psychological distress (Chen et al., 2008).

A bicultural approach where the two component cultures are cohesive has been shown to be associated with more adaptive functioning (e.g., higher self-esteem, lower anxiety and depression) than a bicultural approach where the person favors one orientation over the other (Schwartz and Zamboanga, 2008). As discussed, the perception of cultural harmony and cultural conflict has important implications for bicultural individuals' mental health because it predicts greater well-being and lower depression (Huynh et al., 2011). This suggests that cultural harmony involves affective elements of bicultural identity with small to moderate positive correlations with greater well-being and lack of depressive symptoms (Huynh, 2009). For biculturals, the demands of being in the workplace may require high effort, which may be associated with increased level of stress or anxiety. However, biculturals with higher BII have greater adjustment outcomes than those with lower BII, this is associated with less anxiety and depression as well as greater subjective happiness (Huynh et al., 2011). Biculturals with higher BII have less anxiety and depression than those with lower BII (Cheng and Lee, 2013).

Cultural blendedness was found to be weakly related to lower anxiety and lower depression. BII blendedness was only weakly related to acculturation stressors (e.g., perceived discrimination and work challenges), well-being, anxiety and depression, further supporting the claim that blendedness is the less affect-laden component of BII (Huynh et al., 2011). In line with theoretical and empirical research positing an association between unpleasant affective well-being and bicultural identity integration, it is therefore hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 9e: *The degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in harmony is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals experience high activation unpleasant affect (anxiety) in the workplace*

Hypothesis 9f: *The degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in conflict is positively associated with the degree to which individuals experience high activation unpleasant affect (anxiety) in the workplace*

Hypothesis 9g: *The degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in harmony is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals experience low activation unpleasant affect (depression) in the workplace*

Hypothesis 9h: *The degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in conflict is positively associated with the degree to which individuals experience low activation unpleasant affect (depression) in the workplace*

3.3.4.4 Organisational outcomes

Frustration and high turnover are common workplace experiences for minority racial groups (Blake-Beard and Murrell, 2008). Differences in bicultural experience for minority racial individuals may influence the extent to which individuals wish to remain within their organisations.

What follows is a discussion of turnover intentions for biculturals within the workplace:

Turnover intentions

Turnover intentions are the extent to which an individual is mentally considering leaving an organisation (Hanisch and Hulin, 1990). Employee turnover is a problem faced by all organisations and is used as a benchmark for employee attitudes. There is evidence to show that general attitudes toward an organisation are more important in the decision to remain than the more specific attitudes toward one's particular job (Porter, Steers & Mowday, 1974). For example researchers have shown that the racial composition of an organisation has a greater impact on turnover and is stronger for minority groups with smaller proportions in the organisation than for groups with

more substantial presence in an organisation (Zatzick, Elvira & Cohen, 2003). African-American professionals that think they will be provided with less opportunity to advance in their chosen profession have been shown to be less satisfied with their jobs and this leads to higher turnover expectations (Glover, Mynatt & Schroeder, 2000). In particular, researchers have studied ways to increase current employees' levels of job satisfaction, as job satisfaction has been shown to be an effective predictor of turnover (Zimmerman, 2008).

Perceived difficulties in managing cultural identities may increase job dissatisfaction because it can be exhaustive for individuals to manage the complex negotiation of their multifaceted identities. This implies a potential behavioural aspect of turnover intentions given its concern with future behaviour. In turn, dissatisfaction can arouse thoughts about leaving an organisation and these thoughts in turn, prompt consideration of the costs of leaving and the anticipated benefit of job search (Hom and Griffeth, 1991). Biculturals experiencing conflict between their heritage culture and that of the organisation may be motivated to leave the organisation. The relationship with job satisfaction and conflict reflects the affective nature of this relationship and it may be expected that turnover intentions will be related to both affective and behavioural measures of bicultural identity integration. In line with theoretical and empirical research positing an association between turnover intentions and bicultural identity integration, it is therefore hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 10a: *The degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in harmony is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals have turnover intentions.*

Hypothesis 10b: *The degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in conflict is positively associated with the degree to which individuals have turnover intentions.*

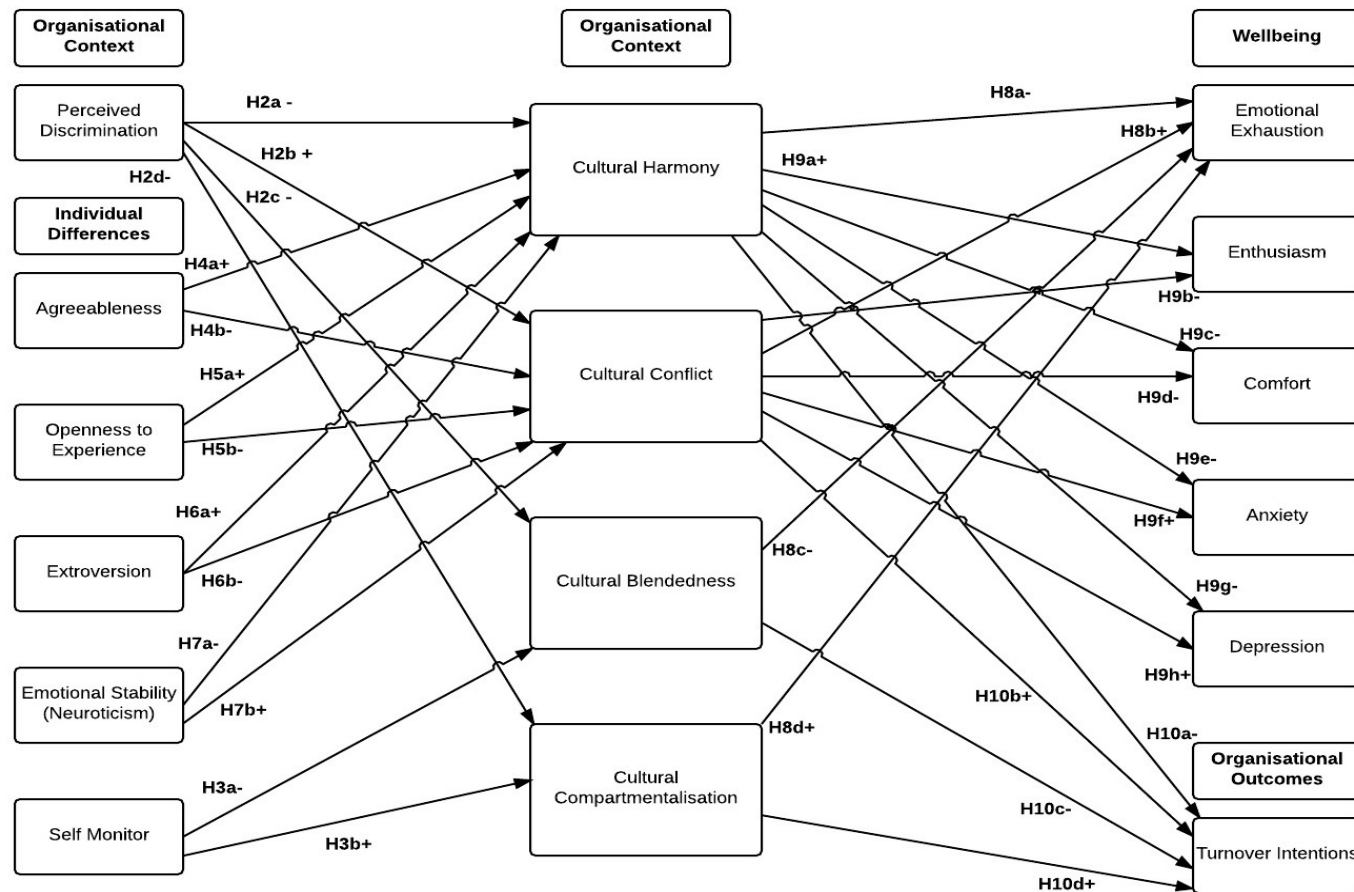
Hypothesis 10c: *The degree to which individuals blend their heritage culture and organisational culture is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals have turnover intentions.*

Hypothesis 10d: *The degree to which individuals compartmentalise their heritage culture and organisational culture is positively associated with the degree to which individuals have turnover intentions.*

3.3.4.5 Section summary

This section presented theoretical support for the development of BII as a newly theorised and defined construct, which represents bicultural experience within the workplace. In addition I proposed antecedents and outcomes of BII in the workplace providing a conceptual overview of a theoretical model to illustrate my hypotheses (See Figure 3.2). The next section presents the research design and methodology utilised in this chapter. The detailed results of the empirical testing of the hypotheses are presented in the next section.

Figure 3.2 Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) - schematic of hypothesised antecedents and outcomes



Methods & Results

3.4 Section overview

This section introduces the research design and methodology utilised in this chapter. The rationale behind the design is presented including the choice of method, participants and analytical technique. The purpose of this section is to explain how I established a reliable and valid instrument to measure bicultural identity integration to be used within the workplace. I did so in five phases based on the recommendations outlined in the survey measure development literature by Hinkin (1998) and other scholars (Anderson and Gerbing, 1988; Costello and Osborne, 2005; Cronbach and Meehl, 1955). An overview of the five phases, their research aims as well as the empirical research methodology and analytical techniques used, are presented in Table 3.2.

Phase 1 describes the initial generation of survey items from a review of the literature and qualitative interviews. Following this, the content validity of the items was assessed using a pilot study and an expert review before being refined into a 32-item scale. In Phase 2, the questionnaire was administered to a sample that represented the population of interest and the psychometric properties (reliability estimates and factor structure) were assessed using exploratory factor analysis. In Phase 3 confirmatory factor analysis was used to assess the goodness of fit of the proposed factor structure to the data. Together, these phases tested my first hypotheses, on the dimensionality of BII in the workplace. In Phase 4, I performed tests of convergent and discriminant validity to ensure that the BII dimensions were related to theoretically relevant constructs. Finally in Phase 5, I investigated the antecedents and outcomes of BII testing Hypotheses 2 through to 10d.

Table 3.2 Overview of the study phases

Phase & Aim of Investigation	Data Collection Method	Sample	Analytical technique	Software
Phase 1 Tests of Content validity: Item Generation & Pilot Study	Qualitative interviews Online surveys	N=18 Black professionals N= 53 Minority Racial & Ethnic employees	Thematic Analysis	SPSS
Phase 2 Tests of Construct validity & Internal Consistency Assessment:	Online surveys	N=1592 Employees N=195 Minority Racial & Ethnic employees	Exploratory Factor Analysis	SPSS
Phase 3 Factor Structure Assessment & Goodness of Fit	Online surveys	N=195 Minority Racial & Ethnic employees	Confirmatory Factor Analysis	SPSS M Plus
Phase 4 Tests of Convergent & Discriminant validity	Online surveys	N= 163 Minority Racial & Ethnic employees	Structural Equation Modelling	M Plus
Phase 5 Investigation of Antecedents & Outcomes of Bicultural Identity Integration	Online surveys	N= 163 Minority Racial & Ethnic employees	Structural Equation Modelling	M Plus

3.4.1. Phase 1: Item generation and content validation

The objective of the first phase was to generate a sufficient number of items to adequately represent the theoretical domain of BII in order to demonstrate content validity. First, I consulted the existing literature on biculturalism and related constructs such as bicultural competence (Hong, 2010), multicultural identity integration (Downie et al., 2004) and acculturation orientation (Berry, 1997). My intention was to introduce an instrument to measure bicultural identity integration into a wider context that accommodates non-heritage based cultural identities (see section 3.2.6). I therefore used a deductive item-generation approach in line with recommendations from the literature (Hinkin, 1998). I generated items that were consistent with both the biculturalism literature and the most recent measure of bicultural identity integration: BIIS-2R (Huynh and Benet-Martínez, 2010), ensuring they were salient and specific to the workplace. For example, the BIIS-2R scale contains the item “I feel torn between *(respondent heritage culture)* and American cultures”; this inspired the following item “I feel torn between my ethnic and my professional cultures”.

Next, I conducted a qualitative pilot study to seek guidance about the lived experiences of bicultural individuals in the workplace. I used the interviews from the pilot stage of Chapter 4 (section 4.3.6) to identify general themes regarding biculturals in the workplace. I wanted to ensure that the items generated were salient with the experiences of the respondents. In line with the literature, the data revealed two important themes that were crucial in creating relevant items for respondents. The first was that individuals experienced their culture in complex ways, responding to cultural cues in order to inform their behaviour (Cheng, Lee & Benet-Martínez, 2006). Second was the distinction between affective and behavioural components of their bicultural experience.

In developing the BIIS-2R measure Huynh (2009) acknowledged that harmony vs. conflict is affective in contrast to blendedness vs. compartmentalisation, which is behavioural in nature. I therefore ensured that the items I generated were distinctively affective or behavioural in order to avoid confounding the results as suggested by the data, the biculturalism literature and Hinkin’s (1998) recommendations. I generated items that were succinct and easily comprehensible and the new items were examined

to ensure that there were no double negatives, no double-barrelled items and none of the items were potentially leading participants to particular socially acceptable responses. The original BIIS-2R measure contained items with blank spaces and respondents were required to complete all of the blank spaces with their “heritage or ethnic culture” prior to responding to the items. To reduce the burden on participants I decided to preface the items with instructions indicating that each item relates to “your own heritage or ethnic culture” and “professional culture” meaning “your profession and those working in your industry in similar jobs to yours” (See Appendix 1). This was intended to make the survey easier for participants so that every item need not specify ethnic and cultural dimensions of social identity. The cultural conflict and cultural compartmentalisation items were reverse-scored in line with previous BII measures instructions for BIIS-1 and BIIS-2R (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; Huynh and Benet-Martínez, 2010).

As a final step of Phase 1 of measure development, I asked two subject matter experts and a scale development expert to independently review the items. Based on their recommendations, redundant or unclear items were discarded. This included items that were poorly worded, not considered salient or duplicated the meaning of other items. All remaining items were slightly revised, where needed, to improve the wording; this step yielded a final, overall pool of 38 items.

3.4.1.1. A review of substantive validity and further item reduction

In order to better predict the performance of the preliminary scale items I sought to assess their substantive validity through a pilot study. Substantive validity is the extent to which the items of a scale reflect the construct of interest (Anderson and Gerbing, 1991), it is similar to content validity but focuses on specific items where content validity normally assesses the entire scale. Both are related because a scale cannot have content validity if its items do not possess substantive validity. Administering the items to a small sample of respondents enabled me to assess the items to be retained for use in later field research and subsequent analysis.

3.4.1.2. Pilot study

I chose a pilot survey as a pre-test assessment in preference to alternatives such as item sort tasks (despite their frequent use in recent studies that develop new measures published in respected journals: examples include Ferris, Brown, Berry & Lian, 2008; Maynes and Podsakoff, 2014) because as well as allowing me to assess how respondents interpreted the questionnaire; a pilot study also provided the additional benefits of addressing concerns about the sequencing of items, the amount of time required to complete the questionnaire and the demands placed on a participant to complete the questionnaire (Anderson and Gerbing, 1991).

Pilot Study: participants and procedure

I recruited 53 individuals using a snowball approach by asking friends and acquaintances to pass on the survey to colleagues and family members. All participants met two criteria: first, they were members of minority racial or mixed racial and ethnic groups; secondly they were living and working in white-collar jobs in the United Kingdom. There were no additional criteria regarding occupation. All participants accessed the survey through SurveyMonkey.com and the program did not allow participants to skip any items. The data was collected over a 48-hour period. The survey was divided into three sections, the first collected basic demographic data about the sector in which participants work; participants were also asked to confirm that they were employed within an organisation in the UK. The second and third sets of items were for affective and behavioural dimensions of BII. An instruction was provided for the questionnaire (See Appendix 1). The items consisted of 5-point, Likert-style rating scales in which 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neither disagree nor agree, 4 = agree, and 5 = strongly agree. Participants remained anonymous and their participation was voluntary. The total time spent on the ratings by each participant was between 5 and 10 minutes. Finally, respondents were asked to provide suggestions on how the survey might be improved and whether the instructions were clear. Respondents provided no specific feedback on the survey with respect to modifying the presentation or wording of the items.

Pilot study results

In addition to verifying the clarity of the items, all of the items were subjected to a principal axis factor analysis with promax rotation. I chose a promax rotation in line with recommendations of Costello and Osborne (2005). The authors argued that conventional wisdom advises researchers to use orthogonal rotational methods such as varimax rotation because they produce factors that are uncorrelated; however this was described as a flawed argument because in the social sciences some correlation among factors is generally expected because human behaviour rarely fits into convenient units that function independently of one another. I expected the factors to be correlated to some extent, and so Costello and Osborne (2005) suggest using orthogonal rotation results in a loss of valuable information and if the factors are truly uncorrelated, orthogonal and oblique rotation produce nearly identical results.

The results of this process indicated that the majority of the items were loading on 4 factors corresponding to cultural harmony, cultural conflict, cultural blendedness and cultural compartmentalisation. The remaining 17 items cross-loaded or did not load on the 4 factors identified and were therefore discarded from the scale. I reviewed the remaining items, assessing the highest loading items to duplicate stems that appeared to perform well. Poor performing items were either discarded or adapted in line with the structure of high performing items. The results of the pilot study are based on a small sample and so their reliability was limited. However the analysis indicated an opportunity for theoretical development of bicultural identity integration.

Further evidence was required to test hypothesis 1 (see section 3.3.3) but it appears that BII may be represented as four distinct constructs instead of two as previously theorised by (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; Huynh 2009). Additional items were generated in order to provide a sufficient pool to develop a suitable measure for each of the proposed four factors.

3.4.1.3. Professional and organisational culture

The evolving nature of the study meant that I returned to the literature to seek synonyms or related phrases for use in the items. As a consequence of my review I reconsidered my comparison between heritage culture and professional culture and

revised the items to refer to organisational culture as discussed in the literature review. Organisational culture seemed more appropriate given the importance of organisational culture to organisational performance; furthermore the professional literature suggests that professionalisation processes are located within member organisations (Anderson-Gough, Grey & Robson, 2002). This meant that item stems required adjusting in order to make them suitable. In order to avoid unnecessary repetition or duplication, the final pool was reduced to 32 items. Following the pilot study and a review of the items, the next stage was to administer the scale to a large sample of bicultural individuals.

3.4.2. Phase 2: Construct validity and internal consistency assessment

The objective of the second phase was to administer the newly generated items to a sample that represented the population of interest. The objective was to examine how well the new items confirmed expectations regarding the psychometric properties of the new measure in order to assess its construct validity.

3.4.2.1. Phase 2 data collection

My target participants were minority racial employees living and working in the United States. This includes individuals born inside the United States as well as individuals born outside of the United States. Details of the participants are provided in Table 3.3. It is appropriate to address the decision to locate the pilot study in the United Kingdom and the main study in the United States. The pilot study was conducted in the United Kingdom because it was intended to function as a pre-test assessment of the items with a small easy to access sample. The decision to locate the main study in the United States was driven by the easier access to participants described below. The salient differences in this context are the different uses and meanings associated with the terms race and ethnicity in the United Kingdom and the United States respectively. The term race is laden with the legacy of power, colonial domination and political oppression and suggests anatomical differences that may be considered to be unequal (Gilroy, 1987), this term is used to refer to different socio cultural groups in the United States, in the United Kingdom the term ethnicity is often used as an alternative to race (Kenny and Briner, 2013). In anticipation of these issues I avoided references to race when collecting responses regarding the bicultural experiences of participants and referred only to ethnic and heritage culture (See Appendix 1). The concept of race differs in the

United Kingdom and United States contexts, however it was deemed that the notion of ethnicity and heritage culture to minority racial and ethnic groups would not differ. Therefore the different national contexts for the pilot study and the main study were not anticipated to compromise the research findings. Participants were recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk).

MTurk is a crowdsourced internet platform for recruiting and paying individuals to perform defined tasks (Berinsky, Huber & Lenz, 2012). Crowdsourcing is an increasingly popular method of allocating and managing labour (Chandler, Mueller & Paolacci, 2014). MTurk contains the core elements required to conduct online research: an integrated participant compensation system; a large diverse pool of participants; and an efficient process of task design, participant recruitment and data collection (Buhrmester, Kwang & Gosling, 2011). Relative to other experimental pools, MTurk is extremely inexpensive both in terms of the time required to implement studies and the cost of recruiting participants. Not surprisingly, social scientists have begun using MTurk to recruit research subjects (Berinsky et al., 2012).

MTurk has become popular among social scientists as a source of survey data in part because the workers on MTurk are closer to the US working population than subjects recruited via traditional university samples (Paolacci and Chandler, 2014). Moreover, MTurk participants are more demographically diverse than standard internet samples and considerably more diverse than typical American colleges (Buhrmester et al., 2011; Paolacci, Chandler & Ipeirotis, 2010). This was particularly important given my interest in a diverse racial and ethnic sample and my concern that previous measures of BII have relied on university students as participants (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; Huynh and Benet-Martínez, 2010).

The data was collected at three time points: the data collected at point 1 was intended to identify bicultural individuals that were suitable to participate in the entire study. The data collected at points 2 and 3 were to be used in developing the BII measure. Figure 3.3 displays a timeline for each data collection point.

Figure 3.3 Timeline of the data collection process

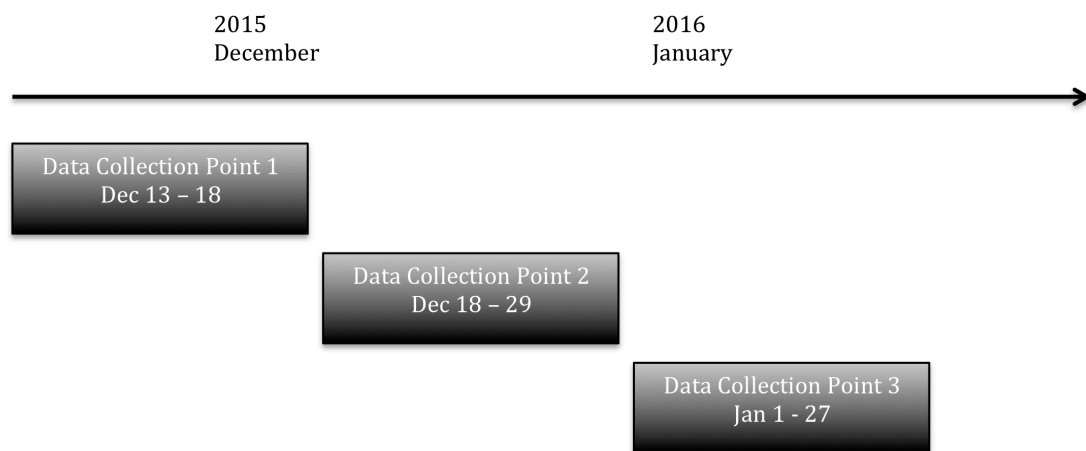


Table 3.3 Demographic data by sample

Variable	1	2	3
N	1592	195	163
Percent female	43.3	38.2	36.2
Mean Age	34.0	31.9	31.8
Ethnicity (%)			
Asian	7.7	38.7	39.9
Black or African-American	6.7	24.6	23.9
Hispanic or Latino	5.4	22	22.7
Native American or American Indian	0.7	2.1	1.8
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	0.2	1	0.6
White or European American	77.3	-	-
Multiple Ethnicity/Other	2	11.6	11.1
Generation (%)			
First Generation	8.7	22.5	23.3
Second Generation	12.5	33.5	35
Third Generation	19.8	11.5	10.4
Fourth Generation	15.7	5.2	6.1
More than fourth Generation	43.3	27.3	25.2
Percent Born in the USA	91.3	77.5	76.7
Income Range (%)			
Less than \$25,000	17.6	15.7	17.2
\$25,000 to \$34,999	20	21.5	19
\$35,000 to \$49,999	21	15.7	16
\$50,000 to \$74,999	23.2	29.8	31.3
\$75,000 to \$99,999	10.2	8.4	8.6
\$100,000 to \$149,999	6.2	7.3	6.7
\$150,000 or more	1.8	1.6	1.2
Mean Organisational Tenure (Years)	5.3	4.8	4.9
Mean Role Tenure (Years)	4.3	3.9	3.9
Seniority (%)			
Operational	62.4	68.1	67.5
Middle Management	28.8	27.7	28.2
Senior Management	4.8	2.6	3.1
Top Management	4	1.6	1.2
Education (%)			
Did Not Attend School	0.1	-	-
Completed High school	26.5	19.9	20.2
Completed College	54.6	58.6	57.7
Completed Graduate School	11.7	13.6	14.1
Completed Professional degree	5.2	5.8	5.5
Other	1.9	2.1	2.5

3.4.2.2. Ethical considerations

Ethical guidelines as stipulated by the London School of Economics research policy were followed: participants gave informed consent before participating and their responses were guaranteed for confidentiality. They were also informed that their participation was completely voluntary and they were free to withdraw from the study at any time. My contact details were provided with each study, as were the contact details for the London School of Economics Research Governance Manager. Participants were compensated between \$0.35 United States Dollars and \$0.50 USD for their time and asked to confirm their availability for future data collection points 2 and 3. (These amounts were consistent with remuneration for similar tasks) Table 3.4 shows the data collected in each data collection point.

3.4.2.3 Data collection point 1

I collected basic demographic information for two primary purposes. The first reason was to identify suitable participants for the second and third data collection points and the second reason was to collect data to use as control variables for later analysis. Study demographics are shown in Table 3.3, this included gender, age, organisational tenure, organisational size, and highest level of education and current income. In order to provide context for the bicultural experience of target participants I collected data to identify if individuals were 'born in the USA' and the number of generations that their family had lived in the United States.

The first survey attracted 1592 participants, less than half of the participants (43.3%) were women. The mean age of the sample was 34 years, and their mean salary was between \$35,000 and \$49,000. Approximately half of the participants (54.6%) had completed college as the highest level of education. From this pool of respondents, 361 individuals (22.7%) were from minority racial or ethnic groups or mixed groups, this proportion matches the actual US demographic population for minority racial and ethnic groups (United States Census Bureau, 2015). These 361 individuals were my target respondents and were suitable for participation in the rest of the study and were invited to participate based on their self-reported racial or ethnic identity

Table 3.4 BII survey questionnaire design: summary of empirically measured constructs and respondent demographics included in BII survey questionnaire design

Measure (Source)	1	2	3
Age	X		
Gender	X		
Born in the USA or Abroad	X		
Number of generations of family lived in the USA	X		
Highest level of education	X		
Level of Seniority in the organisation	X		
No of Direct Reports	X		
No of Promotions	X		
Size of the organisation	X		
Industry of Employment	X		
Annual Income in \$	X		
Organisational Tenure in Years	X		
Role Tenure in Years	X		
Racial/Ethnic Identity	X		
Bicultural Identity Integration (New Measure)		X	
Perceived Discrimination (Schwartz & Zaboanga, 2008)		X	
Self Monitor (Snyder & Gangstead, 1986)		X	
Big 5 Personality (Saucier, 1994)		X	
BIIS-2R (Huynh & Benet-Martinez, 2010)		X	
Bicultural Self Efficacy (David et al, 2009)			X
Affective Wellbeing (Warr et al, 2013)			X
Turnover Intentions (Hom & Griffeth, 1991)			X
Emotional Exhaustion (Schaufeli et al, 2004)			X

3.4.2.4 Data collection point 2

All respondents invited to participate met two criteria: (1) they were “bicultural” and (2) they were living and working in the United States as an employee of an organisation. Self-employed individuals were excluded. 286 responses were received over the period of 11 days (See Figure 3.3). I removed 91 responses that were incomplete or duplicated, leaving a final sample of 195 individuals (38.2% female). The mean age of the sample was 31.9 years, and their mean salary was between \$35,000 and \$49,000. More than half of the participants (58.6%) had completed college as the highest level of education. The majority of participants were either Asian (38.7%) or Black/African Americans (24.6%), and most participants were either second (33.5%) or more than fourth (27.3%) generation Americans. 77.5% of participants were born in the USA. The purpose of survey 2 was to collect data to examine the measurement model for BII using exploratory factor techniques and gather evidence of score reliability and test stability. Hypothesis 1 states that BII would consist of four factors (cultural harmony, cultural conflict, cultural blendedness and cultural compartmentalisation). I therefore designed the questionnaire to empirically test this hypothesis.

3.4.2.5 Exploratory factor analyses

The purpose of the exploratory factor analysis was for me to identify the latent constructs being measured by the scale items, the pilot study provided limited evidence of four potential constructs. Hinkin (1998) suggested that a sample of 150 observations would be efficient for explanatory factor analysis as long as inter correlations were sufficiently strong (Guadagnoli and Velicer, 1988). I examined the inter item correlations and found that none of them correlated at less than .4 with all other variables this suggested that there was no reason to eliminate any items and that my sample was appropriate. Subsequently I performed the exploratory factor analysis on all 32 BII items using the 195 participants.

The Exploratory Factor analysis was performed using SPSS (Version 21). To determine the number of “meaningful” factors to retain in the scale, I used four criteria: Kaiser criterion of eigenvalues greater than 1, a scree test (Cattell, 1966) percentage of variance accounted for, and overall interpretability. I adhered to best practice recommendations by Costello and Osborne (2005) and initially performed a scree test,

which involves examining the graph of the eigenvalues and looking for the natural bend where the curve flattens out. The number of data points above the bend is usually the number of factors to retain, the scree plot showed that there were four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. These accounted for 77.59% of the cumulative variance explained. Based on my theoretical model and the first three criteria, four factors were retained.

As cultural conflict, cultural blendedness, cultural harmony and cultural compartmentalisation are intended to capture separate dimensions of the same construct, I conducted principal axis factoring analyses with a promax rotation with the expectation that the four factors would correlate. In total, two items were eliminated: both items cross-loaded, the first item: "Moving between the two of them" a cultural conflict item also loaded on cultural blendedness. The second item: "I experience both of them at the same time" a cultural blendedness item also loaded on cultural compartmentalisation. All other items had sufficiently high factor loadings and were retained. The remaining items were again subjected to principal axis factoring with a promax rotation. Four factors were retained on the basis of the described criteria. The resulting four factors (cultural conflict, cultural blendedness, cultural harmony and cultural compartmentalisation) accounted for 79.29% of the cumulative variance explained. Table 3.5 shows the extracted four factors demonstrated a simple structure; all of the variables had relatively high factor loadings (>0.6) on a single factor. The high factor loadings confirm that the factors are meaningful and representative of the construct under examination (Hinkin, 1998).

3.4.2.6. Tests of internal consistency

There was high inter correlation between items within the same factors. Inter factor correlations ranged from 0.62 to 0.85 in cultural harmony, 0.74 to 0.86 in cultural conflict, 0.56 to 0.86 in cultural blendedness and 0.68 to 0.89 in cultural compartmentalisation.

3.4.2.7. Tests of reliability

A large coefficient alpha (.70 for exploratory measures; provides an indication of strong item covariance and suggests that the sampling domain has been captured adequately

(Hinkin, 1998). The internal consistency reliability for Factor 1 (Cultural Harmony) was $\alpha = 0.96$ (8 items), Factor 2 (Cultural Conflict) $\alpha = 0.97$ (7 items), Factor 3 (Cultural Compartmentalisation) $\alpha = 0.97$ (8 items) and Factor 4 (Cultural Blendedness) $\alpha = 0.91$ (6 items).

These results indicate the scale is internally consistent and suggest no deletions are necessary from the scale because the item correlations and alpha reliabilities for all four subscales were high. The extracted four-factor solution was consistent with the proposed taxonomy of bicultural identity integration. This empirical evidence supports Hypothesis 1. Next, I performed confirmatory factor analyses to confirm and replicate this four-factor model.

Table 3.5 Confirmatory factor analysis loadings for BII scale preliminary items

Pattern Matrixa				
Items	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
Detached from one another	0.93			
Disconnected from one another	0.92			
Isolated from one another	0.92			
Separate from one another	0.89			
Independent from one another	0.86			
Apart from one another	0.82			
Removed from one another	0.81			
Torn between the two of them		0.98		
Conflicted		0.96		
Caught between the two of them		0.95		
There is a clash		0.90		
Managing them is a hassle		0.87		
Difficult to balance.		0.87		
Pulling in different directions		0.79		
Well suited			0.97	
Match each other			0.93	
Go well together			0.92	
Fit in together			0.90	
Similar			0.87	
In Agreement			0.75	
In harmony			0.64	
Compatible			0.60	
I cannot hide either one				0.89
I like to show both				0.86
I integrate them				0.74
I mix them				0.66
I merge them				0.65
I connect them				0.61

Excluding items loading <0.3

3.4.3. Phase 3 factor structure assessment & goodness of fit

The objective of the third phase was to use a confirmatory factor analysis to determine the degree to which the four-factor model found in the exploratory analyses fits the sample data collected.

I chose to use the 4 highest loading items per factor from the exploratory factor analysis for 3 reasons: the first was the importance of parsimony in assessing model fit (Hu and Bentler, 1995). Table 3.5 shows that two of the factors: cultural harmony and cultural blendedness each had 2 items loading at a value of less than 0.7, removing items with lower loadings addressed the need for parsimony. The second reason concerned the size of my sample. Boomsma (1985) suggested that a sample of $N = 100$ for 3 to 4 indicators per factor and $N = 50$ is sufficient for analyses with 6 to 12 indicator variables per factor. Muthén and Muthén (2009) recommend that a reasonable sample size for a correctly specified model and multivariate normally distributed data is about $N = 150$. This suggests that my sample of 195 was appropriate to test 4 items for each of the four factors.

3.4.3.1. Confirmatory factor analysis

My confirmatory factor analysis was based on the guidelines provided by Schermelleh-Engel, Moosbrugger & Müller (2003) to evaluate the adequacy of a given structural equation model. They acknowledged that a huge variety of fit indices have been developed, consequently researchers often have difficulty determining the adequacy of structural equation models because various measures of model fit point to conflicting conclusions about the extent to which the model actually matches the observed data.

I chose to use several fit indices: The Chi-square value because it is widely accepted as a suitable guideline for model acceptance, I also included the chi-square ratio (chi-square divided by degrees of freedom) because it is considered a useful guideline for accepting a model with values between 2 and 3 (Schermelleh-Engel et al., 2003).

I also used two incremental fit indices because the sample was relatively small: the standardised root-mean-square residual (SRMR), for which values of less than .10 are desired, and the root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA), which should be less than .08. According to Browne and Cudeck (1993), RMSEA values $\leq .05$ can be considered as a good fit, values between .05 and .08 as an adequate fit, and values between .08 and .10 as a mediocre fit, whereas values $> .10$ are not acceptable

(Schermelleh-Engel et al., 2003). Maximum Likelihood (ML) is the most widely used fitting function for structural equation models and seemed appropriate given the size of my sample (Schermelleh-Engel et al., 2003). I further report the comparative fit index (CFI), for which Schermelleh-Engel et al. (2003) recommend values of .95 or greater. I conducted the analyses using Mplus 7.1 software (Muthen and Muthen, 2012–2015).

3.4.3.2 Proposed models of fit

I proposed 6 models to be tested for goodness of fit:

Model 1 was the baseline model that assumed that no single item was correlated with any other single item.

Model 2 comprised a single factor that included all items.

Model 3 comprised two factors that represented the existing conceptualisation of bicultural identity integration (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; Huynh, 2009). One factor included cultural harmony and cultural conflict and the other factor included cultural blendedness and cultural compartmentalisation.

Model 4 comprised two factors with cultural blendedness and cultural harmony in a single factor and cultural conflict and cultural compartmentalisation in the other factor. There were several positive relationships between cultural blendedness items and cultural harmony items (see Table 3.10). The same can be observed with cultural conflict and cultural compartmentalisation items. Furthermore cultural blendedness and cultural harmony items both have negative correlations with cultural conflict and cultural compartmentalisation items. Given the exploratory nature of this study I wanted to explore the extent that some of the observed relationships between the factors fit the data. This model was used to explore if this relationship fit the data well.

Model 5 comprised two factors with cultural blendedness and cultural conflict in one factor and cultural harmony and cultural compartmentalisation in the other. Similar to Model 4, this factor intended to explore the extent that affective and behavioural items in the same factor were a good fit for the data.

Model 6 has four separate factors in line with hypothesis 1, one for each of the four sub dimensions found in the exploratory factor analysis cultural harmony, cultural conflict, cultural blendedness and cultural compartmentalisation.

Proposed model results

As expected, the hypothesised four-factor model (Model 6) had a significantly better fit than Models 1–5 (see Table 3.6), and had a very good fit to the data (CFI = .96, RMSEA = .08, SRMR = .04, ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom = 2.16). The CFA results indicated that the four elements of bicultural identity integration were indeed distinct from each other. Therefore, in support of Hypothesis 1, these results indicate that BII is comprised of four unique dimensions of cultural conflict, cultural blendedness, cultural harmony and cultural compartmentalisation. In summary, these findings also distinguished the newly developed instrument from the previous BII instruments: BIIS-P and BIIS-2R measures, which both distinguish only two components (see Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; Huynh, 2009). These results show that bicultural identity integration in the workplace has four distinct dimensions. The results indicate that these measures were a good fit for the data and were reliable. Next, I performed tests of convergent and discriminant validity to show that related to theoretically relevant constructs and distinct from unrelated constructs

Table 3.6 BII scale development: summary of model of fit indices

Model	Descriptives	χ^2	df	Ratio χ^2/df	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR
Model 1	Baseline model: All items uncorrelated	3151.15	120	26.26	-	0.36	0.44
Model 2	One Factor: (Harmony, Conflict, Blendedness, Compartmentalisation)	1595.34	104	15.34	0.51	0.27	0.16
Model 3	Two Factors: BIIS-2R structure (Harmony & Conflict) (Blendedness & Compartmentalisation)	1223.88	103	11.88	0.63	0.24	0.16
Model 4	Two Factors: (Harmony & Blendedness) (Conflict & Compartmentalisation)	1145.52	103	11.12	0.66	0.23	0.22
Model 5	Two Factors: (Harmony & Compartmentalisation) (Conflict & Blendedness)	1274.15	103	12.37	0.61	0.24	0.25
Model 6	Four Factors: BII (Harmony, Conflict, Blendedness, Compartmentalisation)	211.37	98	2.16	0.96	0.08	0.04

Note. N =195.

CFI = comparative fit index; RMSEA = root-mean-square error of approximation;

SRMR = standardized root-mean-square residual level. BII Bicultural Identity Integration

3.4.4 Phase 4: Convergent & discriminant validity

The objective of the fourth phase was to demonstrate that BII is related to theoretically relevant constructs (convergent validity) but is distinct from unrelated constructs (discriminant validity). Convergent validity represents the extent to which a scale relates to similar constructs; discriminant validity represents the extent to which a scale demonstrates low or null correlations with measures that are dissimilar (Campbell and Fiske, 1959; Hinkin, 1998).

Convergent validity

Measures of bicultural experience have developed from a unitary construct as suggested by Benet-Martínez et al. (2002) into two distinct components as explained by both Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) and Huynh (2009) (See section 3.3.1). The empirical testing results provide evidence to support Hypothesis 1 confirming that BII is indeed comprised of four distinct dimensions. However given their common theoretical origins, it should be expected that cultural blendedness, cultural harmony, cultural conflict and cultural compartmentalisation will be related to cultural blendedness and cultural harmony as measured in BIIS-2R (Huynh and Benet-Martínez, 2010).

Discriminant validity

Earlier measures of BII (BIIS-P and BIIS-2R) often tested for discriminant validity using acculturation scales designed to measure attitudes between participant's heritage cultures and the United States as a host culture, they also considered the impact of language skills on the everyday experience of the participants (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; Huynh, 2009). These studies were based on Asian students, many of which may not have been permanent residents of the host country (Cheng and Lee, 2009; Huynh, 2009) (see Table 3.1. This approach may not be appropriate in this study given that the participants represent a variety of racial and ethnic minority groups, moreover 77.5% of study 2 participants were born in the USA (See Table 3.3). This suggests that language skills and cultural competence in the United States are not a primary concern for participants of this study.

I share the aspirations of both Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) and Huynh (2009) to develop a nomological network for BII and both studies used bicultural competence

as a measure. Bicultural competence may be defined as the ability to engage in the social tasks necessary to initiate and maintain interpersonal relationships in one's heritage culture and the mainstream culture, as well as the ability to appropriately behave and function in both the heritage culture and the mainstream culture (David, Okazaki & Saw, 2009). LaFromboise et al. (1993) conceptualised and developed a theoretical model of bicultural competence that addresses the many domains of the construct (See Table 3.7 for a summary). This is more appropriate to use to test discriminant validity given that the workplace is an environment where biculturals are frequently exposed to, and require interactions with, people and institutions of differing cultures.

In creating a new measure of BII that assesses both affective and behavioural constructs, it may be useful to establish that the new scale does not simply reflect a lack of other established behaviours. In this sense, it is important to differentiate BII from bicultural competence. Low cultural blendedness and cultural harmony or high cultural conflict and high cultural compartmentalisation may be related to low bicultural competence but it is not synonymous with these constructs. Thus, although I expected BII to relate to bicultural competence constructs I expect that they would remain differentiable constructs. Although it is important to demonstrate convergent validity via strong relationships between constructs, it is also important to demonstrate that constructs do not converge to the point of being redundant. Thus, I assessed convergent and discriminant validity in two ways in a manner similar to Ferris et al. (2008) in their study to develop and validate the Workplace Ostracism Scale.

First, the significance of the zero-order correlations between the various scales was examined. Correlations with at least a small to moderate effect ($r_s \geq .20$) were interpreted as evidence of convergent validity, whereas $r_s < .20$ were interpreted as evidence of discriminant validity.

Second, each of the bicultural competence constructs that were significantly related to cultural blendedness, cultural harmony, cultural conflict and cultural compartmentalisation was subjected to confirmatory factor analyses.

Table 3.7 Summary of bicultural competence dimensions in the literature

Dimension	Description
Social Groundedness	The degree to which a person has established social networks in more than one cultural group.
Communication Ability	The person's ability to communicate verbally or non verbally in more than one cultural group
Positive Attitudes Toward Both Groups	The degree to which a person regards both cultural groups positively
Knowledge of Cultural Beliefs and Values	The degree to which a person is aware of and knowledgeable about the history, institutions, rituals, and everyday practices of a given culture
Role Repertoire	The range of culturally appropriate behaviours or roles a person possesses or is willing to learn and or perform
Bicultural Beliefs	The belief that a person can function effectively within more than one cultural group without compromising one's cultural identity

Adapted from LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton (1993) to reflect the use of bicultural to mean more than culture

Here, I assessed whether a single-factor model provided a better fit to the data than a multi factor model for which the latent BII constructs and bicultural competence constructs were in separate factors. If the chi-square were significantly worse for the single-factor model than for the multi factor model, this would suggest that the proper way to model the scale items would be as loading on multiple separate latent factors. In turn, this result would suggest that cultural blendedness, cultural harmony, cultural conflict and cultural compartmentalisation was distinguishable from the other constructs (Anderson and Gerbing, 1988).

3.4.4.1 Convergent & discriminant validity: participants

Of the original 361 target respondents from data collection point 1, 195 completed the follow up survey in data collection point 2 and 194 completed the follow up survey in data collection point 3. Several of those who participated in survey 2 differed from those who participated in survey 3. In short, 163 individuals completed all 3 surveys. Sample demographic characteristics appear in Table 3.3. The mean age of this sample was 31.8 years, and their mean salary was between \$35,000 and \$49,000. More than half of the participants (57.7%) had completed college as the highest level of education. The majority of participants were either Asian (39.9%) or Black/African Americans (23.9%), and most participants were either second (35%) or more than fourth (25.2%) generation Americans; 76.7% of participants were born in the USA.

3.4.4.2. Measures of bicultural competence

Unless otherwise noted, the measures consisted of 5-point, Likert-style rating scales in which 1 =strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, and 5 = strongly agree and results were calculated using a mean score for the scale.

Bicultural Competence was measured using an 18 item version of the Bicultural Self-Efficacy Scale (BSES) (David et al., 2009). This multidimensional measure of bicultural competence is based on the theoretical framework proposed by (LaFromboise et al., 1993). I chose to use this scale in preference to the dichotomous versions used by Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) and Huynh (2009) in order to measure a broad range of bicultural competence constructs. The instrument comprises six subscales of 3 items each that are treated as independent components with alphas of: Social Groundedness $\alpha = .89$; Communication Ability $\alpha = .78$; Positive Attitudes Toward Both

Groups $\alpha = .84$; Knowledge of Cultural Beliefs and Values $\alpha = .86$; Role Repertoire $\alpha = .63$; and Bicultural Beliefs $\alpha = .71$. Examples of items are as follows: Social Groundedness “I can count on both mainstream Americans and people from the same heritage culture as myself.” Communication Ability “I can switch easily between standard English and the language of my heritage culture.” Role Repertoire “I am confident that I can learn new aspects of both the mainstream American culture and my heritage culture”

Bicultural Identity Integration (BIIS – 2R)

Bicultural identity integration was assessed using a 15-item version of the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale: Version 2R (BIIS-2R) (Huynh and Benet-Martínez, 2010). This was amended to reflect organisational culture. The instrument comprises two subscales that are treated as independent components cultural harmony ($\alpha = .86$), cultural blendedness ($\alpha = .81$) (e.g. “I feel that my ethnic and organisational cultures are complementary”). “I keep ethnic culture and organisational cultures separate in my life (that is, I don’t mix them).” “I rarely feel conflicted about being bicultural”.

3.4.4.3 Convergent & discriminant validity: results & discussion

Table 3.8 presents the zero order correlations between the four dimensions of BII cultural blendedness, cultural harmony, cultural conflict and cultural compartmentalisation and the BIIS -2R constructs and the bicultural competence constructs. As expected all four dimensions of the new measure are significantly related to the BIIS-2R Blendedness and BIIS-2R Harmony. The BII constructs also had significant relationships to bicultural competence constructs: they were all significantly related to positive attitude towards both groups, bicultural beliefs. Cultural blendedness and cultural conflict were associated with role repertoire and knowledge of cultural beliefs and values; Cultural harmony, cultural blendedness and cultural compartmentalisation were related to social groundedness and only cultural blendedness was related to communicative ability. I next conducted confirmatory factor analyses to ensure that cultural blendedness; cultural harmony, cultural conflict and cultural compartmentalisation were separable from other constructs.

In line with Ferris et al. (2008) all significant relationships illustrated in Table 3.8 were tested. There was no need to test the others because they had already been shown to

have discriminant validity because $r_s < |.20|$. For each of these analyses, the multi - factor model provided a notably better fit than a single factor model, as shown in Table 3.9 this is evidence of discriminant validity and provides evidence that BII constructs are related to but distinct from bicultural competence measures and existing BIIS-2R (Huynh and Benet-Martínez, 2010).

In Phase 4 I successfully demonstrated that the four distinct dimensions of BII developed in this study have convergent and discriminant validity. They are therefore associated with but distinct from existing BII measures (BIIS-2R) (Huynh and Benet-Martínez, 2010) and Bicultural competence (BSES) (David et al., 2009)

Table 3.8 BII scale development: descriptive statistics, correlations and reliabilities for convergent and divergent validity tests

Variable	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Harmony vs Conflict (BIIS-2R)	3.64	0.57	(0.75)											
2 Blended vs Compartmentalization (BIIS-2R)	3.41	0.80	.47**	(0.72)										
3 Cultural Harmony (New Measure)	3.57	0.94	.58**	.56**	(0.94)									
4 Cultural Conflict (New Measure)	1.89	0.83	-.70**	-.33**	-.36**	(0.94)								
5 Cultural Blendedness (New Measure)	3.62	0.86	.36**	.71**	.68**	-.18*	(0.89)							
6 Cultural Compartmentalisation (New Measure)	2.66	1.07	-.53**	-.69**	-.59**	.38**	-.63**	(0.94)						
7 Social Groundedness (BSES)	3.74	0.77	.32**	.25**	.38**	-0.08	.41**	-.30**	(0.77)					
8 Communication Ability (BSES)	3.69	0.92	.18*	0.12	0.15	-0.14	.23**	-0.12	.43**	(0.73)				
9 Positive Attitude Towards Both Groups (BSES)	4.02	0.73	.36**	.30**	.34**	-.31**	.38**	-.36**	.53**	.37**	(0.89)			
10 Knowledge of Cultural Beliefs and Values (BSES)	4.03	0.65	.21**	.20*	0.08	-.24**	.24**	-.17*	.45**	.53**	.40**	(0.80)		
11 Role Repertoire (BSES)	4.11	0.57	.27**	.19*	.19*	-.25**	.23**	-.014	.33**	.31**	.43**	.61**	(0.66)	
12 Bicultural Belief (BSES)	4.26	0.63	.43**	.30**	.35**	-.51**	.33**	-.23**	.36**	.24**	.46**	.49**	.58**	(0.79)

n = 163. Internal reliabilities (alpha coefficients) for the overall constructs are given in parentheses on the diagonal

** p<0.01 * p<0.05

BSES is Bicultural Self Efficacy Scale David et al. (2009); BIIS-2R is Bicultural Identity Integration Version 2 (Huynh and Benet-Martinez, 2010)

Table 3.9 BII scale development: summary of model of fit indices for discriminant validity

Model	Descriptives	χ^2	df	Ratio χ^2/df	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR
Cultural Harmony Model 1	One Factor: Cultural harmony, Social Groundedness , Positive Attitude, Bicultural Belief, BIIS-2R Harmony BIIS-2R Blendedness	1883.785	350	5.38	0.48	0.164	0.148
Cultural Harmony Model 2	Six Factors: Cultural harmony, Social Groundedness , Positive Attitude, Bicultural Belief, BIIS-2R Harmony BIIS-2R Blendedness	1049.533	335	3.13	0.76	0.114	0.141
Cultural Conflict Model 1	One Factor: Cultural Conflict, Bicultural Knowledge, Positive Attitude, Role Repertoire, Bicultural Belief, BIIS-2R Harmony BIIS-2R Blendedness	1962.896	434	4.52	0.53	0.147	0.139
Cultural Conflict Model 2	Seven Factors: Cultural Conflict, Bicultural Knowledge, Positive Attitude, Role Repertoire, Bicultural Belief, BIIS-2R Harmony BIIS-2R Blendedness	1135.233	413	2.75	0.78	0.104	0.116
Cultural Blendedness Model 1	One Factor: Cultural Blended, Social Groundedness Comm Ability, Bicultural Knowledge, Positive Attitude, Role Repertoire, Bicultural Belief, BIIS-2R Harmony BIIS-2R Blendedness	2796.06	629	4.45	0.4	0.145	0.141
Cultural Blendedness Model 2	Seven Factor: Cultural Blended, Social Groundedness Comm Ability, Bicultural Knowledge Positive Attitude, Role Repertoire, Bicultural Belief, BIIS-2R Harmony BIIS-2R Blendedness	1487.514	593	2.51	0.75	0.096	0.13
Cultural Compartmentalisation Model	One Factor: Cultural Compartmentalisation, Social Groundedness , Positive Attitude Bicultural Belief, BIIS-2R Harmony BIIS-2R Blendedness	1915.986	350	5.47	0.47	0.166	0.154
Cultural Compartmentalisation Model	Six Factor: Cultural Compartmentalisation, Social Groundedness , Positive Attitude Bicultural Belief, BIIS-2R Harmony BIIS-2R Blendedness	973.41	335	2.91	0.78	0.108	0.133

Note. N =163.

CFI = comparative fit index; RMSEA = root-mean-square error of approximation;

SRMR = standardized root-mean-square residual level. BII Bicultural Identity Integration

3.4.5 Phase 5: Investigation of the antecedents and outcomes of Bicultural Identity

Integration

The objective of the final phase was to establish criterion related validity. Criterion-related validity is demonstrated by showing a relationship between BII and constructs to which it should theoretically relate. Identifying a predictable pattern of relationships with other variables within the “nomological network” provides evidence that BII is measuring meaningful constructs derived from theory (Cronbach and Meehl, 1955). In this section I will first establish criterion validity by testing the hypotheses 2 through to 10. Next, I will attempt to establish a nomological network by testing a model of the predictors and outcomes of BII identified using path analysis in Mplus.

3.4.5.1. Study 3 participants

The participants will be the same 163 individuals that completed all three surveys identified in Phase 4.

3.4.5.2. Study 3 measures

Unless otherwise noted, the measures consisted of 5-point, Likert-style rating scales in which 1 =strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, and 5 = strongly agree and results were calculated using a mean score for the scale. See Table 3.4 for an overview of all measures in each study.

Perceived discrimination

This was measured using a 7-item measure ($\alpha = .84$) developed by Phinney et al. (1998), The original item was intended for use with bicultural adolescents, I amended the measure to reflect relationships within the workplace. The items ask about the extent to which participants have been treated unfairly. (items that referred to teachers and “other adults in the school” were replaced by managers and co-workers) and the extent to which participants believe that they are unwanted in their organisation. Examples of items are as follows: “Because of my ethnic background I don’t feel accepted by others in my organisation”, “I feel that others in my organisation have something against me” and “I feel that I am not wanted in my organisation”

Self-monitoring

The self-monitoring score can be understood as indicating the probability that an individual belongs to either the high or the low-self-monitoring category (Gangestad and Snyder, 1985). I used the 18-item self-monitoring scale from Snyder and Gangestad (1986) in the survey ($\alpha=.76$). Participants respond True or False to each item. The results are calculated out of 18, those who are high self-monitors should have high scores (>13) and those who are low self-monitors should have low scores (<8). Examples of items are as follows: "In different situations and with different people, I often act like very different persons", "I'm not always the person I appear to be" and "At social gatherings, I do not attempt to do or say things that others will like"

Big Five personality

I used a reduced 20 item version of the Big Five Markers (Saucier, 1994). These items assess the most prototypical traits associated with each of the Big Five basic personality dimensions. I employed a 9 point Likert scale 1 = Extremely Inaccurate, 2 = Very Inaccurate, 3 = Moderately Inaccurate, 4 = Slightly Inaccurate, 5 = Neither Inaccurate or Accurate, 6 = Slightly Accurate, 7 = Moderately Accurate, 8 = Very Accurate, 9 = Extremely Accurate. I used 4 items per dimension of the Big Five and discarded reversed-coded items. Reducing the items seemed appropriate for decreasing the time taken for respondents compared to 100 and 40 item measures. The score for each personality trait is obtained by averaging responses to all items for the trait. Example items are as follows: Conscientiousness: "Organised", "Systematic" and "Efficient", Neuroticism: "Moody" "Jealous" and "Temperamental"; Agreeableness: "Sympathetic", "Warm" and "Cooperative"; Openness to Experience: "Creative", "Imaginative" and "Intellectual" Extrovert: "Talkative", "Bold" and "Energetic".

Affective well-being

This is measured using the Multi Affect Indicator developed by (Warr, Bindl, Parker & Inceoglu, 2014), this 16 item scale has four subscales that measure Anxiety, Enthusiasm, Depression and Comfort using a 7-point, Likert-style rating scales ranging from 1= Never, 2= A little of the time, 3 = Some of the time, 4= About half the time, 5= Much of the time, 6 = A lot of the time, 7 = Always. Respondents were asked how often they felt the following in general (Examples of items are as follows: Comfort: "Calm", "Relaxed"

“Laid Back” Enthusiasm: “Enthusiastic”, “Joyful” and “Inspired”; Anxiety: “Nervous”, “Anxious” and “Tense”

Turnover intentions

This was measured using the 4 item measure of Hom and Griffeth (1991) ($\alpha = .89$). Example items are as follows: “I often think about quitting my job” and “In the next few years I intend to leave this organisation” and “I think about leaving this organisation”

Emotional exhaustion

Emotional exhaustion was measured by the 5-item exhaustion subscale from the Dutch version of the Maslach Burnout Inventory–General Survey used in Schaufeli and Bakker (2004) ($\alpha = .82$) Examples of items are as follows: “I feel used up at the end of the workday” and “I feel burned out from my work” and “I feel emotionally drained from my work”

3.4.5.3 Study 3 results

In order to establish a nomological network I need to identify a pattern of relationships hypothesised in section 3.3.4. I chose to test these hypotheses using path analyses as part of a structural equation model illustrated in figure 3.2. All of the relationships hypothesised from Hypothesis 2 to Hypothesis 10 were tested using structural equation modelling. I corrected for measurement error in these analyses, estimated as [1 minus internal reliability] multiplied by the observed variance of the scale. I also used latent mean scores. In all models, I allowed the respective independent variables, as well as dependent variables, to correlate in order to assess the unique relationships between BII constructs and a particular work outcome. I systematically built basic models based on each hypothesised relationship, for example for hypothesis 2 I created a model that contained paths for perceived discrimination and cultural harmony (Hypothesis 2a), cultural conflict (Hypothesis 2b), cultural blendedness (Hypothesis 2c), cultural compartmentalisation (Hypothesis 2d). I then removed paths with low coefficients and or p values >0.005 . I then started to aggregate these simple models in order to build more complex models of antecedents and outcomes dropping unsuitable paths.

The path analysis, conducted using Mplus 7.1 software, indicated that several paths were not significant and were therefore dropped from the model: In building the structural equation model I was able to get a suitable goodness of fit when I used the simple models, however this became more difficult as the models became complex. In order to improve the model I included additional paths for indirect relationships, however this did little to improve the fit overall.

In summary, it became difficult to create a comprehensive model of antecedents and outcomes of BII with an appropriate goodness of fit. I therefore present a model of antecedents and a model of outcomes separately.

What follows is a description of the initial correlations for each of the hypothesised antecedents and outcomes followed by an explanation of the relationships corroborated in the path analysis. Descriptive statistics are shown in Table 3.10. These results are based upon the antecedent and outcome models illustrated in Figures 3.4 and 3.5 respectively.

Table 3.10 BII scale development: descriptive statistics, correlations and reliabilities

Variable	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1 Age	31.81	8.34										
2 Gender	0.36	0.48	-0.06									
3 Born in the USA or Abroad	0.84	0.37	-.17*	0.05								
4 Number of generations of family lived in the USA	2.75	1.52	0.07	.22**	.49**							
5 Highest level of education	3.12	0.88	.17*	0.00	-.17*	-0.10						
6 Level of Seniority in the organisation	1.38	0.61	0.15	-0.05	-0.11	-0.07	.20*					
7 No of Direct Reports	2.90	5.36	0.11	-0.13	0.00	-0.01	0.07	.54**				
8 No of Promotions	1.16	1.76	.19*	-0.13	0.11	0.05	.19*	.19*	.27**			
9 Size of the organisation	5.33	2.10	.17*	-0.01	.21**	0.13	0.06	-0.13	0.05	.17*		
10 Industry of Employment	8.04	4.45	0.04	0.15	.20*	0.13	-.25**	.20**	0.01	0.01	0.10	
11 Annual Income in \$	3.20	1.52	0.12	.22**	-0.03	-.18*	-.26**	.22**	.29**	.26**	.26**	-0.15
12 Organisational Tenure in Years	4.93	4.47	.61**	-0.10	-0.06	0.12	0.04	.31**	.28**	.37**	.24**	0.11
13 Role Tenure in Years	3.99	3.79	.56**	-0.01	-.16*	0.07	-0.03	.18*	0.09	0.12	0.05	0.09
14 Perceived Discrimination Measure	1.55	0.66	0.03	0.02	0.06	0.09	.18*	0.08	0.07	.26**	0.00	-0.06
15 Self Monitor Score	8.17	4.34	-.24**	-0.10	.17*	-0.03	0.10	-0.03	0.05	0.09	0.10	-0.01
16 Agreeable	6.22	1.35	0.15	0.05	-0.06	0.04	-0.02	-0.02	-0.09	-0.03	-0.08	-0.05
17 Conscientious	6.87	1.26	.28**	-0.03	-.19*	-0.08	0.02	0.11	.17*	0.02	-0.05	-0.04
18 Extrovert	5.28	1.69	0.10	-0.04	0.01	-0.02	.20*	0.05	.18*	0.13	0.02	-.19*
19 Neurotic	4.10	1.76	-.23**	0.08	0.05	-0.05	0.02	-0.08	-0.10	-0.02	0.08	0.05
20 Openness	6.64	1.35	0.10	0.03	-0.15	0.02	0.02	0.06	0.04	-0.03	-0.11	-0.03
21 Cultural Harmony	3.57	0.94	0.00	-0.12	-0.04	-0.01	-0.05	0.01	0.08	-0.04	-0.12	-0.05
22 Cultural Conflict	1.89	0.83	-0.02	0.05	0.01	0.01	0.12	0.13	0.07	.21**	0.00	-0.05
23 Cultural Blendedness	3.62	0.86	0.02	-0.06	-0.09	-0.02	0.04	0.08	0.15	0.01	-0.13	-0.05
24 Cultural Compartmentalisation	2.66	1.07	0.00	0.05	0.06	0.04	-0.04	-0.03	-0.07	.16*	0.00	0.06
25 Enthusiasm	3.83	1.55	0.02	-0.09	-0.05	-0.03	0.11	.29**	.25**	0.12	-.16*	-.23**
26 Comfort	4.34	1.34	0.10	-0.09	0.03	0.05	0.01	.15*	0.14	0.05	-0.07	-0.01
27 Anxiety	2.31	1.12	-.18*	0.05	-0.05	-0.06	-0.02	-0.12	-0.11	0.05	-0.10	-0.08
28 Depression	1.92	1.17	-.16*	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.05	-.15*	-0.11	0.04	0.06	-0.03
29 Turnover Intentions	2.95	1.24	-0.01	0.10	0.05	0.00	0.01	-.20**	-0.15	-0.06	0.11	0.04
30 Emotional Exhaustion	2.67	1.07	-0.06	0.09	-0.02	-0.06	0.01	-0.12	-0.11	0.02	0.06	0.07

n = 163. Internal reliabilities (alpha coefficients) for the overall constructs are given in parentheses on the diagonal

** p<0.01 * p<0.05

Variable	Mean	S.D.	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
11 Annual Income in \$	3.20	1.52										
12 Organisational Tenure in Years	4.93	4.47	.18*									
13 Role Tenure in Years	3.99	3.79	0.02	.67**								
14 Perceived Discrimination Measure	1.55	0.66	-0.02	0.09	0.07	(0.90)						
15 Self Monitor Score	8.17	4.34	.24**	-0.12	-.22**	-0.11						
16 Agreeable	6.22	1.35	-0.03	0.07	0.02	-.25**	-0.02	(0.76)				
17 Conscientious	6.87	1.26	.20*	.21**	0.13	-.25**	-0.08	.35**	(0.77)			
18 Extrovert	5.28	1.69	.23**	0.06	-0.02	-0.06	.44**	.28**	.33**	(0.79)		
19 Neurotic	4.10	1.76	-0.05	-.18*	-.18*	0.12	.20*	-.24**	-.35**	-0.06	(0.77)	
20 Openness	6.64	1.35	0.08	0.05	0.05	-.17*	.21**	.40**	.41**	.42**	-0.07	(0.76)
21 Cultural Harmony	3.57	0.94	0.02	-0.08	-0.10	-.34**	0.05	.27**	0.03	0.13	-.16*	0.11
22 Cultural Conflict	1.89	0.83	-0.02	0.08	0.04	.63**	-0.01	-.26**	-.21**	0.03	.25**	-0.14
23 Cultural Blendedness	3.62	0.86	0.01	-0.03	-0.04	-0.15	0.07	.25**	0.01	0.09	-0.09	.18*
24 Cultural Compartmentalisation	2.66	1.07	0.03	0.10	0.05	.30**	0.03	-.19*	-0.09	-0.06	.18*	0.02
25 Enthusiasm	3.83	1.55	.21**	0.08	-0.05	0.01	.17*	.37**	.22**	.47**	-0.12	.29**
26 Comfort	4.34	1.34	0.11	.17*	0.04	-0.14	0.12	.34**	.32**	.26**	-.27**	.24**
27 Anxiety	2.31	1.12	-0.06	-.19*	-0.13	.28**	-0.06	-0.11	-.34**	-.15*	.34**	-.21**
28 Depression	1.92	1.17	-0.08	-0.10	-0.01	.42**	0.03	-.25**	-.40**	-0.13	.25**	-.29**
29 Turnover Intentions	2.95	1.24	-0.14	-0.08	0.02	.25**	-0.01	-.18*	-.22**	-.22**	0.13	-0.12
30 Emotional Exhaustion	2.67	1.07	-0.13	-0.11	-0.05	.36**	0.00	-.18*	-.30**	-.23**	.22**	-.16*

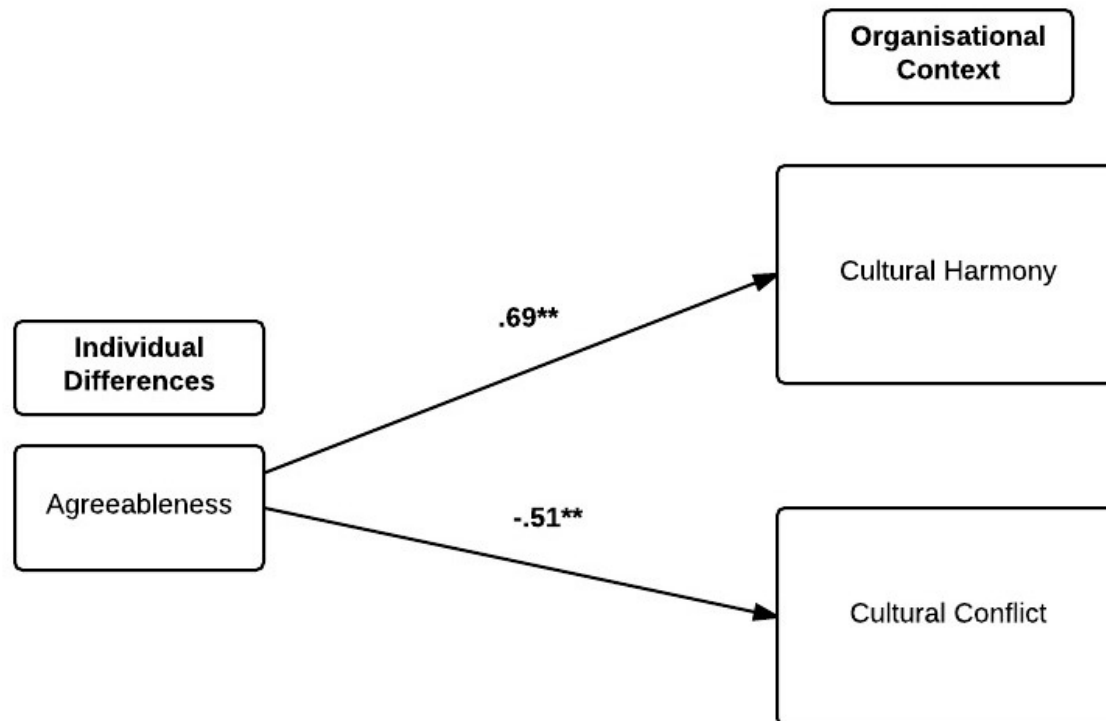
n = 163. Internal reliabilities (alpha coefficients) for the overall constructs are given in parentheses on the diagonal

** p<0.01 * p<0.05

Variable	Mean	S.D.	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
21 Cultural Harmony	3.57	0.94	(0.94)									
22 Cultural Conflict	1.89	0.83	-.36**	(0.94)								
23 Cultural Blendedness	3.62	0.86	.68**	-.18*	(0.89)							
24 Cultural Compartmentalisation	2.66	1.07	-.59**	.38**	-.63**	(0.94)						
25 Enthusiasm	3.83	1.55	.29**	0.01	.38**	-.20**	(0.92)					
26 Comfort	4.34	1.34	.19*	-.21**	.23**	-0.15	.55**	(0.87)				
27 Anxiety	2.31	1.12	-0.10	.30**	-0.05	0.11	-0.07	-.45**	(0.87)			
28 Depression	1.92	1.17	-.25**	.32**	-0.11	0.12	-.199*	-.37**	.64**	(0.87)		
29 Turnover Intentions	2.95	1.24	-.27**	.21**	-.24**	.26**	-.50**	-.33**	.27**	.44**	(0.95)	
30 Emotional Exhaustion	2.67	1.07	-.35**	.33**	-.19*	.22**	-.43**	-.50**	.49**	.53**	.68**	(0.91)

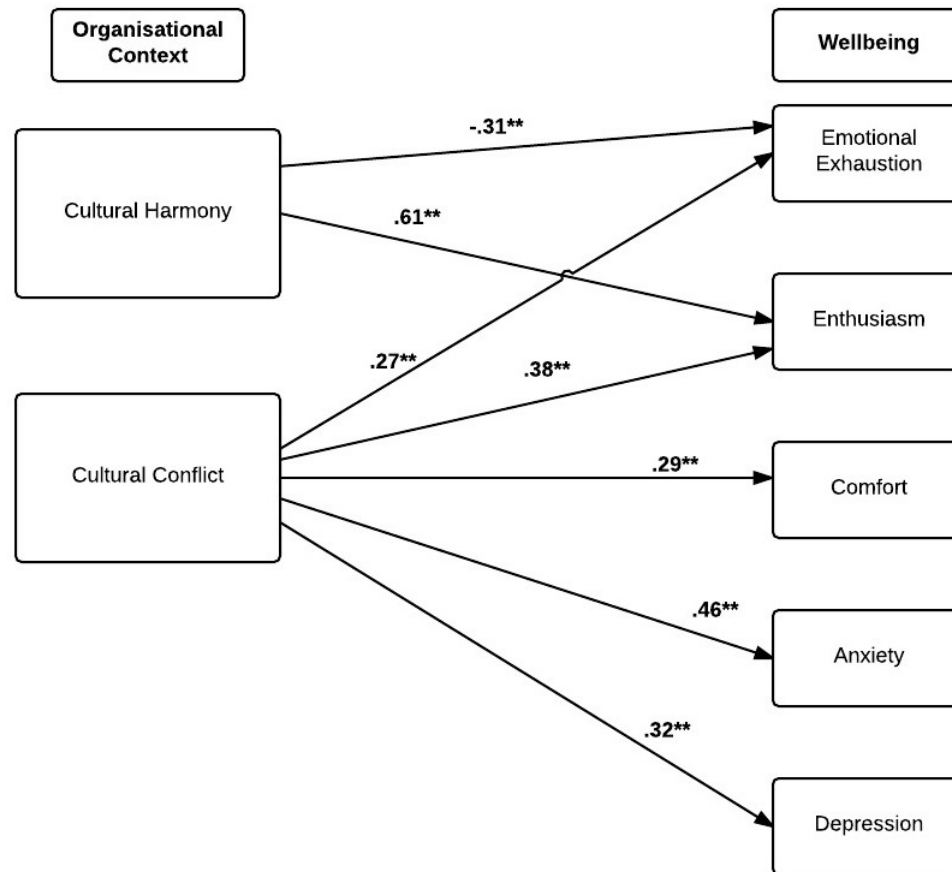
n = 163. Internal reliabilities (alpha coefficients) for the overall constructs are given in parentheses on the diagonal

Figure 3.4 BII model antecedents: empirical evidence supporting the theorised Model



** p values <0.01

Figure 3.5 BII model outcomes: empirical evidence supporting the theorised model



**p values <0.01

Organisational context

Perceived discrimination

Hypothesis 2a predicted that perceived discrimination was negatively associated with cultural harmony; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = -.34$, $p < .01$). Hypothesis 2b predicted that perceived discrimination was positively associated with cultural conflict; this hypothesis was also supported by the data ($r = .63$, $p < .01$). Hypothesis 2c predicted that perceived discrimination was negatively associated with cultural blendedness, this hypothesis was not supported by the data, $r < .2$ and was not significant ($r = .15$). Hypothesis 2d predicted that perceived discrimination was positively associated with cultural compartmentalisation, this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = .30$, $p < .01$). All paths for the hypotheses were included in the structural equation model but were dropped because they were non-significant. In particular, the relationship in hypothesis 2b (between cultural conflict and perceived discrimination) was unusually high (.76) and this suggests potential multicollinearity and so the path was dropped for this reason

Individual differences

Self-monitoring

Hypothesis 3a predicted that self-monitoring was negatively associated with cultural blendedness; this hypothesis was not supported by the data $r < .2$ and was not significant ($r = .07$). Hypothesis 3b predicted that self-monitoring was positively associated with cultural compartmentalisation; this hypothesis was not supported by the data $r < .2$ and was not significant ($r = .03$). All paths for the hypotheses were included in the structural equation model but were dropped because they were non-significant.

Personality

Agreeableness

Hypothesis 4a predicted that agreeableness was positively associated with cultural harmony; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = .27$, $p < .01$). Hypothesis 4b predicted that agreeableness was negatively associated with cultural conflict; this hypothesis was also supported by the data ($r = -.26$, $p < .01$).

All paths were included in the structural equation model but only hypothesis 4a and 4b were corroborated in the final model with ($r = .69$, $p < .01$) and ($r = -.51$, $p < .01$) respectively. The other paths for hypotheses 4c and 4d were dropped because they were non-significant.

Openness to experience

Hypothesis 5a predicted that openness to experience was positively associated with cultural harmony; this hypothesis was not supported by the data $r < .2$ and was not significant ($r = .11$). Hypothesis 5b predicted that openness to experience was negatively associated with cultural conflict; this hypothesis was not supported by the data $r < .2$ and was not significant ($r = -.14$). All paths for the hypotheses were included in the structural equation model but were dropped because they were non-significant.

Extroversion

Hypothesis 6a predicted that extroversion was positively associated with cultural harmony; this hypothesis was not supported by the data $r < .2$ and was not significant ($r = .13$). Hypothesis 6b predicted that extroversion was negatively associated with cultural conflict; this hypothesis was not supported by the data $r < .2$ and was not significant ($r = .03$).

All paths for the hypotheses were included in the structural equation model but were dropped because they were non-significant.

Emotional stability (Neuroticism)

Hypothesis 7a predicted that neuroticism was negatively associated with cultural harmony; this hypothesis was not supported by the data $r < .2$ and was not significant ($r = -.16$). Hypothesis 7b predicted that neuroticism was positively associated with cultural conflict; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = .25$, $p < .01$). All paths for the hypotheses were included in the structural equation model but were dropped because they were non-significant.

The final model for BII antecedents fit the data well. Although the χ^2 test of model fit was significant [$\chi^2 (142) = 265.16$, $p < .0001$]; the other fit indices all suggest that this

model provided a good fit for the data: CFI = .95; RMSEA = .07 (90% CI: .06-.08); SRMR = .05.

Emotional exhaustion

Hypothesis 8a predicted that cultural harmony was negatively associated with emotional exhaustion; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = .35, p < .01$).

Hypothesis 8b predicted that cultural conflict was positively associated with emotional exhaustion; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = .33, p < .01$).

Hypothesis 8c predicted that cultural blendedness was negatively associated with emotional exhaustion; this hypothesis was not supported by the data $r < .2$ and was not significant ($r = -.19$). Hypothesis 8d predicted cultural compartmentalisation was positively associated with emotional exhaustion; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = .22, p < .01$). All paths were included in the structural equation model but only hypothesis 8a and 8b were corroborated in the final model with ($r = -.31, p < .01$) and ($r = .27, p < .01$) respectively. The other paths for hypotheses 8c and 8d were dropped because they were non-significant.

Affective well-being

Pleasant affective well-being

Hypothesis 9a predicted that cultural harmony was positively associated with enthusiasm; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = .29, p < .01$). Hypothesis 9b predicted that cultural conflict was negatively associated with enthusiasm; this hypothesis was not supported by the data $r < .2$ and was not significant ($r = .01$). Hypothesis 9c predicted that cultural harmony was positively associated with comfort; this hypothesis was not supported by the data $r < .2$ and was not significant ($r = .19$). Hypothesis 9d predicted that cultural conflict was negatively associated with comfort; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = -.21, p < .01$).

All paths were included in the structural equation model but only hypothesis 9a was corroborated in the final model with ($r = 0.61, p < .01$).

Hypotheses 9b stated that the degree to which individuals perceive their heritage culture and their organisational culture to be in conflict is negatively associated with the degree to which individuals experience high activation pleasant affect (enthusiasm) in their organisations. The model did not support this hypothesis. Surprisingly the model

suggested a positive relationship between enthusiasm and cultural conflict ($r = .38$ $p < .01$) respectively.

Hypothesis 9d was supported in the model with ($r = .29$ $p < .01$) despite not being supported in the zero order correlations. The other paths for hypotheses 9d was dropped because they were non-significant.

Unpleasant well-being

Hypothesis 9e predicted that cultural harmony was negatively associated with anxiety; this hypothesis was not supported by the data $r < .2$ and was not significant ($r = -.10$). Hypothesis 9f predicted that cultural conflict was positively associated with anxiety; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = .30$, $p < .01$). Hypothesis 9g predicted that cultural harmony was negatively associated with depression; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = -.25$, $p < .01$). Hypothesis 9h predicted that cultural conflict was positively associated with depression; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = .32$, $p < .01$).

All paths were included in the structural equation model but only hypotheses 9f and 9h was corroborated in the final model with ($r = 0.46$, $p < .01$) and ($r = 0.32$, $p < .01$) respectively. The other paths for hypotheses 9e and 9g were dropped because they were non-significant.

Organisational outcomes

Turnover intentions

Hypothesis 10a predicted that cultural harmony was negatively associated with turnover intentions; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = -.27$, $p < .01$).

Hypothesis 10b predicted that cultural conflict was positively associated with turnover intentions; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = .21$, $p < .01$).

Hypothesis 10c predicted that cultural blendedness was negatively associated with turnover intentions; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = -.24$, $p < .01$). Hypothesis 10d predicted that cultural compartmentalisation was positively associated with turnover intentions; this hypothesis was supported by the data ($r = .26$, $p < .01$). All paths for the hypotheses were included in the structural equation model but were dropped because they were non significant.

The final model for BII outcomes fit the data well. Although the χ^2 test of model fit was significant [$\chi^2 (359) = 697.78, p < .0001$]; the other fit indices all suggest that this model provided a good fit for the data: CFI = .91; RMSEA = .08 (90% CI: .07-.08); SRMR = .07.

3.4.5.4 Section summary

This section presented the research design and methodology utilised in this chapter. I provided a detailed description of the five phases (See Table 3.2) and how I established a reliable and valid measure of bicultural identity integration to be used within the workplace. In the next section of this chapter I review the results of my empirical testing and analysis and discuss the implications of my findings.

Discussion

3.5 Section overview

This section is concerned with the results of my analysis and discussing the implications of my findings. In this section I highlight the key findings from this chapter, identify the contribution this study makes to the literature and address some of the limitations of the study.

3.5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I wanted to contribute to the literature by investigating differences within minority racial and ethnic groups and demonstrate that their experience within the workplace was not homogenous. By conceptualising minority racial and ethnic individuals as biculturals I was able to use a bicultural lens to explore their experience within the workplace elucidating their management of their heritage culture and organisational culture.

Building on the work of previous scholars, I reconceptualised biculturalism in order to avoid the limitations of heritage based or domicile based definitions of culture (see section 3.26). This new definition is not without its limitations, however it addresses several of the shortcomings of existing definitions and conceptualisations of biculturalism.

In line with the revised conceptualisation of biculturalism, I hypothesised that BII as a construct may have more dimensions than originally conceived by (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005). This was in part based on the evolution of the conceptualisations of both acculturation and biculturalism from a uni dimensional continuum to a multidimensional construct (see 3.23 and 3.25 respectively). I was influenced by the research that conceptualised positive and negative affective well-being as independent states, rather than two opposite poles of the same bipolar dimension (Russell and Carroll, 1999). Moreover Schaufeli and Bakker (2004) showed that burnout and engagement exhibit different patterns of possible causes and consequences despite commonly being conceptualised as a continuum (Maslach and Leiter, 2008).

In order to achieve my goal it became necessary to develop a new measure of BII in order to accommodate the revised conceptualisation of biculturalism and to test my

theory about the bipolar nature of the existing dimensions of BII. I wanted to extend the theoretical and empirical work of Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) and Huynh (2009) by extending the use of BII that they developed to a diverse group of biculturals within a workplace context.

In the first stage of this investigation I gained a better understanding of the lived experiences of bicultural individuals from three sources: first was examining qualitative data I had collected, second was the biculturalism literature and finally I reviewed existing measures of bicultural identity integration: BIIS-2R (Huynh and Benet-Martínez, 2010). This influenced how I generated items and I sought further guidance from subject matter experts and experts in scale development. Based on the feedback, I revised the BII items and then conducted a pilot study on a small sample of my population of interest. The pilot study was used to ensure that all items were clear and accurate before collecting validation data. The results of the pilot study were encouraging, however they were insufficient to accept or reject my hypothesis. The pilot study gave me an opportunity to reconsider the items used and also the social identities in which I was interested. I originally conceptualised this study to be used on bicultural individuals within the same occupational group, this informed my use of heritage cultural identity and professional cultural identity shown in the pilot study questionnaire (See Appendix 1). I originally thought that individuals would be likely to cultivate a professional identity in line with the character of their occupational group if particularly the occupational group was an organised body of experts with elaborate systems of instruction, training, entry examinations and socialisation processes designed to encourage particular norms and behaviour (Abbott 1988; Cable, Gino & Staats, 2013) for instance, accountancy or law.

Following the pilot study I reconsidered this approach given the difficulty I anticipated in finding suitable participants I decided that a measure based on participants from a variety of occupational groups would avoid the limitations of previous studies in a narrow sociocultural domain and make a greater contribution to the literature. Given the importance of organisational culture to organisation performance and individual behaviour, this seemed like a suitable choice and the results show that this was appropriate.

3.5.2 Key research findings

Bicultural Identity Integration: Four dimensions

The first major finding in this study is that BII is comprised of four dimensions that are related but conceptually and psychometrically distinct. Through exploratory factor analyses and confirmatory factor analyses I demonstrated that BII is comprised of four factors that correspond to hypothesised BII dimensions of cultural harmony, cultural conflict, cultural blendedness and cultural compartmentalisation. All four dimensions of BII demonstrated good internal consistency. In developing the measure I demonstrated that these dimensions have content validity (section 3.4.1), construct validity (3.4.2), convergent and discriminant validity (See section 3.4.4.3).

Like earlier measures of BII I developed a nomological network, my intention was to extend previous work on BII not to replicate it, I wanted to show that BII was related to important workplace constructs and chose a variety of measures to show the relationships of BII with organisational context, individual differences, well-being and organisational related outcomes.

Antecedents of Bicultural Identity Integration

Being agreeable was hypothesised to be important for biculturals in the workplace because of their potential accountability to multiple audiences, the results supported earlier findings that biculturals are less likely to report conflict in their cultural identities (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; Huynh, 2009). Moreover the value agreeable individuals place on harmonious interpersonal relationships was shown to be true in the workplace with a strong relationship between agreeableness and cultural harmony. Surprisingly few of the other antecedents hypothesised were found to have significant relationships within the model, others such as emotional stability and extroversion had large coefficients when placed in a model with agreeableness (often greater than 1) that it suggested there might be multicollinearity. These paths were subsequently dropped from the models. This suggests that the organisational context of the organisation and individual personality traits may not be important predictors of BII as hypothesised.

Outcomes of Bicultural Identity Integration

Overall well-being was shown to have the strongest relationships with BII in the workplace. This supports the existing research that found that BII predicts biculturals' psychological well-being (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005) and the perception of conflict between a person's two cultures had links to lower psychological well-being (Huynh, 2009). The results showed that BII in the workplace had affective outcomes. Feelings of enthusiasm typically mark the high end of the positive affective well-being and this was an outcome of both cultural harmony and cultural conflict. Enthusiasm was the only affective well-being outcome associated with more than one dimension of BII. The experience of cultural conflict was hypothesised to be contrary to the experience of positive affective well-being and this was reflected in the relationships between cultural conflict with depression and anxiety. This supports one of the most consistent findings in the biculturalism literature and this reflects the primary concern of acculturation and bicultural scholars with adjustment problems as part of the acculturation process. Emotional exhaustion was found to be negatively associated to cultural harmony and positively associated with conflict, this relationship may reflect the depletion of emotional and mental energy needed to engage in additional identity work (Carbado and Gulati, 2004).

3.5.3 Key contributions

This chapter makes several important contributions to the literature:

First, this chapter contributes to the diversity literature by exploring the lived experiences of minority ethnic professionals without characterising them as being inherently disadvantaged (Ramarajan and Thomas, 2010).

Second, I addressed a limitation in the diversity literature by focusing my attention away from normative experiences in the workplace, which are characterised as being white, male and middle class (Özbilgin and Tatli, 2008). In contrast, this study acknowledged the importance and value of understanding the experiences of minority racial and ethnic individuals by exploring their bicultural experience in the workplace. This allowed me to demonstrate that studying minority racial and ethnic individuals as case studies without comparison to a normative employee experience was a valuable

enterprise in of itself. This shows that much can be learned about this group without the need for a comparative study with their non-minority counterparts.

Third, in this study I demonstrate that minority experience in the workplace is not homogenous, moreover using biculturalism as a lens allowed me to explore differences within ethnic groups by investigating how individuals vary in their experience in managing their organisational culture and their heritage culture.

Fourth, this chapter placed the perspective of the individual at the heart of the study and was not concerned with the perspective of the organisation and how managers would choose to manage these individuals. This was important in enhancing the role of the individual in the diversity literature. Although I drew on existing literature, I chose not to reproduce previous studies but identify variables and constructs that were relevant to the workplace as a sociocultural domain.

A fifth contribution was the reconceptualisation of biculturals; this extended the bicultural literature to consider the bicultural experiences of non-heritage based groups, previous definitions of biculturalism have been ambiguous about the types of cultures that were included in their definitions, however their use of homogenous ethnic groups strongly suggested that biculturalism was intended to consider ethnic and racial cultural groups. Brannen and Thomas (2010) suggested that more research was required to explore different types of social identities and this study responds to calls for research dedicated to that purpose. In this study I recognise that individuals belong to multiple social groups and, thus, have many social identities. These social groups will have distinct values, norms, and beliefs that reflect the cultural identity of these groups (Ashforth and Mael, 1989). The use of the term bicultural in this study is intended to include organisations, religious groups, subcultures and other collective groups that exhibit distinct values and practices. This provides the potential to explore a broader range of bicultural experience from social groups from different categories and the potential to explore the intersection of important aspects of identity such as gender, age, sexual orientation and organisations.

Finally, I developed bicultural theory and demonstrated that BII is comprised of four distinct dimensions. This extends the work of Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) and Huynh (2009) and illustrates how our knowledge of biculturalism and is nascent. I extended bicultural theory beyond migrants and sojourners to include individuals that did not relocate from other countries into western societies. My focus on this group acknowledged the salience of the heritage based experience of minority racial and ethnic individuals who were born in western societies without undermining their membership of those societies. This chapter has shown that BII is related to important work based outcomes but further research is required to further explore the nature of these relationships and other relationships that can influence individual and organisational performance.

3.5.4 Limitations of the study

Despite its contributions, this study has several limitations that should be acknowledged.

Self-report measures

First, my intention from the outset was to explore the experiences of individuals. I therefore relied exclusively upon self-reported responses from a single source. Self-report data has been criticised because it can have a considerable effect on observed relationships between measures of different constructs (Podsakoff et al., 2003). Although I cannot be certain that the BII measure is free of all methodological bias, I took the following five precautionary steps to address the most common biases in line with recommendations of Podsakoff et al. (2003). I used procedural remedies related to the questionnaire design, specifically the use of a pilot study to ensure that the questions were simple, specific, and concise. I also provided examples when concepts were being used and avoided complicated syntax. I sought guidance from experts in order to avoid social desirability in the questions presented. The questionnaire was administered at three time points and this ensured a temporal separation between the predictor and criterion variables. This separation diminished the ability and motivation for respondents to use prior responses to answer subsequent questions. Finally all respondents were guaranteed anonymity, I was only able to identify them by their MTurk identification numbers and they were informed that the study was being carried

out in line with the London School of Economics ethical guidelines. In terms of statistical remedies, I used the single common factor approach to assess the likelihood that a substantial amount of common method variance would result in single factor emerging from the factor analysis or that one general factor will account for the majority of the covariance among the measures. This was not the case as illustrated in Table 3.5

Sample size

Another limitation was the sample size used, although this was within the acceptable parameters for me to perform the exploratory factor analysis and the confirmatory factor analysis. The sample was not large enough for me to be able to split the sample randomly in halves and conduct parallel analyses for scale development (Hinkin, 1998). Furthermore the sample I used was considerably smaller than those used by Huynh (2009) in developing the BIIS-2R measure (N=1049). This may also be responsible in part for the difficulty in creating a comprehensive structural equation model containing both antecedents and outcomes. The size of the sample also reflects the difficulty in attracting respondents for a study of this kind. This may indicate the tendency of previous researchers to use student samples, perhaps because they are a population that may be easier to access.

Heterogeneous employment circumstances

A third limitation of this project is the heterogeneity of individuals in the sample in terms of their employment. Traditionally, construct validation studies are conducted with one homogenous sample, and then the factor structure and convergent and discriminant validity relationships found with that sample are tested on another homogenous sample (Crocker and Algina, 1986)

However, the benefits of this method outweighed the potential issues associated with it. The diverse sample of bicultural individuals allowed me to create more general results about how individuals who identify themselves as members of more than one distinct social group who have access to multiple cultural schemas. Future research should consider a particular industry or profession where the organisational culture is likely to have lower variety within organisations.

The use of BIIS-2R

This study is concerned with the workplace experience of bicultural individuals and seeks to make a contribution to a domain specific understanding of the phenomenon. In doing so, my use of the BIIS-2R instrument meant that it had to be adapted in order to make it salient with workplace. This meant that I did not compare the original measure. This was not deemed appropriate given the domain specific nature of this project, however understanding the nature of any relationship between BII and BIIS-2R in its original form may have provided valuable insights into the influence of the workplace as a domain.

Affective measures

Finally the measures used in developing the nomological network in this chapter were predominantly affective in nature, this was reflected in both the hypotheses I developed and therefore the results of studies. This narrowed the scope of my contribution and future research should consider outcomes or antecedents that are more behavioural in nature in order to broaden the scope of results and provide valuable future contributions.

3.5.5 Section summary

In this section I highlighted the key findings from this chapter, identified the contribution this study makes to the literature and addressed some of the limitations of the study. In the next section I summarise the chapter and discuss the implications for future research

Conclusion

3.6. Section overview

In this chapter, I have presented the theorised model, the empirical study design and methodology, the detailed findings and my analysis of the empirical evidence and its support for the final model and newly proposed BII construct and measure. In this final section of Chapter 3, I summarise the chapter and discuss the implications of this study for future research.

3.6.1. Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to explore the workplace experience of minority racial and ethnic individuals. In particular a primary aim was to address the lack of research that explores the heterogeneity of experiences within minority racial groups in the workplace (Blake-Beard et al., 2007). Much of the research exploring minority experiences within the workplace are comparative and typically characterise minority racial experience as inherently disadvantaged (Ramarajan and Thomas, 2010). While useful in revealing structural inequality and disadvantage within the workplace, this research by its nature is concerned with differences between the experiences of minority groups and the majority, which becomes further established as normative as a consequence. Given the increase in the number of migrant populations living and working in western societies such as the UK and US (Office of National Statistics, 2014; 2015, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015; United States Census Bureau, 2014;); this established normative experience may no longer be appropriate. This study contributes to our knowledge of this increasing population within the workplace.

In this chapter I used biculturalism as a lens for exploring differences within minority ethnic groups in the workplace, the choice of biculturalism as a lens for exploring minority racial and ethnic group experiences was important given the role of culture in influencing individual behaviour, organisational outcomes and the salience of race and ethnicity in the workplace.

In this chapter, I recognised minority racial and ethnic individuals as biculturals, individuals that identify themselves as members of more than one distinct social group and who exhibit a behavioural repertoire that stems from having knowledge and access

to several distinct cultural schemas appropriate to those groups. This conceptualisation addressed some of the limitations of existing biculturalism literature while allowing me to extend the scope of the biculturalism to include a broad scope of social identities not yet addressed by the literature. This includes but is not limited to organisations, religious groups and other collective groups with distinct values and cultural practices.

An aim of this research was to challenge the perception that minority ethnic employees were inherently disadvantaged and presented research that shows that bicultural individuals have potential advantages in the workplace with the potential to address important issues in teams and organisations (Hong, 2010) including an ability to adapt their behaviour in cross-cultural settings (Nguyen and Benet- Martinez, 2007) , respond quickly to cultural and situational cues (Hong et al., 2000) and integrate ideas in potentially novel and more creative ways (Leung et al., 2008).

Bicultural research over the past 10 years has been concerned with the experiences of sojourners, immigrant and international students (Colleen Ward et al., 2011) with a focus on their acculturation strategies and their ability to adapt to the host society and communicate effectively in the language of the host society. This chapter focused on biculturals who are fluent in the language of the host society and are intimately familiar with the culture. Individuals born in a particular country where they belong to a minority group are not living in a host country, yet they have a bicultural experience that to date has not been thoroughly explored by the bicultural literature and this chapter addressed limitations within the existing literature.

An important theoretical contribution from this chapter was the development of BII as a measure of bicultural experience. I showed that BII was comprised of four distinct constructs: cultural harmony, cultural conflict, cultural blendedness and cultural compartmentalisation. Previous theoretical conceptualisations were based on two constructs: cultural blendedness vs. compartmentalisation (Cultural blendedness) and cultural harmony vs. cultural conflict (Cultural harmony) (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005). This development may in part be due to the broader scope in which the construct is employed.

Future research

Given that research into biculturalism is nascent, there are several exciting lines of research, which if further developed, could benefit the literature. Below I suggest four lines of enquiry, which are compelling for future study and for the ongoing development of the biculturalism literature.

Single occupational group

This chapter was concerned with a diverse group of individuals from a variety of organisations; evidently these individuals may be expected to have different experiences as a variety of the organisational cultures that they will encounter. Future research should consider the influence of a subset of a single sociocultural domain such as an organisation or a single occupational group where organisational cultural experiences may be expected to be similar. Research on teams within an organisation may also reveal interesting subcultures within organisations that influence BII.

Bicultural Identity Integration and behavioural measures

As discussed (see section 3.5.4) several of the work based measures used in this chapter were affective in nature, future research should consider outcomes or antecedents that are more behavioural in nature in order to broaden the scope of results and provide valuable future contributions. This should also include workplace stressors. Perceived discrimination was used in this study, future research should consider stressors specific to a particular organisation or cultural group.

Changes in Bicultural Identity Integration

BII is typically conceptualised as an individual difference, however there is some evidence to suggest that BII is malleable subject to an individual's recall of past bicultural experiences. McCrae, Yik, Trapnell, Bond & Paulhus (1998) have demonstrated that, after migration and over the course of time and generations, personality profiles of Chinese individuals increasingly resembled those of the mainstream culture. A similar change may happen with biculturals in terms of their attitude to their heritage culture and organisational culture. Given the role that organisational socialisation plays in identity negotiation (Cable et al., 2013), future research should consider potential changes in BII, particularly before and after an

individual has entered the workplace. Under these circumstances longitudinal studies may be useful, allowing tests to be repeated over time.

Workplace relationships and Bicultural Identity Integration (BII)

Relationships are important in the workplace, the benefits of mentoring as a developmental relationship have been well established (Kram, 1985) and exploring the salience of race in the context of mentoring has been shown to lead to better workplace outcomes for both individuals and organisations. Racial differences between a potential mentor and protégé can be a potential barrier that prevents black protégés from enjoying the benefits of a mentor-protégé relationship (Thomas, 1990). Furthermore, individual attitudes to discussing issues of race can be more important than the racial identity of a mentor or a protégé for a successful developmental relationship to emerge. Thomas (1993) found that regardless of the race of the mentor or protégé, only when both parties in the relationship had similar preferences and adopted the same strategy in discussing issues of race did a supportive mentor-protégé relationship develop. Given that preferences regarding discussing race can influence the quality of a developmental relationship, future research should consider what impact BII has on developmental relationships such as mentors.

Exclusion from social networks has been presented as explanation for the failure of minority ethnic managers to advance more rapidly in their careers (Dickens and Dickens, 1991; Ibarra, 1993). Mok et al. (2007) found that BII can influence the social networks of biculturals. Understanding the role of BII on the social networks of minority ethnic individuals may be useful for understanding how individuals with different bicultural preferences can benefit from social networks within the workplace. (Higgins and Kram, 2001) integrated the mentorship literature with social network theories to reconceptualise the traditional mentor-protégée dyad as part of a network of developmental relationships. Understanding the role of BII on developmental network relationships may help scholars to understand how individuals from minority racial and ethnic groups can manage their careers as minorities within the workplace.

3.6.2 Section summary

The theoretical developments and empirical evidence in this chapter are intended to encourage further studies of this nature. The findings in this study contribute to the literature challenging existing conceptualisations of minority racial and ethnic individuals as a homogenous group. The theoretical developments here contribute to the bicultural literature in particular, utilising BII as a work based construct. Given the boundary spanning nature of the modern workplace and the role of technology in blurring the lines between work and non-work identities, it is important for researchers to explore how individuals manage these social identities and the meanings these have for individuals. Organisations are increasingly supporting initiatives to support and accommodate a work environment which is inviting and sustaining to an increasingly diverse workforce, encouraging employees to bring their “whole self” to work. Further developing our understanding of the differences in how individuals experience their cultural identities and what these differences mean to work related outcomes will benefit individuals and organisations alike.

Chapter 4:

Study 2: An Exploration of Minority Ethnic Culture as a Professional Resource

Introduction

4.1. Chapter overview

In the previous chapter I conducted a quantitative empirical study with the purpose of uncovering the differences in the ways that minority racial and ethnic individuals experience their identities in the workplace. This chapter presents the findings of a qualitative empirical study conducted with the purpose of identifying ways in which the heritage culture of minority racial and ethnic professionals influences their behaviour in the workplace, as well as the development and introduction of a new typology that identifies three distinct pathways through which the heritage culture of minority racial and ethnic individuals influences their behaviour within a profession.

4.1.1 The importance of the professions

Over the past thirty years professions have increased their economic and occupational significance in both developed and developing economies. The global professional services market has grown at an average rate of over 10% per annum for the past 25 years to an estimated current market value of \$3 trillion (Riddle, 2002). Large professional services firms have acquired an essential role in global capitalism as they provide the technical infrastructure that facilitates transnational trade (Yu, Kim & Restubog, 2015). In particular accounting, corporate law and consultancy are examples of professions that have grown in symbolic and material importance (Muzio and Tomlinson, 2012). As such professions are important actors across a range of market sectors that support processes that shape the global economy (Faulconbridge and Muzio, 2012). In the UK, professional services expanded at an annual rate of 6.1% per annum between 1994 and 2004 and are currently estimated to represent approximately 8 per cent of Gross Domestic Product; 11.5% of employees in the United Kingdom can be found within the professions as a whole, this makes it the single largest category of employment in the United Kingdom (Spada, 2009).

A definition of a profession

Defining a profession is difficult because of the wide disparity between the structural features and theoretical underpinnings of what a profession means. The meanings of the terms profession, professional and professionalism are disputed, efforts to identity a

series of formal traits in order to analytically distinguish professions from other occupational groups tend to be arbitrary, inconsistent and bound to value judgements (Macdonald, 1995). In this chapter, a profession is broadly defined as an organised body of experts with esoteric knowledge characterised by elaborate systems of instruction, entry examinations, training and an enforced code of ethics (Abbot, 1988).

Richardson (1997) judges the success of a profession by its ability to sustain privileged access to a particular set of market opportunities for its members and theorises that for an occupational group to achieve professional status it must have successfully implemented four specific strategies: the first two strategies are concerned with securing a resource rich market to be exploited. The second two strategies are concerned with creating governance structures to control access to this market. These are outlined in brief below:

Market enhancement occurs when the occupational group develops a set of marketable skills and establishes the pragmatic value of the services it provides.

Market closure is identified when jurisdictional boundaries are established to limit market opportunities to members of the occupational group.

Professional closure can be observed when the occupational group controls privileged access to the market opportunities by establishing credentials (e.g. entry examinations) administered by a self-regulating body.

Professional power is achieved when the occupational group has autonomous control over its activities, technology and a strong influence over its clients.

These strategies conceptualise professionalism as a collective project aimed at market control but Richardson (1997) refers to the overall process as 'social closure' to indicate the relationship between the economic and social benefits that professions seek to monopolise. Larson (1977) argues that this type of market monopolisation is accomplished through claims of moral legitimacy in order to gain acceptance from society at large. For this reason, professions are engaged in an ongoing process of legitimation.

Professional legitimation

Abbott (1988) explains that legitimating the activities of a profession requires that the diagnosis, treatment and results in a designated marketplace be connected to the central values in the mainstream culture within society. This perceived connection establishes the cultural authority of professional work. For example, health, justice and accountability are culturally valued results that are produced by doctors, lawyers and accountants respectively, according to their legitimating claims. Moreover, successful legitimation assures the public that professional services are conducted in a culturally approved manner. For example, efficiency and probity are culturally valued norms of behaviour for doctors, lawyers and accountants, each of which has a code of ethics that requires adherence by members (General Medical Council, 2013; Financial Reporting Council, 2016a; Law Society, 2011a) and signals to members of society the importance placed on these values by the respective professions. Professional legitimation can be said to justify both what professions do and how they do it. My interest in this chapter concerns the impact of the professional legitimation process in justifying who is able to do professional work.

Professional identity

Trust is vital for the professions and is awarded to those professions whose outward manners fit the socially accepted standards of acceptability; consequently, professions actively construct professional identities based on meritocratic values in order to gain the trust of the public (Macdonald, 1995). For a profession to appear legitimate Larson (1977) suggests that entry must be judged on universal criteria that require effort: intelligence, perseverance and dedication; furthermore entry must appear to be freely available to all who seek it. The claim to professional neutrality and the provision of an impartial professional service is essential to the legitimacy of all professions as are their claims to be disembodied, objective and disinterested professionals (Lewis, 2011). The standard view in professions is that an individual must suppress all aspects of one's identity when performing their professional role (Wilkins, 1999). The embodiment of professionalism is based on the exclusion of race, gender and culture in what Levinson (1993) describes as 'bleached out' professionalism. Through promoting a binary view of identity and professionalism; professions support their claims of meritocracy and perpetuate the bleached out professional narrative that views professions as being

blind to the social identities of their members (Lewis, 2011; Hilary Sommerlad, 2007).

Recent research has highlighted the importance of social identities in the construction of professional images in the workplace (Roberts, 2005). Piore and Safford (2006) suggest that it is impossible to imagine an individuals' career without incorporating one's social context citing race, religion and gender. Both professional identity and contemporary careers are subject to relational and social influences within and beyond, the individual's present occupation (Slay and Smith, 2011). Historically, social stratification along class, gender and ethnicity lines has characterised boundaries to professions such as accounting (Kirkham and Loft, 1993), engineering (Hatmaker, 2013) and law (Sommerlad, 2012) establishing a normative identity that is white, male and middle class. The use of professional credentials as a mechanism of class reproduction and social exclusion indicate that the 'universal criteria' that professions measure themselves against are racialised, gendered and classed reflecting the values of the dominant culture in society (Larson, 1977); evidently this undermines the meritocratic based claims of legitimacy by professions (Nicolson, 2005).

Increased diversity in the professions

The growth in the professions have been fuelled in part by the mass entry of women and minority racial and ethnic individuals (Tomlinson, Muzio, Sommerlad, Webley & Duff, 2012). This has been driven by three key factors: the first is the increasing number of minority ethnic groups living and working in the United Kingdom due to increased migration (Office of National Statistics, 2015). This influences the second factor which is the larger numbers of second and third generation minority ethnic individuals of working age entering the labour market (Office of National Statistics, 2014) (See section 3.12). The third is a reduction in overt forms of discrimination acting as barriers to entry into the labour market, this is a consequence of changing attitudes and improved legislation (Park and Westphal, 2013).

The lived experience of minority racial and ethnic individuals in the workplace is characterised in the literature as being disadvantaged, for example research has found that there a hierarchy of earnings in the British workplace with different ethnic groups incurring different ethnic penalties (See 3.13). Elliott and Lindley (2008) demonstrated

that a proportion of this earnings gap could be explained by occupational segregation: minority racial and ethnic workers are overrepresented in low paid occupations, that may be a consequence of discrimination. These findings are indicative of structural inequality within the professions (Kirkham and Loft, 1993; Sommerlad, 2007).

Given the importance of the professions to the global economy (Muzio and Tomlinson, 2012), their claims of fair access and ethical integrity (MacDonald, 1995), combined with their processes to reproduce existing class structures and socially exclude minority racial and ethnic individuals (Kirkham and Loft, 1993), it is therefore pertinent to explore the experiences of minority ethnic workers in professional occupations given the increasing number entering the professions, discredited myths of meritocracy and the persistent white male normative professional identity (Lewis, 2011).

4.1.2 Aims of the chapter

The goal of this chapter is to examine the role ethnicity plays in shaping the work-based behaviour of minority racial and ethnic professionals. I have three aims in order to achieve this goal. The first is to investigate the extent that heritage culture influences career experiences in the workplace, the second is to develop theory to guide future research concerning how minority racial and ethnic professionals experience the workplace. The final aim is to explore the different outcomes related to the variety of experiences of the participants. These aims are discussed in detail below.

Heritage culture as an influence on career experiences

My first aim is to investigate the extent that heritage culture influences career experiences in the workplace. I am interested in how ethnic identity is enacted through heritage culture and what this means in terms of workplace behaviours. Research on professional identities has primarily explored how organisations and occupations influence and control people's work-related identities (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002); but has focused less on whether or how this control is mitigated by the influence of non work identities (Ramarajan and Reid, 2013). In this context, my intention is to re-examine the predominant conception of minority individuals' heritage culture as a burden that must be or actively reduced or eliminated in order to flourish in a professional work environment (Lewis, 2011; Pearce, 2005; Sommerlad, 2008).

Theory Development

My second aim in this chapter is to enrich theory around contemporary careers and to guide future research concerning how minority racial and ethnic professionals experience their heritage culture within the workplace. In order to achieve this I examine extreme case studies to ensure that the phenomenon of interest is transparently observable (Pettigrew, 1990). This means selecting a rich context where my research questions can be usefully studied. For this reason I have chosen to study black accountants in the United Kingdom. I focus on black professionals for several reasons: the first being that blacks have been shown to experience a high ethnic penalty (Berthoud, 2000) and are more likely to be employed in lower paying occupations than other ethnic groups (Elliott and Lindley, 2008). Moreover, Blackaby and Leslie (2002) found that blacks had the lowest employment rate of all ethnic groups. In the context of professional work, black identity may be considered to be a lower status ethnic identity than some other ethnic groups because negative stereotypes exist about the intellectual ability and competence of black people (Kenny and Briner, 2013).

This chapter responds to these biases through an examination of well-educated black professionals who have demonstrated their intellectual ability and have established a track record of competence through their postgraduate vocational experience. Accounting is a suitable location for this study because it is a form of social and organisational control (Moore, 1991) that has aided the construction of dominant class hegemony (Neu, Cooper & Everett, 2001). Accounting has come to occupy an ever more significant position in modern industrial societies (Burchell, Clubb, Hopwood & Hughes, 1980). Its jurisdiction includes the preparation, presentation, certification and analysis of financial information means that accounting was well placed to benefit from the growth of the information driven service sector (Richardson, 1997). As a consequence of this growth there are approximately 343,000 professionally qualified accountants in the U.K. (Financial Reporting Council, 2016b). With a record number of graduates making a career in accounting, the profession appears to be thriving in the face of economic decline (Sikka, 2009).

Despite the growth in the size of the UK accounting profession, it has yet to implement any significant ethnic monitoring programmes (Johnston and Kyriacou, 2007) and

ethnicity is notably absent from national membership data that include gender and age (Financial Reporting Council, 2016b). The establishment of the UK accounting profession was not simply a matter of determining who might belong; it was also a matter of establishing who might not belong. Through a process of social exclusion, boundary manipulation and social stratification the professional identity of accounting has been established as being predominantly white, middle class and male (Anderson-Gough, Grey & Robson, 1998; Johnston and Kyriacou, 2011; Kirkham and Loft, 1993; Lewis, 2015). In the introduction (See section 1.4) I drew attention to the use of comparative studies between minority groups and majority group experiences in diversity based research and highlighted several limitations including the treatment of minority racial and ethnic individuals as being homogenous while reinforcing the portrayal of the lived experience of white employees as being normative. This study provides an opportunity to explore differences within a minority racial group without comparisons to an established normative experience.

Observables differences that lead to different employment outcomes

My final aim is to understand the different outcomes related to the variety of experiences of participants. For this purpose I decided to compare and contrast the experiences of black accountants, specifically to understand the mechanisms and events that would cause individuals to seek employment outside of their chosen profession, compared to those who choose to remain within their chosen profession. This may be insightful given that the participants are expected to have similar cultural values and had comparative levels of education and training in order to participate as members of the accounting profession.

4.1.3 Research Questions

My aim is to examine the extent to which the cultural heritage of black accountants influences their behaviour within the accounting profession. Specifically, the research questions that I will explore in this qualitative study are as follows:

- To what extent does the heritage culture of black professionals influence their professional careers?

- How does the heritage culture of black professionals influence their behaviour in the workplace?
- Are there any observable differences that distinguish the experiences of black professionals currently employed within their chosen profession with black professionals who have chosen not to be employed within their chosen profession?

4.1.4. Chapter summary

What follows is a literature review (section 4.2) that establishes the context of the study and reviews the accounting literature regarding professional identity construction and minority experience. In the empirical part of this chapter (section 4.3), I discuss the research design, which includes the chosen methodology, selection of participant and analytic procedures. The theoretical framework based on the data is presented (section 4.4) this is followed by a discussion of the key findings and limitations of the study (section 4.5). Finally, the overall findings are presented as well as the theoretical implications of the study and suggestions for future research (section 4.6).

Literature Review

4.2 Section overview

In order to establish the context of this study, what follows is a review of the key accounting literature with a particular focus on professional identity management and the experiences of minority groups within the accounting profession.

4.2.1 A history of accounting in the UK

Accounting in the UK has developed from being an ill-defined group of commercial occupations in the late nineteenth century (Kirkham and Loft, 1993), to an occupational group with a membership of almost 343,000 members (Financial Reporting Council, 2016b). During the first half of the nineteenth century, the occupational identity of the accountant was unclear. The self-styled 'expert in accounts' may have been a bookkeeper, attorney, auditor or a combination of all of these (Kirkham and Loft, 1993).

In attempting to evolve into a recognised profession the dominant institutions used a variety of practices to reflect existing gender and class relations: for example vocational training required the payment of premiums which most could not afford, restrictive practices were introduced to control the type of work accountants did and where they were located (Lehman, 1992). These acts combined with the marginalisation of competing professional bodies helped to exclude whole classes of people from membership such as women and those from lower socio economic groups (Kirkham and Loft, 1993). Several practitioners in the emerging field were considered to have insufficient training or to be incompetent; this subsequently led to the emergence of a negative stereotype for accountants who were considered to be dishonest and inept (Jeacle, 2008).

Professional identity Management

Deloitte's, Price Waterhouse, Young's Company and Cooper Brothers were accounting firms that sought to differentiate themselves on a moral and personal basis, establishing an office culture, codes of conduct and strict discipline. These distinguishing traits proved to be successful and these firms later became the 'Big Four', the largest and most influential firms in the accounting profession (Bougen, 1994).

Part of the success of accountants that survived this disruptive period can be attributed to their successful transformation of the professional identity and stereotype of the accountant. Through a combination of stigma and impression management (Goffman, 1959; Jeacle, 2008) the emerging accounting profession deliberately cultivated the image of the chinless, nervous, bespectacled pen pusher in order to construct an identity perceived to be congruent with conservatism, accuracy and competence (Bougen, 1994; Friedman and Lyne, 2001). In contrast to earlier stereotypes, this secured the trust of the public legitimising the profession and over time establishing a normative identity that is white, male and middle class (Lewis, 2011; Lewis, 2015).

Accounting: An incomplete professionalisation project

The professionalisation of accounting can be said to be incomplete because of its failure to gain statutory recognition of a domain in which accountants are uniquely qualified to practice, i.e. market closure (Richardson, 1997). In short, there is no legal impediment to prevent an individual from claiming to be an accountant regardless of their experience or qualifications. This distinguishes accounting from the legal and medical professions who have both successfully executed the four strategies recommended by Richardson (1997) and completed their respective professionalisation projects.

A symptom of these circumstances in accounting is the fragmented membership of the UK Accounting profession. There are several accounting bodies in the UK (See section 4.3.2), this provides a useful research opportunity because there are sufficient tensions within and between the professional bodies to explore professional differences within recognised accounting qualifications. The incomplete professionalisation project of accounting in part explains why accountants are so preoccupied with their professional identity (Bougen, 1994; Friedman and Lyne, 2001) this makes accounting a suitable location for this study. Socialisation is a fundamental element of establishing and reproducing professional identity and this process has been shown to be located within the workplace (Cooper and Robson, 2006).

However the notion of being a professional is caught up with behavioural factors and exhibitions of 'front stage' and 'back stage' behaviour particularly regarding clients

(Goffman, 1959). Professional self-conduct in accounting is less about examinations and more about reinforcing professional identity (Anderson–Gough et al., 1998). Informal forms of communication convey social information among accountants (Dirsmith and Covalleski, 1985) this extends to the use of language beyond technical financial terms; for example using clichés in the workplace has been shown to reinforce collective identities and creates boundaries for group members (Anderson–Gough et al, 1998).

4.2.2 Gender and accounting

The body of literature concerned with the relationship between accounting and gender is well advanced with debates over the past twenty years (Kim, 2004; Laughlin, 1999). Accounting contains mechanisms that have oppressed women (Loft, 1992); for example membership of the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England & Wales, the largest UK Accounting body (Financial Reporting Council, 2016b) was closed to women until the Sexual Disqualification (Removal) Act 1919 forced their admittance.

During the emergence of the accounting profession and the ongoing negotiation of what constituted professional work, ghettos of less paid work lead to divisions of labour and subsequent occupational segregation (Loft, 1992). Hanlon (1996) showed that white male auditors performed high status work while bookkeepers and clerks, who were mainly women and new immigrants performed peripheral work. The accounting profession negotiated the boundaries of its jurisdiction to exclude work predominantly performed by women in order to deem it less valuable, essentially feminising non-professional work (Kirkham and Loft, 1993).

Despite an increase in female participation in the workforce over the past century, women found it difficult obtaining equality in accounting (Kirkham and Loft, 1993; Lehman, 1992; Loft, 1992). Today, 35% of all accountants are women (Financial Reporting Council, 2016b) however disproportionately few women make it to become partners in accounting practices (Kirkham and Loft, 1993; Lehman, 1992; Lehman, 2012; Loft, 1992)

4.2.3 Race, ethnicity and accounting

The literature exploring race and ethnicity in accounting is less established than the gender literature. Much of the literature is centred upon the United States accounting profession (Hammond, 1997; Hammond, 2002; Hammond and Streeter, 1994). These take the form of historical accounts of the experiences of African American Certified Public Accountants (CPA's) pursuing a career in accounting in the midst of the legacy of slavery and the Civil Rights movement (Hammond, 2002).

African American firms served as a vehicle for increasing the number of African Americans in accounting because of the difficulty experienced by African Americans in securing training contracts (Hammond, 2002). The accounting profession actively excluded blacks from participation for most of the twentieth century through its restrictive practices; for example a number of states prohibited or discouraged blacks from taking professional examinations in their home states and several aspiring accountants had to travel hundreds of miles to take entry examinations (Hammond and Streeter, 1994). The growth and influence of the National Association of Black Accountants (NABA) was fundamental to the increase in the number of African American accountants, NABA had a significant influence on the United States accounting profession, lobbying for equality and diversity as well as working with the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants (Hammond, 2002).

There is a need for more research outside of the United States (McNicholas and Barrett, 2005). The literature regarding the experiences of minority ethnic accountants in the UK is limited, indicating that it is a neglected area of research (Hammond and Sikka, 1996). Johnston and Kyriacou (2007) suggest that the UK Accounting profession operates processes that are institutionally racist and sexist. Ram and Carter (2003) found that minority accountants excluded themselves from large firms choosing not to apply for roles as a consequence of perceived racism; this meant that small firms with minority ethnic partners became important for developing accountants from these groups in the UK in a manner similar to that described by Hammond (2002) for African Americans.

Lewis (2011) challenges notions of colour blindness in accounting suggesting that racism is resilient in UK accounting, arguing that the myth of meritocracy obscures the

racialised reality of inequality experienced by black accountants. Moreover his findings suggest that the myth of meritocracy is so internalised and racism so commonplace that it must be denied even by black accountants. Discrimination is a factor that continues to shape the experiences of minority ethnic individuals within accounting (Lewis, 2015).

Researchers have shown the salience of race in accounting is an international phenomenon. Annisette (2003) showed that accounting professions around the world have consistently excluded, if not offered limited participation to persons socially defined as black. Annisette (2003) argues that the nineteenth century concept of race was widely implicated in the social functioning and organisation of accounting, portraying white normative roles and processes as being superior to alternatives. This was evident from the racial closure policies that accompanied the professional closure policies of British accounting associations in Commonwealth countries (Bakre, 2005). A specific example can be found in Trinidad & Tobago where the influence of British accounting bodies effectively marginalised attempts of the emerging profession in Trinidad & Tobago to establish domestic education and certification of the country's accountants (Annisette, 2000). Subsequently the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Trinidad & Tobago surrendered control of their knowledge functions to the UK based ACCA (Annisette, 2000), this action is inconsistent with the professionalisation projects previously established by (Abbott, 1988; Larson, 1977; MacDonald, 1995). This locates the professionalisation of accounting within a wider context of imperialism that reflects deep influences of colonialism and the dominance of British based accounting institutions in Trinidad & Tobago, Jamaica and Nigeria (Annisette, 2000; Annisette 2003; Bakre, 2005). These studies highlight the necessity of examining the contemporary experiences of black professionals in accounting. Despite their attempts at legitimisation, the research has shown that counter to claims of a bleached out professional narrative, accounting is not a race neutral environment (Lewis, 2011; Lewis, 2015). Moreover, accounting has played a role in propagating social divisions around the world based on race and these mechanisms have worked to the disadvantage of black people (Annisette, 2000; Annisette, 2003; Bakre, 2005). Accounting as a profession has evolved since the nineteenth century but much of its power has come from establishing a professional identity and determining who could

and who could not become an accountant (Annisette, 2003; Bougen, 1994; Kirkham and Loft, 1993)

4.2.4 Contemporary identity management in accounting

Studies have shown that in recent years there has been a shift in the perception of accountants, the long established stereotype carefully developed to secure the trust of the public has reverted to some extent to the negative stereotypes of the nineteenth century. For example the events of Enron have severely tarnished the reputation of accountants (O'Connell, 2004). Recent studies exploring the representations of accountants in popular culture suggest that stereotypes serve as a mirror of widely held public perceptions: the portrayal of accountants in film has revealed several complex stereotypes that range from an everyday employee to a deceitful villain (Dimnik and Felton, 2006). In music, songs reflect the image of the accountant as both the facilitator and accessory for the acquisition of wealth and privilege, however a persistent characterisation is of accountants as perpetrators of fraud and deception who are willing to abuse their position of trust (Smith and Jacobs, 2011).

The professional identity of accountants may be experiencing a shift that reflects changing public opinion (Jacobs and Evans, 2012). Given the necessity for accounting as a profession to manage the perception of its identity in light of recent crises and changing attitudes. Understanding the experience of minority racial and ethnic members is pertinent given the international history of social exclusion in accounting (Annisette and Trivedi, 2013; Bakre, 2005). Moreover given the increase in minority racial and ethnic individuals in the labour market; the existing normative professional identity may no longer be appropriate in a contemporary workplace.

4.2.5 Section summary

This section established the context of this study with a particular focus on professional identity management and the experiences of minority groups within the accounting profession. The next section will focus on the research methods to be employed in this study.

Methods

4.3 Section overview

This section introduces the research design and methodology utilised in this chapter. This includes the choice of method, participants and analytical techniques employed. The purpose of this section is to explain how I developed a typology to guide future theories concerning how black professionals experience their heritage culture and how it shapes their workplace behaviour.

4.3.1 Introduction

The research design reflects the aims and objectives (see section 4.12), the nature of the research environment described in the literature review (see section 4.2) and the data available for this study. I have also considered the reflexive nature of this research to ensure that the quality and integrity of my investigation is maintained.

4.3.2 Research context

The Financial Reporting Council (FRC) is responsible for overseeing the regulatory activities of the professional bodies in accounting (Financial Reporting Council, 2016b). There are seven professional accounting bodies in the UK recognised by the FRC: The Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales (ICAEW), The Institute of Chartered Accountants of Scotland (ICAS), Chartered Accountants Ireland (CAI), The Association of Chartered Certified Accountants (ACCA), The Chartered Institute of Public Finance & Accountancy (CIPFA), Chartered Institute of Management Accountants (CIMA) and the Association of International Accountants (AIA).

The first six are recognised as chartered accountancy bodies and the AIA offers an audit qualification that is recognised by the FRC. All of the accounting bodies listed excluding CIMA and AIA collaborate with each other to preserve the prestige and autonomy of the accounting profession as a whole as part of the Consultative Committee of Accountancy Bodies (Willmott, 1986; Financial Reporting Council, 2016b). The Association of Accounting Technicians (AAT) is based in the UK and provides an entry level qualification for some of the chartered accountancy bodies listed above, however the

FRC excludes AAT when referring to UK accounting bodies, their students and their memberships.

Given the moderate differences among the different types of accountants in terms of their training, nature of socialisation, and the tasks required at work, I felt that examining accountants who are members of different accounting bodies would provide a distinct window through which to view the influence of the cultural heritage for their work based behaviour.

4.3.3 Research approach

In this chapter I chose to use qualitative methods of data collection and analysis.

Qualitative research explores how social experiences are created and given meaning (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). This approach was chosen because my intention to uncover explanatory concepts favours a qualitative inductive approach in preference to a quantitative deductive approach that tests hypotheses. In order to achieve my research aims I wanted to describe and understand the actual human interactions, meanings, and processes that constitute real-life organisational settings (Gephart, 2004).

Qualitative research is desirable in this study not only because it provides accurate descriptions of practice and of people in organisational settings but it also advances the development of theory (Macintosh and Scapens, 1990). Much of the accounting literature concerning race and ethnicity cited in the literature review (See section 4.2) is primarily descriptive, providing insightful narrative and revealing experiences that may not have been revealed. Examples include Kyriacou and Johnston (2006), Lewis (2011) and Ram and Carter (2003). The use of qualitative research methods when exploring minority ethnic accountant experiences is prevalent (Hammond and Sikka, 2009; Johnston and Kyriacou, 2007). This suggests that qualitative methods are appropriate for research in this area. However, there is no complete existing body of data that is regularly updated by the accounting profession this means that it is difficult to locate or contact black accountants in the United Kingdom (Duff, 2011; Johnston and Kyriacou, 2007)

4.3.4 Research strategy

I chose grounded theory as a research strategy in this chapter in order to better understand the unexplored dynamics of how accountants with a similar cultural background benefit from their heritage culture within their professional careers. Grounded theory seems appropriate given my intention to build theory on complex, multifaceted processes because it enables me to develop a theoretical account that is firmly based in the data collected (Martin and Turner, 1986). Following recommendations by Glaser and Strauss (1967), my research is guided by exploratory research questions (see section 4.1.3). My use of grounded theory is consistent with the ontological assumptions described in section 2.13, in particular, my use of critical realism complements the goals of grounded theory research for two key reasons: the first is that grounded theory attempts to achieve a practical middle ground between a theory laden view of the world and an unfettered empirical view and second, grounded theory is suitable because of my concern with how individuals interpret their social reality and the processes by which actors construct meaning out of their subjective experience (Suddaby, 2006).

4.3.4.1 Case study approach

Case studies can be organisations, group or events (Buchanan and Bryman, 2007). The cases being studied here are qualified black accountants. Lincoln and Guba (1985) recommend case studies for qualitative research for several reasons including but not limited to the following: first, case study research has the capacity to provide “thick descriptions” of the data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985 p.359). Second, the scope of case study research enables researchers to effectively communicate contextual information. Finally, case study research has the potential to demonstrate the reflexive interplay between the inquirer and the respondents. The case study approach is particularly suitable where there is little or no prior theory (Riege, 2003). Given the difficulties other researchers have experienced in collecting data in this field (Johnston & Kyriacou, 2007; Lewis, 2011) and the limited number of potential cases available to be studied, it seemed fitting to choose extreme cases to study where I could ensure that the phenomenon of interest was “transparently observable” (Pettigrew, 1990, p275). Extreme cases facilitate theory building because the dynamics being examined tend to be more visible than they might be in other contexts; moreover the use of extreme cases

in organisational studies is consistent with my grounded theory research strategy (Eisenhardt, 1989; Pettigrew, 1990). Purposeful sampling of extreme case studies is an integral part of this study that draws upon the constant comparison technique employed by grounded theorists (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In practice this meant an iterative process of simultaneously collecting data, analysing the data, and seeking new informants (Clark et al., 2010). This process resulted in an evolving and increasingly focused sample comparing data across informants and over time, this continued until no additional themes emerged from the data and I had therefore achieved theoretical saturation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

4.3.4.2. Participants

Much of the research that explores minority racial and ethnic individuals in the UK refer to Black Asian & Minority Ethnic (BAME) individuals (examples include Sommerlad, 2008; Tomlinson et al., 2012), other studies have used the term black to be inclusive of varied racial and ethnic experiences including South Asians to reflect 'political blackness' (for example Lewis, 2011). I chose to study black African and black Caribbean participants working in the United Kingdom because I recognised that different ethnic groups have different experiences within the workplace, for example, continuing my use of the ethnic penalty as a barometer of discrimination: Indian and Chinese workers experience a much smaller penalty within the workplace compared to other minority groups to the extent that their earnings are similar to their white counterparts (Berthoud, 2000).

I was also interested in the historical context of blacks in accounting given their exclusion from the accounting profession around the world (Annisette, 2003; Bakre, 2005). Some research exploring black experiences within the workplace has focused exclusively on one group, for example black Caribbean employees (Rollock, Vincent, Gillborn & Ball, 2012; Kenny and Briner, 2013) but I felt this may not be appropriate for this study given the difficulty I anticipated in finding respondents. A study focused exclusively on black African or black Caribbean participants did not appear feasible given the difficulty anticipated in attracting respondents. I am not suggesting that black African and black Caribbean individuals are a homogenous group, however upon review of the literature, I anticipated that the lived experiences of black African and black

Caribbean individuals would be sufficiently similar in a workplace context for the purposes of this study.

All of the participants had parents born in Africa or the Caribbean or were born in Africa or the Caribbean themselves. I also included participants of mixed heritage who had one parent born in Africa or the Caribbean. I chose to study individuals who were qualified with any of the accounting bodies recognised by the FRC (See section 4.32), qualification meant that participants would have completed their examination requirements, vocational training and would have experienced professional socialisation processes as part of their membership of a recognised professional body. I excluded participants who were not qualified because I deemed qualification as a benchmark that represented an acceptable standard of professional competency. I also chose to include individuals who were qualified but were not working in a professional capacity within their chosen profession. For example, a qualified accountant currently working as a teacher would be allowed to participate in the study. This followed the logic of choosing extreme cases and my concern with different outcomes for individuals from similar cultural backgrounds. This later emerged as an important feature and so I classified participants based on whether they were currently employed within their chosen profession or elsewhere (See Table 4.1). I did not privilege any of the accounting bodies in terms of participation within the study and no specific assumptions should be drawn about the accounting bodies that are represented here.

Widening the scope

Consistent with traditional grounded theory approaches, I engaged in an iterative process that involved travelling back and forth between the data and an emerging theoretical structure (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). As part of this process it became apparent that my research goals could be better achieved by widening the scope of the study to include informant interviews with participants who were members of the legal profession. Part of my rationale behind the choice of the accounting profession was its preoccupation with professional identity management and its ongoing legitimisation efforts to acquire the approval of the state and wider society regarding its professionalisation project (Richardson, 1997) (See section 4.11).

However the data that emerged during the iterative research process revealed that the descriptions about the relationship between the heritage culture of the participants and their chosen profession might not be limited to the accounting profession. In particular several respondents cited the legal profession as an acceptable alternative career regarding the influence of their heritage culture. Specifically, in terms of their heritage culture it was equally acceptable for them to have become lawyers as it was for them to become accountants (See section 4.4.3.3). Moreover the accountant's descriptions of professional service firms, relationships with partners, examinations and training contracts resembled the career tournament in law firms described by Galanter and Palay (1991). This career tournament metaphor is applicable to both accounting and law because of the professional service firms at the heart of each profession.

I decided to explore what this meant for the study by including a number of informant interviews. This meant changing the sampling strategy employed from being purposive to a theoretical approach. I made this decision because I saw a greater opportunity for theoretical insights. I interviewed 4 lawyers as part of this study and like their counterparts in accounting, they were individuals working in the UK with parents born in Africa or the Caribbean or were themselves born in Africa or the Caribbean. Once again I included participants of mixed heritage who had one parent born in Africa or the Caribbean. These individuals also held a recognised qualification for reasons previously explained. Taken together, this sample and context provided an excellent opportunity to examine the role of heritage culture as a resource for black professionals.

4.3.5 Reflexive considerations

In grounded theory, researchers must account for their positions in the research process (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In this study it is relevant for me as a researcher to engage in ongoing self-reflection to ensure that I take personal biases, world-views, and assumptions into account while collecting, interpreting, and analysing data (Suddaby, 2006). My personal experience as a black chartered accountant of West African heritage makes my role as a researcher in this study uniquely valuable and well informed. During the project it helped to build rapport with respondents quickly and develop social bonds that may have resulted in responses that may not have been received by researchers unfamiliar with the professions. I do not have to consider issues of white

privilege (Wellman, 2001) in explaining the experiences of groups disadvantaged in this field but I do need to consider my privilege as a researcher to shape research experiences (Anderson, 1993). I perceive my role in this research process as an opportunity rather than an intrusion (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

4.3.6 Data collection

I began recruiting participants using a snowball approach; this was considered an appropriate purposive sampling strategy for locating information rich participants. Given, that my participant population of interest is small and hard to reach and this approach has been successfully used in similar studies when access to the sample has been difficult (Hammond, 2002; Johnston and Kyriacou, 2007). I asked acquaintances and colleagues if they knew people that met my participant requirements. I contacted the six professional accounting bodies; they confirmed that they had no reliable or complete dataset to identify the ethnicity of their members. I contacted the Top 20 accounting firms according to professional trade journal Accountancy Age (Accountancy Age, 2016). 4 individuals agreed to participate in my study as a consequence of this enquiry. Participants with legal qualifications were also selected via a snowball sample. All participants agreed to take part in a semi-structured interview. Most interviews were performed at the London School of Economics and lasted approximately one hour on average. I recorded the interviews as well as took notes; all interviews were transcribed verbatim. Table 4.1 contains the participant pseudonyms, their current occupations and if they are currently employed within their chosen profession. The specific purpose of the interviews was to learn as much as possible about the participants perceptions, reactions, observations and thoughts in connection with their heritage culture and their professional experience. I developed a protocol of standard questions to provide a semi-structured framework for examining the role of culture on their experience in the workplace. I maintained the ability to explore areas of importance to the participants in depth.

The protocol was divided into four phases, each of which served a distinct purpose (see Appendix 2). In the first phase, I asked respondents questions concerning their personal background and gathered information about their education and professional history in the form of a career biography. I first asked the participants to tell me about their family

background. This simple request led people to share general information about their upbringing and education. In the second phase, I asked about their cultural background and the role their culture played in their personal and professional lives. In the third phase, participants were asked about their current employment, the culture within that organisation and the extent to which they felt like themselves at work. Although each interview covered the same topics, I tried to understand and clarify the meanings and interpretations each participant provided. The procedure employed is similar to that reported by Isabella (1990). When relevant but incomplete responses arose, I often posed follow-up questions to probe for further information.

In summary, I collected data about individual career histories, experiences and perceptions of culture in their personal lives, their organisations and their chosen profession as a whole. During the first interviews, a clear pattern emerged: participants had difficulty understanding the question “Do you feel yourself when you are at work?” To address this pattern in subsequent interviews, I maintained the protocol, but modified the question to ask “Do you feel that you can be yourself when you are at work?” and then followed up with appropriate questions. If the participant did not currently work in their chosen profession they were asked about why they chose to leave and their feelings about their chosen profession, this was explored further in the final phase where they were asked questions about their career outcomes, overall career satisfaction and lessons learned from their career.

4.3.7 Data summary

My participant sample was approximately 52 per cent female, and the majority of participants were in their late twenties to early thirties. I began by interviewing 21 professionals (17 accountants, 4 lawyers). I dropped participants who did not hold any formal qualifications in order to build my typology. This omitted 3 participants resulting in a final sample of 18 individuals. Participants represented a broad spectrum of experience from entry-level associates to partners. This was essential to ensure that the sample would reflect varied tenures and functions within the professions explored. Tenures varied from 3 years to 20 years. The industries represented here are professional services, finance, local government, charity sector, leisure, arts and education. In total I collected approximately 24 hours of recorded interviews.

4.3.8 Analysis

The analysis procedure followed the grounded theory approach formulated by Glaser and Strauss (1967); I analysed the data by taking iterative steps between the data and developing a set of theoretical ideas. This approach requires that the data and theory be constantly compared and contrasted throughout the data collection and analysis process (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In particular I followed the tradition of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and used a 3 step coding system. The purpose of the coding was to extract or abstract the most relevant themes from the data in order to document their precise meanings and record their relationships for data analysis (Kreiner et al., 2006).

4.3.8.1 Step 1 Preliminary analysis

I initially selected 5 transcripts and reviewed these line by line within each paragraph in keeping with the tradition of Strauss and Corbin (1990).

My inductive approach meant that I did not have a provisional list of codes, however I had some expectations of themes based on my notes from the interviews. I wrote comments that described and explained what was said and assigned codes when I identified a phenomenon that represented a theme. Coded text length for this study ranged from one sentence to a few paragraphs. I avoided coding multiple pages to a single code. Multiple codes were overlaid onto any given passage of text when multiple phenomena were found. This coding process was initially performed in Microsoft Word and I continually modified these initial codes adding new ones to account for newfound evidence.

4.3.8.2 Step 2 Creating provisional categories and first-order codes.

I decided to use NVivo 10.2.2 software program to code the themes in the data and to continue with the analyses in Nvivo software. Nvivo does not import comments from Microsoft Word. This gave me an opportunity to review the transcripts again and I created new codes in Nvivo based on these themes. This means that 5 transcripts were coded twice. I then compared and contrasted the codes from Nvivo with the comments and themes from the Microsoft Word documents. I consequently revised the codes subject to the previous comments and this led either to the abandonment or revision of a code. As a sole researcher this was intended to offer an additional perspective on the

transcripts and help to alleviate researcher bias in the analysis.

For each code I tried to use brief sentences or three word codes to signify the phenomenon. For instance, one of the codes that was used 'Accepting Cultural Difference' relates to the text below:

"We're not all the same, people have different personalities. I don't expect everyone to behave the same way that I behave. But what makes, when you have to apply what you call emotional intelligence, whereby you understand everyone is different and how do you manage people who have different personalities, how you deal with them. And that's one of the things they teach you, is to maintain your cool."

Following the recommendations of Turner (1981), all codes were clearly defined in order for me to recognise further instances of the phenomenon in question and stimulate further thinking. For instance, the code 'Proactive Behaviour' was defined as "Refers to when an individual proactively acts to secure support, resources or preparation for their benefit". When the data from participants did not fit a previously identified theme, I created a new theme based on the words of participants. I examined these codes and their relationships with one another for patterns, themes and processes that would account for the frequency, strength and presence of any code. After coding 10 interviews, I did not identify any new themes in the remaining 8 transcripts that I analysed; this included the 4 informant interviews that were included in the study. This absence of novel codes provided considerable support to suggest that I had achieved theoretical saturation; additional data would yield redundant responses (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This provides evidence to suggest that the sample size is appropriate for investigating the phenomenon of interest and no additional participants were required beyond the 18 participants.

4.3.8.3. Stage 3 Higher order codes

The considerably messy, nonlinear reality of grounded theory research meant that my higher order coding did not take place in a discrete sequential procedure as this section may imply. Much of the stage 2 and stage 3 coding took place simultaneously and informed one another; this benefitted the study but made the coding process feel extremely lengthy. Once created, the codes in Nvivo (called nodes in NVivo) can be arranged in alphabetical order, date of creation or the last date modified. For simplicity,

I chose to arrange them in alphabetical order. The use of semi structured questions meant that the early stages of the interviews required a small number of codes because early questions included ice breakers intended to relax the participants by inviting them to discuss general information with which they were familiar. The coding became more complex as the interviews progressed. As a practical point in order to reduce the time taken to code additional transcripts it became beneficial to arrange the codes in a manner that meant similar codes that were being used repeatedly could be easily identified. Forming the codes into discrete groups made theoretical and intuitive sense and served a practical and pragmatic purpose as well as identifying themes as part of a grounded theory approach.

I followed the approach of Miles and Huberman (1994) who suggested that identifying phrases or words used repeatedly by informants could point towards regularities in the data. I also looked for frequently used anecdotes or stories in order to identify a group of themes. I tried to introduce a conceptual and coherent structure to the codes by following the guidance of Turner (1981) and asking myself if there were any common themes that connected the codes I had identified and carefully contemplating the data to see if two or more codes seem to address the same area or phenomenon. This was a combination of organising the existing codes comprehensively as well as attempting to create higher order codes to explain relationships between existing codes. As I consolidated codes, they became more theoretical and more abstract. I kept notes similar to the theoretical memoranda recommended by Martin and Turner (1986) and used these as part of my iterative process of reviewing and comparing the existing first order codes and higher order codes that emerged. These codes that emerged were fascinating because as abstract concepts they directly and indirectly addressed the research questions of this study. Some related directly to the individuals and their behavior and others related to abstract principles that participants recognised in their lives (See Appendix 2 for examples).

4.3.9 Section summary

This section presented the research design and methodology utilised in this chapter. I provided a detailed description of the participants, research strategies and the iterative decisions made as part of this non-linear process. The next section will focus on the results of the analysis discussing the implications of my findings.

Table 4.1 List of study 2 participants

Number	Pseudonym	Job Title	Sector	Profession	Qualification	Employed in Profession	Gender	Heritage
1	Beatrice	Art Curator	Arts	Accountancy	ACA	No	Female	Ghanaian
2	Chantel	Project Manager	Public Sector	Accountancy	ACA	No	Female	Guyanese
3	Denise	PhD Student	Education	Law	LLB	No	Female	Nigerian
4	Daniel	Property Developer	Property	Accountancy	ACCA	No	Male	Nigerian
5	Edward	Gym Owner	Leisure	Accountancy	CIMA	No	Male	Nigerian
6	Anne	Senior Manager	Accounting	Accountancy	ACA	Yes	Female	South African
7	Erica	Solicitor	Legal	Law	LLB	Yes	Female	Jamaican
8	Andy	Senior Manager	Accounting	Accountancy	ACCA	Yes	Male	Nigerian
9	Bill	Senior Associate	Accounting	Accountancy	ACA	Yes	Male	Sierra Leonean
10	Charles	Business Partner	Banking	Accountancy	ACA	Yes	Male	Ghanaian/Jamaican
11	Frank	Accountant	Recruitment	Accountancy	ACCA	Yes	Male	Ugandan
12	Gavin	Senior Audit Manager	Accounting	Accountancy	ACA	Yes	Male	Ghanaian
13	Henry	Partner	Accounting	Accountancy	ACA	Yes	Male	Jamaican
14	Ian	Associate	Accounting	Accountancy	ACA	Yes	Male	Nigerian
15	James	Senior Associate	Accounting	Accountancy	ACA	Yes	Male	English/Zimbabwean
16	Gail	Barrister	Law	Law	LLB	Yes	Female	English/Jamaican
17	Florence	Senior Associate	Law	Law	LLB	Yes	Female	Nigerian
18	Gemma	Manager	Accountancy	Accountancy	ACA	Yes	Female	Nigerian

ACA: Associate Chartered Accountant

ACCA: Association of Chartered Certified Accountants

CIMA: Chartered Institute of Management Accountants

LLB: Bachelor of Laws

Research Findings

4.4 Section overview

In this section I present my findings based on the analytical procedures described in section 4.3.

4.4.1 Introduction

The research findings are presented in two stages: in the first stage I will address the first two research questions regarding the extent to which the heritage culture of black professionals influences their professional careers and how this occurs. In the second stage I will address the final research question exploring the observable differences that distinguish the experiences of black professionals currently employed within their chosen profession compared with those who have chosen not to be employed within their chosen profession.

4.4.2 Typology of emergent themes

The findings show that participants believed that their workplace behaviour was influenced to a large extent by their heritage culture. I identified three distinct pathways: professional attributes, cultural performance management and cultural inspiration that I will discuss in detail within this section. To preview my findings, and to serve as a guide for the processes described, I present a typology in Table 4.2 based upon the emergent themes in the data. These categories are meant to serve as a conceptual framework and guide for future research regarding the role of heritage culture on minority racial and ethnic professionals in their careers.

Figure 4.1 Typology for heritage cultural influence on professional careers

Theme	Sub Theme	Explanation	Example
Professional Attributes	Importance of Education	Education is considered important as a path to future success	"They were strict parents, very keen on education, which a lot of African families are" Daniel
	Postgraduate Achievement	There is a clear expectation of academic and career success	"I feel like there's maybe an inherent or maybe an emerging pressure to succeed" James
	Professional Membership	Individuals are encouraged to enter a prestigious profession	"I think there's an element of, or an expectation that you will go to school, you will go to university, you will choose a profession that's decent according to, I guess, whatever the paternal people in your life believe is the best profession at that point." Denise
	Strong Work Ethic	Hard work is necessary and may mitigate potential discrimination	"My mum said "you're going to have to work twice as hard as anyone else" Beatrice
Cultural Performance Management	Self Knowledge	Culture provides a way for individuals to learn about themselves	"I was certainly very aware of my culture and of maybe how it determines or it tells or informs someone else of who or what I am. It's difficult not to be, " Anne
	Cultural Performance	Culture must be performed subject to the social context	I have to manage culture all the time you, just depending on what the situation is you know...if I blurt out something, I may then go on to explain, I try and make it relatable for other people" Florence
Cultural Inspiration	Culturally Inspired Interests	Interests pursued as a consequence of culturally specific knowledge	" My destination has always been push for the best and see what happens, but now its push for the best in Africa." Bill
	Cultural Values & Wisdom	Culture as a source of values and wisdom	"Just knowing where you're from, where they say--in English it will sound bad--but where your umbilical cord is buried. That is important and that kind of helps or influences" Anne

5.4.3 Professional attributes

Professional attributes describe how participants identified their heritage culture as providing them with the resources to build a successful professional career. This pathway was the most supported by the data and was common to individuals regardless of their heritage culture or where they were born. In particular this pathway was fundamental in explaining the core influences in preparing individuals for the workplace. This pathway made references to childhood; participants were able to identify the influence of their heritage culture regarding attitudes towards education, the choice of subjects to study in school and expectations after leaving formal education. The influence of the heritage culture was also reflected in individual career choices and workplace behaviour.

Four themes emerged from the data analysis that participants described as shaping their behaviour and being of long-term benefit before and after entering their chosen profession. These themes are the importance of education, postgraduate achievement, professional membership and strong work ethic. In the following subsections, I characterise these themes as individual attributes and explain how for participants the cultivation of these attributes is synonymous with their heritage culture and career success. The participants provided evidence that indicated how their heritage culture prepared them for entry into a competitive professional environment and promoted behaviours that were considered necessary for their success in their chosen profession. Illustrative examples are provided in Table 4.2

4.4.3.1 Importance of education

The importance of education to the life chances and opportunities of individuals was identified as being a strong culturally influenced attribute. Participants described how their parents encouraged and supported them to perform to the best of their ability throughout their formal education. For instance, Bill, a senior associate of Sierra Leonean heritage currently working in a large professional services firm, describes the great emphasis that his parents placed upon academic achievement:

“My parents have always been quite encouraging and they have always... I guess normal African parents are...[speaking to him directly] “please educate yourself” “ go to school” ”

Bill describes his parents' ongoing encouragement and support. In his description he revealed his belief that his parents' attitude to education was not unusual, he progressed from talking about his own parents to referring to "normal African parents". His perception is that his personal experience is not isolated to his family or his particular ethnic group but to Africans in general.

Bill's description implies that his parents were encouraging his voluntary participation in school. This was unusual among participants, most described how they were expected to perform well in school and that their cooperation was obligatory. Participants accepted these circumstances as a feature of their heritage culture and upbringing. Participants had an implicit understanding of the perceived importance of education that was portrayed as being culturally relevant and self-evident. This persistent message was communicated to the participants via a strong parental influence. This point is well illustrated in Table 4.2 where Daniel, a property developer of Nigerian heritage who previously worked in a professional services firm, describes having strict parents who were very keen on education suggesting this attitude is typical of African families. Charles, a Business Partner of Ghanaian and Jamaican heritage currently working in a large bank in the City of London, further explains how the strong parental influence of African parents was a feature of his heritage culture.

"It might be cultural to the extent that... it's a bit controversial saying this as well, but... the way I see things, African parents, African dads, it is like education, education, education"

The experience of Charles is similar to that described by Bill and Daniel, however it is distinguished by the insight provided into the gendered nature of the support that he received. Charles refers to both his parents but specifically identifies the role of his father regarding his education. Charles continued to explain:

"....with my dad, he's very very education focused. And I think that's been drilled into me. So even from a young age, in year 5 of junior school, in preparation of applying for private schools. We were not a wealthy family by any stretch but the schools around our local area weren't great and my dad's very focused on that, so he wanted me to apply to get a scholarship to a private school. So even from the ages of eight or nine he was teaching me maths at home, handwriting at home, so I'd do a full day

at school, come home and do another two or three hours. I really resented him at the time, but now looking back I can see why he did it and I can appreciate it as well. But very, very education focused....”

The experience was shared by several participants and reflects the active interest and corresponding actions of the fathers of participants regarding the education of their children. The data revealed that fathers of the participants were involved in promoting academic achievement, this occurred even when the father was not living in the family home during the period when the participant was being educated (as a consequence of divorce or separation). The active interest of the father took three primary forms illustrated in Charles’ explanation: the first was an explicit instruction that consistently communicated that high performance was expected at school, the second was practical assistance in developing the skills perceived to be important for academic achievement, e.g. teaching a child to read, informal tutoring by a parent or setting additional homework assignments; the third form of active support was to pay for additional tuition or enrolling the child in a fee paying school.

Performing well at school was part of the way in which children deferred to the authority of their parents in making decisions on their behalf, which they accepted was in their best interests. The participants described education as the foundation on which their other achievements rested, the sentiment of these individuals towards the support of their parents was always expressed with gratitude and appreciation as indicated by Charles.

The importance of education may also reflect an economic reality as well as a cultural one. Edward a gym owner of Nigerian heritage who previously worked for an advertising agency explains how his mother recognised the differences in the life chances of individuals without an education compared to those with an education:

“It was education, education, education... for my mum, education was always very important to her. As someone who came over as an immigrant, which at the time it was quite difficult. It was quite difficult in those times for an immigrant to get a foothold in UK London life. So she understood the importance of actually going and getting a good education. So that was always taught to me”

Edward's description shows that his mother chose to promote her cultural values while revealing to him the socioeconomic realities of living in the United Kingdom. He explains that his mother impressed upon him the importance of getting a good education while conveying an understanding of the difficulties of living in the United Kingdom as an immigrant in the late 1970's and early 1980's. Participants understood that their heritage culture encouraged academic achievement and had accepted the principle that education was a vehicle for professional success. This was the foundation upon which they could build their careers and participants behaved accordingly.

4.4.3.2 Postgraduate achievement

The high educational achievement of the participants was in part due to the influence of their heritage culture towards academic achievement and their requirement to perform to the best of their ability as instructed by their parents.

Participants described how this cultural attribute was unambiguously intended as a path to prepare them for career success.

Participants described how their family and parents were able to create and recreate an environment where education and career success was normative. In this role, the cultural importance of the extended family is apparent because the extended family collectively encourages career success through more implicit methods than previously described in the first theme. Chantel, a Project Manager of Guyanese heritage working for the local government, describes how the example of her extended family influenced her own behaviour in seeking career success:

"I'm fortunate that my family are... in terms of my wider family.... they're quite educated and very academic and career-focused and I've always had that instilled in me so that's kind of what I see."

In her description, Chantel connects the idea of being educated and academic with being career focussed. This was common among the participants and reflected the principle that education was a vehicle for professional success. Chantel emphasised that the example of her extended family regarding their attitude towards education and their careers influenced her own behaviour. Her description highlights two important points: the first is that this behaviour was instilled in her; this approach is similar to the direct approach described regarding the importance of education. However Chantel also refers

to her environment. When she explains “that’s kind of what I see” she refers to the indirect approach of the environment created by her extended family and implies that her aspirations were aligned with the norm that they established. The influence of her extended family was more persuasive and less overt than that used in promoting education. However where education was encouraged through strong parental influence and discipline, the expectation of achievement mirrored normative behaviours exhibited in her extended family. In general it was passive in nature and relied on participants to motivate themselves to achieve. Andy, a Senior Manager of Nigerian heritage currently working in a small accounting practice, describes how the achievements of his family motivated him to pursue his career:

“I come from a family where they love successful people, you don't want to be the only loser. You kind of like say ok, I'm going to do better than this. I'm going to go beyond. “

Andy describes not only how success is admired in his family, he also suggests that his family is comprised of successful individuals. Like Chantel, Andy has a family that has a normative outcome characterised by success. Given the cultural attitudes towards education and its relationship to success, the implication is that Andy has a family that is both educated and successful. Andy suggests that not being successful would distinguish himself from his family in an undesirable manner. This also suggests that like Chantel his family portrays an environment where success and achievement form part of a norm to which family members are expected to adhere, moreover this norm is celebrated and admired by the family.

Family characteristics are important in this cultural theme because they set a benchmark that individuals attempt to meet. In Table 4.2, James a senior associate of English and Zimbabwean heritage currently working in a Big 4 firm describes this experience as an inherent pressure to succeed. Several of the participants described having close family members who were in high status occupations creating an inherent expectation that individuals would conform to this high standard.

Ian, an associate of Nigerian heritage currently working in a Big 4 firm, described the occupation of his family:

“My dad's a doctor, a consulting anaesthetist. My mum is head of nursing for a private clinic in Bahrain. My sister is four years younger than me and she's in uni in Canada and she's studying industrial design.”

Gavin, a senior audit manager of Ghanaian heritage currently working in a Big 4 firm provided a comparable account of his family's career choices made by his family.

“My father is a sociologist, he's a PhD; my mother is a social worker, has a psychology and a teaching degree. Sister is a doctor, and my brother is an entrepreneur. But he's got an MBA....”

These examples are not typical of all of the participants but it does give an indication of the high standard of achievement that many of the participants feel they need to meet in their own professional careers. Individuals recognised that there was a clear expectation of achievement and that this was enforced through a combination of soft (indirect) and hard (direct) forms of influence.

4.4.3.3 Professional membership

Given the high standards of success that participants were expected to meet, many participants described how entering a profession was recognised by their family and their heritage culture as an accomplishment of success. The data revealed that families often had traditional attitudes towards education and careers with strong preferences for established professions such as accounting, law and medicine. The preferences of the family are important in choosing a career and participants understood that they were required to accommodate these preferences.

In Table 4.2, Denise a lawyer of Nigerian heritage, currently completing a PhD builds on the previous theme about the expectation of achievement and the importance of choosing subjects that are likely to lead to professional membership. Interestingly, Denise does not refer to her family directly but to “paternal people”. This is a reference to not only her direct family members but also the extended family (who are influential in her culture). This is exhibited in the expectation that individuals will choose a profession that their family believe is appropriate. Moreover, the use of the word

paternal suggests the gendered nature of this guidance. This is congruent with the active interest of fathers towards the education of their children. It also suggests that this role may not be exclusive to parents but open to those who want to take that role. Their opinions on what is a suitable profession defined the subjects and specific professions that the participants were encouraged to enter.

Florence a senior associate of Nigerian heritage currently working in a professional services firm describes how desirable it is for members of her ethnic group to enter a profession:

“What people say about Igbo is that in Igbo families, all parents want their children to be either a lawyer or a doctor. So from there, you have to succeed.”

Florence describes how it is desirable within her ethnic group (Igbo) for parents to have children who become lawyers or doctors. These were perceived to be high status occupational groups with high educational achievement and postgraduate study as barriers to entry. For an individual to successfully negotiate these barriers was a signal of success. Florence implies that success is inevitable once you have entered these professions.

The data revealed that entering a profession was a generally accepted benchmark of success in their families and their cultural influences encouraged this. This also acknowledges that the strong parental influence was concerned with successful entry into a profession as a desired outcome of education. Consistently, there was little or no discussion of what success meant after an individual had joined a profession. It appeared that the concern was less about the practical benefits of being a member of a profession in terms of technical knowledge or job security and more about social desirability. A recurrent theme that emerged was the culturally desirability of entering a profession because of the social status associated with membership. Daniel explains how education is a path towards obtaining social status by entering a profession:

"Coming from that kind of background or the upbringing that they had for me, in that I mentioned it was quite traditional, they were quite keen on education. You know the next step from that is to be qualify to be a professional, highly rated, Doctor, Lawyer... Accountant. "

Daniel describes the importance of education to his family and how the role of education was to allow him to become a professional. Entering the profession is the final step in a sequence of events that individuals are encouraged to complete as a consequence of their heritage culture. This supports the suggestion made by Chantel about the interdependent relationship between education and success. Daniel identifies that the profession of choice must be highly rated and this reflects the prestige associated with established professions. From a cultural perspective, one of the most important features of the professions was the prestige and status and this was reflected in individual career decisions.

Beatrice, an art curator of Ghanaian heritage who previously worked in a Big 4 firm describes how she made a decision about which qualification to choose as part of her entrance into the accounting profession. Beatrice acknowledges the variety of paths available to her, suggesting that each of them has different benefits. Beatrice also acknowledges the different qualifications available to her but she has a clear motivation and criteria in the final decision she made and what this would mean for her career in the future.

“If I go to a big firm and look at big massive clients, that's probably a better foundation for me than going to a small firm or trying to do ACCA or CIMA. It was absolutely, unashamedly about where is the prestige and that's what I'm going to go for. So that's how I decided which route to take.”

Beatrice highlights that prestige is an important career benefit. This informed her career choice; Beatrice explains that working in a small firm would not allow her to work with large prestigious international clients. Interestingly, the strong preferences that the families of participants had towards academic subjects and entering a profession, were not exhibited in the specific choice of profession for participants. Both Florence and Daniel named at least two professions that their ethnic groups and families would find acceptable. It seems as if at least one of the criteria for choosing a specific profession was prestige and status. The decision about which profession an individual should enter was determined by the perceived competencies of the individual by their family. For accounting in particular individuals were chosen based on the perception that they were numerate or ‘good with numbers’. Henry, a Partner of

Jamaican heritage in a top 20 accounting firm describes how he was encouraged to be an accountant after his family observed his mathematical ability.

“Ever since I was probably the age of 7, I’ve always been identified as being very good at maths and with numbers so the maths and science subjects have always been my areas of specialism so I think it was always, there’s that assumption that if you’re good at numbers you should become an accountant ”

It’s unclear if the families knew much about the professions they recommended for the participants, the nature of the work or the technical competencies; however the perception that numeracy was considered an appropriate aptitude for the job was sufficient. Erica, a solicitor of Jamaican heritage, exhibited similar thoughts about her choice to enter the legal profession:

“I always really liked it. I thought it matched my personality. I’m quite a contentious person. I don’t know, ever since I was a little girl I decided it was something I really wanted to do and always worked towards it through my GCSE choices and my A level choices and everything. It’s just what I wanted to do. I think the fact that my dad is a solicitor as well helps, because it exposes you to that type of profession and I just thought it was what --out of other professions like being a doctor, or a dentist or whatever, I feel like a lawyer is the one I just wanted to do”

Erica summarises much of the theme of professional membership. She explains her choice of profession as being suited to her contentious personality; she describes a deliberate career path that influenced her choice of subjects from school to her postgraduate career decisions. Moreover she cites her father as an influence in exposing her to the legal profession. In her final comments, she identifies career alternatives that may be considered to be high status professions. It seems that becoming a professional is desirable by the heritage culture, the lucrative salaries and job security often associated with the professions were not explicitly discussed, what was evident was the need for status for participants and this was enjoyed vicariously by the families of participants. Given that several participants identified medicine, law and accounting as desirable professions, it was less important which profession an individual joined as long as they chose a prestigious profession.

4.4.3.4 Strong work ethic

Along with a focus on education and achievement, the data revealed the importance and necessity of a strong work ethic. This embodied the concept of the heritage culture as a practical resource to be utilised for the benefit of the individual and was encouraged through a strong parental influence. A strong work ethic was presented both as a positive attribute but also as a potential solution to negative circumstances in the future: Specifically the data revealed that a strong work ethic was purported to perform three key tasks: the first was to help individuals to achieve success in the present, the second task was to help individuals to achieve success in the future, the final task of the work ethic was to mitigate the impact of any potential discrimination that was likely to be encountered.

The message from their family and heritage culture for participants is that the attributes that helped them to enter the profession are the ones that are going to help them succeed within the profession. Andy describes how his heritage culture informs him of the benefits of hard work.

“When my culture tells me that hard work does pay off, and when you believe in something endlessly, you channel your energy into it, into that process, the process will surely reward you. And I've seen that. I don't need to read a book, I don't need to watch TV, I don't need someone to tell me. I've lived it and I've seen it.”

Andy describes his lived experience, explaining how consistent hard work is rewarded after time and that this requires belief and consistent effort on the part of the individual. The data suggested that participants believed that diligence and resilience were required to achieve the goals described. Participants believed that the workplace would reward them at some point in the future as a consequence of their efforts. Inherent to their cultural worldview was the recognition of hard work by those in authority. The benefits of hard work were identified by participants as being both a path to success but also a vehicle for overcoming potential disadvantage. The data revealed gendered roles in the support that parents provided to the participants. Earlier, I described how participants explained that the support they received from their fathers was focussed on education and discipline (See section 4.4.3.1). In contrast, mothers were cited as instilling a work ethic into the participants in order to prepare them for the future.

Participants explained that their mothers managed their expectations about potential discrimination they may experience within the workplace and explicitly identified hard work as the solution to mitigating these experiences. In Table 4.2, Beatrice describes how her mother told her that she was going to have to work twice as hard as anyone else. In this sentence Beatrice is explaining that her mother believed that she would be required to work harder than her counterparts not because of her heritage culture and the ethnic identity associated with it but because of her racial identity. Several participants recognised that their racial group was a potential barrier to success; Charles explains this point below:

“I guess from my mums' side... she wasn't one of these parents who are always sort of banging on about it, but is very much "you're a black male, you have to work four times harder than anyone else to get what you want to get",”

Charles acknowledged his belief that mothers from his heritage culture provide an ongoing reminder that individuals have to work harder in order to achieve because they are black. Both Beatrice and Charles described having to work twice and four times as hard as their counterparts respectively. The circumstances in both scenarios refer to a workplace that may be hostile to members of their racial group.

Participants described how their cultural heritage provided them with traits that were valuable in the workplace: the importance of education and an expectation of success, which were expected to lead them to a profession. All of this was underpinned by a strong work ethic, which was expected to help them achieve their goals even in the face of disadvantage. The mechanism through which these attributes were cultivated was their parents. The parents of participants exerted a strong influence using explicit and direct motivations including discipline and reprimands in what may be considered to be traditional parenting techniques. The parents played gendered roles with fathers enforcing discipline, monitoring educational achievement and encouraging the development of competency based skills. Mothers cultivated attitudes and personal resilience in line with the work ethic, preparing participants for potential disadvantage in the workplace. This support was accompanied by an indirect influence from the extended family by their lived example of success. The role of the family was culturally

salient because of the respect that was shown by participants to their families. Participants were culturally motivated to obey their parents and accept their guidance and instructions.

Based on these observations I propose that these traits encouraged by their cultural heritage prepare individuals for a competitive career tournament, which may not be fair in the short term, but cultural expectations suggest that they will be rewarded in the long term. For participants this perceived discrimination was a consequence of their perceived racial identity and not their heritage culture. The notion of being black in the workplace was perceived by participants to have negative connotations for career success.

4.4.4 Cultural performance management

The participants provided evidence that indicated that their heritage culture provided benefits beyond competency-based skills. Participants described the influence of their heritage culture on their attitudes towards themselves as individuals and the meanings associated with this in the workplace. Two themes emerged from the data: self-knowledge and cultural performance. In the following subsections, I characterise these themes as behaviours driven by their heritage culture. The participants provided evidence that indicated that their heritage culture motivated them to manage their cultural identity within a professional context. Illustrative examples are provided in Table 4.2

4.4.4.1 Self knowledge

Self-knowledge refers to the inherent personal value and self esteem that individuals experienced as a culturally influenced attribute. The heritage culture of individuals provided a means through which they could find meaning. This pathway revealed how participants perceived their heritage culture to provide two important functions in this context. The first is to promote self-esteem for the individual; the second is to provide practical resources to engage with others in a mutually beneficial and respectful manner.

Florence describes how learning more about her heritage culture helped her to have a greater understanding of her family and their influence in her life. She explains the importance she places on the meaning she draws from heritage culture:

"So it's I think very hard to imagine where you can go if you don't know where you're coming from. So that's why I was saying that one of the biggest chance I have is that I – I had the chance to be sent back to my parent's country to understand where they are coming from, and even though I don't speak their language, I have the same memories as they had in some certain terms of you know food, and music and stuff, so it creates bonds."

The opportunity to travel to her parent's country of origin was particularly important for Florence to understand her heritage. Florence, acknowledged that she did not understand the language of her heritage, however the shared experiences and collective memory of food and music helped to create bonds with her family. Florence describes the personal significance of cultivating a relationship with her heritage culture as a way to share a collective identity with her family. Florence is not claiming to be culturally competent, however she values the experience of belonging to this ethnic group. Florence continues to explain that her upbringing within the culture has instilled a sense of pride in her:

"I think it's because of the way I've been raised. My parents wanted me to be proud of where I was from. So I've been to Nigeria every other year from the age of 1 until I was in my teenage years when I couldn't because I was working, so then I decided to go every three years or so"

Florence describes her intention to maintain this relationship with her heritage culture. The data analysis revealed that participants used words like "rooted", "grounded" "buried" to reflect the stabilising effect that their heritage culture provides to them. The knowledge of the culture itself helped to provide this stability, below Anne a Senior Manager of South African heritage, currently working in a Big 4 firm describes the stabilising effect of her culture:

" I believe that because of my awareness of my cultural identity, I am able to be grounded anywhere. I always have something to return to within myself, and I think that that's kind of what helps. This is not to say that and of course living in different cities and different countries and working, I have not adopted some of the things that you learn or are exposed to or experience. But that centeredness, that awareness of who you are that I think comes from cultural awareness, background, and things like that"

The description shows that Anne's heritage culture provides a form of stability in the context of other cultures. Anne refers to an interesting duality acknowledging that cultures are not inherently fixed. Anne implies that she is willing to learn from her experiences, however there is an underlying sense of self. Andy further explains the perspective that his culture provides both in terms of pride as an individual but also the resources it provides when dealing with others.

"If I look at my culture and I look at it, it makes me understand who I am as a person. And what I can see from that, from my experience, is the fact that there is so much in terms of learning about how to treat people when you meet them. How to communicate with people. How to solve problems without killing each other. How to appreciate one another. It's what we call brotherly love. And that's what comes from the culture, and the fact that you don't have to know someone to respect them. You don't have to know somebody to love them, you don't have to know somebody to be kind to them. That's one of the things that my culture proclaims. And that's one of the things that I think. That's why I say I'm proud of where I come from. When I look at that in absolute terms, it makes me proud of where I come from."

Andy agrees with Florence about heritage culture providing a means for self-knowledge, however he also refers to the practical benefits of his culture implied by Anne. Andy describes how his culture provides guidance on several important activities that are relevant within the workplace. Andy explains how his culture informs him how to communicate with other people with respect. Andy directly attributes his heritage culture with providing resources that allow him to cooperate with others in order to solve mutual problems. This is conceptualised as being mutually reinforcing, the pride comes from both his personal cultural experience and for the utility it provides as a resource; both are relevant for self esteem and developing relationships with others.

4.4.4.2 Cultural performance

In this theme participants actively managed their heritage cultural influences in the workplace and this manifested in two different ways. In the first instance, cultural performance was described as a consequence of the heritage culture, in the second instance, it was described as a feature of the heritage culture. First I will address cultural performance as a consequence of heritage culture.

The general opinion of participants was that racial identity was salient within the workplace, however cultural identity was not. In this sense, individuals experienced their racial identities based on how they were perceived within the workplace; however their cultural identities was something that they experienced as individuals. This important distinction revealed a rift between individual perceptions of culture, which were generally considered to be positive and generative; and the perception of others regarding racial identity which was considered to be potentially negative. When asked directly if their heritage culture influences their outcomes in the workplace, participants agreed that their culture was not relevant in the workplace, despite the role that it played in motivating their entrance into the profession. Chantel exemplified this point when asked if she thought that her culture influences her career outcomes. She explains that

"There's an underlying sense of difference, but I wouldn't say it was really relevant because at the same time I'm British, I'm English. Obviously I'm very clear about my heritage but I'm British, so can relate on that level and you kind of leave other things at the door. It's not really relevant at work."

Chantel acknowledges an underlying sense of difference between herself and her colleagues, without explicitly describing the nature of the difference. Chantel explains her heritage culture is something that she actively excludes from the workplace and in doing so makes two points that are worth exploring in more detail: First, Chantel acknowledges that she is different to others, this is not explicitly presented as a disadvantage, however it is clear that minimising this perceived difference provides benefits for her in the workplace. This is evident by her choice to separate her heritage cultural identity from the workplace. Second, Chantel's description assumes that individuals have the ability to separate these identities when and if appropriate. Chantel makes no reference to her professional cultural identity or her organisational cultural identity.

Chantel asserts her British identity as being both relevant and appropriate for the workplace. In contrast, her heritage culture is discarded from the professional environment as unsuitable. Herein lies the implicit assumption that many participants were unable to articulate: i.e. the professional cultural identity was British. Although Chantel identified being British as part of her identity, it was the only cultural identity

that she chose to exhibit at work. This draws attention to the performative nature of the heritage culture in the workplace. The normative identity in the workplace creates a need for Chantel to perform her identity while excluding her heritage culture. This is a challenge for individuals because it can be observed that the heritage culture enables entry into the profession but the heritage culture itself must be excluded from the workplace. This implies that there is a requirement to conform to a professional norm that favours some cultures in preference to others. Chantel illustrates how this is manifested in her description of the reasons why she would exclude her heritage culture from the workplace.

“..you kind of put on your professional front and your mask and whatever. But I suppose you could say that if I was in one of my old workplaces, just certain cultural references or things you speak to people about, you would never even dream about speaking to people because they wouldn't get it and they wouldn't understand and you think it's just so far removed from what they know that you just wouldn't even think about it. But where I'm working now, because it's very mixed and diverse, there's certain things that you can talk about in the workplace and people get it and they understand it so it's just more about having commonalities and stuff with people, which I have now which I haven't in the past.”

In her description Chantel describes how she masks her heritage culture from the workplace, this metaphor is appropriate because it describes how she hides part of herself, exhibiting a version of herself that is acceptable to the workplace. The extent to which she performs her culture in this manner appears to be contingent on the demographic composition of the workplace. The implication being that in a working environment where Chantel is in a minority, she will have less in common with many of her colleagues because of the distance between her heritage culture and the mainstream culture observed in the workplace. This performative role is a consequence of having a heritage culture that needs to be obscured from view in a professional workplace. Frank an accountant of Ugandan heritage working in a charity, elaborates on the need to manage himself in order to present an acceptable face to an organisation

“So if as a [minority] ethnic person you shouldn't be lacking in confidence and saying "I'm not ok". In essence, you must have the confidence to say "I'm ok". But at the same time you must understand that you are working with a team and the team perhaps, if you are fortunate enough and maybe in London it's not critical, you will have people who are intermingled with ethnic people. But there's also if you go to larger organisations, there is the likelihood that you are going to come across people who haven't

intermingled with ethnic people. And if this particular person who is at the gate for the interview has not done that, then you need to put them at ease and send them the message that you're going to fit the team”

Frank raises several important points: the first is that a minority ethnic individual may not be the norm in a working environment and this may have potentially negative consequences. Frank acknowledges the effort that is required on the part of the minority ethnic individuals to have self-confidence at work. This highlights the additional burden on the participants to manage their identities in the workplace: Frank refers to a need to signal to others that he is able to conform to the norms of the organisation in spite of his ethnic identity.

However given, the influence of the heritage culture, it could be argued that participants already conform to many of the norms of the workplace in terms of educational background and work ethic. This highlights that behaviour is important to succeed in the workplace. Gemma, a Manager of Nigerian heritage in a Big 4 firm, explains how she shapes her behaviour in order to manage the potential difference between her heritage culture and the cultural norms of the workplace.

“I try to bring it as close as possible because I have to be with these people twelve to fourteen hours a day, but you have to manage it. You have to be careful and you have to be very conscious. So it's distant but it's up to you to manipulate it, shape it so it's going to benefit you and your career but just the most important thing is just to be aware that there's a difference and people see that there are a difference and just to manage that.”

In this example the differences between individuals are identified as a potential problem that need to be actively managed. These efforts come at a cost, and Gemma alludes to the toll that this type of effort requires, working for up to fourteen hours a day means that bringing her work culture and heritage culture closer together reduces the burden on her part. Essentially, Gemma describes the ongoing process of shaping and manipulating her experience in the workplace implying that it is necessary in order to make sure that her identity benefits her career. In contrast some participants believed that actively managing their heritage culture was a feature of their ethnic identity. The data revealed that participants considered their cultural experience to be

one of many potential cultural experiences that were not mutually exclusive. Denise describes this phenomenon:

"I was aware of my culture in relation to other cultures, and I was aware of the fact that the culture I was brought up in was open to world views, yeah. I was quite aware of that.."

Denise explains that she has experience of living in a culturally plural environment; this has two key implications that participants exhibited; the first is that individuals can recognise multiple cultural contexts; the second is that individuals have the ability to participate in other cultural contexts. Denise describes this openness as an attribute of her culture. It may also be a consequence of participating in a culturally plural environment. As a member of a minority ethnic group Denise may find it necessary to be flexible in this regard.

Participants seem aware that their personal experience may not be the norm for others in a culturally plural environment, hence the need for cultural performance on their part. Beatrice explains the importance of cultural pluralism in this regard by pointing out that being able to be comfortable with your own heritage benefits individuals by encouraging them to be comfortable in the presence of other cultures.

"Because if I can sit with a Nigerian friend over here and my Indian friend over there and my Chinese friend over there, and we all know who our ancestors are but we're all getting along like a house on fire anyway and no one can split us on the basis of those differences because we're all psychologically comfortable people, then my culture influences me in that respect."

In contrast to the performative nature implied earlier, this suggests no hierarchy of cultures. However Beatrice's point highlights the potential for friction by acknowledging that those differences can cause division among groups, she argues that her culture influences her by encouraging her to be able to engage with other cultures with respect and understanding. In summary, it appears that the heritage culture of the participants can provide a sense of self and inherent self worth, particularly given the role of heritage culture in bringing participants into a profession, however there may be tensions between the traits that brought an individual into the workplace and those that will allow them to thrive there.

The heritage culture of participants was acknowledged as having racialised meanings to others and there was a need to manage the opinions and behaviours of others as a consequence. Participants felt that their culture allowed them to appreciate the cultures of others and gave them the skills to fit within a variety of cultural contexts. However this perception may be influenced by the minority status that the participants must endure in the workplace. No participants referred to this directly, however the expectation of having to manage their identity and the apparent irrelevance of their heritage culture in the workplace contradicted their experience of having to present a British cultural frame in order to relate to others in the workplace.

4.4.5 Cultural inspiration

Participants described how their culturally motivated interests encouraged them to pursue activities or modes of thought that supported their professional aspirations; this had the potential to accelerate professional development to the benefit of the organisation and the individual. In this theme the heritage culture of individuals provided an alternative lens to observe phenomenon within the workplace. The data analysis revealed two types of attributes that participants describe as being of long-term benefit to the individuals: culturally inspired interests and cultural wisdom. Illustrative examples are provided in Table 4.2

4.4.5.1 Culturally inspired interests

The data revealed that participants were able to leverage their cultural knowledge in order to cultivate opportunities for their personal benefit and that of their organisation. These opportunities appeared in two primary forms: the first was the exploration of existing products and services through a cultural lens in order to reach a new audience or solve an existing problem. The second was to consider problems in environments where their heritage cultural knowledge provides a competitive advantage. Beatrice, provides an example of the first form, she describes how she recognised an opportunity through the combination of her professional experience in the publishing industry and her own personal interests and her heritage cultural context.

“I was just interested in...the Economist, the Ecologist, Prospect magazine, all these other kind of high-quality magazines I was like "could there be an annual magazine or quarterly magazine that told me

as much about the environment but only about Kenyan environmental issues, that was as good as the Ecologist; and economic issues that was as good as the Economist"...most of my clients were publishers at [Big 4 Firm]. What I wanted to see was, the Economist has special editions or special issues every few months or so, I thought ok, let me just go and do that equivalent for Kenya's creative industries... we don't have all the people who do analysis of the creative industries in G8 type countries, Kenya does not have those kinds of analysts over there."

Beatrice's knowledge of publishing and Kenya's creative industries meant that she recognised a market opportunity that had not been explored. The combination of her personal interests, cultural context and professional experience meant that she was in a position to explore niche opportunities. Beatrice also had the resources to exploit the opportunity, her commercial experience in the industry provided some technical expertise that proved to be insightful. In contrast, Bill had a similar experience that exemplified the second type of cultural inspiration: his cultural knowledge helped him to gain access to organisations and public figures that his employers could not provide. Bill was able to form relationships and use his expertise to help organisations across the African continent.

"I thought to myself innovation technology Africa, what does that mean, what does that look like? Heard a lot, need to see to experience it myself. I need to meet the actual people who are making these changes and could be changing the forefront of Africa in Africa... there is a real lack of entrepreneurs on the ground who are starting up things, meeting investors on the ground who are having difficulties finding the right investment opportunities, So we decided we wanted to go to South Africa, Kenya, Rwanda, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, which we did over six months, hardly any money, managed to complete three different entrepreneur workshops in three different countries, put together a documentary....we saw several African President including, Rwanda and Kenya, Uganda was there."

Bill's example was typical of participants who developed their ideas as part of their extra curricular activities and over time this formed an important part of their career. Participants were willing to leave their lucrative jobs in order to pursue these opportunities. Bill describes how his personal interest in business start up culture and his own knowledge of the African continent provided an opportunity for him to share his expertise and benefit others. However he also remarks on how this benefitted his career:

“I came back to [Big 4 Firm] and gave a presentation to my team of my first four months of work and what I achieved during the time in Africa. I was also keeping tabs with different partners, giving them an update every month.. I would just pop into a local office, or just meet up with somebody who works at [Big 4 Firm], just always keeping them in the loop and most importantly I wanted to find out the challenges [Big 4 Firm] was facing on the ground”

Bill leveraged his knowledge to benefit himself and his organisation and this led to a change in his career path:

“I was always making sure keeping different opportunities open just by networking and meeting more people... because I kept people in the loop, I was managing expectations,.. as soon as I landed I was meant to go back to Business Restructuring, I spoke to a partner.. he asked me what are your plans? Plans are to find something in [Big 4 Firm] I can go back to Africa or international development or leave [Big 4 Firm] and find another company who can now nurture my newfound passion. He said okay, you want to join this team..., which was really good so now I am in the Pan African Group. I have been in this team since March. The team consists of me, my manager and partner”

In the example above Bill credits his new role with his ability to maintain relationships and manage the expectations of several of his potential stakeholders. Bill was fortunate enough to be able to work for an organisation where he could transfer into an appropriate department where knowledge of his heritage culture was relevant. Given the role that cultural heritage plays in bringing the participants to their chosen profession, culturally inspired interests appears to be an attempt to seek congruence between their professional work identity and their non-work identity. Underpinning this approach was an inherent sense of value in their heritage culture and this was expressed as a resource and a source of wisdom and knowledge. This also highlights a consistent experience of the participants who achieved this: a non-linear career path. These non-linear experiences were punctuated with obstacles and difficult decisions that required considerable courage and foresight; participants often explained these experiences as a consequence of luck or personal relationships.

4.4.5.2 Cultural values and wisdom

The cultural heritage of participants did not just provide competence based skills and attitudes, it also provided wisdom in the form of proverbs and metaphors. These were indicative of some of the values held in the heritage culture. The widespread use of

proverbs was not observed among the participants and this to some extent may reflect the efforts of individuals to exclude their heritage culture from the workplace. However there were a couple of interesting examples that I will discuss.

The first example was provided by Bill, who intimated that his actions were influenced by some of the values of his heritage culture, when explaining his activities to develop his social network in order to further explore potential opportunities, he drew on his heritage culture to express his opinion:

“So it finally came to the old African proverb of “If you want to fast, go alone, but if you want to go far, go together” and one of the things I wanted to achieve out on the trip was to really change the perception of the continent in terms of how everyone sees AIDS, to business, just the reality.... how it was on the ground. “

Bill is describing his ambitions to contribute to Africa as a continent and to collaborate with others in order to do so. He recognises that this is something that he cannot achieve alone and seeks to achieve more through cooperating with others. This example was suitable given the context of what Bill was trying to achieve. This also showed that the values to which he adhered were universal and could be translated across cultural boundaries. Moreover it is an example of a practical maxim that can benefit individuals careers because it highlights the importance of collaboration, teamwork, shared resources and a shared vision.

In contrast to this example, there are other cultural artefacts that may not traverse cultural borders as easily. As discussed earlier, the heritage culture of individuals was something that could be used for self-knowledge and self-development and a source of self-esteem. In this regard Anne described the benefits of understanding her heritage culture (See Table 4.2) In doing so Anne used a culturally specific metaphor to explain the value of an individuals heritage culture to their wellbeing and overall sense of self. In doing so she referred to knowing “where your umbilical cord is buried”. A lot of significance is attached to burial by Africans in the region where Anne originates and the burial of an umbilical cord is intended to begin a cycle of belonging to a particular region to metaphorically bind the child to that place (Ndlovu, 2010). The use of the

example by Anne is interesting because it represents a practical resource of the heritage culture in informing individuals about the principles important to their culture.

In summary, cultural heritage can influence individual aspirations and provide opportunities, strength and wisdom that are useful in the modern workplace. There is evidence to show that an individual's heritage culture can benefit them as individuals and can benefit their organisations.

This section shows the large extent to which the heritage culture of the participants is considered to shape their behaviour before and after entry into the workforce and how this influence is experienced. Now I turn to the second stage of the findings where I distinguish the observable experiences of participants currently employed within their chosen profession compared with those who have chosen not to be employed within their chosen profession.

4.4.6. Distinguishing factors of those who remain in their chosen profession

I chose to explore exit from the profession as a phenomenon because given the research findings and the circumstances detailed in the literature review I anticipated that success within a professional environment as a black professional would take considerable emotional resources as well as persistence and motivation. In this regard I further anticipated that the choice to leave a profession would be as a consequence of important and observable experiences, these expectations were supported by the data. For clarity, leaving the profession in this study means that the participants are not employed on a day-to-day basis in their chosen profession. It does not mean that the participants no longer hold the qualification that they have earned. One of the benefits of professional membership once achieved is that individuals remain lifelong members as long as they continue to pay their subscriptions and ensure that they are engaged in continuing professional development (CPD). CPD requirements are not prohibitively time consuming or expensive, typically it involves technical reading and course attendance (Paisey, Paisey & Tarbert, 2007), given the results of the data regarding the social benefits of membership it suggests that once an individual is a member of a profession it is unlikely that they would terminate their membership. In this sense, the choice to leave the profession as defined here is intended to reflect a decision about active daily participation in a chosen profession. Of the participants, the majority of

them were employed within their chosen profession, however five individuals were not (See Table 4.1).

The data revealed two key indicators of participants choosing to leave their chosen profession: the first was an unstable training environment and the second was the lack of a senior developmental relationship within the workplace. These experiences are not intended to be predictive, however they are indicative of participants leaving a chosen profession. Participants who had both an unstable training environment and lacked a developmental relationship within their organisations left, in contrast, individuals who had stable training environments and a senior developmental relationship within the workplace remained within their profession.

4.4.6.1 Stable training environment

A stable training environment was a primary indicator of individuals that remained within their chosen profession. For participants, a stable training environment was characterised by ongoing employment, training and academic support within a single organisation for an agreed period of time. In both law and accounting, a common route to qualification is to enter a training contract with a professional service firm for a fixed period of time e.g. three years for accountants and two years for solicitors (Grey, 1998; Sommerlad, 2012)

Participants who entered these training contracts stayed within the profession after they qualified. Denise describes her experience working as a solicitor; she had completed her law school training but was not within a training contract.

So at the time I worked as a billings clerk and a legal assistant in that law firm because I'm not a qualified solicitor in England. So I needed to either take the exams and then qualify, and probably start to earn a little bit more, or find something else. So my options were very slim. So there was no way I could get promoted from a billings clerk to what billings clerk senior, or billings clerk chief something. You know there's really no room for progression in that field.

Denise explains that her lack of qualifications meant that her career options were limited, not being in a training contract meant that she was aware that she was being employed with no expectation of career progression. Her lack of formal qualifications

limited her career options. However once she obtained her qualifications she was able to get a different job with another organisation:

“I was a Junior Counsel because I had just qualified... The last thing I did when I was working actively in a law firm was taking clients, representing them in court, writing letters, drafting the claims and stuff like that.... that was the last thing I did in a law firm. “

In her role as a billings clerk, Denise wanted to progress in her career, however she had a clear understanding that this was not possible without a qualification. After she qualified she was able to get a client-facing role. These circumstances can be explained by the absence of a training contract. This illustration represented the fragmented career history of those participants without training contracts. Outside of a training contract, the early stages of an individual's career are less predictable and this has a profound impact on the rest of their career. The consequence can be a disjointed career path in what is normally a stable and predictable period for trainees. This can be both frustrating and challenging; furthermore this experience may contribute to their willingness to leave their chosen profession. Frank describes his experience qualifying to become an accountant.

“I automatically decided that I was going to do the ACA, but I did not have a company that was sponsoring me, so I did it as a freelancer. And I found that it was challenging and I could not understand why it was challenging, until I recognised that the people who were doing the ACA with me... I was with a whole bunch [employees of a Big 4 firm] at [Vocational Training College] and I realised that they were working in the field so they had a distinct advantage in passing the exams. A, because they had the time to study, but B, because they were doing the job on a daily basis so they didn't need to understand what a debit and credit was from a theoretical side. I started doing exams were challenging, as I said. And at the same time I kept looking for a job...”

Frank had not secured a training contract. He clearly identifies the challenges that he experienced as a consequence and alludes to the benefits of being within a training contract; secure employment and practical training that complements the entry examination requirements. Frank explains that he is at a disadvantage because he has to study in isolation while searching for employment; in contrast his counterparts were being instructed on a daily basis and received financial and organisational support. Frank continues to describe his career decisions regarding his postgraduate education:

‘...somebody who knew somebody had started a private company.... this person was looking for an accountant. But then I stopped doing the ACA, because I wasn’t getting sponsored... I went a different route altogether.... after working at this company for a little while and decided to get a Masters' in finance & information systems, because I discovered in the workplace, quite a few of the issues that were coming to me were IT based as well.’

At this point in his career, Frank was still motivated to gain a postgraduate qualification but he lacked the financial and organisational support provided by a training organisation: he wasn’t receiving “sponsorship”. Consequently he pursued a Masters degree because of his perceived demand for information technology skills in the market. Despite these efforts Frank experienced difficulty within the market because he did not hold a relevant qualification. Frank explains his frustration below:

“I hadn't pursued the ACA, somewhere along the route when I had gone to recruitment consultants after my Masters they kept telling me that the market is very rigid in the UK. People want to put a label on you. So right now even though you have a Masters, you will find that people want to say "So what are you, are you an accountant or what are you"? And people in recruitment kept recommending that I complete an accountancy qualification. And I was reluctant at first. I had paid my dues in education and hadn't had sufficient rewards. I guess I was sulking..... So that's when I decided to embark on the ACCA and do it on a part-time basis while I'm working. Again, I wasn't supported by my company or anything like that at the time.... I had set myself a target of two years and doing like four papers a year and exam sitting et cetera, but that wasn't achievable. I did it in three and a half years”

Frank recognised that his lack of formal qualifications was limiting his career in a way similar to that described by Denise. He acknowledged the advice given to him by recruiters and decided to seek a formal qualification. Once again he was not supported by an organisation. This placed a great deal of stress upon Frank who later left the labour force for over a year as a consequence. This is indicative of the stress that individuals experience when they work outside of training contract. A stable training environment would ensure that an individual received the appropriate support in terms of training and employment. The description above exhibit the key characteristics of participants who did not have a stable training environment this included several jobs within the early stages of their careers, a staggered qualification period, meaning that individuals took longer to pass their entry examinations and this process was often punctuated with career breaks and postponed examinations.

Both Denise and Frank expressed their decision to complete the entry examinations, implying that this was the conclusion of a period of contemplation about their careers. Those who stayed within the profession did not share these sentiments; their discussion of their training was often brief. Not completing their exams or qualifications was not something that any of the participants currently employed in their profession discussed in any detail. For example Gavin described how he qualified as an accountant:

“I did well in the ACA like I passed all my ACA units.”

Erica had a similar short description:

“I finished university in 2009 I did one year of law school I did my training contract from 2010 to 2013 and I qualified as a solicitor.”

The lack of a training contract appears to be indicative of a lack of sound career advice; this suggests that the individual does not have the appropriate developmental relationships within the field. Several of the career decisions made by participants in these circumstances were outside of the norm, when asked if he was aware of the structure of the training system Frank said:

“A bit later on I was aware of it, once I started the course. But prior to that I wasn't. I wasn't aware of the larger companies doing it, but I knew there were one or two smaller firms that were providing that option.”

Frank did not have the appropriate guidance and this made his training and employment challenging. There was no indication that Frank or Denise had appropriate career guidance or support that they may be expected to receive as part of a developmental relationship. The lack of developmental relationships was found to be another important indicator for leaving a profession.

4.4.6.2 Developmental relationships

Individuals who stayed within the profession were able to identify developmental relationships within their organisations. Specifically they referred to individuals who provided career development support to them at important times of their career. Gavin refers to a Partner that he used to work with and their relationship:

“So he’s been like a mentor for me.. because he’s the guy I call whenever I want to make a decision, or I have a tough career decision and so forth, I call him.... I speak to him probably four to six times a year,”

Gavin is able to consult his mentor prior to making any important career decisions; furthermore this person is someone that Gavin stays in regular contact with. This relationship is possible because both Gavin and his mentor worked together previously, his mentor is a Partner in a firm in New Zealand and they maintain an ongoing relationship. This was not the only way to secure a developmental relationship, being proactive meant that other participants were able to form relationships with successful role models that could also provide support. Anne provides an example of how she proactively sought help:

“So there's a partner, very senior African-American lady, very eloquent... [she] presented something. She was coming from an office that was not in New York, because I was working in New York. I think it was somewhere in Middle America. But I was so impressed I sought her out and found her and was like "oh my gosh, can we just talk. Let's ask questions". We exchanged cards, we started talking, so now I can still send an email and say "tell me what you think about abc"”

Anne explains how she took the opportunity to find her own mentor by approaching an individual that she thought was suitable. She was fortunate that the lady agreed but she continues to acknowledge that this is not always the case:

But it's always about just going to ask. And sometimes someone will say no. Someone will say yes and not really do anything, but someone will say yes and do something.

In this sense, finding a mentor was described as a combination of proactivity and hard work. Andy summarises several of the experiences of participants who remained in their chosen profession.

“But I think one of the key things is that people will always have an interest in you if you are serious about what you do. And they could see that I was serious about what I was doing. They could see that I had the desire to be very good at what I do. I want to be exceptionally good at what I do. I don't do anything halfway. Either I do it or I don't do it at all. So if I decide to channel my energy into it, then usually I will be very good at it. So I think people saw that in me and they gave me that chance, they gave me the opportunity.”

These comments reflect Andy's opinion that individuals who act, as mentors are motivated to support individuals that they think are likely to succeed. The participants identified here were able to benefit from these relationships and they subsequently received career development support and were able to benefit from the experience of their mentors.

In summary, individuals that chose to remain in their chosen profession tended to have a stable training environment and a mentor or similar developmental relationship at some point in their career. Both were indicative of career guidance, which was an observable feature of the careers of participants currently employed within their chosen profession compared to those participants employed outside of their chosen professions.

4.4.7 Section summary

In this section I presented a framework to illustrate the three themes that emerged from the data and distinguished individuals who chose to remain within their chosen profession and those who chose to seek alternative employment. In the next section I discuss the findings identified the contribution this study and implications for future research

Discussion

4.5 Section overview

In this section I provide an analysis of my findings, highlight the implications of my results, limitations of the study and also outline the contribution this chapter makes to the literature.

4.5.1 Introduction

My aim in this chapter was to explore the extent to which the heritage culture of minority racial and ethnic individuals shaped their workplace behaviour in a professional context. Specifically I wanted to develop a typology to describe the ways in which the heritage culture of these individuals influenced their careers. I used a grounded theory approach because of the exploratory nature of my research questions and this complemented my research strategy of choosing extreme case studies to observe the phenomena of interest in suitable detail. The study benefitted from the grounded theory approach because of the iterative data collection process and this facilitated the inclusion of additional case studies that served to widen the professional context beyond the accounting profession.

An additional benefit of the grounded theory approach is the generation of new conceptualisations as part of the analysis of the emergent themes.

4.5.2 An intersectional approach

Upon reviewing the data, it appears that the typology that emerged may not be the exclusive result of the influence of the heritage culture as initially conceptualised; but the intersection of race, ethnicity and class within a professional context. The notion of intersectionality introduced here is used to address multiple forms of identity and inequality in different contexts and at different times (Rollock, Gillborn, Vincent & Ball, 2015). The term intersectionality is attributed to Crenshaw (1991) in a study to solve the dilemma of varied experiences of discrimination due to the demographic heterogeneity of the female participants. Intersectionality draws attention to multiple category memberships and avoids the issues of attributing social experiences to a single identity category. Showunmi, Atewologun & Bebbington (2015) provides a useful example of how the explanatory potential of an intersectional approach has been used

in the leadership literature to explore the effects of ethnicity, gender and class in British women's leadership experiences. This suggests it may be appropriate for this context. Here I propose that the research findings that emerged from the data can be attributed to members of a black middle class pursuing their class driven professional aspirations within a racialised labour market. What follows is an intersectional analysis of the research findings, first I will explain why the participants are members of a black middle class, this will be followed by an explanation of the emergent typology (See Table 4.1) through an intersectional lens. Research on minority racial and ethnic middle classes have received little attention to date and this reflects the wide disparity in the way the term 'black middle class' has been conceptualised (Maylor and Williams, 2011; Rollock et al., 2012). Researchers have found attaching the term 'black' to 'middle class' can create anger and hostility in participants who feel that the concept is incompatible with their established notions of self (Maylor and Williams, 2011).

4.5.3 Defining a black middle class

Defining a black middle class is therefore challenging but with this in mind I am going to characterise the study participants as black middle class using three criteria from the existing literature. The first criterion is based upon their occupation, the second is based upon their earnings and the third is based upon educational achievement and attitudes.

4.5.3.1 Occupational criterion for black middle class

Research has shown that the accounting and law are normatively middle class occupations (Kirkham and Loft, 1993; Sommerlad, 2012). In a study of class status among the black middle class (Rollock et al., 2012) used Office of National Statistics socio economic classifications NS-SEC1 and NS-SEC2 to define members of the black middle class. NS-SEC1 is relevant for this study because it includes professionals and those in management posts (Rose, Pevalin & O'Reilly, 2005). In a study of black middle class neighbourhoods in Chicago, Pattillo (1999) used what they described as normative terms to define middle class such as suburban living, access to good schools and earnings that were at least two times the poverty line. This definition included those employed in clerical and skilled manual roles. Given these definitions in the literature,

the qualified accountants and lawyers in this study satisfy the occupational criterion for belonging to the black middle class.

4.5.3.2 Earnings criterion of black middle class

Regarding the earnings of the participants, the benchmark used by Pattillo (1999) described earnings of at least two times the poverty line in the United States. This was deemed inappropriate for the United Kingdom by Rollock et al. (2015) who suggest that this would equate to a salary of £23,000 per annum. In contrast, the lower end of earnings of the black middle class participants in the Rollock et al. (2015) study was £36,000. Given that newly qualified accountants and lawyers can expect to make £48,100 and £59,000 per annum respectively (Hudson, 2016; Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales, 2016) the participants in this study satisfy the earnings criteria for belonging to the black middle class in the literature.

4.5.3.3 Educational criterion for black middle class

With respect to the educational achievement and attitudes of the black middle class, by definition, participants in this study held postgraduate vocational qualifications (See section 4.3.4.2). Archer (2010) suggests that black middle class parents are involved and engaged in their children's' education. In the context of this study this behaviour could be observed in the typology for professional attributes that had a sub theme that highlighted the importance of education (See section 4.4.3.1). Here participants described the active interests their parents took in their education in terms of both time and money. If defined in terms of professional aspirations and attitudes towards education, then the participants appear to have parents that were involved and engaged in their education. Archer (2010) posited that race plays a significant and complicated role in education for minority middle class families suggesting that due to racism that their class resources may protect against failure but their racial position curtails key aspects of any class advantage. This means that "minority ethnic families must work disproportionately harder to achieve success" Archer (2010, p.466). This phenomenon can be observed in the data under the strong work ethic sub theme (See Table 4.4.3.4), in particular mothers played an important role in encouraging their children to work harder because of their racialised identity. As described by participants this was encouraged by parents throughout their formal education.

In terms of the criteria I suggested to define black middle class membership, given their, occupation, earnings and educational achievement and attitudes, the participants satisfy each of the criteria according to the literature.

4.5.3.4 Racial Criterion for black middle class

Each of the criteria relates to membership of a black middle class but makes no reference to race. A defining characteristic that I do not want to overlook is that individuals within the black middle class must identify as being black which for the purposes of this study includes those who are black African or black Caribbean or have at least one parent who is black African or black Caribbean. Using these criteria, this places the participants and their parents as members of the black middle class. Not all participants described their family as having careers that meet the requirements of NS-SEC1. Rollock et al. (2012) explains the variety of occupations within the black middle class as a consequence of class downsizing. This phenomenon refers to individuals who are normatively middle class in their countries of origin; however on arrival in countries like the United Kingdom, they take low status, low paying occupations. This explains the variety of the occupational experiences of the families of the participants in this study without excluding them from being members of the black middle class.

4.5.6 An intersectional analysis of the typology

Viewed through an intersectional lens, the participants are members of a black middle class seeking to benefit from their class resources by reproducing existing class structures from one generation to the next. In this regard, the goals of accounting and law are congruent with the participant's personal goals. As discussed, professions have been shown to reproduce existing class structures and social stratification (Kirkham and Loft, 1993). As members of the black middle class, participants can be described as seeking to benefit from the social closure of professional membership in obtaining social and economic benefits (Larson, 1977, MacDonald, 1995, Richardson, 1997). It is unclear if participants were able to distinguish between the influence of their class membership and that of their heritage culture. It may be that the effects of class and ethnicity are confounded when participants spoke of the self-knowledge that they had, reflecting both their ethnicity and their class. This is not intended to undermine the ethnic pride exhibited by participants; given the work-based focus of this study, the

salient attributes of their heritage cultural membership and of their class membership may be difficult to distinguish. Only one participant discussed class in an interview and this was in describing the socioeconomic profile of her school. Individuals were clear that the attributes they were describing were attributed to their heritage culture as identified in the typology. There was however a clear understanding that their racial identity was a potential disadvantage and this reflects the intersection between class and race in a profession.

Viewed through an intersectional lens, access to the professions was granted to participants through their middle class aspirations and attributes discussed, however within the workplace they are required to remove elements of their identity that correspond with their racial identity. The need for individuals to perform their identity was a consequence of the intersection of race, ethnicity and the classed professional environment. The experience of race was something that participants raised only when considering the perceptions of others. This is indicative of a double consciousness (Du Bois, 1903), as part of their negotiation through a racialised professional environment, the participants are describing their attempts to view themselves through the eyes of a member of the majority group to avoid reinforcing negative stereotypes. In contrast, their personal experience of their heritage culture reflected knowledge, pride and self-esteem regarding their ethnic identity. Participants were so familiar with the necessity to perform their identity that participants identified it as both a feature and consequence of their heritage culture.

Race and ethnicity were dismissed as irrelevant to the workplace, however the attributes of being middle class meant that the participants were able to exhibit traits consistent with the professional identity through their attempts to bleach out their own racial identities (Levinson, 1993). This requirement also explains why so few participants were able to enjoy the cultural inspiration pathway in the workplace. Participants were only able to benefit from these experiences if their racial and or ethnic identity was salient and acceptable within the workplace. In the examples provided. This was a rare occurrence, only one participant achieved this within an organisation and he was a member of a team specifically concerned with African organisations. His knowledge and experiences were a rare competitive advantage.

The complexity of an intersectional approach

Exploring the typology through an intersectional lens reveals the complex mechanisms in play as participants negotiate their careers as professionals.

It was unclear if race and class played a role in distinguishing the experiences of individuals who stayed within the profession and those who chose to leave. Both groups contained men and women, black Africans and black Caribbeans and those from black middle class families and those who may have class downsized (Rollock et al., 2015) when arriving in the UK. However the lack of developmental relationships was consistent with earlier studies that showed that African American CPA's often find it extremely difficult to find a mentor and as a result they are more likely to leave their profession than their counterparts (Viator, 2001). In addressing the research questions, it seems that the extent to which the heritage culture of black professionals shapes their behaviour is great, however it is mitigated by the role of class and race, which may influence behaviour to a greater extent. This is achieved through the pathways identified in the typology and suggests that black professionals have a complex and often contradictory experience within the workplace. This may be alleviated over time by the extent to which the normative professional identity remains white, male and middle class. However given the history of professions reproducing existing class structures (Hatmaker, 2013; Kirkham and Loft, 1993; Sommerlad, 2012). I suggest that the extent to which the normative professional identity remains intransient is itself influenced by the general identity of members of the middle class in the UK. This may be possible as a consequence of social mobility and the professions themselves may have a role to play. Research has found that the UK professions have become increasingly social exclusive over the past thirty years, in particular accounting was identified as the most socially exclusive profession in the UK, second only to journalism (Cabinet Office, 2009). This suggests that in the foreseeable future existing normative identities and the challenges of being a black professional may persist.

4.5.7 Key contributions

This chapter made several important contributions to several different bodies of literature.

First, this study contributes to the diversity literature by exploring the lived experiences of minority ethnic professionals without characterising them as being inherently disadvantaged (Ramarajan and Thomas, 2010). The findings suggested that the participants were members of a black middle class who were highly educated, motivated professionals with a strong work ethic and a desire to succeed in the workplace.

Second, I addressed a limitation in the professions literature by focusing my attention away from normative experiences in the workplace, which are characterised as being white, male and middle class (Hatmaker, 2013; Kirkham and Loft, 1993; Sommerlad, 2012) and focusing on the experiences of minority ethnic professionals as they manage their careers in the face of social closure that has been shown to be racialised (Annisette, 2003; Lewis, 2011).

Third, in this study I contribute to the professional literature by challenging the binary view of identity and professionalism as separate and distinct constructs and builds on prior research that addresses professional claims of neutrality (Lewis, 2011; Wilkins, 1999).

Fourth, this study responds to calls for more qualitative research on specific ethnic groups in order to understand the multiple identities possessed by all individuals (Kenny and Briner, 2013). Here I consider the role heritage culture plays in work based behaviour; this is particularly for professionals who potentially straddle two worlds: a privileged position within the labour market due to their skills and qualifications, and a potentially less privileged position because of their racialised identity (Kenny and Briner, 2007).

This is important because researchers have paid relatively little attention to the tensions employees may experience when they feel they must conceal values that differ from and perhaps conflict with those of the organisation (Hewlin, 2003).

4.5.8 Limitations

Despite its contributions, this study has several limitations that should be acknowledged.

Commercial professionals

The first limitation of this study is the choice of commercial professionals as participants. Accountants and lawyers both share similar professional experiences regarding training contracts, professional exams and the importance of professional service firms as an organisational structure. Professional service firms are traditionally partnerships and the importance of the client relationship influences the status and financial stake in the firm (Gordon, 2003; Wilkins, 1999b). The ability to attract more clients or generate additional fees from existing clients is extremely important (Tomlinson et al., 2012). These attributes make them suitable for this study but the research findings in this study are limited to the extent that they may not be appropriate for professions not associated with these structures such as doctors.

Intersectionality

This study employed an intersectional approach to analyse the data that emerged from employing a grounded theory approach. The analysis considered the role of several identity categories: race, ethnicity, class and professionalism. However there was no analysis on the role of gender or other potentially salient identities such as sexual orientation. The results did reveal some gendered outcomes in terms of the support participants received from their families, however there was no analysis of the gendered experience of the participants. No specifically gendered results emerged but this may also have been a consequence of the lack of focus in this area.

Researcher interpretation

The qualitative nature of the case study analysis means that there is a wide scope for observer bias and the subjective opinions of the researcher may intrude in the assessment of what the data means. In order to mitigate this I have provided details of the systematic procedures I employed in this study as well as engaging in an ongoing review of my own involvement, paying careful attention to any bias or preferences that I

brought to the study. This also involved conversations with my supervisors and other scholars.

Case study approach

I chose an extreme case study approach because I was concerned with generating theory, however the nature of the study means that it is unclear if the conclusions drawn from these particular cases will apply elsewhere.

4.5.9 Section summary

In this section I highlight the key findings from this chapter, identify the contribution this study makes to the literature and address some of the limitations of the study. In the next section I summarise the chapter and discuss the implications for future research

Conclusion

4.6. Section overview

Having completed the study and presented the findings, in this section I summarise the chapter and discuss the implications of this study for future research.

4.6.1 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to examine the role ethnicity plays in shaping the work-based behaviour of minority racial and ethnic professionals. Specifically my focus was on how ethnic identity is enacted through heritage culture and what this means in terms of workplace behaviours.

Researchers can be ambiguous when using the term ‘professional’ regarding organisational behaviour and it is often used as a euphemism for knowledge workers or other white collar roles (Brown, 2015; Ladge, Clair & Greenberg, 2012). In this chapter, I chose a definition used by Abbot (1988) to describe professionals as an organised body of experts with esoteric knowledge characterised by elaborate systems of instruction, entry examinations, training and an enforced code of ethics. Studying professions is important given their growth over the last 30 years (Riddle, 2002) and the roles professional service firms play supporting processes that shape the global economy (Faulconbridge and Muzio, 2012). Professions implement a number of strategies as part of their professionalisation project (Larson, 1977) to erect barriers to entry that allow them to monopolise a market in order to secure social and economic benefits. Professions legitimate their activities with claims that they are conducted with objectivity and neutrality by individuals who are disembodied, disinterested and selected through a meritocratic process (Larson, 1977; Lewis, 2011 Macdonald, 1995). This is pertinent because there has been increased growth in the Labour market and within the professions of minority racial and ethnic individuals (Tomlinson et al., 2012; Office of National Statistics, 2015) and professions despite claims of legitimacy professions have been shown to have a normative identity that is white, male and middle class (Hatmaker, 2013; Kirkham and Loft, 1993; Sommerlad, 2012). In this study I used a grounded theory approach to focus on extreme case studies of black accountants and lawyers and identified a typology of three distinct pathways through

which participants believed their heritage culture influenced their behaviour: professional attributes, cultural performance management and cultural inspiration. The grounded theory approach was useful in guiding the study as a consequence of the emerging results of the data. The approach enabled me to widen the scope of the study to a broader range of commercial professionals, furthermore the grounded theory approach led me to use an intersectional lens to analyse the findings.

Consequently, it is likely that the typology identified in the study is not exclusively a function of ethnic identity as initially anticipated but an intersection of a complex process of race, class, ethnicity and professionalism.

Through an intersectional lens the data revealed that the participants were members of a black middle class, this was exhibited in their attitudes towards education, professional membership and general career aspirations. This had contradictory implications which meant that their collective experience was characterised by their class driven aspirations for professional membership and the associated social and economic benefits and recognition of their ethnic identity in terms of self knowledge and esteem for their heritage culture. However this was mitigated by their experiences in a profession in which they believed it was necessary to exclude their racial identity. The participants perceived their ethnic identities as being congruent with their professional identities, however they recognised that what they considered to be their ethnic identities were likely to be perceived as their racial identities by others; their racial identities were not considered to be congruent and this explains why the participants shape their work based behaviours in a manner that bleaches out their ethnic identities. To an observer their racial and ethnic identities may appear to be identical. The result is a complex and challenging form of identity management on behalf of black professionals. This study made several important contributions to the literature including but not limited to an exploration of black middle class professionals exploring the meanings associated with their ethnicity (Kenny and Briner, 2007). This has implications for future research that will be discussed below:

4.6.2. Future research

There are several exciting lines of research that would benefit the literature, in what follows I suggest a few lines of enquiry related to this chapter that I think would be of interest.

Class

Class emerged as being an important source of identity and inequality that was not originally considered in this study. Moreover participants rarely discussed it.

Not enough is known about the experiences of black middle class professionals in the workplace. Research on minority racial and ethnic professionals are primarily concerned with their ethnic, racial and professional experiences. The literature may benefit from future research that considers the challenges and complexity surrounding being part of a black middle class particularly for individuals who are seeking social mobility, for example those who identify as working class as a consequence of class downsizing but later attempt to become middle class by profession (Rollock et al., 2012).

Intersectionality

As an extension of the previous recommendation about exploring class, this study used an intersectional lens but this analysis excluded gender. In this chapter I used the ethnic penalty to illustrate disparities in the salaries of different ethnic groups (Berthoud, 2000). I explained these differences by occupational segregation (Elliott and Lindley, 2008). This phenomenon can also be used to explain the gender pay gap, and this has been shown to exist with professions like accountancy (Smithson, Lewis, Cooper & Dyer, 2004). Future research should consider using an intersectional approach that does not exclude gender or other potentially salient identities from their analysis.

Developmental relationships

The lack of developmental relationships was highlighted as an indicator of leaving a profession and this is consistent with previous studies (Viator, 2001). As a result, minority ethnic professionals seek developmental relationships outside of traditional organisational boundaries and areas of specialisation (Thomas, 1990). Higgins and Kram (2001) integrated the mentorship literature with social network theories to

reconceptualise the traditional mentor-protégée dyad as part of a network of developmental relationships. Future research should consider not only the role of developmental relationships on black middle class professionals, but also the role of developmental networks on their careers.

Non-commercial professionals

The focus on accountants and lawyers was appropriate for this study given the similar career experiences and the organisational structures prevalent within each profession. However future research should consider doctors, dentists and other high status professions that are not organised through professional service firms. Future research should also consider occupations where the social closure attempts of its members may be focused on securing social benefits (Richardson, 1997). Under these circumstances, the occupations may not be professions as characterised in this chapter, however they may carry high status in certain social contexts, examples may include a church pastor or an emerging thought leader. The legitimisation attempts of such groups, particularly through an intersectional lens may be insightful.

4.6.3 Section summary

The theoretical developments in this chapter are intended to encourage further studies of this nature. Given the ongoing legitimisation processes of the professions, the increasing number of minority groups entering the labour market and the emergence of a global economy, it may be possible for the normative identity within high status professions to change over time and this may have profound impact on the experiences of minority racial and ethnic professionals in the workplace.

Chapter 5:

Study 3: An Investigation of the Roles Performed by Employee Resource Groups in the Contemporary Workplace

Introduction

5.1 Chapter overview

In the previous chapter I conducted a qualitative empirical study with the purpose of identifying ways in which the heritage culture of minority racial and ethnic professionals can influence their behaviour in the workplace. The purpose of this chapter is to develop theory regarding the use of employee resource groups within the workplace. Here I present a theoretical framework to conceptualise employee resource groups in general. In addition I continue the use of qualitative research methods to introduce a new typology that identifies five roles that employee resource groups play to enhance the careers of minority racial and ethnic individuals within the workplace.

5.1.1 Introduction

In England and Wales, 21% of people of working age identity as being not white British and these figures are projected to grow over the next 10 years (Office of National Statistics, 2015). This demographic shift in the labour market makes managing a workforce comprised of individuals from diverse backgrounds a business imperative.

Management Approaches to racial and ethnic diversity

Diversity as a management approach recognises and values heterogeneity in the workplace for its potential to lead to better organisational outcomes (Özbilgin and Tatli, 2008; Thomas and Ely, 1996). What began for many organisations as an effort to meet their legal requirements and adhere to anti-discrimination legislation has evolved into a strategic priority aimed at positioning organisations more competitively in the marketplace (Jayne and Dipboye, 2004). The demographic shift in the labour market described above refers to ethnic diversity, however today the goals of diversity management have moved beyond gender, race and ethnicity (Tatli et al., 2012). Organisations are increasingly concerned with 'inclusion'; a systematic business strategy to ensure that everyone in an organisation shares the same advantages and can grow to their reach their full potential (Nishii, 2012). Consequently companies have focused more on ensuring the success and promotion of employees from minority groups through a variety of diversity and inclusion based strategies and initiatives (Roberson, 2006), examples include unconscious bias training and inclusive leadership.

Unconscious bias refers to prejudice as a consequence of the maintenance of implicit stereotypes influenced by an individual's background, cultural environment and personal experiences (Collins, 2007). Inclusive leadership recognises that conflict and cooperation are part of the leadership process (Hollander, 2009).

Critique of management led diversity approaches

Evidently, these contemporary diversity and inclusion initiatives are concerned with changing the attitudes and behaviours of leaders and decision makers in organisations (Collins, 2007; Hollander, 2009), however these approaches have limitations, three of which I discuss briefly here.

First, given that minority ethnic groups have been shown to be underrepresented in leadership positions in UK organisations (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2013); minority ethnic groups are therefore likely to be directly excluded from the initiatives that are intended for their benefit. Given that minority groups that have been shown to suffer from exclusion within the workplace (Ibarra, 1995); initiatives that do little to engage minority groups directly may further marginalise them in organisations.

Second, where the value provided to minority groups by an initiative is unclear, these initiatives have the potential to become "empty shell policies" (Hoque and Noon, 2004, p482) that lack substance and therefore do little to promote change in organisations. Finally, initiatives such as unconscious bias training and inclusive leadership may characterise normative leaders as potential or actual perpetrators of discrimination (Tatli et al., 2012) and therefore characterise members of minority groups as potential or actual victims of discrimination. This may be appropriate in several organisations but it does little to change the portrayal of minority racial and ethnic individuals as being inherently disadvantaged (Ramarajan and Thomas, 2010).

The focus of this chapter is the examination of a diversity and inclusion strategy that complements management led initiatives but addresses the limitations discussed above: an approach with the potential to directly engage minority groups and provide substantive value to minority employees without characterising them as inherently

disadvantaged. An increasing number of companies are finding that their goals of diversity and inclusion can be nurtured and supported through the use of employee resource groups (Friedman and Craig, 2004); they are an increasingly important yet little understood phenomena that have evolved and grown in organisations over the past 30 years (Friedman, Kane & Cornfield, 1998).

Introduction to employee resource groups

Employee resource groups also known as affinity groups, employee network groups, employee networks and caucuses (these terms will be used interchangeably) are groups of employees within an organisation whose members share a common social identity, extra organisational values or interests (Briscoe and Safford, 2010). Employee resource groups first appeared in the early 1970's as women and black employees began to be hired into management positions in significant numbers in the United States (Briscoe and Safford, 2010). The Black Caucus Group at Xerox Corporation was founded in the United States and is generally recognised to be the first employee resource group (Friedman and Deinard, 1991). The Black Caucus Group began informally as a race-based employee forum to address the issues of overt discrimination and encourage a fair and equitable workplace and over time became more structured with written mission statements, formal procedures and elected representatives (Friedman and Deinard, 1991). In 1970, Xerox employees launched the National Black Employees Caucus and the Black Women's Leadership Caucus was formed a decade later (Douglas, 2008).

LGBT employee resource groups

Subsequently Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) employee resource groups emerged in technology companies in the United States; Hewlett Packard founded the first LGBT employee resource group in 1978; this was followed by Sun in 1985. Several others followed in the late 1980's including Apple and AT&T (Briscoe and Safford, 2010). Like the Black Caucus Group at Xerox, LGBT groups were formed to provide a welcoming environment for socialising and career advice for members (Colgan and McKearney, 2012). LGBT employee resource groups later turned their attention to lobbying employers, in what Meyerson and Scully (1995) describe as 'tempered radicalism', where groups advocate for their interests without strongly

violating the norms and rules of the organisations in which their members are employed.

Employee resource groups: an under researched phenomenon

An increasing number of organisations are encouraging employee resource groups for a wide variety of employees with different social identities and their numbers have increased over the past 30 years (Friedman and Craig, 2004; Welbourne and McLaughlin, 2013). Mercer (2011), a consultancy group, noted that even when the economy was slowing down, interest in employee resource groups was on the rise. Douglas (2008) suggests that in the United States almost every company with more than 1,500 employees provides opportunities for the creation of employee resource groups. However, despite the consistent growth in the number of employee resource groups in large organisations, employee resource groups remain understudied in the academic literature (Lambert and Quintana, 2015). Compared with studies conducted on other human resources related topics there is very little academic literature investigating employee resource groups and much of what we know comes from practitioner reports and surveys (Welbourne and McLaughlin, 2013). It is unclear why this field of research has been neglected. Welbourne, Rolf & Schlachter (2015) acknowledge the dearth of information in academic publications but offer no explanation for the lack of interest. Briscoe and Safford (2010) characterise employee resource groups as a form of employee voice suggesting that the lack of systematic research in the field has occurred because scholars have dismissed employee resource groups in favour of stronger forms of employee voice.

5.1.2 Aims of this chapter

In light of the lack of research in the field, the goal of this chapter is to examine the role of employee resource groups in enhancing the careers of minority racial and ethnic individuals. I have two specific aims in order to achieve this goal. The first is to develop a general framework to conceptualise employee resource groups more generally, the second is to understand the role employee resource groups play in enhancing the careers of their members. These aims are discussed in detail below.

Develop a conceptual framework

My first aim in this chapter is to review and align existing approaches in order to present an overarching theoretical framework to conceptualise employee resource groups more generally. This is necessary because employee resource groups have been conceptualised as being independent from management (Friedman et al., 1998). However, other conceptualisations recognise management participation as a parameter to define an employee resource group (Briscoe and Safford, 2010). Employee resource groups have also been described as formally organised groups (Friedman and Craig, 2004); while other scholars recognise that informal employee resource groups can be effective in addressing the needs of their members (Githens and Aragon, 2007). To date there is no known overarching theory that has been employed to study employee resource groups. In their review of the existing literature; Welbourne et al. (2015) state that most studies to date fail to explicitly incorporate any specific theory. My goal in this chapter is to address these potential conflicts and ambiguities through theory development.

Explore career enhancement potential of employee resource groups

My second aim is to explore an employee resource group within an organisational setting in order to understand the role employee resource groups play in enhancing the careers of their members. Studies of employee resource groups are typically concerned with a particular social identity group, e.g. gender, ethnicity or sexual orientation (Briscoe and Safford, 2010; Douglas, 2008; Welbourne and McLaughlin, 2013; Welbourne et al., 2015). In the context of these studies, these social identity groups are often characterised as being disadvantaged or marginalised in both society and the workplace as a consequence of being a stigmatised group. These individuals may be motivated to participate within an employee resource group because studies have shown a number of benefits associated with employee resource group membership. Scully and Segal (2002) found that individuals valued the shared experience that employee resource group membership provided in an informal setting. Employee resource groups have also been shown to provide a mechanism for individual voice within an organisation (Colgan and McKearney, 2012). Research has found that the employee resource groups play a role in reducing turnover intentions for minority racial employees at the managerial level (Friedman and Holtom, 2002). Given the lack of

research in this field, not enough is known about the role of employee resource groups in enhancing the careers of their members and a goal of this chapter is to address this limitation of the existing literature. In order to address my research aims, in this chapter I develop a typology to guide future research. My aspiration in this chapter is consistent with the previous chapters in seeking to enrich theory around contemporary careers concerning how minority racial and ethnic professionals experience the workplace.

5.1.3 Research questions

My aim is to better understand the role that employee resource groups for minority racial groups play in enhancing the careers of their members. Specifically, the research questions to be addressed in this study are:

- What are the key roles played by employee resource groups that benefit its members in the workplace?
- How can an employee resource group enable individuals to enhance their careers in the face of disadvantage?

5.1.4 Chapter overview

What follows is a literature review (section 5.2) that includes a critical discussion of the employee resource group literature. This presents definitions and outlines a conceptual framework relevant to this chapter. In the empirical part of this chapter (section 5.3), I present the research design, which includes the rationale for the studies conducted as well as the selected methodology, including the selection of participants, measures and analytic procedures. Data is presented from a case study of an employee resource group in a professional services firm in the United Kingdom (section 5.4) and this is followed by a discussion of key findings and limitations (section 5.5). Finally, the overall findings are presented as well as the theoretical and methodological implications of the studies and suggestions for future research (section 5.6).

Literature Review

5.2 Section overview

The purpose of this section is to explore employee resource groups as a social construct with regards to their functions, structures and parameters in the contemporary workplace. In addition I explore the experience of individuals regarding the benefits of employee resource groups.

5.2.1 The core functions of an employee resource group

Employee resource groups are at their core voluntary organisations; members are not paid for their participation and the tasks performed on behalf of the group are generally considered to be in addition to their day-to-day job responsibilities (Welbourne et al., 2015). Gordon and Babchuk (1959) identified two primary functions of voluntary associations that are useful in this examination of employee resource groups: expressive functions and instrumental functions.

Expressive Functions

Expressive functions refer directly to the benefits that the group provides to its members aimed at promoting wellbeing for individuals. For example, the use of shared spaces and the benefits of communing with similar others are some of the primary goals of expressive groups (Gordon and Babchuk, 1959). This must be distinguished from self help which Friedman et al. (1998) suggests is concerned with improving the way individuals function within an organisation, therefore self help is intended to benefit the organisation indirectly. Gordon and Babchuk (1959) suggest that expressive functions are intended exclusively for the benefits of the members, therefore any benefit the organisation receives may be desirable but it is not necessary as part of any expressive group activities.

Instrumental Functions

Instrumental functions exist to maintain or to create some normative condition or change (Gordon and Babchuk, 1959). Therefore, instrumental groups often pursue goals that lie outside of the group; this may concern social structures, institutions or the distribution of power. Scully (2009) argued that part of the role of an employee

resource group is to negotiate with the dominant identity groups in the organisation. This suggests the potential for a group to bring about some type of organisational change. Much of the research concerned with LGBT employee resource groups implies that the purpose of an employee resource group is to create a change (Colgan and McKearney, 2012; Githens, 2009; Githens and Aragon, 2007). Briscoe and Safford (2010) provide a suitable example of LGBT employee resource groups campaigning for domestic partner benefits in health insurance cover to ensure same sex partner employees receive the same insurance benefits as their heterosexual counterparts. The Black Caucus at Xerox was formed with the purpose of promoting equal employment opportunities and fair pay across racial groups within the organisation (Friedman and Deinard, 1991). In this chapter I posit that employee resource groups have the potential to possess both expressive and instrumental functions simultaneously, members may identify with the group both for the fellowship it provides as part of its expressive attributes and for the agenda that it seeks to advance as part of its instrumental goals.

This conceptualisation of employee resource groups has been frequently recognised within the literature, for example Friedman and Craig (2004) studied an employee resource group that described itself as a group of employees who come together to help each other feel more comfortable and become more effective in the organisation. The implicit consensus in the literature is that employee resource groups have the potential for both expressive and instrumental functions (Douglas, 2008; Githens and Aragon, 2009; Welbourne et al., 2015); the role of management however remains disputed.

5.2.2 A Uni dimensional conceptualisation of employee resource groups

Briscoe and Safford (2010) conceptualised employee resource groups as existing along a continuum with management influence as a defining parameter. At one end of the continuum are independent employee driven employee resource groups characterised as pressing demands on employers in the form of grass roots activism. At the other end of the continuum are groups that are run and financed by the company. These are described as unambiguously employer led initiatives with considerable influence over group decision-making processes (Briscoe and Safford, 2010). Welbourne et al. (2015) suggested that employee resource groups without management endorsement are less likely to reach their potential; several studies acknowledge the benefits of management

participation for employee resource groups. For instance Friedman and Holtom (2002) suggest that participation may mean a dialogue between senior executives, human resources and the group representatives.

Alternatively Lambert and Quintana (2015) consider participation to be a formal relationship with an assigned executive sponsor to act as a liaison between the group and senior management. Relationships with management have important benefits for employee resource groups, practitioner led surveys and reports have provided important insights into the role of management in employee resource groups. Jennifer Brown (2015) a consulting firm in the field suggest that executive sponsors are catalysts for accelerating the maturation of employee resource groups. Mercer (2011) highlights the importance of funding and support for employee resource groups. These findings are consistent with the literature that suggests that employee resource groups that made the largest impact realigned their goals in order to be congruent with the organisation in which they are hosted (Welbourne and McLaughlin, 2013).

Critique of the Uni dimensional approach

Cooperating with the management of an organisation has clear benefits for an instrumental employee resource group, however given that the aspirations of instrumental employee resource groups are not categorically limited to the organisation, the participation of management may be limited to the intra organisational goals of an employee resource group. The uni dimensional continuum is useful for understanding instrumental employee resource groups concerned with their organisation but does not consider potential extra organisational interests, this appears to confine its effective use to intra organisational matters (Briscoe and Safford, 2010). This intra organisational focus means that the uni dimensional framework does not distinguish between independent employee resource groups and those that may be supported by third parties outside of the organisation.

Given developments in information technology and the potential for employee resource groups to be organised around extra organisational values and interests (Briscoe and Safford, 2010) this limits its use in the contemporary workplace. Given that expressive organisations (Gordon and Babchuk, 1959) are concerned with individual well-being, it

is possible that expressive employee resource groups may not require the support of the organisation, therefore the uni dimensional framework suggested by Briscoe and Safford (2010) provides little benefit in conceptualising their activities.

5.2.3 A bi dimensional approach to employee resource groups

Githens and Aragon (2007; 2009) developed a bi dimensional framework to illustrate how LGBT groups organise themselves within the workplace. This framework addresses several of the shortcomings of the uni dimensional approach described above (Briscoe and Safford, 2010). First it recognises that LGBT employee resource groups vary in their goals of existence, moreover Githens and Aragon (2007; 2009) recognised that some of these goals may be focused outside of the organisation in which the employee resource group is hosted. The framework also assumes that LGBT employee resource groups have instrumental aspirations (Gordon and Babchuk, 1959). The purpose of the framework was to show how different types of employee resource groups worked to solve LGBT issues using one of four approaches: the 'queer/radical' approach, the internally responsive informal approach, the organised unofficial approach and the conventional approach.

5.2.4 Theoretical Development

In this chapter I develop a theoretical framework based on the work of Githens and Aragon (2007; 2009). This is appropriate because the employee resource group approaches developed by Githens and Aragon (2007; 2009) are driven by assumptions that are relevant to both LGBT employee resource groups and non LGBT employee resource groups. In this chapter I adapt the framework presented by Githens and Aragon (2007; 2009) to make it applicable to instrumental employee resource groups. In doing so I respond to their call for their framework to be employed in the research of employee resource groups concerned with other social identity groups and other interest groups (Githens and Aragon, 2007; 2009). Realigning these approaches benefits the employee resource group literature by presenting an overarching theoretical framework to conceptualise employee resource groups more generally.

5.2.4.1 Core assumptions of the bi dimensional framework

This revised framework is based upon three core assumptions; the first is that the group has a purpose based around a social identity or a shared interest. The second assumption is that the group has an instrumental function, meaning that it intends to bring about some type of change (Gordon and Babchuk, 1959). The final assumption is that employee resource groups can vary and differ in their values, attitudes, and goals subject to their circumstances as described above.

5.2.4.2 Primary preferences of the bi dimensional framework

In the theoretical framework presented, the organisational structural preferences of employee resource groups are dictated by the attitudes of the organisation to two primary issues:

Organisational orientation

The first is their organisational orientation, the extent to which they are seeking to improve the effectiveness of the host organisation to which they belong compared to their aspirations to make a broader contribution to society as a whole. This is identical to the parameter in the original framework by Githens and Aragon (2007; 2009), this reflects the extent to which the activities and interests of the employee resource group are confined to the host organisation; therefore this may influence the extent to which the management of the organisation are willing to cooperate with the employee resource group.

Cooperation orientation

The second issue is their cooperation orientation; the extent to which the group is willing to cooperate with organisations outside of the group in order to achieve their goals, this can include the host organisation or third parties. This parameter differs from the original framework (Githens and Aragon, 2007; 2009). I introduced this parameter because cooperation with the management of organisations has been shown to be salient to employee resource group outcomes (Douglas, 2008; Welbourne and McLaughlin, 2013), and so may influence the organisational structure and goals of the employee resource group. In particular, this choice was influenced by the uni

dimensional approach which indicates the extent to which the management of an organisation can influence an employee resource group (Briscoe and Safford, 2010).

Given the importance of management cooperation for employee resource group outcomes highlighted in the literature (Welbourne and McLaughlin, 2013) and also the location of employee resource groups within organisations, it seems appropriate to consider the attitudes of employee resource groups towards acting independently to achieve their goals. A premise of this framework is that an employee resource group's organisational structure will correspond with their preferences regarding their organisational orientation and their cooperation orientation.

5.2.5 Four organisational approaches to employee resource groups

Four organisational approaches emerge from a combination of these employee resource group preferences: Informal Approaches, Conventional Approaches, Unofficial Approaches and Radical Approaches (See Figure 5.1). The following approaches are intended to be indicative of the preferences illustrated above; these may differ over time and are not expected to be as neat or defined as illustrated. What follows is an explanation of the framework with a focus appropriate to employee resource groups more generally.

5.2.5.1 Informal Approaches

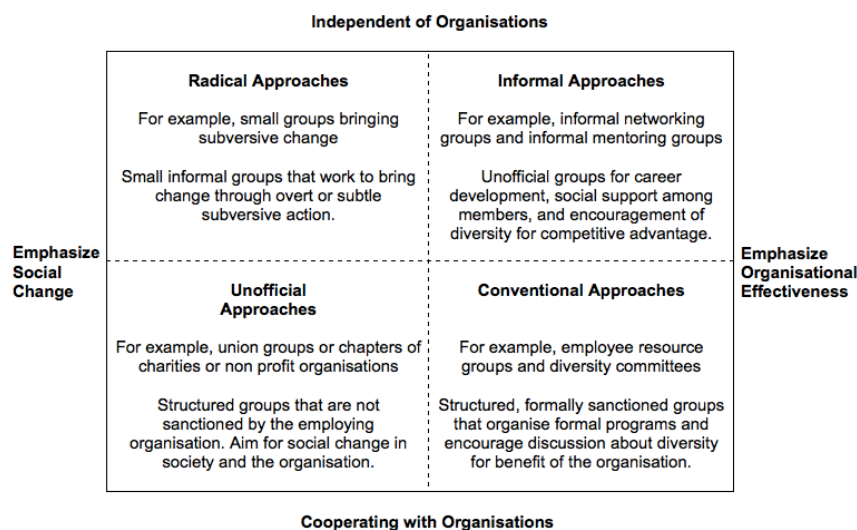
An employee resource group employing an informal approach has a preference to promote organisational effectiveness without cooperating with any organisations. Employee resource groups with these preferences may be spontaneous and unstructured gatherings of friends and colleagues that do not require official recognition. Githens and Aragon (2007; 2009) suggest that employee resource groups using informal approaches are the most common type typically responding organically to needs within a workplace. Under these circumstances, employee resource groups may not require cooperation with any organisations. Githens and Aragon (2007; 2009) suggest that the informal approach was a good setting for small scale efforts and this is consistent with the work of Friedman et al. (1998) who suggest that employee resource groups are self organised and self controlled entities providing social support to members. Employee resource groups of this nature may be suitable for personal

matters that do not require management intervention. Examples of employee resource groups using informal approaches can be characterised by the affinity groups of the 1960's which began as race based forums and became communities within corporations organised around similar circumstances and goals (Douglas, 2008).

5.2.5.2 Conventional Approaches

Employee resource groups employing a conventional approach are concerned with organisational effectiveness in a manner similar to the informal approach, however these groups are motivated to cooperate with organisations. Given their focus on organisational effectiveness, this is likely to be the host organisation. The conventional approach is well represented within the employee resource group literature to the extent that the conventional approach is synonymous with employee resource groups (Briscoe and Safford 2010; Welbourne et al. 2015). This is indicative of the preoccupation with the role of management in employee resource groups and the business case proposed by both scholars and practitioners (Mercer, 2011; Welbourne and McLaughlin, 2013). Friedman et al. (1998) suggest that employee resource groups should be separate and distinct from management, emphasising collaboration but not control; in contrast Douglas (2008) suggests that employee resource groups should be led by a member of senior management with an interest in diversity and inclusion.

Figure 5.1 Approaches to organising employee resource groups



Githens and Aragon (2007; 2009) suggest that conventional approach employee resource groups should emphasise their goal congruence to the host organisation through an ongoing discourse, this means that for profit making companies, an employee resource group could link its activities to organisational profits. For non-profit organisations goals should be linked to improved quality of service. Welbourne et al. (2015) showed that where the goals of employee resource groups have been linked to the needs of an organisation, the funding for the employee resource group increases. An example of an employee resource group using a conventional approach is the Black Caucus at Xerox Corporation, which was founded with the support of the founder of the company (Friedman and Deinard, 1991). The involvement of the host organisation may be expected to influence the behaviour and structure of the employee resource group. As a consequence of these formal structures, employee resource groups using a conventional approach may be less dynamic than those using an informal approach and this may mean that they are more organised with formal procedures for increased accountability. In Xerox this included a mission statement and elected officers. Decision-making is likely to take place through elected representatives in accordance with established corporate governance procedures.

5.2.5.3 Unofficial Approach

Employee resource groups employing the unofficial approach are oriented towards social change; their activities are concerned with creating change in society as a whole and therefore their remit is not confined to the host organisation. Githens and Aragon (2007; 2009) conceptualised these groups as being formed outside of the host organisation in order to bring change within the host organisation that employs its members. This is not the assumption made in this current framework. The term unofficial indicates the preferences of the employee resource group towards the support of the host organisation. The nature of the employee resource group's goals may mean that they are motivated to cooperate with organisations that may include but are not limited to the host organisation. Unofficial approach employee resource groups are likely to have a more formal structure, however the funding guidance and support for the group may come from an organisation that shares interests with the group.

As a consequence of its relationships to formal organisations, it is similar to conventional approaches in terms of structure, organisation and formal procedures. Githens and Aragon (2007; 2009) suggest chapters of labour unions or charities provide a good example of employee resource groups using this approach. In this regard, employee resource groups of this nature may be considered to be representatives of the third party organisations with whom they cooperate. This may also reflect the potential for these types of groups to be involved with campaigns, for example the Royal British Legion, whose annual Poppy Appeal raises funds for the order raise funds for military veterans and their families (Royal British Legion, 2016). This implies local autonomy to deal with specific organisational circumstances, but these groups are less likely to be truly autonomous given their affiliation and ongoing cooperation with existing organisations. The size of the employee resource group in this capacity may be less important to their performance because they are likely to be part of a larger collaborative movement with an articulated strategy, process and governance.

5.2.5.4 Radical Approaches

The final quadrant within the framework refers to employee resource groups employing radical approaches. These employee resource groups are motivated to create change in society but are not motivated to cooperate with other organisations. The goal of these employee resource groups is not an increase in organisational effectiveness but an improvement in social conditions and caused by a change in attitudes and behaviour in society. Githens and Aragon (2007; 2009) suggest that change occurs through a mandate encouraged by small-scale efforts driven by interpersonal relationships. Here I suggest a radical approach seeks to challenge existing assumptions and corresponding inequalities that emerge from normative practices. The example provided by Githens and Aragon (2007; 2009) describes LGBT employees of Barney's clothing retailer in the United States. During contract negotiations, employees sought to highlight the challenges of LGBT employees so members of the employee resource group dressed in drag in a short campaign to signal LGBT issues to customers and employers in order to stimulate dialogue. This was successful and the negotiations benefitted both LGBT and non-LGBT employees. This approach suggests the use of small scale, independent campaigns and initiatives in unorthodox methods in order to influence stakeholders (Meyerson and Scully, 1995). These interests may to some extent be considered

subversive to the status quo because of the desired change that the group wishes to see. Like informal approaches, it may not be necessary or appropriate to engage with third party organisations particularly if the group's interests are perceived to conflict with those of the organisation. Their activities may be campaign driven in response to relevant events or they could also be ongoing demonstrations or lobbying for their interests. Like informal approaches, these groups are likely to be autonomous with informal structures and dynamic decision-making processes. Their influence may be limited by their size that is likely to be small given the informal nature of their approach.

5.2.5.5 Contribution of the Bi dimensional framework

The framework explains the relationships between employee resource groups and the operational structures that follow from their motivations and goals. The framework recognises the importance of cooperating with organisations but addresses the limitations of the uni dimensional continuum (Briscoe and Safford, 2010) by recognising that the activities and interests of employee resource groups are not always confined to their host organisations. Research to date has recognised the importance of management participation to the success of employee resource groups (Briscoe and Safford, 2010; Wellbourne and McLaughlin, 2013) however the theory development has been limited in part due to the privilege granted to employee resource groups that were concerned with organisational effectiveness. My concern in this study is to examine how individuals benefit from employee resource groups. Much of the research assumes that employee resource groups are exclusively for individuals that are members of minority groups that are under represented or have experienced disadvantage within the workplace (Briscoe and Safford, 2010; Douglas, 2008; Welbourne and McLaughlin, 2013). This framework is not limited by this assumption and can be used for a variety of social identity groups and interests as suggested by (Githens and Aragon 2007; 2009)

5.2.6 Individual experience of Employee Resource Group Types

Research has found that employee resource groups provide employees with a more engaging and fulfilling work experience (Briscoe and Safford, 2010). Minorities that belong to employee resource groups are more productive and energised than their counterparts who do not belong to an employee resource group (Briscoe and Safford,

2010; Wellbourne and McLaughlin, 2013). This suggests that individuals find meaning in the intersection of their social identities and their work identities and this is the motivation behind the concern in this study with the benefits of employee resource groups.

Wellbourne and McLaughlin (2013) suggested an individual's behaviour regarding employee resource groups was contingent on the purpose of the employee resource group and the perceived ability of the employee resource group to achieve that purpose. In their study of individual relationships with employee resource groups, Wellbourne and McLaughlin (2013) examined employee resource groups that existed based upon three different organising principles : social cause centred, professional centred and attribute centred employee resource groups. What follows is a brief description of each type of group and the appropriate research findings.

Social cause centred employee resource groups

Social cause centred employee resource groups are concerned with a specific social issue (e.g., the environment, cancer, racial discrimination). Individuals that join social cause centred employee resource groups were shown to be motivated to be part of something greater than themselves and are likely to be oriented towards social change. Consequently these individuals had a high level of identification with the employee resource group itself because of the values and ideals that they shared with the members.

Professional centred employee resource groups

Professional centred employee resource groups are focused on specific professional fields (e.g., engineers, accountants, lawyers). Group membership was motivated by personal gain and sought organisational as a consequence of their own personal transformation; they were shown to have low levels of identification with the employee resource group.

Attribute centred employee resource groups

Finally, attribute centred employee resource groups are concerned with a particular social identity characteristic (e.g., religion, ethnicity). Individuals that joined these

groups were shown to be seeking professional development and social interaction. Social cause centred employee resource groups appear to be primarily instrumental in nature (Gordon and Babchuk, 1959). Their concern with social issues reflects a desire to create social change and raise awareness both within the organisation and outside of it. In contrast, Professional and Attribute centred employee resource groups are likely to have both expressive and instrumental functions. Their expressive goals may involve community building and social support (Gordon and Babchuk, 1959).

According to Ibarra (1993), a key challenge facing minorities is that there may be few others similar to you in a company. As a result, minorities may not have as many “close ties” at work as whites, making it less likely that they receive social support and mentoring, nor as many weak ties (Granovetter, 1973) making it less likely that they receive access to information. Employee resource groups provide minorities with knowledge about other minorities in the company and opportunities to meet allowing greater levels of both strong and weak ties to develop (Friedman and Craig, 2004). My concern with black employees within an employee resource group means that I will be examining an attribute based research group. These findings are compatible with the framework I developed but also show the importance of employee resource groups to the outcomes of their members. In developing the framework my intention is to contribute to the literature by understanding employee resource groups more generally. A focus of this study is on the roles that employee resource groups play to benefit individuals. The literature shows that members can benefit from employee resource group membership but not enough is known about the roles of employee resource groups for individuals. This section provided a suitable basis to conduct this study. This has potential benefits for future researchers in this emerging field.

5.2.7 Section summary

This section established context of this research and introduced a theoretical framework to locate this study. The next section will focus on the research methods employed in this study.

Methods

5.3 Section overview

This section introduces the research design and methodology used in this chapter. This includes the choice of method, participants and analytical techniques employed. The purpose of this section is to explain how I developed a typology to illustrate the role of employee resource groups in enhancing the careers of its members.

5.3.1 Introduction

The research design reflects the aims and objectives of the study (See Section 5.1.2) and the nature of the research environment. The research design was prepared in line with insights made in earlier chapters and shares several of the approaches used in Chapter 4 which I will refer to extensively to avoid unnecessary duplication.

5.3.2 Research context

In chapter 4 I discussed the importance of professional service firms regarding their essential role to transnational trade (Yu et al., 2015) and their role as actors shaping the global economy (Faulconbridge and Muzio, 2012) (see section 4.1.1).

Professional service firms are an appropriate location for this study because the legitimisation processes employed by professions to establish a normative identity that is white, male and middle class (Hatmaker, 2013; Kirkham and Loft, 1993; Sommerlad, 2012) have been shown to be located within the workplace (Cooper and Robson 2006) (See Section 4.1.1 for a discussion of these issues).

A hypercompetitive research location

Scholars have described the hypercompetitive work culture found in large professional service firms as a career tournament (Galanter and Palay, 1991). This tournament is characterised by a limited number of places at the top of the organisation accompanied by high rates of employee turnover (Wilkins and Gulati, 1998). Hiring in elite professional service firms in the United States has been shown to be less about skill sorting and more about favouring candidates whose extra curricular activities are associated with upper white middle class parents (Rivera, 2012). This serves to reproduce and reinforce existing normative identities (Anderson-Gough et al., 1998). In

a study of hiring practices in a professional service firm, Rivera (2012) found that the firms evaluators “actively constructed and assessed merit in their own image” (Rivera 2012, p1014).

A racialised workplace

This is relevant for the United Kingdom because the ‘one firm’ model adopted by professional service firms suggests that professional service firms reorganise work processes and practices globally modelled on the firms home jurisdiction (Muzio and Faulconbridge, 2013). In short, the structural inequality and social stratification found in the professions has the potential to be reproduced around the globe. Given that black employees have been shown to experience disadvantage in a professional context (see chapter 4) and that the processes that disadvantage black employees are found within professional service firms (Cooper and Robson, 2006); exploring an employee resource group for black employees in a professional services firm is an appropriate case study for my research aims.

Case study organisation

The site of this study is a large multinational professional services firm with multiple offices around the United Kingdom. For the purposes of protecting the identity of the organisation, I have changed the name of the company to “Acme LLP” in transcriptions and other written descriptions. Acme LLP is a pseudonym. The headquarters for Acme LLP is also their largest office, based in London. The organisation has several thousand employees in regional offices around the United Kingdom. Much of what follows here is gathered from attending meetings, observations and the review of secondary data that could not be reproduced in this chapter without compromising the identity of the organisation.

A client driven business

Professional service firms are traditionally partnerships and the importance of the client relationship influences the status and financial stake of partners in the firm. Traditionally the more income a partner derives from clients, the larger their stake in the firm becomes. The ones who bring in the most revenue are called “rainmakers” (Gordon, 2003; Wilkins, 1999). Rainmaking, the ability to attract more clients or

generate additional fees from existing clients is extremely important within the firm (Tomlinson et al., 2012).

A professional service ethic

Professional service firms have moved away from their emphasis on public service towards a more commercialised, client led orientation (Hanlon, 1996; 1997). Acme LLP is a professional services firm that provides a contemporary example of the importance of the client to the everyday lived experience of its employees. The professional service ethic within Acme LLP is consistent with that characterised by Anderson-Gough et al. (1998; 2000) in their influential studies of Big 4 professional services firms, the authors describe a specific conception of client service that establishes a form of organisational control through formal and informal discourses. These discourses are typical of the everyday experiences of employees of Acme LLP. In particular demands on individuals are framed in terms of client expectations. These expectations constitute the norms of the firm to the extent that the dominance of the client within the firm is a significant factor in defining professional practice (Faulconbridge and Muzio, 2007). An important feature of this professional service ethic is the willingness to do what is necessary to deliver these services. For example, working long hours is viewed as symbolic of good client service (Anderson-Gough et al., 2000). Acme LLP employees work extremely long hours and accept that personal sacrifices may be required in order to meet their performance expectations in the delivery of the professional service ethic.

In Acme LLP, being professional means more than technical knowledge and experience. Research has shown that elements of the professional service ethic are performative with individuals expected to regulate their behaviour and control or restrict parts of their identity (Anderson-Gough et al., 2000) in a manner consistent with the bleached out professionalism theory (Levinson, 1993) described in Chapter 4 (See Section 4.1.1), this type of behaviour was observable in Acme LLP.

Rationale for choosing Acme

The choice of Acme LLP was appropriate for this study for two important reasons: a commitment to diversity and the under representation of black employees in senior roles. These are both explored in more detail below:

A commitment to diversity and inclusion

First, Acme LLP is committed to promoting diversity and inclusion within the organisation. As part of their commitment to making the organisation more inclusive, the leadership team have appointed a diversity and inclusion team that has been created with a mandate of developing competencies around recruitment, promotion and retention of a more inclusive workforce. A key part of their inclusion strategy is to support employee resource groups. The Diversity & Inclusion team are responsible for funding and supporting the employee resource groups. There are several employee resource groups within Acme LLP based on different social identity groups that include Jewish, Chinese, LGBT and Islamic employee resource groups. Each employee resource group has a partner as a sponsor and two representatives elected by the members.

Low representation of black employees in senior roles

The second reason is that the firm has identified that black and mixed ethnicity employees (this includes, black Africans, black Caribbean, and mixed ethnicity individuals) have low levels of promotion within Acme LLP at all employment grades and higher than average levels of attrition in junior roles. This means that black employees are underrepresented in senior and middle management positions. Furthermore black employees are overrepresented in non-client facing roles, this is salient given the importance of rainmaking to career progression in Acme LLP. In short, black employees are considered to experience structural inequality within the organisation and Acme LLP have voiced their concern and commitment to addressing these issues by setting targets for the representation of black and mixed ethnicity employees within the firm at senior levels including partner level.

5.3.3 Research methods

In this chapter I continued to use qualitative methods as a means of data collection and data analysis. The reason why qualitative research is appropriate for studies of this nature is explained in Chapter 4 (See section 4.3.3). My investigation of employee resource groups provides an opportunity to describe and understand the actual human interactions, meanings, and processes that constitute real-life organisational settings (Gephart, 2004). Qualitative research is desirable in this study not only because it provides accurate descriptions of practice in organisational settings but it also advances

the development of theory (Macintosh and Scapens, 1990). Previous exploratory work on employee resource groups in the United Kingdom have used qualitative approaches and this suggests that it may be appropriate in the field (Colgan and McKearney, 2012).

5.3.4 Research strategy

I chose grounded theory as a research strategy in this chapter in order to better understand the unexplored role of employee resource groups in enhancing the careers of its members. A detailed justification of grounded theory for an exploratory study of this nature is provided in Chapter 4 (See Section 4.3.4). As demonstrated in Chapter 4, the grounded theory approach enables me to develop a theoretical account that is firmly based in the data collected (Martin and Turner, 1986). I did not have a priori hypotheses or propositions; instead I was guided by the exploratory research questions discussed (see section 5.1.3).

5.3.4.1. Case Study Approach

I am going to examine extreme case studies to ensure that the phenomenon of interest is transparently observable (Pettigrew, 1990). This means selecting a rich context where my research questions can be usefully studied. For this reason I have chosen to study members of an employee resource group organised for the benefit of black employees in a professional services firm. The rationale for my choice of black employees remains the same as in Chapter 4: black employees have been shown to experience a high ethnic penalty (Berthoud, 2000) and have the lowest employment rate of all ethnic groups and negative stereotypes exist about the intellectual ability and competence of black people (Kenny and Briner, 2013).

5.3.4.2. Participants

Given my concern with extreme case studies, I chose to study members of the AC Club. The AC Club is an attribute centred employee resource group (Wellbourne and McLaughlin, 2013) based around individuals of black African and black Caribbean heritage. This choice was appropriate given my interest in employee resource groups for individuals from a single social identity group. As discussed previously (see section 4.1.2 and 5.1.1) blacks may be considered to be a low status ethnic identity because negative stereotypes exist about the intellectual ability and competence of black people

(Kenny and Briner, 2013). Within Acme LLP, blacks are underrepresented in leadership positions, have lower rates of promotion at every grade and high levels of attrition in junior roles. Black employees are overrepresented in non-client facing roles compared to the averages within the organisation.

Widening the scope

Consistent with traditional grounded theory approaches, I engaged in an iterative process that involved travelling back and forth between the data and an emerging theoretical structure (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). As part of this process it became apparent that my research goals could be better achieved by widening the scope of the study to include informant interviews from other employee resource groups within the organisation.

I chose to include the leaders of two other attribute centred employee resource groups and one employee resource group based on a regional interest within the organisation (Chinese, Jewish and North African employee resource groups respectively). These individuals were included in order to provide alternative narratives for the experiences of employee resource groups within the organisation. It also served to contextualise the descriptions of the AC Club members from a perspective outside of the case study group. In addition to this I chose to include four members of the Diversity & Inclusion team and a member of the Executive Committee of the organisation. Including these individuals was appropriate to understand the expectations of an employee resource group from the perspective of the organisation. This created an opportunity to compare and contrast the expectations and how employee resource groups could benefit individuals. The determination of the sample size is one that is ambiguous in qualitative research. I discuss these issues in detail in Chapter 4 (See sections 4.3.4.1 and 4.3.8.2 respectively).

My aim was to reach theoretical saturation, meaning that I would conduct interviews until a more detailed understanding of the phenomenon could not be reached (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). My sample included members of the AC Club, leaders of other employee resource groups, Diversity & Inclusion team members (some of which were directly involved with the AC Club and others who were not) and a member of the

Executive Committee. I was comfortable that my sample size was sufficient to cover all the necessary insights and found that the last four interviews conducted provided no new insights into the data and this suggested theoretical saturation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Together this data provides a fascinating context and rich data to explore the aims of this study.

5.3.5 Reflexive considerations

As discussed in chapter 4, in grounded theory, researchers must account for their positions in the research process (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) (see section 4.4.5). My personal experience working in a professional service firm in my career as a chartered accountant makes my role as a researcher in this study uniquely valuable and well informed. Moreover a year prior to this study I assisted Acme LLP with an unrelated research project. During this time I became acquainted with members of the Diversity and Inclusion team and the Executive committee. This is relevant for locating myself in proximity to the study and explains how I gained access to participants. However for the reasons discussed in Chapter 4, I believe that my role in this research process as an opportunity rather than an intrusion (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

5.3.6 Data collection

I collected data from three different sources. The first was through observations, particularly from attending employee resource group events and meetings.

The second was from secondary data I reviewed from Acme LLP, the details of much of this information was considered by the firm to be too sensitive to discuss in this study however this data served to provide contextual information relevant in my approach.

The third source was primary data I collected from participants. In order to recruit participants I gave a presentation at an AC Club event, during which I described some general research findings in the diversity literature about the experiences of black employees within the workplace. This was general enough to be useful to the audience but it did not prime them for the contents of my study.

Primary Data Collection

Part of the reason I was at the event was that Acme LLP had made an announcement to discuss the poor representation of black employees at senior level within the

organisation. This was a more detailed discussion following an earlier announcement of Acme LLP's intention to increase the number of underrepresented minorities in senior positions, specifically black, LGBT and female employees. I was not part of any operational discussions in this regard and took the opportunity to make observations. Following my presentation I invited the audience to participate in the study and the AC Club subsequently emailed their members as a reminder for those who wanted to participate.

Participants completed a survey to collect basic work related information shown in Table 5.1. The primary method of data collection involved semi structured interviews. Most interviews were performed at Acme LLP in private rooms and lasted approximately 45 minutes on average. Each interview was recorded and the recordings have been transcribed. At the same time detailed notes have been taken following each of the interviews. The data, in the form of the written, descriptions, recordings and transcribed interviews have been and will be maintained in the strictest confidence with references to the real identity removed from the data. In total I collected approximately 30 hours of recorded interviews.

The specific purpose of the interviews was to learn as much as possible about the participant's perceptions, reactions, observations and thoughts in connection with the AC Club. I developed a protocol of standard questions to provide a semi-structured framework to enquire about their experience within the organisation and the AC Club. I maintained the ability to explore areas of special significance to the participants in depth.

Interview Protocol

The protocol was divided into four phases, each of which served a distinct purpose (see Appendix 4). In the first phase, I asked respondents questions concerning their existing role and gathered information about their day-to-day experiences. This served as an icebreaker for individuals to feel comfortable discussing a topic with which they were familiar. In the second phase, I asked about the culture of the organisation and prevailing attitudes in discussing issues of race and ethnicity. In the third phase, participants were asked about the AC Club, their experiences and expectations of the

group as well as the extent of their participation. In the fourth phase, I asked them about the role that the AC Club had played in their career as well as their opinions about the AC Club itself. Finally I enquired about their overall career satisfactions and to share any lessons learned from their career. Although each interview covered the same topics, I tried to understand and clarify the meanings and interpretations each participant provided. When relevant but incomplete responses arose, I often posed follow-up questions to probe for further information.

5.3.7 Data summary

Given the small number of black employees in the organisation I have shown as much information as possible without compromising the identity of the participants. See Table 5.1. I have chosen not to show their age or identity the heritage of the participants because this may indicate their identities. There were a total of 26 participants (18 members of the AC Club, 3 leaders of other employee resource groups Jewish, Chinese and North African, 4 members of the Diversity & Inclusion team and a member of the Executive Committee). Participants represented a broad spectrum of experience within the firm and participants were placed into the following categories to ensure anonymity: Associate, Manager, Senior Manager, Executive. Tenures varied from less than a year to in excess of 10 years and the high number of relatively new employees (less than one year) reflected the high turnover within the organisation which was indicative of a competitive career tournament (Galanter and Palay, 1991).

5.3.8 Analysis

The analysis procedure followed here was identical to that used in Chapter 4 and will not be repeated here to avoid duplication.

I followed the tradition of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and used a 3 step coding system of a preliminary analysis, creating provisional categories and first-order codes and later higher order codes. Appendix 5 shows an example of a higher order code created for this study (See section 4.3.8). I used the NVivo 10.2.2 software program to code all of the themes in the data and perform the analysis.

5.3.9 Section summary

This section presented the research design and methodology utilised in this chapter. I provided a detailed description of the participants, research strategies and the iterative decisions made as part of this non-linear process. The next section will focus on the results of the analysis discussing the implications of my findings.

Table 5.1 List of study 3 participants

No	Pseudonym	Job Title	Client Facing	Length of employment
1	Amanda	Associate	No	Between 1 and 3 years
2	Barbara	Associate	No	Between 5 and 10 years
3	Alastair	Manager	No	Less than a year
4	Brian	Senior Manager	No	Between 1 and 3 years
5	Chloe	Associate	No	Over 10 years
6	Charles	Associate	Yes	Less than a year
7	Daniel	Associate	Yes	Less than a year
8	Deborah	Associate	Yes	Between 5 and 10 years
9	Erica	Manager	No	Between 1 and 3 years
10	Edward	Associate	No	Less than a year
11	Florence	Senior Manager	Yes	Between 1 and 3 years
12	Frederick	Senior Manager	Yes	Between 5 and 10 years
13	Gabrielle	Manager	Yes	Between 5 and 10 years
14	Grant	Associate	No	Less than a year
15	Hugh	Senior Manager	Yes	Less than a year
16	Harriet	Associate	No	Over 10 years
17	Inez	Associate	No	Between 1 and 3 years
18	Juliet	Manager	No	Less than a year
19	Katherine	Associate	Yes	Less than a year
20	Linda	Associate	No	Between 1 and 3 years
21	Martha	Executive	Yes	Over 10 years
22	Noreen	Associate	No	Less than a year
23	Ophelia	Associate	No	Less than a year
24	Priscilla	Associate	Yes	Between 1 and 3 years
25	Rita	Associate	Yes	Between 1 and 3 years
26	Sandra	Associate	No	Between 5 and 10 years

Research Findings

5.4 Section overview

This section is concerned with the results of my analysis based on the procedures described in section 5.3.

5.4.1 Introduction

The research findings are presented in order to address the research questions (see section 5.1.3). The first research question was concerned with identifying the key roles played by employee resource groups to benefit the careers of its members. These roles are illustrated in the typology in Table 5.2. In the rest of the section I will address the final research question exploring how employee resource groups are able to enhance the careers of their members.

5.4.2 Typology of emergent themes

The findings show that employee resource groups were capable of enhancing the careers of their members. I identified five roles that employee resource groups played: psychosocial support, career development, voice, engagement and identity resources that I will discuss in detail within this section. To preview my findings, and to serve as a guide for the processes described, I present a typology in Table 5.2 based upon the emergent themes in the data. These categories are meant to serve as a conceptual framework and guide for future research on the role of employee resource groups in enhancing minority racial and ethnic careers.

Figure 5.2 Typology for the role of employee resource groups

General Theme	Sub Theme	Example
Psychosocial Support	Friendship & Social Networking	"It's good for me socially, and I don't actually have a lot of black friends, so I always like to go there and you know just meet new people" Noreen
	Shared Experience & Support	"There are shared experiences which can be helpful in terms of learning from the person, avoiding the same pitfalls if you like going forward." Hugh
Career Development	Introduction to Developmental Relationships	"I just find out their experiences, trying to get to speak to some senior colleagues, senior black colleagues in the company and trying to learn off them, lean on them for a bit of advice." Daniel
	Development Role	"I expect the network to provide support, is to provide guidance, mentoring and coaching," Daniel
Voice	Employee Voice	"I think it's down to us to get the word out there. But I think that's probably something we should do better, just getting our voice heard, people understanding what we're doing, and the positives" Charles
	Management Voice	"I want them to be the messengers of the firm and the team to explain what change is happening because I think all the time there is a lot of very good work going on in all sorts of areas within the firm, but we don't always have the most efficient channels to get that message out." Amanda
Engagement	Stakeholders	"I'm finalising an event for next year it's going to be a financial service industry event where it brings together a number of insurance and banking firms together to empower and elevate emerging leaders from Afro Caribbean Heritage" Frederick
	Clients	"We are thinking of everyone, we are trying to help the client facing of team members or club members going to the next step by involving the clients that we have so far." Rita
Identity Resource	Business Resource	"The right way for me I should say is using the resources that you've got within that group. I mean everyone within that group has something to offer.. to build relationships" Edward
	Education	"Using the resource, and experience, and the language capabilities that we have.. engaging with the business." Rita

5.4.2 Psychosocial support

Psychosocial support was identified as an important role in employee resource groups; below are two aspects of psychosocial support that emerged from the data: friendship & social networking and shared experience & support.

5.4.2.1 Friendship & social networking

The data revealed that one of the most important roles played by the employee resource group for individuals was to provide an environment where individuals could meet others in order to develop their social networks and cultivate friendships. Erica, a Manager describes how the employee resource group enables her to meet new colleagues:

“It’s opportunities to meet colleagues that you wouldn’t come across otherwise... I do think it’s a great opportunity to meet colleagues... a lot of people that I speak to out and about in the building that I would never have met before. So you know it’s widening your circle of people that you know and that’s a good thing.”

Erica’s description suggests that developing the “circle of people that you know” is a good thing in itself and this reflects the expressive function that the employee resource group plays. Erica explains that the employee resource group introduced her to colleagues that she may not have encountered otherwise; evidently performing a role that she would be unable to achieve without being a member. Inez, an associate makes an observation similar to Erica. Inez recognises the value of meeting other people in the organisation but also draws attention to the mutual career benefits that can emerge from these encounters:

“I think for me just being in a secure area, it’s nice to get out to meet other people, to get introduced to other people. And form some friendships as well with some people within the [AC Club], so that’s nice, it’s a network where black people who work in the same organisation come together, so you kind of bounce ideas – so I’m not just going to speak to you because I’ve seen you at an [AC Club] function, when I see you walking in the building I can say hello to you”

Inez makes a number of important points that I want to address. First, Inez identifies the AC Club is a secure area where she feels a level of comfort, this implies that the environment outside of the AC Club does not have this quality, this may mean the

competitive environment of Acme LLP described in the research context (see section 5.3.2). Both Erica and Inez discuss the benefit of knowing an additional person as they walk around the building and this suggests a sense of isolation in the organisation. This isolation may be as a consequence of being an individual in an office of thousands of people but it may also be a consequence of being a member of a group that is underrepresented within the organisation. Second, Inez describes how the friendships in the AC Club can serve a purpose relevant to the careers of its members. Inez explains that individuals can “bounce ideas” suggesting sharing knowledge, ideas and supplemental information that may not be available to individuals outside of the employee resource group.

Both Erica and Inez discuss how friendships and social ties made within the AC Club can extend outside of the employee resource group. Harriet, an associate; provides a rich account of the concepts in this theme, she describes with affection the support that she receives from her friend, a person she believes acts in her best interests to provide her with encouragement and support.

“One of the best friends I have made within the firm, I met through the [AC Club]... and it’s not just from a work side of it. It’s the – “I’m not going to tell you what you want to hear, I’m going to tell you what you need to hear”. . . .When you’re feeling low, the encouragement and lift that you get it’s – “where do you need to find something within the firm?” I’ve got somebody who can help and you helping that person, that person being able to help somebody else.”

Harriet describes how she made a meaningful and lasting friendship through the employee resource group, one that provides her with ongoing personal value. Through her description it is clear that Harriet has benefitted from the friendship and it has also influenced her career in practical terms through guidance, access to resources and day-to-day assistance. This description exemplifies the friendship and social network theme that employee resource groups play for individuals and demonstrates how it enhances their work-based outcomes.

5.4.2.2 Shared experience & support

A prevalent theme raised by several participants was the value in having a shared experience within the workplace. As members of a minority racial group, participants implied that this was salient for their workplace experiences. Ophelia, an associate explains that as an individual from a minority group, an employee resource group is a useful place to find others who can share their workplace experience.

“In general, I think that people tend to want to belong to groups, when they need it, I spoke to a colleague who has a disability... it’s nothing physical; you don’t see it, and I told him that, “I think you should join the [disability employee resource group],”

Ophelia implies that employee resource groups can be a useful place to meet others similar to oneself and cultivate a sense of belonging within the organisation. Interestingly Ophelia thought this would be of value to an individual whose disability was not easily observable; in her explanation she draws attention to the expressive function of the shared experience, being for the benefit of the individuals. This shared experience is distinct from the friendship described in the previous theme. The friendship was described as an end in itself with potential career benefits (See section 5.4.2.1). The nature of this theme is intended to be more transactional in nature and focussed on career-based issues. Florence a Senior Manager explains how an employee resource group could provide a mutually beneficial relationship for the purpose of providing work-based support:

“I think if I were able to have somebody who is in the same kind of position that I am in– we both can leverage off each others experiences and support each other, I’d somehow feel more comfortable feeling like that person also wants me to do well, and it would help me to have that kind of support ”

Florence explains that she is looking for a shared experience, not only in terms of social identity but also regarding a career in the company. As a peer, the support that this potential individual could provide would be more relevant for Florence. The purpose of this relationship is the provision of psychosocial support, a person who wants to help her to succeed. Florence highlighted the need for psychosocial support that participants indicated was not available for them elsewhere. Participants characterised the AC Club as a place where individuals could go to receive this type of support.

Sandra an associate has clear ideas about the supporting role of an employee resource group for its members. Sandra's comments were distinguished from Florence's desire for a dyadic relationship; Sandra implies that the function of an employee resource group is to provide career-based support to its members:

“ It's there to support...it's a support group. The way I see it, it's a group you can go to, discuss ideas, discuss issues. A problem shared is a problem halved. And if you have three or four people going through the same thing, why not get together and try to find a solution? It's not a movement, we're not going to take over the world, but we're going to be here to support each other. That's what [employee resource groups] are for. It's about supporting people when they're going through times of difficulty. Also promoting people who are doing well so they can be a source of inspiration to other people.”

Sandra identifies several features of the employee resource group as a support function. First, it provides a problem solving function for members, the description acknowledged that several individuals were likely to be having similar experiences within the workplace and the employee resource group was a place where these collective problems could be addressed. Second, Sandra is clear in identifying this role as being focussed on member's issues and not other issues that may be outside of the organisation. This clearly confines the interests of the group to the organisation. Third, this support is not exclusively intended to be a response to negative situations. This support is also intended to celebrate success among members and inspire others as part of a community.

Psychosocial support was a prevalent theme that emerged from the data among participants. Here I identified the importance of connecting with individuals in order to share their experiences and resources within the workplace but it also served to create social ties to mitigate the potential isolation of being part of a minority group within a large organisation. The AC Club was shown to play an important role in bringing individuals together who may be motivated to do this collectively.

5.4.3 Career development

The data showed that the employee resource group was expected to facilitate career development for individuals. This was an important theme particularly among younger participants who had the belief that the employee resource group should provide a

structure of practical guidance in order to support members throughout their careers. This was salient because Acme LLP had announced to the organisation the challenges experienced by black employees that contributed to them being underrepresented in senior positions. There was a feeling among respondents of a need to prepare themselves for a change. Linda an associate gave a summary that exhibits the general feeling towards the low representation within the firm:

“It’s just that the numbers are pitiful. When I heard I couldn’t believe it, it shocked me because we’ve got talented people within this organisation, so for me it’s all about the results, we need to see something change now.people that have been screened for jobs and you don’t see any representation amongst blacks, female or male, I find that a real shame and a real missed opportunity as well. “

This description adequately reflects the belief that there was a need for change and Acme LLP was not using its resources effectively. This also meant that individuals were looking to the employee resource group to provide the relevant career development support that they were not receiving elsewhere.

5.4.3.1 Introduction to developmental relationships

Participants recognised the importance of developmental relationships for career success and also the difficulty that black employees had trying to benefit from these relationships. As such, participants thought the employee resource group had a role to play in introducing individuals to potential mentors or developmental relationships. Deborah as associate explained why developmental relationships are important in Acme LLP.

“I think unless you align yourself with the right people or have that kind of inquiring spirit. It’s just another organisation that just doesn’t do anything for the individual.”

Deborah explains that without the appropriate support, career success can be difficult. Daniel further develops this perspective an associate who clarifies the need for black employees at Acme LLP to have developmental relationships with those who are appreciative of the potential difference in the career experiences of black people within the workplace:

It's giving people belief, give people coaching, giving people advice on how to do things, what to do, what not to do, what to say, what not to say, that sort of thing. but doing that from a black person perspective. There isn't really anyone we can go to really that's been there and done it to say how did you do it, how can you know --? But that's what's lacking, and that's what's needed. I mean we can go to our non black senior colleagues and ask them for mentoring, but they can't do it from a black perspective because most of them are not black, and that's what you're going to be missing. But I think that's what we need, and that's definitely what's needed for our black colleagues in lower grades in the company at the moment."

Daniel's description reflects the difficulty that can be experienced when mentors are unable to empathise with the career experiences of black employees. This indicates the need of individuals to empathise with others described in the psychosocial support functions of the employee resource group. Here Daniel suggests that the black experience is notably different from "non black" experience in the workplace. This is consistent with the evidence presented by Acme LLP that the career experience for black employees is different to the normative experience. Daniel suggests here that the AC Club has a role to introduce potential developers to the members.

Edward an associate within the firm explains how the AC Club helped to introduce him to several people who provided career development advice:

"I've met some really good people in the AC Club.. So I met with someone from AC Club and he said to me, "where do you want to be? what do you want to do with yourself?" And I said, "To be honest, I really don't know." One of the great things that he showed me is he had a plan before he even came into the company of where he wanted to be, so he had set dates of what grades he would be in. And for me that was a big wakeup call because I saw someone that already knows where he's going to be"

Edward's description shows the value of the practical career advice he received, moreover it is clear from the way that Edward describes this individual that he is acting as a role model for Edward as well as sharing valuable information. Very few of the participants articulated the benefits that Edward described, his experience is important because it is rare and it highlights the benefits that individuals can receive from developmental relationships in order to enhance their careers. One of the motivating factors of members in joining the AC Club was to meet potential mentors that could support them in the way Edward described.

5.4.3.2 Developmental role

In the absence of individuals to act as developers or mentors, participants wanted the employee resource group itself to provide career development support. Deborah, a manager explained how she thought the employee resource group could support its members:

“I would like the AC Club to be seen as an [employee resource group] that supports people at every stage of their career. So I know people really look to [AC Club] and say, “Right, how can you help me and my career? How can I really navigate through the review cycles that we have here?” So the whole goal setting, which we’ve just had, the deadline was last Friday. I know for myself I would have really have loved to sit down with someone, not just my performance manager, to say to me, “Deborah, have you really thought about the way that you ask for feedback, the way that you write down your goals? Have you really considered how those goals that you put down how they’re going to impact your role, the expectation of you over the next six months?”

Deborah refers to a need for career development support that lies outside of the existing operational structure. She explains how in addition to her performance manager discussing her career and short term goals she would like the AC Club to perform this function. Charles an associate builds on this point recognising his own lack of knowledge and experience, he calls for a formal plan to assist him in his career:

“We should be building our knowledge everyday, but there should be some route to progression, and we should understand how to negotiate ourselves and get up there within a massive organisation. We need a model that basically makes it easier for us to understand because we’ve no other upbringing. Me I didn’t even know about partners and directors and what that entailed before applying for the job, I didn’t care about that. But now I’m in, I need to care about it or I might as well leave within a couple of years, so there needs to be some sort of model or plan.”

Charles and Deborah are calling for a structure to develop vocational skills because they both recognise that the existing structures are not having the desired outcomes. This is evidenced by the underrepresentation of black employees. This supports Linda’s suggestion that there needs to be a change. Both Charles and Deborah appear motivated to succeed in their careers and are looking for additional resources from the employee resource group to improve their career performance. This also highlights the implicit suggestion that the organisation is unwilling or unable to provide this support for them, therefore the employee resource group must intervene to provide the career development opportunities that Acme LLP are unable to provide.

It is worth noting that career development and psychosocial support are the primary functions of a mentor-protégé relationship which has been shown to be crucial to career success in a career tournament (Wilkins and Gulati, 1998). This is a relationship that participants recognise as valuable and difficult to acquire as black employees of Acme LLP. In the absence of being introduced to a potential mentor, the data suggests that participants expect the employee resource group should fulfil these roles as an alternative.

5.4.4 Voice

A role of employee resource groups raised by senior employees within the AC Club and members of the Diversity & Inclusion team was voice. Participants wanted to ensure that senior management within Acme LLP understood their experiences and sought to provide assistance in a process of change. Voice describes the efforts of employees to actively and constructively improve conditions through discussing problems with senior management and taking action to solve problems (Rusbult, Farell, Rogers & Mainous III, 1988).

5.4.4.1 Employee voice

Chloe, an associate described how the employee resource group was important for the voice of it's members

“...So that we have a voice. So that we can have a voice and you know our thoughts and our ideas are heard and put forward..”

Chloe's general points are indicative of the shared view of participants that suggested the opinions of the black employees needed to be heard and addressed, however participants were not always clear about what that meant. In contrast, Hugh a senior manager presented a clear idea about what voice represented to members as part of a process of ongoing change:

So the [AC Club] has the opportunity because it can get the feedback and input from the people affected, the black minority...The [AC Club] has the opportunity to then filter that and turn it into something that goes to the [Diversity & Inclusion] guys and say... “Three key things we'd like to see

happen to make a real change.” And if that doesn’t happen, then you know we have a disconnect between the talk and the intent.”

Hugh provides a coherent practical approach to voice and change; first he seeks to understand the experiences of the affected, he then identifies the employee resource group as a conduit to process this information and communicate with the Diversity & Inclusion team or other senior representatives, constructive ideas for their consideration. Hugh conceives the AC Club as an active participant in the change process; voice here is not intended to represent a medium of communication but active participation in change. Hugh also intimates that the employee resource group provides a means for the members to judge the intent of the organisation. Amanda an associate within the Diversity & Inclusion team shared Hugh’s view for the AC Club to be the voice of its members.

“I want them to be empowered to be the voice of their people in Acme LLP, but also be a catalyst for change where change is needed, and I want them to be the experts in their areas. So they can come to us and come to the firm and say, “Look, this is what we notice, this is what people are not happy about, we’d love to change what needs changing”

Amanda’s hope for the employee resource groups in general was to actively participate in improving existing conditions for employees by cooperating with senior management. Also the employee resource group is clearly identified as an ambassador in this context, the implication is that Acme LLP are willing and able to commit to this change and that change would be a participative process. In principle it appears that both management and the AC Club members have congruent goals, however it seems that the role of voice anticipated by those outside of the employee resource group involves additional work on the part of the employee resource groups in order to become “experts in their areas”. This seems to be a potential burden or responsibility for the employees in the group, under these circumstances; it is unclear where the role of human resources starts and the role of the employee resource group ends. Given that the employee resource group is a voluntary role, understanding this relationship would be useful in establishing boundaries for the benefit of both employees and senior management.

The role of the employee resource group in Acme LLP as a form of voice for its members is something that is encouraged by both the members of AC Club and the representatives of senior management. This congruence reflects the need for this function to be part of bilateral communication process in order to enhance the careers of the AC Club members. The bilateral nature of this relationship is reflected in the next theme.

5.4.4.2 Management voice

In this theme the participants continued to recognise the importance of voice and the role of the AC Club. However in this theme, the employee resource group was suggested as a form of voice on behalf of the management of the organisation.

Amanda, an associate in the Diversity & Inclusion team continued to discuss the importance of voice and the role the AC Club could play:

“So we ask the [employee resource groups] to come and be the voice of the [Diversity & Inclusion] team but also for the firm, going out to all members... So I need this two-way conversation. So them feeding up to us any perceived biases or things that need changing, and then we can work with them to fix what we can, but then also for them to then feedback to their members saying, “Look, this is what’s happening, here is your chance to feed into us, here is your chance to help us make Acme LLP the inclusive firm that we all want it to be.”

Amanda is unambiguous about identifying the employee resource group as medium through which senior managers can communicate with the employees.

Under these circumstances the employee resource group acts as advocates of both the firm and the employees, it is a method of collecting information about what needs to change within the organisation and a channel for senior managers to feedback to the employees. Both the employee resource group and senior management think that the group has a role to play in addressing the inequalities that exist. The practical requirements of this are yet to be established but this may be necessary to ensure the success of any initiatives.

The employee resource group intends to voice the concerns of its members for the benefit of employees and the expectations of the organisation.

In this regard the AC Club has an instrumental role in changing the experiences of black employees within the organisation.

5.4.5 Engagement

This theme refers to the relationships that the employee resource group has with third parties outside of its membership, this includes clients, other employee resource groups or stakeholders.

5.4.5.1 Stakeholders

Participants identified engagement with stakeholders as a shortcoming of the AC Club. Engagement with stakeholders was considered to be an important role that was not currently performed effectively. Part of the issue was the lack of purpose articulated to the AC Club membership; this made it difficult to identify stakeholders with shared interests.

Juliet a manager in the Diversity & Inclusion team explained why this was important:

“I’m not sure they’re completely aligned to business goals, I’m not sure that its helping that integrated understanding that people need to have of what the [employee resource groups] do and deliver. I think we haven’t necessarily done the best job of trying to market them across the organisation.”

Juliet identifies the importance of aligning the goals of the employee resource group with the company as a whole and refers to the need to understand what the employee resource group delivers to potential stakeholders. A clear message is that the AC Club needs to do better in terms of communicating the benefits that it has to offer to it’s stakeholders and develop clarity around the purpose of the AC Club. Currently this makes it difficult to attract potential advocates or senior managers who may consider participation with the AC Club risky to their reputations in such a competitive environment.

Daniel explains why he thinks the AC Club has failed to perform in this area:

“I’m not sure many people even know it exists to be honest. I’ve said in the past it hasn’t brought any benefits to the company as a whole, in terms of bringing in clients or anything, it hasn’t brought any benefits that way, and it hasn’t brought in any benefits to individuals in terms of improved net performance. So why should they care about that really? I don’t think anyone does care about it.”

Daniel highlights the importance of adding value, defining clear benefits for stakeholders as well as members. Consequently, failure to do so means a low level of

engagement with potential stakeholders. It was generally agreed that the AC Club needed to develop its profile both within the organisation and outside of the organisation. One way to develop the value of the employee resource groups was to collaborate and learn from other employee resource groups, observe their activities, share best practice and resources. In order to drive collaboration, the Diversity & Inclusion team encouraged employee resource groups to communicate, this involved sharing information. Specifically this involved the annual funding for each of the employee resource groups. This information was made available to all employee resource groups. Amanda explained what this meant:

“I think historically the problem is, they have been quite isolated, head down, we’re trying to drive collaboration. I realised that there is a finite pool of money, everybody wants a certain piece of the pie, you know and therefore it has to be split up, and if they understand more of what the other employee resource groups are getting and what we ask and want from the other groups, I think it would be easier to have discussions, And hopefully you make them happier, but we carve up money, it’s always challenging....”

The introduction of this policy demonstrated several important points: first, the AC Club is not independent, it is funded by Acme LLP and is therefore required to meet obligations as a condition of this funding. Second, the funding is at the discretion of the Diversity & Inclusion team, which gives them influence over the purpose and agenda of the employee resource groups. Third, under these circumstances, collaboration between employee resource groups may not only be beneficial, it may be necessary to achieve collective goals. Below Barbara, an associate provides examples of successful collaborative efforts between the employee resource groups within Acme LLP:

“So I’m quite proud that the event went out, it then inspired our LGBT employee resource group to have an Honest Chat event. So they changed the whole content of their event from some big shiny event to Honest Chat, and the chair of the LGBT employee resource group said to me, “That’s a fantastic idea, right, we’re going to do it.”

This shows the potential influence the AC Club has had on other employee resource groups: observing the success of their own event, other groups can benefit, tailoring the content to the needs of their own interests and immediate concerns. This type of

engagement means a unified approach and promotes learning between employee resource groups.

The organisation was keen to promote collaboration between employee resource groups, Martha an Executive Committee member elaborates:

“If you look at the issues that we are wrestling with, they are the same issues for employee resource groups elsewhere, so I’m a great believer in collaboration, particularly on this subject the idea that you can hold yourself up as a paragon of some sort of virtue, or that you’re way ahead of the pack I think is a nonsense, absolute nonsense. Of course there are people with good examples of things they’ve done, but we’ve all got so far to go why the hell wouldn’t we want to collaborate with each other. So that’s where I see the benefits of working with other employee resource groups.”

Martha’s explanation is important because it acknowledges that there is much to be achieved and that engaging with other stakeholders may be of mutual interest. This reflects a genuine recognition of the need to progress. These examples provided are concerned with best practice within an organisation, however it may also be applicable between organisations or institutions with similar interests. A shortage of funds and the influence of the Diversity & Inclusion team may create incentives to build relationships with organisations outside of the host organisation.

5.4.5.2 Clients

The importance of clients to Acme LLP means that employees have recognised the value of engaging with clients as a means of benefiting the organisation and increasing the profile of the employee resource groups.

Rita an associate recognised the potential for employee resource groups to act as business resources for the organisation. Rita leads one of the employee resource groups and she described how her group actively sought to engage clients for the benefit of individuals, the employee resource group and the organisation:

“We are thinking of everyone, we are trying to help the client facing team members go to the next step by involving the clients that we have so far. ..kind of like social networking we get familiar with what your client wants. What’s their point etc. and then you can do business with your client in that manner,. For example, a secretary will know what the partner wants to do, they do they are travelling in and out in a different kind of business environment, so they have a lot of information as well, so every angle will be useful, every member ..we value their input”

Rita's explanation exemplifies a collaborative, client focused approach that has benefited individuals and organisations positioning the employee resource group as a business resource.

There is a holistic approach, attempting to please individual members and the needs of the client simultaneously creating opportunities to build rapport and understand the needs of the client, using the nuanced knowledge of members. Rita highlighted how a non client-facing employee with access to information could benefit the group, the client and organisation. This means using the abilities of employees regardless of their status and recognising that they all have something to contribute, this perhaps is an important point in why this collaborative approach can encourage all individuals regardless of their tenure or their experience. This demonstrates creative use of existing resources in order to meet their objectives. Aligning with clients is recognised as an achievable way to raise the profile of the employee resource group given the organisational culture of Acme LLP. Given the importance of client relationships and rainmaking in Acme LLP, this is something that is encouraged by executives: Martha explains her thoughts about AC Club and other employee resource groups in this regard

“I think they're aiming to try and be more strategic, and one of the things I've been encouraging them is on the client external piece because some of our networks are very good at that, our LGBT [employee resource group] have done a great job, their events are very well attended by clients, and I think it's good to have that external aspect, but slowly but surely we are doing more cross fertilisation with other organisations, with AC Club and so on and so forth.”

Martha's reference to cross fertilisation underlines the perception that the employee resource groups should benefit the organisation and this supports her previous points about collaboration. In truth, clients are stakeholders however, the importance of rainmaking to Acme LLP means that the client relationship is recognised as a priority. External engagement is a way for the employee resource groups to align with the goals of the organisation. It provides a means for employees to engage in rainmaking and visibly signal their congruence with the client driven professional narrative.

5.4.6 Identity resource

For an attribute based employee resource group like AC Club, the social identity of the group means that they are likely to have access to cultural knowledge and competencies that may be useful for the business. Participants suggested that making this information

accessible to the business helps to position the group as a business resource and further align the group with the wider organisational goals. This theme is primarily concerned with employee resource groups as a business resource to directly contribute to existing operational functions and procedures. Generally the process was conceptualised as bridging a cultural gap, in practice this means providing culturally relevant advice or a service that benefits the organisation. Interestingly this theme was driven by responses by informant interviews outside of the AC Club, what follows are opinions that were not widely discussed by AC Club members and to some extent this is indicative of the priorities and motivations of the AC Club members.

5.4.6.1 Business resource

A small number of employee resource groups within Acme LLP have been described as contributing to operational functions and therefore creating a reputation for the employee resource group as a valuable business resource. For example the Chinese Club have identified some boundary spanning opportunities that are useful for the organisation, Rita explains:

There are a lot of opportunities out there and China is a country trying to grow faster than they want and they definitely need help. We can act as a bridge and help the firm to understand how to deal with this sort of client, because the way they behave, the way they ask questions is very different, so that is the aim of using the resource, and experience, and the language capabilities that we have, engaging Chinese business. We have a Chinese response team if you ever need translation work. We do that free of charge so why would you seek elsewhere.?

The Chinese Club have firmly positioned themselves as a business resource by recognising the value that they can add through their rare cultural competencies.

The organisation lacks the expertise and this seems to make the Chinese Club even more valuable, particularly because the Chinese Club provide services that the organisation would normally pay for. This is a strong example of how an employee resource group can align its interests with the organisation.

Brian, a senior manager provided another example of how an employee resource group could provide operational benefits to the organisation:

“I think India and Chinese Club, have some excellent client events... making it beyond doubt the commercial elements of those organisations, the Middle East Club, and the Muslim Club on Sharia Law financial products, and the China Club getting the Chinese Ambassador so you know really clear commercial things.”

Brian provides useful examples of how different employee resource groups use their specific expertise to bring commercial benefits to the firm. In particular the Muslim Club providing guidance on Sharia compliant financial products reveals a timely and relevant growth opportunity for the business to exploit with the support of the employee resource groups. This description also illustrates how the firm looks favourably on such opportunities.

5.4.6.2 Education

This theme is similar to the business resource theme because it relies on rare and valuable cultural expertise. The business resource theme indicated the employee resource group acting in an operational capacity. In contrast, under the education theme, the employee resource group plays a more indirect, advisory role that supports operational functions. In particular, participants described the employee resource group providing relevant cultural education to the organisation that may be useful in an appropriate business context.

This means that the education role did not always have to be drive profits; but it was useful for demonstrating value in the organisation. Ophelia explained how the Jewish Club assisted the business through education:

“What we’re doing in the Jewish [employee resource group] is trying to accommodate the Jewish population within Acme LLP on the one hand, and give some information to those who are interested about Judaism; whether it’s some people who need to work with Israel and people then put Israel and Jews together, or some people who have Jewish clients and have questions about if they can take them out to restaurants or things like that.”

The Jewish club developed a role of responsibility educating those interested in Judaism but also to support people who had questions about how to manage interactions with Jewish clients. This provided benefits that the organisation values. The prevalence of employee resource groups as business resource groups within Acme LLP indicates the expectations of the organisation regarding their performance. Part of the value of an

employee resource group in terms of the organisation is making others aware of the value within the employee resource group and this can be achieved through education. Martha explained this

“I would say of all the employee resource groups, but I think specifically the AC Club needs to think about it is how much outreach they are doing. How much of it is about, “Let’s talk about all of our problems and how we are having to cope with stuff, and how much of it is about educating people to see that group of people differently.” In the same way as I think you know I’ve spent a lot of time helping leaders in the business understand that women – yeah, women are different but good different, and they’re not all the same either. So the other thing as well is you know black people aren’t a homogeneous group, right? There’ll be a variety of people across the organisation”

Martha’s role as an executive reflects the desire to see the AC Club engaged with others; the role of education discussed here is twofold: first it engages others through cultural education and breaks down barriers through information and familiarity. Second, it allows the AC Club to be part of the transformative process of managing how members are perceived in the organisation. The identity resource role of an employee resource group contains roles that directly and indirectly benefit the client driven preferences of the organisation.

Given the importance of client relationships to Acme LLP, any efforts to enhance rainmaking within the firm are likely to be viewed favourably by the organisation and Martha’s opinion as a representative of senior management was indicative of this.

5.4.7 Summary of analysis

The purpose of this section was to identify and examine the roles employee resource group played in enhancing the careers of minority racial and ethnic employees. The data provided a rich context with challenging circumstances and important opportunities for the employee resource group. This provided five complementary themes that form a typology that addresses the research question and provides a basis for future research. Consequently, the role of an employee resource group has been shown to provide expressive functions for its members while progressing an instrumental agenda to influence the organisation. This case study reflects interesting circumstances where the employee resource group is not wholly independent from the organisation. The AC Club

does not raise funds and although they are given complete discretion over their budgets, these budgets are provided at the discretion of the diversity and inclusion team. I learned that the employee resource groups were encouraged to participate in diversity related events and initiatives that allowed Acme LLP to publicly signal a commitment to diversity and inclusion.

Discussion

5.5 Section overview

In this section I provide an analysis of my findings, highlight the implications of my results, limitations of the study and also outline the contribution this chapter makes to the literature.

5.5.1 Introduction

My goal in this chapter was to examine the role of employee resource groups in enhancing the careers of minority racial and ethnic individuals. Specifically I had two aims, the first was to present an overarching theoretical framework to conceptualise employee resource groups more generally. Second, I wanted to explore an employee resource group within an organisational setting in order to develop a typology to illustrate the role employee resource groups play in enhancing the careers of its members. I used a grounded theory approach because of the exploratory nature of my research questions and this complemented my research strategy of choosing an extreme case study to observe employee resource groups in suitable detail. The study benefitted from the grounded theory approach because the iterative data collection process facilitated the inclusion of additional informant case studies relevant to the phenomenon under investigation.

5.5.2 Bi dimensional framework of employee resource groups

Githens and Aragon (2007; 2009) created a framework for LGBT employee resource groups and invited scholars to employ it for other social identity groups. In this chapter I revised the framework, clarifying a number of assumptions where appropriate: the first assumption was an employee resource group has a purpose based around a social identity or a shared interest, the second assumption is that the employee resource group intends to bring about some type of change, the final assumption is that employee resource groups can vary and differ in their values, attitudes, and goals subject to their circumstances. I also changed one of the key parameters of the original framework (Githens and Aragon, 2007; 2009). Given the employee resource group literature's extensive focus on the role of management (Douglas 2008; Wellbourne and McLaughlin, 2013; Welbourne et al., 2015). I introduced the cooperation orientation to reflect

employee resource groups' preferences for cooperating with an organisation as a parameter. This framework is important because it is useful for conceptualising employee resource groups more generally and it addresses the shortcomings of the uni-dimensional continuum proposed by Briscoe and Safford (2010).

Limitations of the Bidimensional framework

This framework is useful in describing the purpose of employee resource groups and how this would influence its structure and orientation. This is salient given the potential for employee resource groups with varying interests, memberships and goals. Moreover these employee resource groups are to be found in organisations that are heterogeneous. However there are a number of limitations of the framework that should be acknowledged.

The framework acknowledges that the orientation may change over time and this would influence the desired structure of the employee resource group, however the framework does not describe or explore the antecedents of these changes, nor does it address any outcomes beyond the framework. Organisations vary in size, activities and scope, although the framework is flexible enough to understand that different organisations may influence the orientations described for an employee resource group. It is not clear if these orientations are related to organisational size, operations or industry. The framework extends the scope of previous research by acknowledging that the management of the host company are one of many stakeholders who may wish to cooperate with the employee resource group. The relationship between the organisation and the employee resource group is implied to be mutually beneficial, it is unclear the nature of the relationships between multiple stakeholders as well as the negative impact of these relationships on employee resource group members.

5.5.3 Typology for the role of employee resource groups

My research questions were concerned with identifying the key roles played by employee resource groups in enhancing the careers of minority racial and ethnic employees. I used a grounded theory approach to identify five functions: psychosocial support, career development support, voice, engagement and identity resources and explained how they could be used to benefit individuals.

The use of grounded theory meant that as part of the analysis of the emerging themes I was free to conceptualise the findings based on the nature of the data that emerged.

A Social Identity examination of employee resource groups

I observed that the social identity of the individuals underpinned the challenges of their workplace experience and their reasons for joining the employee resource group. Therefore a social identity perspective is well placed to offer considerable insight into the role of employee resource groups in this context given that social identity theory explicates the processes through which group memberships impact on people's attitudes and behaviour both within and between groups (Terry, 2003). Haslam and Ellemers (2006) suggest that social identity theory was originally focussed on the behavioural strategies of people who were members of low status groups attempting to bring about change. This makes a social identity approach to employee resource groups appropriate for this study. Social identity theory is now one of the most influential theories of group processes and intergroup relations worldwide, having redefined how we think about numerous group-mediated phenomena and having extended its reach well outside the confines of social psychology (Hornsey, 2008).

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979) social identity is conceptualised as being connected to the individuals' knowledge of belonging to a particular social group and the emotional and evaluative signification that results from membership of that group. Thus, it is through belonging to different groups that individuals acquire a social identity that defines their specific positions in society. In particular, two aspects of social identity theory are relevant for this study: the first is that social identity theory argues that individuals are motivated to enhance their self-esteem with regard to their social identity group membership (Tajfel, 1978). In short, individuals want to feel good about the social identity groups to which they belong. If their group has low status in a particular context, this has a negative impact on their self esteem (Brown and Lohr, 1987). The second aspect of social identity theory relevant for this study is that individuals try to reach a positive self-concept by maintaining and increasing their self-esteem (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Social identity theory predicts that low status groups seeking positive distinctiveness would be motivated to achieve positive distinctiveness for their own social identity group (Ashforth and Mael, 1989).

Through a social identity lens, I posit that for an attribute centred employee resource groups for low status social identity groups as exhibited in the AC Club, members use the employee resource groups as a medium for enhancing their self esteem and seeking positive distinctiveness for their social identity group. In this study, this means that AC Club members recognise their low status within Acme LLP and seek to enhance their self-esteem as individuals through the AC Club in the form of psychosocial support and career development roles. Furthermore the AC Club also provides an opportunity to develop the perception of black employees collectively. A discussion of each of these strategies is discussed below:

Individual Social identity development

I suggest that the self-esteem of the members of the AC Club is enhanced by how they feel as individuals within the workplace and their ability to perform to the best of their ability. The psychosocial support functions directly enhance how individuals feel and through friendship & social networking as well as shared experience & support themes participants described the benefits the employee resource group served. Particularly given the potential for minorities to be excluded from social networks (Ibarra, 1995). The data showed that the participants were motivated but also recognised their need for additional support in order to succeed.

For example participants expressed the importance of developmental relationships in Acme LLP, this is consistent with previous studies that describe mentoring as the 'royal jelly' of professional service firms because it is a conduit for career enhancement in a competitive career tournament (Payne - Pikus, Hagan & Nelson, 2010; Wilkins & Gulati, 1996). Research has shown how mentoring could assist minority ethnic professionals to reach senior positions in an organisation as well as identifying the difficulties encountered when trying to secure mentor support (Thomas, 1990). These are the challenges being experienced by black employees in Acme LLP and is reflected in the low number of promotions and the underrepresentation of black employees in senior positions.

The social identity of the employees is relevant to this experience because differences in the racial identity of the mentor and protégé may act as a barrier which prevents

minority racial protégés from enjoying the benefits of a mentoring relationship (Blake-Beard et al., 2007; Dickens and Dickens, 1991). As a result, minority ethnic professionals seek developmental relationships outside of traditional organisational boundaries and areas of specialisation (Thomas, 1990). This is why participants wanted the AC Club to essentially act as a mentor if it was unable to introduce them to mentors. This highlights the importance of social networks for aspiring minority ethnic leaders, particularly because exclusion from social networks has been presented as explanation for the failure of minority ethnic managers to advance more rapidly in their careers (Dickens and Dickens, 1991; Ibarra, 1993).

Higgins and Kram (2001) integrated the mentorship literature with social network theories to reconceptualise the traditional mentor-protégée dyad as part of a network of developmental relationship. Employee resource groups may provide a way for individuals to form developmental networks to gain the support that they require, given that psychosocial support and career development support, two of the roles that participants actively sought from the AC Club are the components of a mentor-protégé relationship (Kram, 1985). This provides a specific example of how the social identity of black employees is salient to their workplace experience and how an employee resource group serves to enhance their careers in the face of this disadvantage.

5.5.4 Group based social identity development

From a social identity perspective, employee resource groups are concerned with perceptions of relative group status and the permeability of intergroup boundaries in organisational settings (Terry, 2003). Belonging to a given group contributes to the development of a positive social identity only if the characteristics of that group can be compared favourably to other groups (Tajfel, 1978). As members of a low status group, the employee resource group provides an opportunity to improve the collective identity of black employees. Studies have shown that employees are motivated to engage in social identity management in the workplace if their social identity is perceived to affect the perception of their competence and character in the workplace (Little et al., 2015). In this context, the employee resource group acts as a social identity management device that contributes to the development of a positive social identity. The descriptions of the China Club in particular show that as a business resource the employee resource

groups can be well regarded by senior management. The data suggests that the voice, engagement and identity resource functions of the AC Club can help black employees to align their goals with that of the organisation.

Wellbourne and McLaughlin (2013) characterised employee resource groups as being successful if they repurposed themselves as business resource groups, citing them as hubs of innovation. Examples from the data show that at least two employee resource groups within Acme LLP had achieved this and were celebrated by leadership. This serves to positively distinguish the social identity group from others. Viewed through the lens of social identity theory, the emergent themes that formed the model presented in Figure 5.2 reveal that employee resource groups serve a number of important functions that illustrate that may be a potential social identity vehicle for developing the self-esteem of the members.

This addresses the research questions by identifying the roles played by the employee resource groups and how they can enhance the careers of their members. Social identity theory shows that the roles within an employee resource group serve a purpose in helping to raise the self-esteem of members as individuals and members of a low status group by aligning the goals of the employee resource group with the organisation.

5.5.4. Key Contributions

Not enough is known about employee resource groups and their relationships with organisations and individuals (Wellbourne et al., 2015). This research makes a number of important contributions to the literature: first, this research responds to calls for qualitative research that seeks to understand the meaning of ethnic identity to the individuals concerned and focuses on these meanings within an organisational setting (Kenny and Briner, 2007).

Second, this chapter introduces theory to a developing field of research by presenting a conceptual framework that can be used by researchers to systematically investigate employee resource groups.

Third, research on minority groups in the workplace typically characterise racial minorities as inherently disadvantaged, in need of assistance and lacking in resources

necessary to succeed in the workplace (Ramarajan and Thomas, 2010). Solutions for discrimination and prejudice in the workplace are often presented for management use with minority group members implied to be passive recipients of changes (Collins, 2007; Hollander, 2009). Employee resource groups provide a way to explore the agency of minority individuals in the face of disadvantage in the workplace, directly exploring the attitudes and behaviours of minority groups in their attempts to enhance their careers.

Fourth, the study of employee resource groups allows a greater understanding of minority ethnic and racial individuals as they cooperate and engage with each other in the workplace. This provides a fascinating insight into the workplace experience of individuals from a single social identity group, experiencing the same organisational context and explores how they work together in order to enhance their careers.

5.5.5 Limitations

This study made several important contributions but it also had limitations that should be acknowledged. Given that the study was conducted in a manner similar to the study discussed in Chapter 4 using grounded theory to explore extreme case studies (See section 4.3). It is subject to several of the same limitations.

Intersectionality

This study was concerned with the experience of racial and ethnic identity in the workplace, however the analysis did not consider the role of other identity categories: such as class or gender. Several of the participants were female, and there were potential indicators of the participants coming from different class backgrounds. My data analysis did reveal gender specific experiences of being black and female in the workplace, however an exploration of the intersection of these identities did not seem appropriate for addressing my research questions but should be considered for future research.

Researcher Interpretation

Once again, the qualitative nature of the case study analysis means that there is a wide scope for observer bias and the subjective opinions of the researcher may intrude in the assessment of what the data means. In order to mitigate this I have provided details of the systematic procedures I employed in this study as well as engaging in an ongoing review of my own involvement, paying careful attention to any bias or preferences that I brought to the study. This also involved conversations with my supervisors and other scholars.

Case Study Approach

I chose an extreme case study approach because I was concerned with generating theory, however the nature of the study means that it is unclear if the conclusions drawn from Acme LLP and the AC Club will apply elsewhere.

5.5.6 Section summary

In this section I highlight the key findings from this chapter, identify the contribution this study makes to the literature and address some of the limitations of the study. In the next section I summarise the chapter and discuss the implications for future research

Conclusion

5.6. Section overview

Having completed the study and presented the findings, in this section I summarise the chapter and discuss the implications of this study for future research.

5.6.1 Summary

Employee resource groups have existed in a variety of forms (for example affinity groups, employee network group and caucuses) in organisations over the past 30 years (Wellbourne and McLaughlin, 2013) and have been growing in number since the founding of The Black Caucus Group at Xerox Corporation in the 1960s (Douglas, 2008). An increasing number of organisations are encouraging employee resource groups for a wide variety of social identities (Friedman and Craig, 2004; Wellbourne and McLaughlin, 2013). However despite the consistent growth in the number of employee resource groups in large organisations, employee resource groups remain understudied in the academic literature (Lambert and Quintana, 2015) with no clear reasons why. Consequently, there has been very little systematic research on the emergence of employee resource groups and their role within companies (Briscoe and Safford, 2010).

The purpose of this chapter was to examine the role of employee resource groups in enhancing the careers of minority racial and ethnic individuals. Specifically my focus was to present an overarching theoretical framework to conceptualise employee resource groups more generally; based on this I wanted to better understand the role that employee resource groups for minority racial groups play in enhancing the careers of their members.

In this study I used a grounded theory approach to focus on an extreme case studies of an attribute centred employee resource group for black employees. From the data, I created a typology of five distinct functions that the employee resource group exhibited that served to enhance the careers of the members: psychosocial support, career development, voice, engagement and identity resources. The grounded theory approach was useful in guiding the study; this subsequently led me to widen the scope of the study to include informant interviews that were crucial in identifying some of the

functions. Given that social identity is a defining characteristic of the employee resource group in the framework I developed, the data suggested that social identity was a suitable lens to analyse the results.

Through a social identity lens, the data revealed that participants were using the employee resource group as a medium through which they could improve their social esteem as individuals and as a collective within the workplace. The data supported these suggestions given the emergent functions helped to support individual career progression, provide support for individuals but it also helped to align the values and goals of the employee group to the organisation as a whole. Furthermore, membership of the employee group signalled congruence between individual and organisational values and this could be deemed to raise the status of the social identity group to which the employee resource group members belong. The participants were black African and black Caribbean; given the low status of this group with the organisation studied, social identity theory explained why they may be motivated to join the employee resource group.

5.6.2 Future Research

There are several exciting lines of research that would benefit the literature, in what follows I suggest a few lines of enquiry related to this chapter that I think would be of interest.

Other employee resource group types

This study was conducted on an employee resource group that was pursuing the conventional approach discussed (see section 5.2.3.2). It is unknown the extent to which these findings are applicable to other approaches. Future research should consider exploring other employee resource group types, particularly those with interests that extend beyond the host organisation.

This could also include social identity groups or groups formed around interests that do not reflect the social identity of members.

Non-funded employee resource groups

Friedman et al. (1998) defined an employee resource group as being a separate and distinct self funded entity. This conceptualisation is consistent with the framework

presented in this study, however the case study itself was based on a funded employee resource group. The impact of funding on a conventional approach may have influenced some of the functions that the employee resource group played or was expected to play in the workplace. Future research should consider employee resource groups that are not directly funded by the host organisation in which they are located.

Longitudinal study

This study was designed to develop theory based on a single case study organisation at a particular point in time. Not enough is known about how employee resource groups may change over time or if any of the functions observed may further develop or diminish over the life of an employee resource group. Moreover a change in leadership, policy or internal circumstances may influence the performance of an employee resource group. Understanding these differences over time may prove to be insightful to future researchers.

Non-members

The primary beneficiaries of employee resource groups were assumed to be their members and the host organisations. However an individual who belongs to the same social identity group may also benefit indirectly from the work of the employee resource group. Specifically, regarding this study, a black employee who is not a member of the AC Club, may enjoy the indirect benefits of being a black employee of Acme LLP if the activities of the raise the status of black employees in general. It is unclear if individuals benefit more by participating with the employee resource group or actively avoiding it. Future researchers should consider the experiences and outcomes of members and non-members.

5.6.3. Section summary

The theoretical developments in this chapter are intended to encourage further studies of this nature. Given the increasing number of minority groups entering the labour market and the emergence of employee resource groups as a diversity and inclusion strategy; understanding the impact of employee resource groups on individual career outcomes may be useful for organisations in the future.

Chapter 6: Overall Discussion

6.1 Chapter overview

The purpose of this research enquiry is to explore how minority racial and ethnic individuals experience race and ethnicity in the workplace. In particular my interest is in the influence of these experiences on their work-based outcomes. The previous three chapters present empirical findings that uncover some of the complexities in the way that minority racial and ethnic individuals experience race and ethnicity in the workplace. Each chapter is located in a different work based context with the purpose of exploring two related phenomena. The first is to understand how the meanings associated with race and ethnicity can vary between individuals. The second is to explore the potential influence of these experiences on individual work based outcomes. This chapter amalgamates these findings in order to present the theoretical and practical insights of this thesis. I begin with an outline of the research context followed by a brief summary of the findings for each of the empirical chapters. Next I explore the themes that link all of the studies, addressing the relationships between the studies as appropriate. I then summarise the overall contribution of this thesis including theoretical implications. Finally I discuss the limitations of this thesis and make suggestions for future research.

6.2. General research context

In this thesis I suggest that an examination of minority racial and ethnic individuals experience of race and ethnicity within the workplace is pertinent for two key reasons, the first is the increasing number of minority racial and ethnic individuals within the labour force in Western countries, currently 21% in England and Wales as well as in the United States (Office of National Statistics, 2015; United States Bureau of Labor statistics, 2015), the second is that minority racial groups experience disadvantage within the workplace that can lead to lower levels of job satisfaction and high levels of attrition (Blackaby, Leslie, Murphy & O'Leary, 2002; James, 2000; Milkman, Akinola & Chugh, 2015; Ziegert and Hanges, 2005). Studies that explore the experiences of minority individuals often address them as a homogenous group (Ibarra, 1995) and consider them to be inherently disadvantaged (Ramarajan and Thomas, 2010). Comparative research approaches in the field emphasise the differences in work-based outcomes between minority racial groups and their non minority counterparts (Cox and

Nkomo, 1990). Consequently, not enough is known about differences within minority groups within the workplace (Blake-Beard et al., 2007).

6.3 Summary of studies

What follows is a brief summary of the findings for each of the empirical chapters and a discussion of the themes that link these studies

Study 1: An empirical investigation of bicultural experience in the workplace

In the first study of this thesis I use biculturalism as a lens to conceptualise the experience of minority racial and ethnic individuals. Using quantitative research methods that include online surveys, exploratory factor analysis, confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation modelling. The contribution of this study is the establishment of a reliable and valid instrument to measure bicultural identity integration (BII) in the workplace. Further I demonstrate that BII is comprised of four distinct constructs: cultural harmony, cultural conflict, cultural blendedness and cultural compartmentalisation. This study also provides an insight into the antecedents and outcomes of BII. Agreeableness is shown to be an antecedent of cultural harmony and cultural conflict. Emotional exhaustion and enthusiasm are shown to be outcomes of both cultural harmony and cultural conflict. Comfort, anxiety and depression are shown to be outcomes of cultural conflict.

Study 2: An exploration of minority ethnic culture as a professional resource

In the second study of this thesis I focus on how the heritage culture of minority racial and ethnic individuals influences their work-based behaviours as high status professionals. In this study I use grounded theory as part of a qualitative research approach. The contribution of this study is two-fold; first I develop a typology that identifies three distinct pathways (professional attributes, cultural performance management and cultural inspiration) through which the heritage culture of minority racial and ethnic professionals influences their behaviour. Second, using an intersectional lens to conceptualise the typology, the findings suggest that the experiences of the participants are a consequence of the intersection of race, ethnicity and class within a professional context. Furthermore, the experiences of the participants are indicative of membership of a black middle class. The analysis suggests

that these individuals have class driven motivations to seek social and economic advantages. These motivations are congruent with the structural processes that serve to secure social and economic benefits for members of professions such as accounting and law. However the participants find it necessary to marginalise their racial identity as a consequence of the same professional structures. The data reveals that these individuals develop strategies to manage these complex and contradictory experiences.

Study 3: An investigation of the roles performed by employee resource groups in the contemporary workplace

In the final study of this thesis I investigate the role of employee resource groups in enhancing the careers of minority racial and ethnic employees. Like the previous chapter I employ grounded theory as part of a qualitative research approach. The contribution of this paper is three-fold, first, I develop a theoretical framework to conceptualise employee resource groups in general. Second, I develop a typology that identifies five roles (psychosocial support, career development, voice, engagement and identity resources) played by employee resource groups in enhancing the careers of their members. Finally, using social identity theory to conceptualise the typology, the data suggests that the participants are using the employee resource group as part of a social identity management strategy. This serves to improve their self-esteem as individuals and raise the status of their racial group within the workplace.

6.4 General themes of the thesis

Each study was separate and distinct however there were a number of themes that linked the studies in this thesis that are discussed below.

Heterogeneity of experience

This thesis demonstrates that minority racial and ethnic individuals do not have homogenous work based experiences. Each study is concerned with the variety of experience of minority racial and ethnic individuals in the workplace. Study 1 examines the different ways that minority racial and ethnic individuals manage the demands of their multiple cultural influences within the workplace. The premise of this study is that individuals differ in their culturally based values, attitudes, and behaviours (Berry, 1997) (See section 3.23). Study 2 is interested in the extent to which the heritage

culture of black professionals influences their behaviour in the workplace, however one of the research questions was specifically concerned with identifying observable differences that distinguish the experiences of black professionals currently employed within their chosen profession from those who have chosen employment elsewhere (See section 4.13). Study 3 examines the collective experiences of black employees who choose to congregate in employee resource groups on the basis of their shared racial identity. This exploratory study was based on a conceptual framework that stated that employee resource groups can vary and differ in their values, attitudes, and goals subject to their circumstances (Githens and Aragon, 2007; 2009).

A focus on minority racial and ethnic participants

A second theme that linked each of the studies is an exclusive focus on the experiences of minority racial and ethnic individuals. The studies within this thesis are not concerned with comparing the experiences of minority racial and ethnic individuals to a preconceived normative experience. My interest within this thesis is not to explore differences between minority and non minority groups, but in part to explore differences within a specific minority group and therefore further understand minority racial and ethnic heterogeneity (Blake-Beard et al., 2007)

The need for identity work

A third theme that is observable in each of the studies is that minority racial and ethnic individuals actively craft their self narratives (Ibarra and Barbulescu, 2010) in a process of performing their identity. In each of the studies there is evidence to show that minority racial and ethnic individuals actively negotiate their multiple social identities (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003). Study 1 is concerned with the bicultural experience of minority racial and ethnic individuals; early research on biculturalism in organisations argues that biculturals are required to manage a social repertoire as they move back and forth between racialised environments (Bell, 1990). In Study 2 individuals are explicit about the performative nature of their identities, recognising that their racial identities meant that they would have to work harder to succeed in their careers in a racialised environment (See section 4.4.3.4). In study 3, employee resource groups are shown to play a role in social identity management, in particular the employee resource group had the potential to change the perception of black

professionals within the organisation by signalling to stakeholders that black professionals as a social identity group had values aligned with the perceived normative values of the company, this enhanced their careers by maintaining and increasing their self-esteem (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Each of these findings is consistent with suggestions about the need for additional identity work for minority racial employees to mitigate negative stereotypes within the workplace (Carbado and Gulati, 1999)

Difficulty recruiting participants

The final theme common to all of the papers refers to the research process itself and the difficulty in conducting research of this nature. Recruiting participants for this thesis was challenging. In study 2 this required the use of a snowball sample, given that the accounting profession had no reliable or complete dataset to identify the race or ethnicity of their members (Johnston and Kyriacou, 2007). The data collection for this process was time consuming and challenging and this indicated why other studies of black professionals often used individuals from several racial groups (Lewis, 2011; Ram and Carter, 2003) instead of a single racial group as was used here. In study 3, after several failed attempts with other organisations I directly engaged participants within Acme LLP in order to incentivise their participation after attending an employee resource group event (See 5.3.6). Difficulty attracting participants was not confined to the qualitative studies conducted here. Finding minority racial and ethnic individuals to participate in the quantitative study was also challenging. It also provided a better understanding of why previous studies of biculturalism may have relied on student populations (see Table 3.1). My concern with the workplace as a sociocultural domain meant that this was not appropriate for this study. Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk), proved to be an essential tool for finding participants because the workers on MTurk are closer to the US working population than subjects recruited via traditional university samples (Paolacci & Chandler, 2014). However due to the lack of direct contact with the participants I was unable to verify their ethnic identities. This was a challenge because I did not want to identify my desire for target respondents from minority racial and ethnic groups in the event that I incentivised dishonest participants to complete the survey. I overcame this challenge by requesting demographic data from a large number of participants in an initial survey explaining that further surveys were available for those who met the criteria for participation (see section 3.4.2.3). I did not

identify any racial or ethnic criteria for participation so participants had no financial incentive to lie about their identity in order to participate in future surveys and receive payment. I received 1592 respondents of which 361 individuals (22.7%) were from minority racial groups or mixed racial groups, this proportion matches the actual US demographic population for minority groups (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). These 361 individuals were my target respondents and were suitable for participation in the rest of the study and were invited to participate based on their self-reported ethnic identity. The final samples were smaller (195 and 163 respectively) and this reflected the challenge of finding participants.

6.5 Overall significance and implications of findings

In summarising the overall significance and implications of the findings, there are two main contributions that this thesis makes to the study of diversity in the workplace. These pertain to the following dimensions, and each will be discussed in turn, the first is the need for a greater focus on an individual perspective, the second is an insight into the intersectional nature of ethnicity and race within the workplace.

An individual perspective for diversity based research

The findings of this thesis have implications for a diversity based research agenda that is focused on the experience of the individual. Such an agenda appreciates the person at the centre of any initiative designed to recognise the value of heterogeneity in the workplace (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2008) or remove barriers that prevent employees from using their full range of skills and competencies (Roberson, 2006). The experience of minority racial and ethnic individuals in the workplace must not be relegated to an abstract notion of being, a variable or a resource that can operate and behave in order to keep an organisation functioning optimally. Instead, it is the lived experience, appreciated through the eyes of the individual, that provides a gateway to a whole new research agenda which takes as its starting point the subjective existence of the person managing the demands of multiple salient social identities. This thesis attempts to understand subjective individual experiences by appreciating the role of racial and ethnic identity and how it “plays out and is actually experienced within the workplace” (Kenny and Briner, 2013, p726). In particular the key distinction between an individual belonging to a social identity category compared to identifying with a social identity

category (Taylor Cox & Nkomo, 1990) is explored. The studies in this thesis yield a rich insight into the heterogeneous experiences of minority racial and ethnic individuals within the workplace. From the empirical studies conducted, I show that individuals differ in the way that they experience their racial and ethnic identities within the workplace and this influences individual behaviour and outcomes. A management led perspective, although similarly focused is fixated on attempting to delineate methods of managing and fixing the problems at the expense of truly appreciating how minority racial and ethnic employees can participate in the process. This thesis provides a fresh insight by demonstrating that minority racial and ethnic employees are not just passive recipients in their careers, but active participants.

An intersectional perspective

A related contribution of the studies comprising this thesis has been the complex intersection of multiple social identities within the workplace. My intention here is not to present intersectional research agendas as an innovation, several researchers in the UK including Showunmi et al. (2015) and Atewologun (2014) have explored the intersection of several salient social identities for minority ethnic individuals in senior management roles. However the challenges of articulating the interplay between race and ethnicity may be undermined by attempts to conflate or marginalise one construct in favour of another (Markus, 2008; Quintana, 2007). The studies in this thesis provided an insight into the complex experiences of individuals managing the multiple demands of their social identities. In study 1 I highlight the importance of bicultural identity dynamics for minority racial and ethnic individuals, defining biculturals in part as individuals that self identify as members of more than one distinct social group. However the cultivation of a double consciousness was explored in more detail in study 2. Du Bois (1903) used this term to describe the circumstances where a minority individual in a racialised environment attempts to view themselves through the eyes of a member of the majority group and therefore adjusts their behaviour as appropriate. In study 2 this double consciousness is more salient in the presence of class and professionalism and researchers must pay greater attention to the variety of experiences within minority racial and ethnic groups in this context.

6.6 Limitations of the thesis

Despite its contributions, this study has several limitations that should be acknowledged.

Self-Report

In this chapter I have highlighted the challenges of collecting data and in study 1 this meant that I had to rely on self-report data. Self-report data has been criticised because it can have a considerable effect on observed relationships between measures of different constructs (Podsakoff et al., 2003). Although I cannot be certain that the BII measure is free of all methodological bias, I took the following five precautionary steps to address the most common biases in line with recommendations of Podsakoff et al. (2003). I took several precautions that included appealing to a larger sample in order to find target respondents. I used procedural remedies related to the questionnaire design, specifically the use of a pilot study to ensure that the questions were simple, specific, and concise. I also provided examples when concepts were being used and avoided complicated syntax. I sought guidance from experts in order to avoid social desirability in the questions presented. The questionnaire was administered at three time points and this ensured a temporal separation between the predictor and criterion variables. This separation diminished the ability and motivation for respondents to use prior responses to answer subsequent questions. Finally all respondents were guaranteed anonymity, I was only able to identify them by their MTurk identification numbers and they were informed that the study was being carried out in line with the London School of Economics ethical guidelines. In terms of statistical remedies, I used the single common factor approach to assess the likelihood that a substantial amount of common method variance would result in single factor emerging from the factor analysis or that one general factor will account for the majority of the covariance among the measures. This was not the case as illustrated in Table 3.5. This limitation was mitigated by the use of qualitative research methods in study 2 and study 3. This thesis does not rely exclusively on self-report data but also observations and interviews. This mixed methods approached is important as a methodological triangulation approach (Patton, 1999).

Commercial Professionals

Both of the qualitative studies were concerned with professionals located within professional service firms. This was an advantage because accountants and lawyers both share similar professional experiences regarding training contracts, professional exams and the importance of professional service firms as an organisational structure. Moreover in study 3 the structure of professional service firms as partnerships and the importance of the client relationship (Gordon, 2003; Wilkins, 1999b) underpinned the typology that emerged. However this is also a limitation because these attributes make them suitable for these studies but the research findings are limited to the extent that they may not be appropriate for professions not associated with these organisational structures. This limitation is mitigated to some extent by the broad employment experience that characterised the participants in study 1.

Intersectionality

Each of the studies was concerned to some extent with several culturally salient identities. However there was no analysis on the role of gender or other potentially salient identities such as sexual orientation. This limitation is mitigated to the extent that the gender roles were not ignored as part of this thesis, however it was not a primary focus of the enquiry. The results of study 2 did reveal some gendered outcomes in terms of the support participants received from their families, however there were no themes of the gendered experience of the participants that emerged from the data.

Researcher Interpretation

The qualitative nature of the case study approaches employed means that there is a wide scope for observer bias and the subjective opinions of the researcher may intrude in the assessment of what the data means. In order to mitigate this I have provided details of the systematic procedures I employed in each study as well as engaging in an ongoing review of my own involvement, paying careful attention to any bias or preferences that I brought to the study. This also involved conversations with my supervisors and other scholars. This limitation was mitigated to some extent by the detail provide in the methods section, this will allow others to replicate the studies conducted here and also to examine the impact of my role as a researcher.

Case Study Approach

I chose an extreme case study approach in study 2 and study 3 because I was concerned with generating theory, however the nature of the studies means that it is unclear if the conclusions drawn from these particular cases will apply elsewhere. My focus on theory development makes this choice appropriate because of my concern in establishing a research agenda to be explored.

6.7 Practical implications

Organisations

The focus of this research has been the experiences of individuals, my motivation for this approach was the tendency of diversity led research to favour management approaches over individual perspectives (see section 1.4). However there are some practical implications of this thesis that may benefit organisations.

Acknowledge demographic trends

First, organisations should recognise the demographic shifts that are taking place in the workplace and the implications this has for organisations in the future (Office of National Statistics, 2015; United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). This also means that it would be prudent for organisations to recognise that historical normative experiences may no longer be appropriate in a contemporary workplace. This extends beyond gendered and racialised norms (Rose, 1997), but also includes heteronormative narratives. This was illustrated by the activities of LGBT employee resource groups in their campaign for domestic partner equality regarding health insurance (Briscoe and Safford, 2010). Equality based frameworks were discarded because of the need to adjust and adapt to white male standards (Rose, 1997). It may be more appropriate to consider cultivating inclusive organisational climates that engage individuals in a participative process of change (Nishii, 2012).

Engage employees

Second, organisations should attempt to engage with minority racial and ethnic groups in a more meaningful way. The use of employee resource groups are well established in the United States (Douglas, 2008), but more needs to be done to promote them in the

UK. Employee resource groups provide a rich opportunity to engage motivated individuals and the data in this thesis suggests that employee resource groups can provide ongoing tangible benefits for individuals and organisations if managed well in an appropriate environment.

Individuals

Given my concern with individual perspectives in the workplace it seems appropriate to highlight implications for individuals that emerge from this thesis. There is considerable evidence in this thesis that suggests that structural inequality and discrimination influence the work-based outcomes of minority racial and ethnic individuals. However one of the often repeated goals of this thesis was to investigate the experiences of minority racial and ethnic individuals from a perspective that does not imply that they are inherently deficient (Nkomo, 1992).

The participants in the study demonstrated that minority racial and ethnic individuals could be successful through resilience, hard work and persistence. As suggested in study 2, a strong work ethic was a consistent theme among participants as well as the following

Actively engage others

In this thesis I made several references to the difficulty minority racial individuals have in benefitting from mentor relationships (Thomas, 1990) and social networks (Ibarra, 1995). In study 3 there was evidence to support these experiences, however participants mitigated these circumstances by proactively seeking developmental relationships, attempting to enhance their social network.

Where these relationships were not forthcoming, individuals sought an alternative and the employee resource group studied in study 3 provides an example of how such a 'proxy' can support individuals.

Recognise individual value

As biculturals, minority racial and ethnic individuals may have boundary spanning potential that is underdeveloped. Studies of biculturals in organisations suggest that they engage in boundary spanning activities and act as conflict mediators within teams (Hong, 2010). Moreover biculturals have an ability to integrate ideas in potentially

novel and creative ways (Leung et al., 2008). This thesis provided evidence that supported the boundary spanning and creative potential of minority racial and ethnic individuals. In study 3, participants added value by seeking opportunities to engage directly and indirectly through the use of their identity resources (see section 5.4.6). It may benefit minority racial and ethnic individuals to seek opportunities that allow them to leverage these benefits in a contemporary workplace.

6.8 Future research

There are several exciting lines of research that would benefit the literature, in what follows I suggest a few lines of enquiry related to this chapter that I think would be of interest.

Intersectionality

Class emerged as being an important source of identity and inequality that was not originally considered in this study. Moreover participants rarely discussed it.

Not enough is known about the experiences of black middle class professionals in the workplace. Research on minority racial and ethnic professionals are primarily concerned with their ethnic, racial and professional experiences. The literature may benefit from future research that considers the challenges and complexity surrounding being part of a black middle class particularly for individuals who are seeking social mobility, for example those who identify as working class as a consequence of class downsizing but later attempt to become middle class by profession (Rollock et al., 2012).

As an extension of the previous recommendation about exploring class, this study used an intersectional lens but this analysis excluded gender. I used the ethnic penalty to illustrate disparities in the salaries of different ethnic groups (Berthoud, 2000). I explained these differences by occupational segregation (Elliott and Lindley, 2008). This phenomenon can also be used to explain the gender pay gap, and this has been shown to exist with professions like accountancy (Smithson, Lewis, Cooper & Dyer, 2004). Future research should consider using an intersectional approach that does not exclude gender or other potentially salient identities from their analysis.

Developmental Relationships

The lack of developmental relationships was highlighted as an indicator of leaving a profession and this is consistent with previous studies (Viator, 2001). Thomas' research (Thomas and Alderfer, 1989; Thomas and Gabarro, 1999) showed how mentoring could assist minority ethnic professionals to reach senior positions in an organisation as well as identifying the difficulties encountered when trying to secure mentor support. As a result, minority ethnic professionals seek developmental relationships outside of traditional organisational boundaries and areas of specialisation (Thomas, 1990). Higgins and Kram integrated the mentorship literature with social network theories to reconceptualise the traditional mentor-protégée dyad as part of a network of developmental relationships (Higgins and Kram, 2001). Future research should consider not only the role of developmental relationships on black middle class professionals, but also the role of developmental networks on their careers.

Non-Commercial Professionals

The focus on accountants and lawyers was appropriate for this study given the similar career experiences and the organisational structures prevalent within each profession. However future research should consider doctors, dentists and other high status professions that are not organised through professional service firms. Future research should also consider occupations where the social closure attempts of its members may be focused on securing social benefits (Richardson, 1997). Under these circumstances, the occupations may not be professions as characterised in this thesis, however they may carry high status in certain social contexts, examples may include a church pastor or an emerging thought leader. The legitimisation attempts of such groups, particularly through an intersectional lens may be insightful

Changes in Bicultural Identity Integration

BII is typically conceptualised as an individual difference, however there is some evidence to suggest that BII is malleable subject to an individual's recall of past bicultural experiences. McCrae and colleagues (1998) have demonstrated that, after migration and over the course of time and generations, personality profiles of Chinese individuals increasingly resembled those of the mainstream culture. A similar change

may happen with biculturals in terms of their attitude to their heritage culture and organisational culture. Given the role that organisational socialisation plays in identity negotiation (Cable et al., 2013), future research should consider potential changes in BII, particularly before and after an individual has entered the workplace. Under these circumstances longitudinal studies may be useful, allowing tests to be repeated over time.

6.9 Concluding Statement

The experience of minority racial and ethnic individuals in the workplace has been shown to be a complex and fascinating interplay of congruent and often competing interests. The studies in this thesis suggest that managing these experiences can be challenging for both individuals and organisations alike. However more work is required in order to better assist individuals and organisations in this task. This thesis has provided an insight into the potential benefits and opportunities for those who can manage this process effectively in order to move beyond a performance based business case to creating environments where all individuals are given the scope to reach their potential.

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Appendix 1 pilot study questionnaire

Dear Participants,

In preparation for my PhD research, I am conducting a survey related to the cultural experiences of minority ethnic professionals in the workplace. I would sincerely appreciate 10 minutes of your time to participate in the survey.

As a member of a minority ethnic group, you have been exposed to at least two cultures: your own heritage or ethnic culture (for example, Japanese, Mexican, Kenyan, Armenian) and the workplace culture specific to your chosen profession. Thus, you could be described as a bicultural or multicultural individual.

The experience of having and managing two cultures (or more) is different for everybody, and I am interested in your particular experience. This survey aims to understand your personal opinions; there are no right or wrong answers to the survey questions.

All responses will be kept anonymous and confidential. Further, as this survey is for educational purposes only, none of the results will be published.

Your thoughtful and honest responses will be gratefully appreciated.

Thank you,

Jonathan Lamptey
PhD Candidate,
London School of Economics

1. Please indicate as to what extent you agree or disagree with the given statements below. All statements are in regard to your own feelings about your ethnic culture and the professional culture in your industry.

Consider the word “ethnic” in relation to your own heritage and ethnic culture. Consider the word professional in relation to your profession and those working in your industry in similar jobs to yours.

Please rate all statements, even if they seem redundant to you. Try to avoid using “Not sure” if possible.

- It is important to harmonise my ethnic culture and professional culture.
- I feel that I have to choose between my ethnic culture and professional culture.
- I find it difficult to balance my ethnic culture and professional culture.
- My ethnic culture and professional culture don’t support each other
- I feel a tension between my ethnic culture and professional culture.

- My ethnic culture and professional culture are well matched.
- Managing my ethnic culture and professional culture creates inner conflict.
- Engaging my ethnic culture and professional culture has never been a problem.
- There is a clash between my ethnic culture and professional culture.
- My ethnic culture and professional culture are aligned
- I find it easy to harmonise my ethnic and professional cultures
- I rarely feel conflicted about being bicultural.
- I find it easy to balance both my ethnic and professional cultures.
- I do not feel trapped between my ethnic and professional cultures.
- I feel that my ethnic and professional cultures are complementary
- I feel torn between my ethnic and professional cultures.
- Being bicultural means having two cultural forces pulling on me at the same time.
- I feel conflicted between the ethnic and professional ways of doing things.
- I feel like someone moving between two cultures.
- I feel caught between my ethnic and professional cultures.

Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each statement about blending cultures. Consider this

Please rate all statements, even if they seem redundant to you. Try to avoid using "Not sure" if possible.

- I keep a clear distinction between my ethnic self and my professional self.
- I merge my ethnic and professional cultures.
- It is important to keep the ethnic side of me separate from the professional side of me.
- I enjoy the combination of my ethnic and professional cultures.
- My ethnic culture and professional culture occupy different areas of my life.
- I like to show both, the ethnic and professional sides of me.
- I find it difficult to be ethnic and professional at the same time
- It is better to keep my ethnic and professional cultures separate
- I cannot hide the ethnic or professional side of me.

- I mix my ethnic and professional identity
- I cannot ignore the ethnic or professional side of me.
- I feel ethnic and professional at the same time.
- I relate better to a combined ethnic professional culture than to an ethnic or professional culture alone.
- I feel like an “ethnic” professional
- I feel part of a combined culture that is a mixture of my ethnicity and my profession.
- I do not blend my ethnic and professional cultures.
- I feel just like an “ethnic” person who works as a professional (that is, I do not feel like an “ethnic” professional).
- I keep my ethnic and professional cultures separate in my life (that is, I don’t mix them).

5. Are you working in an organisation?

Yes

No

Other (Please specify)

6. Please indicate the country you are currently working.

7. Please indicate the industry you are currently working

Manufacturing

Service

Public Sector

NGO/NPO

Other

Other (Please specify)

This is the end of the survey. Thank you for corporation!!

Appendix 2 study 2 interview protocol

I would like to start by finding out about your personal background

- Tell me about your family background?
- Where you're from, parents, siblings etc.

Could we talk a little about your educational background?

- What were our experiences of education?

Could we talk a little about your professional background?

- How long have you been in this profession approximately?
- Why did you decide to enter the accounting profession?
- Do you enjoy your job?

Could we talk a little about your cultural background?

- How would you describe your cultural background?
- Were you aware of your culture growing up?
- In general, do you think that your cultural identity influences you?
- Was your cultural background ever discussed as something that could influence your success at work?
- Do you feel that you have to manage your culture in different environments?
- Did you experience any challenges in your career because of your background?

Now, can we talk about your current position?

- What is your job title?
- What department are you in?
- How would you describe the workplace culture?
- Do you think this reflects the organisation or the profession as a whole?
- Do you feel yourself when you are at work?

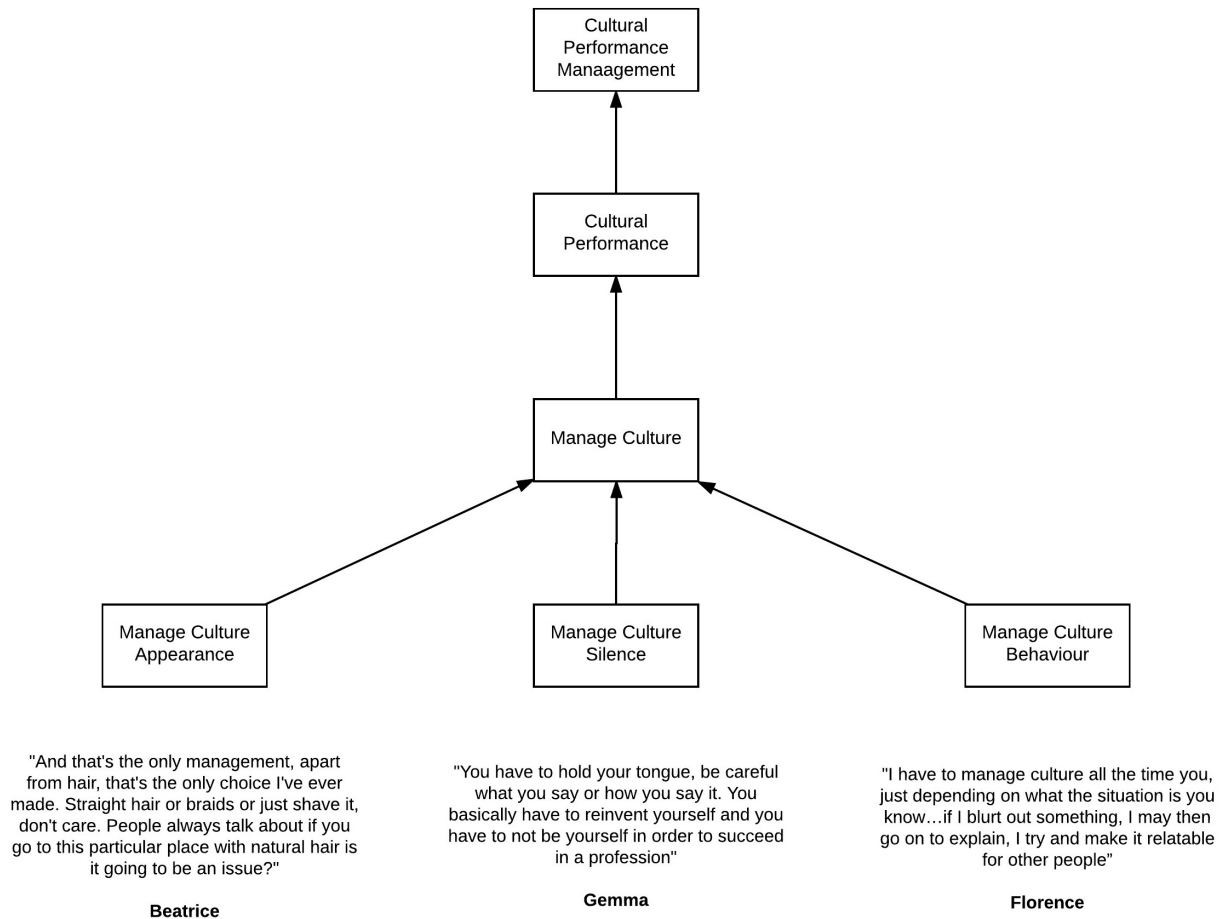
Overall are you happy with your career?

- In terms of income?
- In terms of development?
- In terms of advancement?
- Given the opportunity would you like to change career?
- Do you consider your career as a vocation?

I'd like to end on a wishful note....

- What is the biggest lesson you've learned from your career?

Appendix 3 study 2 coding example



Appendix 4 study 3 interview protocol

Hello. Thank you for agreeing to talk to me today. I am Jonathan and I am a PhD researcher at the London School of Economics. This interview will form part of my research project on bicultural experience and developmental networks, no researchers have looked at this in businesses and organisations, I feel that professional service firms can provide an interesting perspective on this.

First of all I would like to explain some details to you.

- 1) I would like to interview you in your capacity as an employee in a professional service firm.
- 2) All responses are anonymous and confidential.
No specific information about yourself or your organisation will be reported.
Where possible data will be presented at the aggregate level.
- 3) The data from this study will be used in future academic publications and a summary report will be provided to you if you wish. You or your responses will be in no way identifiable.
- 4) If it is okay with you, I would like to record our talk today and make a few notes as we go. Once the interviews have been transcribed, the transcripts will be stored without names and the recordings will be destroyed.
- 5) I expect that we will chat for around 45 minutes.
- 6) You are free to stop the interview at any time.
- 7) Do you have any questions before we begin?

I would like to start by finding out about your current role in the company

- What's your current position at Acme LLP?
- What does a typical day look like to you?

Acme LLP Culture

- How would you describe the culture at Acme LLP, and by culture I mean. ...[give them some examples...]. Can you give me an example of an event or circumstance that describes the culture at Acme LLP?
- Does the culture encourage, or discourage, open conversations about race/ethnicity? How so, can you give an example?
- About you: what ethnicity do you identify with? [i.e. here you can briefly go into personal, this also makes the discussion on ethnicity more aware for them].
- Are you conscious of your ethnic identity in your work at Acme LLP? If so, how?
- Are you comfortable do you feel discussing race/ethnicity with your colleagues? Why/why not? Can you think of an instance when you last discussed it? What was the context?
- Do you think your colleagues are comfortable discussing race/ethnicity? Why/not?
- Do you feel you can be 'yourself' at work? Follow-up question: Do you think you have to manage your identity at work?

General Thoughts on Ac Club

- How did you learn about the network?/ How did you become a member (if relevant)?
- how much time do you spend with this network? What do you typically do in connection with the network?
- What do you think of the network?/ and:What is your experience of the network? And: What do you expect from the network?/ and: Does the network meet your expectations?
- What do you think is the general perception of the network and it's members in Acme LLP? Can you give any examples?

Pros and Cons with Ac Club

- What are the benefits, if any, of being a member of an employee network?(what motivated you to join?)
- Has being a member of the network influenced your career at Acme LLP in any way? How so? (if not: what would it take for the network to influence your career?)
- Are there other aspects of your work that have influenced your career, and how does the network compare to these in importance? Does the network provide any benefits to you? How so/ which?
- What does the network not do so well/what could be different? Is there anything more that it could do to benefit you? Are there any issues you have experienced with the network? What types of issues? Could you give any examples?
- What would make an employee network more suitable to your needs (if relevant)?
- Are there any downsides at all to being a member of the network? If so, can you give an example?
- What will influence your involvement with the network in the future?

I'd like to end on a wishful note....

- What is the biggest lesson you've learned from your career? And from being [name ethnic minority?]
- Is there anything else you would like to add before we end?
- Are there any questions that you thought I would ask but didn't?

Thank you very much for taking the time to talk to me, it has been really insightful. If you have any questions later then feel free to contact me

Appendix 5 study 3 coding example

