"The gate-keeper networks of power, and symbolic capital: Gender exclusion in the Professional Service Firms (UK and Europe)."

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

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Abstract.

The research aim is to explore, women managers' lack legitimacy with senior management for allocation to CAE management positions and, how this damages women managers' promotion opportunities for partner roles in the elite Professional Service Firms (PSFs). The conceptual frame utilises Bourdieu's theories of cultural capital, habitus and field analysis (1991, 1989, 1986, 1984), to find the symbolic capital or legitimate competence (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2011, 2005) which male-dominated partner gatekeepers within their networks of power use to confer candidates legitimacy for promotion. A core argument of this Doctorate is these gatekeepers' informal networks reproduce existing gender inequalities (Acker, 2012, 2006, 2004) for partner promotion in the PSFs.

The study is multi-level (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993) and relational (Ozbilgin and Vassilopoulou, 2018) covering macro, meso and micro levels, overcoming the duality between structure and agency (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2011, 2005), and surfaces hidden gender inequalities. The research methods involves a combination of critical realist ontology (Bhasker, 1989), and a feminist epistemology for the research. The field study includes 76 qualitative semi-structured and, in-depth interviews of female and male partners, female and male middle managers in global PSFs. The study used multiple methods including secondary statistics, observations and memos (Layder, 1998, 1993) from the individual cases embedded within two in-depth cases-study organizations (Yin, 2012, 2003).

The research contribution identifies the competing logics which legitimise gender inequalities in the field. Additionally, cultural capitals especially symbolic capital valued by the gatekeepers in their networks of power, and how field logic(s) mitigate against women gain legitimacy for entry to the senior management field. To surface hidden informal practices used by gatekeepers which undermine women managers' legitimacy for promotion, and persistent talent leakage are explored. Women who use their own agency to instigate SIE assignments can enhance their career capital portfolios in early and middle career stages but, this incorporates career capital gains and losses (Duberly and Cohen, 2010).

Declaration.

I, Christina Mary MacNeil, declare that this thesis and the study presented in it are my own original work that the research was conducted in accordance with the University Code of Ethics, and I have completed any compulsory training requirements associated with the programme of study. I confirm that I have done this study while in candidature for a research degree at Brunel University, London. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is given.

Signature.   C.M. MacNeil. (Christina Mary MacNeil). Date. 24 September, 2018.

Acknowledgments.

DEDICATION.

In loving memory of my parents Colin John MacNeil and Margret Mary Hughes-MacNeil, gone but not forgotten.

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Glossary.

AGT.	Adapted Grounded Theory.
CAE assignments.	Company Assigned Expatriate assignment.
GC.	Global Computers.
GE.	Global Engineers.
MNCs	Multi-National Companies.
MNEs	Multi-National Enterprises.
Elite PSFs.	Elite Professional Service Firms.
SET.	Science, Engineering, Technology
SIE.	Self-Initiated Expatriate assignment.

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1. Chapter One: Introduction

This doctorate combines the academic fields of expatriate staffing in International HRM, (Collings, 2014, Collings et al, 2010) sociology and gender in the elite Professional Service Firms (PSFs). A central argument of this PhD is that for women must undertake global assignments, to accumulate the cultural capitals which partner gatekeepers recognise for promotion to global senior management as the elite PSFs operate on a global scale for the purpose of staffing.

The elite PSFs include the big 4 accounting firms, the 'magic circle' of legal firms and the global engineering firms, who offer professional expertise across global and regional markets to meet their clients demands for integrated business services (Susanoo and Pennington (2017, Mueller et al, 2011). However global staffing strategies (Beaver stock, 215: 2004) are difficult to given the challenges of sharing tacit professional knowledge over "…. specific jurisdictions and norms…," which makes offering a consistent standard of performance across global and cultural boundaries is challenging for the senior management of PSFs (Abbott, 1988). These PSFs are defined as this -"….professional organizations….have at their core professionalized workers, and are characterized by comparatively complex authority structures to accommodate professional and commercial systems, controls and incentives …." (Pinnington, and Sandberg, 617:2013).

The management consultancy sector includes highly competitive global businesses which are of"...increasing economic and occupational significance (for) professions in developing and developed economies…" (Muzio, and Tomlinson, 455: 2012, Muzio et al, 2011). The average growth in turnover in management consultancy firms in Europe (including the UK) is 7.5 % compared against a GDP growth rate of 2.2 % in 2016-2017 (Feaco Survey, 16: 2016/2017). The growth in turnover is worth £8,800 million (or euro 9,400 million) (up 4. 8 %) compared with £8,400 million (or euro 9000 million) in 2015 (Feaco Survey, 61:2016/2017). The management consulting sector in the UK is one of the largest in Europe, involving about 60 firms and about £ 4.4 billon of client fee income in 2016 and, the UK market is estimated to constitute 50-55% of the total market and the consultancy market is valued at about £ 8-10 billion in the UK (Feaco Survey, 61:2016/2017). In global staffing terms transferring tacit professional jurisdiction's across geographical and cultural boundaries are difficult, (Beaverstock, 2004) adopting the transitional (Bartlett and Ghoshal, 1989 &1991) or MNC models. The manager and professional working in global roles are crucial for the senior management to deliver

professional services to clients at reduced costs (Ozbilgin et al, 2011b) in the context of global competition.

The expatriate literature remains silent about the gender imbalance in CAE management assignments, and which damages women manager's future career progression and promotion opportunities to partnership in the PSFs. The CAE management assignment is defined, as a situation where a middle, or senior manager undertakes a time-based assignment for one to three years in either developed or developing countries (Tharenou, 2015, Brewster, et al. 2014,2007), and who repatriates to the same firm in their home country. This gender imbalance contradicts the huge global demand for international management talent, despite the large numbers of female professionals who are working in the management consultancy sector in the UK and Europe. The research problem is discussed next.

1.1. The research problem.

The research problem addressed in this doctorate is the gender imbalance in CAE management assignments or expatriate assignments (Dabic et al, 2015, Cole, and McNulty, 2011, Hutchings et al, 2012, Shortland, 2016, Altman and Baruch, 2013, 2012, Altman, and Shortland, 2008, 2001, Tung, 2007,2004,1998,1982), which mirrors the invisibility of women managers from senior management roles in global organizations (Tharenou, 2010 a & b, Adler1987,1984, Foster, 2000, 1999).

An expatriate assignment is important because this career development gives a manager or professional, opportunities to undertake a strategic i.e. 'start up' or leadership development role by their company, (Tharenou, 2015,2013, Bonache et al, 2010, Sparrow, 2006, Sparrow et al. 1994, Edstrom, and Gailbraith, 1977, Bartlett, and Ghoshall, 1989 /&1991). This differs from a manager or professional who chooses to instigate a Self-Initiated (SIE) assignment, or project by using their own initiative (Al-Ariss, 2009). The terms CAE and expatriate assignments are used interchangeably.

The absence of women from the traditional, male-dominated expatriate position in the Multi-National Enterprises (MNEs) (Berry and Bell, 2012, Brewster, et al, 2014, Perlmutter, 1979), is well documented but is not fully explained in the expatriate literature. Whilst senior management are recognised as a privileged group who hold the power to perpetuate their own advantage over less privileged groups in organizations (Acker, 2012, 2006). However, to understand how unequal gender power relations legitimate the informal exclusion of women managers from global roles, and how this

disadvantages women for their future promotion to senior management are relevant to investigate this research problem.

An informal selection process is routinely used to fill expatriate management assignments yet, the expatriate literature does not question how this informal selection enables gender discriminatory outcomes for expatriate assignments (Santoso, and Loosemore, 2013, Sebastian and Harzing, 2011, Seak, and Enderwick, 2008, Global Mobility Policy & Practices, 2016, 2014, Harris, 1997, 1993, Harris, and Brewster, 1999, Brewster, 1991)? The expatriate literature confirms there is an informal selection process conducted by senior management, but without formal, written, objective selection criteria (Hutchings et al, 2012, Hutchings et al, 2008, Harris, 1997; Harris, and Brewster, 1999, Tung, and Haq, 2012, Tung, 2007, 2004, 1998, 1982, Harzing, 2004).

This informal selection decision-making process for CAE assignments questions the role of the global HRM department because this informal selection process appears to override the formal selection process for CAE assignments. If the senior management can bypass formal gender diversity policies because the global HRM department do not scrutinise the senior management practices. This questions whether the global HRM department has the power to implement its formal global staffing, talent management and gender diversity policies in organizations.

The informal practice of *"lists"* of chosen expatriate candidates (Brewster, 18: 1991, Festing et al 2015, Cole and McNulty, 2011, Harris, and Brewster, 1999, Harris 2004, 2002) being sent to the global HRM department by the senior management is confirmed in the expatriate literature. Research confirms a power disparity between senior management and the HRM department (Noon et al, 2013, Noon, 2007), where senior management informally manipulate the formal, selection procedures, blurring boundaries between informal practices including hiring staff on temporary internal contracts without interviews (Noon, et al 2013, Noon,2007). Thus 'hyper-formalization' evidences the existence of surface compliance in HRM, whilst disguising the use of hidden, informal, discriminatory practices which contradict the intent of formal gender and race diversity policies (Noon et al, 2013). Acker (443:2006, 2012, 2004) affirms that gender inequalities are located in the ,"…systematic disparities between participants in power and control over goals, resources and outcomes……opportunities for promotion and interesting work…pay and other rewards…." in organizations. Therefore, a research gap concerns the informal selection and assessment processes for allocation CAE assignments, global

talent management, and promotion for women managers to global senior management positions in the PSFs.

So, if there is an informal selection process for expatriate assignments does this occur within the powerful, informal management networks as opposed to the global HRM department? Acker, (2012, 2006), argues that informal selection processes involving informal, 'hidden' judgements by the senior management, when enacted within informal, hidden networks negatively reinforce any existing gender and race inequalities for access to career and promotion opportunities in organizations.

The research site chosen to explore this research topic for the thesis are the elite Professional Service Firms (PSFs), which are under- researched given the majority of expatriate literature refers to MNEs. The PSF is defined as, "….a firm based on systems of managerial control and identity regulation, supported by transnational communities of practice and career networks…" (Boussebaa, and Morgan, 60:2015, Muzio et al, 2011). These are social spaces which are, "important for global capitalism…" (*offering*)"… a technical infrastructure which supports transnational trade and, wealth "generation, accumulation and realization" (Muzio and Tomlinson, 456:2012,Carter et al, 2015, Falconbridge, and Muzio, 2008, Suddaby et al, 2007).

Women enter as graduates at almost equal proportions to men (Ashley and Empson, 2017, Sommerlad, 2016, 2012, 2002), but at partner levels women constitute a minority of about 10% in these global PSFs (Ashley and Empson, 2017, 2013). A core argument of this thesis is that if women managers cannot gain access to CAE management assignments, then these women managers are missing out on the strategic and leadership capabilities which are important for promotion to partner positions in the global PSFs.

This PhD study incorporates a multi-level framework to investigate complex layers of reality and interplay by combining structure and agency, (Layder, 1998, 1993, Ozbilgin, 2011), by utilising conceptual tools of cultural capitals for micro level analysis including habitus, and for meso level analysis (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005) and, the senior management field for macro level analysis. To overcome the duality between structure and agency (Wacquant, 2005) to answer the research questions for this PhD study. The terms agents, individuals, and managers and, also cultural capitals and capitals are used interchangeably.

1.1.1. The research aim.

To explore why women managers' lack legitimacy with their senior management for allocation to CAE management positions, and how this undermines women managers' opportunities for promotion to partner roles in the global PSFs.

1.1.2. The contribution to knowledge.

To understand how the competing logics of , the commercial logic, the client service logic and the professional logic legitimate gender inequalities in the senior management field of the elite PSFs (Muzio et al, 2011, Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006, Lounsbury, 2007, Marquis, and Lounsbury, 2007).

To map the cultural capitals which managers must evidence to senior management for their selection and assessment for career roles including expatriate assignments and, for partner promotion according to the logic (s) of the senior management field (Ozbilgin, 2011, Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012, Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986, 1984, 1977, Sommerlad, 2016, 2012, Ashley and Empson, 2017). To map the key players who hold most power in the senior management field, and by identifying the symbolic capital which legitimates admission to partner promotion according to the logic (s) of the field, to surface hidden informal gender inequalities (Acker, 2006).

To explore how women managers who use their own agency to gain Self-Initiated Expatriate assignments (SIEs), make career capital gains or losses (Duberly and Cohen, 2010, Bourdieu, and Wacquant, 1992) and, how this facilitates women managers overcoming career blockages to partner roles(Tharenou, 2015) in PSFs?

1.2. The research questions.

The research questions define the scope of the research topic such as context, time and location (Easterby-Smith et al, 2008a, & b, 2002 Robson, 2002). Preliminary research questions devised at the beginning of the PhD research study, were revised after conducting a pilot study and during the research process.

1.2.1. How are gender inequalities legitimated by the 'competing logics 'of the senior management field?

1.2.1.1.   What are the cultural capitals which legitimate candidates for partner promotion which fit the logic of the senior management field?

1.2.2. How do gatekeepers in their networks of power, utilise informal practices for the selection, and assessment of managers for expatriate assignments and partner promotion?

1.2.3. How do women managers who use their own agency to instigate SIE assignments, make career capital gains or losses for promotion to partner in PSFs?

1.3. Conceptual Frame.

Research questions	Levels of analysis.	Data sources.	Theoretical frame.
How are gender inequalities legitimated by the 'competing logics' of the senior management field?	Macro		Multiple competing logics. (Muzio et al, 2011, Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006, Lounsbury, 2007). Commercial logic versus Client service logic (Carter and Spence, 2014, Anderson-Gough, 2006)
What are the cultural capitals which legitimate candidates for partner promotion according to the logic of the senior management field?	Macro /Micro.	Interviews. Research Journal/Field notes/Memos. Gender diversity, and talent management company policies or public documentation. Internal gender statistics. Internal statistics about international assignments. Professional Associations.	Field. Capitals: social, cultural, symbolic, and economic capitals. Linguistic capital. (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 186, 1984, 1977, Carter and Spence)
How do gatekeepers in their networks of power, utilise informal practices for selection, and nomination of managers for global client projects and promotion?	Meso.	Interviews. Research journal(s)/Field notes/Memos/ Observations	Gate-keeper power (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 186, 1984, 1977) Gender hierarchy, Inequality regimes. (Acker, 2012, 2009, 2006, 2004, 1990)
	Micro.	Interviews. Research journal(s)/Field notes/Memos.	Career capital gains and losses. (Duberly and Cohen, 2010)

2. Chapter Two: The context for the persistent gender inequalities in the elite Professional Service Firms.

2.1. Introduction.

This doctorate explores the position of women as the minority of the partners in the elite Professional Service Firms (PSFs), despite formal gender diversity policies publically supported by senior management. Gender is defined as, "socially constructed differences between men and women and the beliefs and identities that support differences and inequalities" (Acker, 444:2006, 1990, Acker and Van Houten, 1974, Landsberger, 1958).

This PhD research is situated in the context of the global management consulting firms or the elite PSFs, defined as firms differentiated by the "…scale, revenue, profitability …. ", of operations, global reach and turnover compared to competitors" (Ashley and Empson, 29:2016, Suddaby et al, 2007, Segal-Horn and Dean, 2009). Another definition of an elite PSF is "….a firm based on systems of managerial control and identity regulation, supported by transnational communities of practice and career networks…" (Boussebaa, and Morgan, 60:2015, Muzio et al, 2011). These are social spaces which are, "important for global capitalism…" (*offering*)"… a technical infrastructure which supports transnational trade and, wealth "generation, accumulation and realization" (Muzio and Tomlinson, 456:2012,Carter et al, 2015, Falconbridge, and Muzio, 2008, Suddaby et al, 2007).

These elite PSFs possess the institutional power to dominate and, shape the senior management field (Muzio et al, 2011, Carter and Spence, 2014) due to their size, market concentration due to global business expansion. The terms used interchangeably are elite PSFs, or PSFs and partners or, senior management.

Globalization is defined as, "an accelerating set of processes involving flows that encompass ever greater numbers of the world spaces and that lead to integration and interconnectivity between those spaces" (Segal-Horn, and Dean 41:2009). Global differs from the transnational which presumes the integration of universalistic practices across elite PSFs firms (Beaverstock, 2004).

By adopting a multi-level analysis (Layder, 1993) including lens of Bourdieu's cultural capitals (1991a, 1989, 1986, 1984), competing institutional logics (Greenwood and Suddaby, 2005,Loundsbury 2007, Thornton et al, 2012)and, the intersectionality of Acker (2012,2006) a conceptual frame is constructed for this doctorate.

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This situates the PhD study in the context of the elite PSFs in the UK and Europe and, gender inequalities in partner positions. To answer the research questions about gender exclusion from expatriate positions and partner roles in the chosen research sites of PSFs.

2.2. The gender imbalance in expatriate roles and, partner positions.

It is not a secret that women managers are 10% of the partnership in the PSFs (Carter and Spence, 2014, Muzio et al 2011), despite formal diversity policies publically endorsed by the senior management in PSFs. Feminist Lawyers confirm the proportion of women solicitors in equity partner levels positions is stagnant after ten years (25%), in private practice (Law Society, 2016, Magee, 2018). These gender inequalities are unexplained, given women management consultants enter at about 40% of the total graduate intake annually in the elite PSFs (Ashley and Empson, 81:2016, 2013, Sommerlad and Ashley, 2015).

Women professionals despite joining in almost equal proportion to men as graduate entrants but, are invisible at partner levels in the elite PSFs (Ashley and Empson, 2013, Acker, 2006). Elites are defined as, those who control class, race, and gender composition by granting privileges to the select few (Husu, 2004, Weber, 1980 [1921], Wright-Mills, 1956). It is disputed that, women managers are selected and assessed for promotion by partners roles "equally and objectively with men" (Ashley and Empson, 84:2016). Most women leave at manager level (Kornberger et al, 2010, Faulkner, 2009, Hatmaker, 2013), just before promotion to partner positions in the elite PSFs. There is variance between the different countries in staff turnover rates, such as Spain, 10%, Germany 10%, the UK 5% and Greece 0.5 % (Feaco Survey.18:2016/2017). Yet, gender talent leakage occurs despite the average annual growth rate of 6% in the management consulting sector within Europe so, despite the gender diversity discourse (Edgely et al, 2016) persistent gender inequalities remain in the PSFs.

The UK government proposes to increase training in education and, improve gender diversity in Science Engineering &Technology (SET), but government rhetoric disguises its contradictory actions on gender diversity policy and research. For example, the government halted funding for gender diversity research in 2011 (CaSE, 14:2014), in the UK Resource Centre (UKRC) from £6.8 million in 2010-11, to £2.5 million in 2014-15, which included the Royal Society and Royal Engineering professional bodies. These government funding cuts take away centralised gender research projects and, a data-base which is used to measure and monitor gender diversity retention, and career progression in the STEM sector. These government actions on gender diversity will not counteract the

challenges for gender representation in the Engineering profession in the UK, which at 11% is the lowest in Europe (Women in Engineering, 2018). Nor, are there any prospects from professional associations to rectify the "leaky… (Talent) …pipeline" where the numbers of women decrease proportionally to men (CaSE, 23:2014) in senior management levels i.e. partner in the global Engineering PSFs.

Overall, gender imbalance at senior management shows depressingly similar patterns (Tinsley et al 2017, Holton and Dent, 2016) despite the different legal frameworks, histories, and cultures in the various countries. Despite a history of affirmative action legislation there are only, 25.1% of women senior managers and 36.8% of women middle managers (Catalyst, 2015), even though women are 45 % of workforce in America (Catalyst, 2015). Most tellingly, women are only 5% of the CEOs (Maitland, 2015) in the Fortune 500 companies in America (McKinsey & Company report, 2016).

If the proportion of women on senior management boards is taken as a proxy for gender equality, the voluntary, gender diversity record of the UK government is poor (NACD Directorship, 2014). Male chairmen (97%) are the majority in the 100 FTSE companies (Knowledge Exchange, LSE, 2017). Moreover, in the majority of senior management boards (two out of three) of the members are white in FTSE organizations (Knowledge Exchange LSE, 2017, Sealy, and Vinnicombe, 2012, OECD, 2015, 2012, Burt, 2018). These voluntary, gender diversity policies and initiatives which characterise the UK government compare poorly with more powerful legal interventions from the Norwegian government i.e. gender quotas, where the percentage of women on senior management boards moved from 39.5 % (OECD, 2015, 2012).

The sociology literature covers mainly the accountancy and, the legal PSFs, (Carter et al, 2015, Carter and Spence, 2014, Spence and Carter, 2014, Muzio and Tomlinson, 2012, Muzio et al, 2011, Sommerlad, 2016, 2012, Ashley and Empson, 2017) which are incorrectly are portrayed as being "homogenous or neutral entities" (Sommerlad 454:2016, Hanlon, 2004). Some suggest that, the existence of meritocratic principles means everyone can succeed for promotion regardless of their gender, race, and class in the PSFs (Carter and Spence, 2014).

The partner gatekeepers' as the senior management utilize informal selection, and assessment practices where they decide who is eligible for partner promotion but, these practices are not gender-neutral (vandenBrink et al, 2016, Kornberger et al, 2011, 2010). These male –dominated partners gatekeepers (vandenBrink, et al, 2016, vandenBrink and Benschop, 2014, Bourdieu, 1986, 1984), assess the

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cultural capitals of candidates, and they confer candidates with entry to the senior management field (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989).

It is strongly argued, the hidden, informal practices used by gatekeepers for selection and assessment for promotion undermine the legitimacy of women (Bourdieu, 1986) despite the existence of formal business case diversity policies (Tatli et al, 2015, Acker, 2006). It is suggested, the male-dominated gatekeepers privilege candidates who share their own cultural capitals i.e. social capital, which represents 'credentials' for promotion (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986, Ozbilgin 2011, Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012b, Ashley and Empson, 2017). Therefore, gatekeepers (Bourdieu, 249: 1986) by accepting the "credentials" of some agents exclude others for entry to the senior management field (Bourdieu, 1984). So, how the partner gatekeepers enact the selection, and assessment of candidates for promotion (Acker, 2012) are of interest to answer the research question about persistent gender inequalities in the elite PSFs.

2.3. Defining the key concepts: The 'competing logics', cultural capital and intersectionality in the elite PSFs

This PhD study defines the key concepts and develops a conceptual framework which includes, the competing logics, cultural capitals, and intersectionality which are used to investigate the persistent gender inequalities in expatriate roles and partner positions despite the formal diversity policies in the elite PSFs. The academic literatures of interest are from sociology, expatriate management, and gender in the elite PSFs.

The conceptual frame includes institutional theory to discuss the multiple, contested competing logics (Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006, Lounsbury, 2007, Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007) which enable the powerful, senior management to legitimise existing gender inequalities at macro –level in the elite PSFs.

The conceptual frame includes Bourdieu's theory (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984, Ozbilgin 2011, Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012) to identify the valued cultural capitals which are used by powerful key players to confer managers with legitimacy for entry to the senior management field and, to surface gender inequalities at the interplay between macro level and micro level in the elite PSFs.

The conceptual frame includes intersectionality, to explore how partner gatekeepers in their networks utilise informal practices for the selection, assessment, and promotion of managers which reinforce existing gender inequalities at meso- level in the elite PSFs.

The conceptual frame includes cultural capital gains and losses experienced by women managers who use their own agency to instigate their own SIE or global assignments at a micro-level in the elite PSFs. These key concepts are discussed in the same order.

2.4. Institutional theory: Contradictions between stability and change.

This section introduces institutional theory, defines field logic and, the competing logics in the context of the elite PSFs i.e. the global management consulting firms. An institutional field is defined as, "those organizations that in aggregate constitute a recognised area of institutional life", including key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies and other organizations (DiMaggio and Powell (148:1982). Additionally, field logic is defined as, " the socially constructed, historical pattern of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material substance, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality "(Thornton and Ocasio, 804:1999, Lounsbury, 2016). The logics function as belief systems that shape the cognition and behaviour of actors however, within institutional environments there are tensions between logics which are contested and fragmented (Malsch and Gendron, 2013).

In the past, institutional theory concerned external, environmental shocks, defined as, "transient perturbations whose occurrences are difficult to foresee, and whose impacts on organizations are disruptive" (Meyer, 515:1982), leading to adoption of unitary practices in a stable field (Strang and Soule, 1988). However, there is a contradiction between organizational stability and change given an actor's behaviour is embedded in "taken for granted prescriptions" or logics (Greenwood and Suddaby, 27:2006).

Isomorphic forces included: coercive political influence or legitimacy, including mimetic a standard response to uncertainty or, normative i.e. culture, generating practices which made organizations homogenous over time (Di Maggio and Powell, 1982, 1991). However, this domination of contingency theory where organizations adapt to their external competitive pressures and, copy universalistic practices (Suddaby 2010, Perrow, 1973), ignores the balance of macro level structural and micro level agency theoretical analysis. But, a wider perspective is required to understand why, "organizations
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behave in ways that defy logic or, the norms of rational economic behaviour "including cultural values (Suddaby, 15:2010). Rather, these "symbolic meaning systems at a micro-level work to, systematically, structure localized practices and identities" of professionals (Lounsbury, 302:2007).

If, organizational change is continuous and organizations adapt to external environments at macro level then, the institutional field is not homogeneously structured and does not return to a state of equilibrium after external shocks (Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006, Suddaby, 2010). However, where an institutional field becomes "stratified into specialised organizational communities" (Greenwood and Suddaby, 41: 2010) then changes can occur in professional practice at a micro level (Djelic and Quack, 2004). Research confirms that professionals can bridge structural holes across networks which gives them superior access to cultural capital including social capital and symbolic capital (Suddaby and Viale, 434:2011) from powerful, senior management (Burt, 2000, Uzzi, 1997).

Muzio et al (2011) argues that the elite PSFs, are unexplored actors in the wider institutional field which have enormous power to shape the field (Suddaby and Viale, 2011) and also professional jurisdictions (Abbot, 1988). If competing logics threaten professional autonomy (Lounsbury, 2007), then professionals can act entrepreneurially to utilise their social capital and, reputational capital to resist field change (Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007, Becker, 1976, Uzzi, 1997)? But, not all professionals are in a central network position (Burt, 2000, Scott, 2000, Becker, 1975) and, professionals possess "different and unfolding levels of embeddedness" (Seo and Creed, 226:2002), because their exposure to the 'competing logics' differs (Greenwood and Suddaby (42:2006, Weick and Putman, 2006, Burt, 2000, 1998).

The privileging of causality which presumes a one way relationship, and overlooks power relations misses, from a critical realist perspective how the hidden generative mechanisms enable field level change (Layder, 1998, 1993, Bhasker, 1975). By contrast, the multi-level analysis of this PhD study (Layder, 1998) seeks to explore both macro level and micro level changes. There are some theorists who recognise that competing logics could provide a framework to analysis competitive forces, changes, and cultural factors in fields. (Lounsbury, 2007, 2001, Thornton and Ocasio, 2008, Thornton et al, 2005, Thornton et al, 2012).

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The professional logic, the client service logic and, the commercial logic are situated in the context of the elite PSFs for this Doctorate. The next section using literature from the sociology of the professions and, builds on the institutional management literature, to explores how the competing field logics impact on macro level power relations and, changes in professional practice at micro levels in relation to gender inequalities in the elite PSFs. The main focus concerns gender inequalities at partner levels which is neglected in the literatures about the elite PSFs.

2.4.1. The multiple competing logics in the field.

Institutional theory focuses on structural, macro factors when attempting to explain organizational change (Lounsbury, 2011, 2007). The competing logics suggest change is a continuous process in organizations (Djelic and Quack, 2004, Lounsbury, 2007), because competing logics are multiple, fragmented and are contested by agents (Oliver, 1991) promoting a variety of practices (Lounsbury, 2001). In the mutual funds sector in America, (Lounsbury, 2007) whilst macro factors of geographical distance, and historical business development influenced the competitive position of firms. The competing logics of performance logic and the trustee logic offered "distinct forms of rationality that informed the behaviour of different mutual funds "(Lounsbury, 302: 2007).These competing logics of trusteeship and, growth changed the marketing approach to products and, customers. Interestingly, these two competing logics merged into the professional practice as distinct from one logic replacing the other (Lounsbury, 2007). Hence, could competing logics represent a mechanism in institutional theory, to understand the process of organizational change by combining both structural factors at a macro-level and cultural values at a micro-level of analysis?

2.4.2. The professional logic, the commercial logic and, the client service logic in elite PSFs.

The multiple, competing logics are contested by agents or specifically the professionals in organizations (Oliver, 1991, Lounsbury, 2007, 2001, Thornton and Ocasio, 2008, Thornton et al, 2005, Thornton et al, 2012). This section offers preliminary definitions of these competing logics including: the professional logic, the commercial logic and, the client service logic from the sociology of the professions and management literatures in the research context of the elite PSFs.

The professional logic is defined as, "values which stress professional craft, objectivity, service, and standards from a single profession organization (Greenwood and Suddaby" (35:2006). The

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professional logic affirms professional independence by creating an objective distance from the client (Parsons, 1964, 1951), to minimise any conflict of interest between professionals and clients. This 'ideal' professional client relationship is defined as,"…the delivery of a professional service which should be carried out for a fixed fee, independently of the higgling and competition on the market according to the professional logic (Crompton, 420:1987).

The concept of categorization describes how professionals apply their knowledge and expertise when assessing a client problem (Abbott, 1988), which gives them professional autonomy to classify what is legitimate or illegitimate knowledge according to the rules of the professional logic which is foundational to professional power (Parsons, 1964, Abbott, 1988). Professional categorization in accounting is defined as, "the interpretation and application of accounting standards to ensure stewardship and accountability "according to the professional logic in the elite PSFs (Spence and Carter, 948: 2014, Gendron, 2001). However, the professional logic is under threat from the commercial logic in the elite PSFs (Carter and Spence, 2014) due to macro changes such as globalization in the senior management field of the elite PSFs.

2.4.3. The commercial logic.

Globalization privileges the commercial logic which legitimates client projects sales from business development activities (Carter and Spence, 2014) or specifically economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) from the client fees. The commercial logic is defined as, "the values of commerce, individual accountability for performance, and the importance of servicing large clients" (Greenwood and Suddaby, 35:2006). So, managers must demonstrate their "commercial acumen", as opposed to their professional expertise for partner promotion in the elite PSFs (Greenwood and Suddaby, 35:2006, Carter and Spence, 2014).

The commercial logic combines "rationalisation, managerialism and the visibility of performance" for management consultants and, partners in the elite PSFs (Mueller et al, 559:2011). Global business growth undermines the power of the professional logic, by introducing "formal knowledge management systems, (*and*) commercial values with performance accountability "(Greenwood and Suddaby, 35:2006). These client sales are a substitute for professional expertise when senior management assess a manager's performance and, their promotion potential in the PSFs (Carter and Spence 2014, Bourdieu 1986, 1984).

Hence, global business expansion encourages the cross-selling of client services, by harnessing professional knowledge through formal management structures and, utilizing knowledge management systems which facilitate multi-professional sales and service delivery in the elite PSFs. These changes contribute to the demise of professional logic with a movement from "a single professional knowledge base", which encourages the multi-disciplinary professional delivery of client services in the elite PSFs (Greenwood and Suddaby, 35:2006, Carter and Spence, 2014). The next section examines the client service logic in the PSFs.

2.4.4. The client service logic.

The client service logic subordinates professional identity to the client's needs at a micro level in the PSFs, (Kornberger at al, 786:2010, Anderson-Gough et al, 2006, Foucault, 1972, Grey, 1998), this is different to the ideal of professional independence from clients as epitomised by the professional logic (Parsons, 1964). The client service logic is a disciplinary discourse which connects the professional's identity to the assessment of their performance by the client at a micro-level (Kornberger at al, 786:2010, Anderson-Gough et al, 2006, Foucault, 1972, Grey, 1998).

The client service logic sanctions the formal measurement of professional performance by senior management using technology (Brivot and Gendron, 135: 2011) which challenges professional autonomy (Fournier, 1999, Grey, 1998, Freidson, 1980 Raelin, 1985, Drazin, 1990, Muzio et al, 2011). This reduces professional autonomy in the application of professional expertise when assessing client problems, because the client service logic means that senior management attempts to standardise the consultant's and, even the partner's professional performance (Grey, 1998, Muzio et al, 2011).

The client service logic must be updated to fit the with the performance demands of client in global businesses (Anderson-Gough et al, 2006, 2000, Fournier, 1999, Kornberger et al, 2010).This global client hegemony is defined as, "…the near constant availability of advisers who are known and trusted by the clients, who must be willing to travel to client sites often at short-notice, possibly world-wide and respond quickly to erratic client demands…" (Ashley and Empson, 81:2016). It is argued, globalization extends the performance demands which are made by the clients to the detriment of women professionals who are in competition with men for partner promotion (Ashley and Empson, 2017, 2013, Sommerlad, 2016, Kornberger, et al, 2010).

A serious omission in the sociology of the professions and the institutional literature, is the lack of discussion about the existence of gender inequalities at partner levels in the elite PSFs. There is a research gap about how the competing logics legitimise the existing status quo of male dominated partner power, to the detriment of gender equality in the institutional field of the elite PSFs? Furthermore, how these competing logics facilitate gender exclusion for legitimacy with senior management for partner promotion in the PSFs is absent from the literatures.

2.4.5. Conclusion.

Institutional theory traditionally, focuses on economic structure and environment at macro levels, and ignores how interpretative frameworks i.e. cultural values influence change and practice at micro levels in organizations. This fails to explain how organizational change and innovation where fields are not homogenous and do not return to equilibrium, and agents are embedded in the field logic. Muzio et al (2011) argue that the global elite PSFs, represent unexplored actors who hold the power to re-shape the institutional field, therefore understanding how these actors practice closure suggests the concept of closure needs to be re-defined.

Most invisible in this literature is the absence of any analysis regarding the persistent gender inequalities which exist for promotion to partner levels despite formal gender diversity policies in the elite PSFs. A research gap exists concerning how the multiple, competing logics legitimate gender exclusion from the expatiate roles and partner promotion in the elite PSFs.

The next section re-examines the sociology of the professions, to consider how the recent changes such as globalization, might alter the concepts of professionalization and closure, and what this means for the perpetuation of gender inequalities at partner levels in the elite PSFs.

2.5. The professional, professionalization, and gender inequalities in the elite PSFs.

2.5.1. Introduction.

This section defines and discusses preliminary concepts from the sociology of the professions and from management literatures about competing logics and gender inequalities in the elite PSFs. Global business expansion means that a central network position in the institutional field belongs to the elite PSFs, whose "monopoly" over audit services gave these firms superior access to the international clients compared to their competitors (Burt, 2013, 2000, Muzio et al, 2011). Globalization is defined

as, "an accelerating set of processes involving flows that encompass ever greater numbers of the world spaces and that lead to integration and interconnectivity between those spaces" (Segal-Horn, and Dean 41:2009, Carter et al, 2015, Beaverstock, 2004). For example, globalization which consolidates the power of the elite PSFs, to shape and, dominate the institutional field (Ashley and Simpson, 2016, Suseno and Pinnington, 2017) transfers "the gravity of power from local offices to global offices" in the elite PSFs (Greenwood and Suddaby, 42: 2006).

The global trends of economic de-regulation and free trade through the marketization of professional services means the power to shape the institutional field resides with the elite PSFs (Muzio et al, 2011), which undermines the power of the professional associations as actors to control the regulation and qualification routes for professionals which are designed at national not global levels (Boussebaa and Morgan, 2015). Hence, boundary misalignment between the required technical market scope and, national institutional jurisdictions (Seo and Creed, 2002) prevents the professional associations from offering the multi-jurisdictional professional training to suit the global business expansion of the elite PSFs (Muzio et al, 2011, Lounsbury, 2007).

However, professional closure or' the professional project' involves carving out a professional jurisdiction (Abbott, 1988) and, "*producing the producers*" through standardised selection, socialization and promotion practices in occupationally defined professions (Larson, 71: 1977, Wilensky, 1964). Professional closure defined as "…maximizing rewards by restricting access and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles…" Parkin (3: 1974, Parkin, 1979, 1971 Abbott, 1988, McDonald, 1995). But, globalization of client business means the professional associations have reduced power to enact professional closure or socialization in the elite PSFs. There is a global transfer of power which means these "capitalist PSFs", are effectively enacting internal closure at a macro – level in the field (Sommerlad and Ashley, 455:2015). The senior management of these global employment monopolies resist the formal professional certification route, in favour of their own professional entry, training, and career paths which communicate their own corporate identity as opposed to professional identity to the staff (Boussebaa, and Morgan, 2015, Muzio et al, 2011). However, this ignores the presence of internal closure which is enacted through informal practices conducted by the male-dominated partners. So, what does this mean for gender inequalities in the elite PSFs?

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The professional logic (Parsons, 1964) is based on the embodied capital (Bourdieu, 1986) of professional technical expertise, compared to the commercial logic which is characterised by the cultural capital of revenue generation in the elite PSFs (Carter and Spence, 2014, Muzio et al, 2011). If there is a movement from the professional logic to the commercial logic due to globalization in the field, then it is argued this alters the valued cultural capitals which senior management use to confer candidates with entry i.e. partner promotion to the elite PSFs. This debate about the competing logics in the elite PSFs (Suddaby and Viale, 2011, Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006, Lounsbury, 2007), ignores how a change in the professional logics contribute to the gender imbalance in the elite PSFs.

If, globalization shifts power from the professional logic to the commercial logic (Carter and Spence, 2014), then this dramatically intensifies work hours and performance demands of global client business for all professionals in the elite PSFs (Sommerlad, 2508:2012, Sommerlad, and Ashley, 2015, Lounsbury, 2007). Therefore, women managers must fit this "traditional macho mythologizing of the heroic value of working long hours" (Sommerlad, 217:2002, Ozbilgin, 1588:2011b, Acker, 2006). In particular, if these elite PSFs are global firms which service global clients then women managers must work globally for example in expatriate assignments to accumulate the requisite cultural capital portfolio for legitimacy with senior management for partner promotion into the senior management field?

A research gap exists to explore how these changing competing logics permit the senior management to legitimate the persistent, gender inequalities at partner levels despite formal gender diversity policies in the elite PSFs. Also, how the shift towards the commercial logic impacts on the global client performance demands which women managers must enact to gain legitimacy with senior management for partner promotion in the field of the elite PSFs? The next section returns to the sociology of the professions, to compare the definitions of the professional, professionalization, and professional autonomy with the context of globalization to explore the hidden gender inequalities in the elite PSFs.

2.5.2. The professional, professionalization, and professional autonomy in the elite PSFs.

The professional is defined by classical sociologists as someone who possess a defined knowledge base (Parsons, 1964, Wilensky, 1964, Goode, 1957, Johnson, 1972), with permission from the state or a professional association to practice, who is subject to a code of professional ethics. Therefore, the professional holds a monopoly claim and defends their professional knowledge jurisdiction from

competitors (Abbott, 1988, MacDonald, 1985 a & b). These classical sociologists (Parsons, 1964, Wilensky, 1964, Goode, 1975, Larson, 1985, Murphy, 1984, Johnson, 1972) would be shocked to see how successive, neo-liberal government policies combined with contraction of state functions dilutes the position of the professional in the UK and America (Brante, 1988, Fores et al, 1991, Dicken, 2007). The destruction of the, "…regulatory bargain where the state delegated the power to the professional associations to regulate the entry... "(Suddaby and Morgan, 333: 2007) is long gone. An elite PSFs is defined by their "…scale, revenue, profitability …. ", of operations, global reach and turnover compared to competitors" (Ashley and Empson, 29:2016, Suddaby et al, 2007, Segal-Horn and Dean, 2009).

A combination of archetypal professionals with occupationally defined knowledge i.e. accountants (Muzio et al, 2011) with "certified technical knowledge qualifications" (Ashley and Empson, 219:2017) and, the 'hybrid' management consultants such as IT consultants who possess specialist knowledge are all working in the PSFs (Muzio, et al, 2011). Professional knowledge is defined as tacit, idiosyncratic and, is embedded within the individual professional (Blacker, 1995) which makes individual professional performance notoriously difficult for both clients and senior management to evaluate (Alvesson, 2001, Alvesson and Robertson, 2006, Anderson-Gough et al, 2006, 2000, Parsons, 1964).

Professional autonomy is contentious and, conflicts with bureaucratic rules and formal management systems in organizations (Ackroyd, 1996, Abel, 1988, Gouldner 1957, Goffman, 1959, Ouchi, 1980).Yet, senior management utilize internal labour markets to control the pricing of professional labour (Friedson, 2001, Lounsbury, 2007). Some argue professionals are in a powerful position because they can use rhetoric to reinforce their professional status (Suddaby and Viale, 434:2011, Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005), which enables them to frame the speed, and direction of change in the field. Nevertheless, global competition and technology means that professionals are subjected to a rigorous, "intensive pattern of overwork" (Lupu and Empson 1311:2015) so, even the powerful partners are trapped unreflexively, in their repetition of the long hours performance game (Lupu and Empson, 2015, Bourdieu, 1984, Wacquant, 2005, Carter and Spence, 2014).

2.5.3. Gender inequalities at partner levels in the elite PSFs.

The sociology of the professions ignores gender inequalities (Goode, 1957, Larson, 1980, McDonald, 1985, Murphy, 1988, 1984, Parkin, 1979, 1974, Parsons, 1964, Macdonald, 1995) and the contribution

of many feminists to this debate (Sommerlad and Ashley, 2015, Crompton, 1987 Witz, 1992, Walby, 2011 (a&b).Women historically faced opposition from male-dominated professional associations and occupational closure labour strategies for their entry to the professions (Crompton, 1987). This confirms that class privileged men utilised legalistic, 'credentialist' tactics (Witz, 1992) to enforce knowledge boundaries which have gender exclusionary outcomes (Acker, 2006). Davies, (1996), claims that gender inclusion in low level professional support work is the problem which matters for gender exclusion from senior management positions. Women are disproportionately, positioned in the low level professional technical, and support work in the professions which requires explanation (Sommerlad, 2016, 2012, 2002).

In classical management studies (Acker and Van Houten, 1974, Hawthorne, 1958, Crozier, 1964), women are depicted as incapable of working with technology, which legitimises the power of the male supervisor's over their work practices and allocation to roles. Indeed, the professions and science sectors are highly resistant to gender transformation which means women remain invisible at senior management levels despite the presence of formal gender diversity policies in the PSFs (Williams 2016, Williams et al, 2013, Faulkner, 2009, 2007, 2001). Which ignores how the elite male –dominated partners reproduce their own privileges through informal practices and, facilitating closure *within* the elite PSFs (Sommerlad, 2016, 2012, Sommerlad and Ashley, 2015). For example, a "trait based professional discourse" prevails in the legal profession (Sommerlad, and Ashley, 452:2015) which means that informal exclusionary practices privilege the autonomous professional practitioner who is a member of the status quo white, male middle-upper class for allocation to client work through informal networking practices. Ashley and Empson (2017, 2016) argue that, the cultural capital portfolios (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984) of women are seriously undervalued (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986) by the male-dominated senior management who choose the successful candidates for promotion to partner positions in the accounting profession (Anderson-Gough, 2006).

To understand the gender inequalities at partner levels (Sommerlad, 2016), and, how gender exclusion continues despite the formal gender diversity policies which are publically support by senior management in the elite PSFs is imperative to answer the research questions. This requires the examination of senior management power relations and, the magnification of the informal gender exclusionary practices for partner promotion in a global context are neglected. There is an important research gap for understanding how the male-dominated senior management enact their informal

practices not in the entry stages (Anderson-Gough, 2006, 2000), but also during women managers careers within the PSFs (Sommerlad, 2016).

2.5.4. Conclusion.

The classical sociologists would not recognise the position of current professionals and their weak control over their own professional jurisdictions in the elite PSFs. The elite PSFs due to globalization of business at a macro-level, possess the power to shape and influence the institutional field. The professional associations as actors hold lesser power to enact professional close at entry stage, to determine professional qualification routes and control professional jurisdictions in the global, elite PSFs. The extent to which professional autonomy exists for the individual professional is debateable, where these elite PSFs are effectively global employment monopolies.

This shift in competing logics due to the globalization of business in the elite PSFs, and how these competing logics are converted into valued cultural capitals which are used by gatekeepers to confer candidates with legitimacy for partner roles are important to answer the research questions (Bourdieu, 1986, Carter and Spence, 2014, Anderson-Gough et al, 2006, 2000).This change to global client business strongly suggests, a corresponding shift from the professional logic i.e. technical expertise to the commercial logic i.e. revenue generation from client project sales as the criteria for promotion to partner which is confirmed in the literature about the elite PSFs (Carter and Spence, 2014, Muzio et al, 2011).

Thus global changes in the field have shifted the power from the professional associations to conduct closure at the professional entry stages and to set their own professional accreditation standards in the elite PSFs. It is argued, the elite PSFs hold the power to enact internal closure in the senior management field. Moreover, the impact of globalization on the intensification of global hours and, the extension of performance standards demanded for partner promotion are not discussed in relation to the gender inequalities at partner's level in the elite PSFs (Sommerlad, 2016, Ashley and Empson, 2017).

Gender inequalities at partner levels remain ignored including how male-dominated elite partner keepers conduct informal practices which reproduce their career privileges. There is a gender imbalance in expatriate positions which mirrors the gender inequalities for partner promotion which is under-explored in sociology, expatriate and gender literatures, despite the existence of formal business case gender diversity policies in PSFs. Also, the gender exclusionary outcomes for career progression

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and, promotion into global partner careers within the context of elite PSFs are absent from the literature.

Therefore, informal gendered practices exist which are conducted by senior management, and which exclude women throughout their careers not just at the beginning (Sommerlad, 2016, 2012, Ashley and Empson, 2017).To understand how these informal practices and reproduction strategies are utilized by male-dominated senior management, which operate as barriers for women 's access to expatriate assignments and for promotion to partner positions in the changing global context of the global, elite PSFs are under-explored in research. Therefore, how do the male, –dominated partners as gatekeepers enact work practices which are gender exclusionary on global scale elite PSFs, despite the existence of formal gender diversity policies which are publically supported by the senior management?

The next section moves onto the analysis of Bourdieu (1989, 1991, 186, 1984, 1977), which is part of the conceptual frame for this PhD study.

2.6. Towards defining cultural capitals and the senior management field in the elite PSFs.

This section defines the key concepts of cultural capitals, habitus and, field analysis (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984) which are relevant to illuminate the interplay between cultural capitals, habitus and the field logic (Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012, Bourdieu's 1991, 1986), to understand how persistent, hidden, gender inequalities are perpetuated for promotion to partnership in the PSFs. Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and, the senior management field (1986, 1984) are discussed as part of the conceptual frame for this Doctorate.

A preferred definition of capital is a form of, "… accumulated labour (in its materialised form) or (…) incorporated in an embodied form …"(Bourdieu, 241: 1986, Bourdieu (1991a, Bourdieu et al, 1991b, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, Wacquant, 2013, 2005, 1993, Swartz, 2003). So, cultural capitals include embodied including personal dispositions i.e. habitus or, objectified including cultural goods or, institutionalised such as educational qualifications (Bourdieu, 243:2006). Cultural capitals are convertible into economic capital i.e. money, or social capital including "connections" within networks (Bourdieu, 243:1986). Bourdieu (1986) confirms that most cultural capitals are reducible to economic capital.

Indeed, cultural capitals are relationally shared within networks where the "transmutation of the different types of capital into symbolic capital occurs (Bourdieu, 253: 1986). Whereas, symbolic capital is more disguised and, renders a profit due to its scarcity or value according to the logic of the senior management field (Bourdieu, 1991a, 1989, 1986, Swartz, 2003, Wacquant, 2013, 2005, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Nevertheless, an agents capital accumulation or conversion requires "labour time" i.e. investment, often without immediate results (Bourdieu, 170: 1991).

Cultural capital is dynamic and contested (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005) therefore the "structure of the field incorporates the unequal distribution of capitals (Bourdieu 1991, 1986) This social space is structured according to the volume of capital, and composition of capital, and agents compete for accumulation of the dominant, cultural capital resulting in their upward or downward trajectories (Wacquant, 142: 2005, 2013, 2005, 1986, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, Bourdieu, 1991a, 1977,Hilgers, and Mangez, 2015, Swartz, 2003).

Cultural capital is relational including dynamic but not fixed combinations of shared, collective capital resources (Bourdieu, 1991a, 1989, 1986, 1984, 1977, Ozbilgin, 2011a, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005). Hence, a cultural capital in the form of social capital is not an individually transferable construct i.e. human capital (Becker, 1975, 1965). Rather, collective, capital resources are converted within powerful groups (Bourdieu 1986, Hilgers and Mangez, 2015), and valued capitals operate in an interrelated manner in the senior management field (Ozbilgin, 2011a, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005).

A different definition of career capital (Arthur, Hall and Lawrence, 1989) based on 'knowing how' i.e. skills, of 'knowing why' i.e. personal motivation, and of 'knowing whom' i.e. a network. This career capital view is competency based and, underpinned by the concepts of the psychological contract (Arthur and Rousseau 1996) and boundary-less career. The boundary-less career purports that an individual's careers is entirely agentic, and exists outside the constraints of organizational boundaries. This is disputed because structural factors exist, including class, race and gender barriers which constrain an individual from gaining equal access to opportunities for accumulating capitals (Duberly and Cohen, 2010, Wacquant, 2013).

2.6.1. Social capital connections and networks.

Social capital is defined as "connections" (Bourdieu, 243:1986) which are enacted within "networks of relationships, which constitute a valuable resource for the conduct of affairs providing members

with collectively owned capital which entitles them to a "credit" (Bourdieu, 249:1986). Social capital connections enables the relational conversion of collective capital resources within networks into different forms of capital (1991a, 1986). Moreover, the senior management acting as gatekeepers within their networks hold the power to confer entry for chosen candidates to the senior management field (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984). Habitus represents the 'taken for granted' dispositions or 'habits in practice' (Bourdieu, 1977) which give agents the means to understand the rules of the game or 'illusio' to take up their competitive position in the dynamic, shifting senior management field (Bourdieu 1991a, 1986).

In this context, symbolic capital represents a legitimate competence (Ozbilgin, 2011, Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012a, 2012b), which is powerful because symbolic capital grants recognition to the agent (Bourdieu, 242: 2006, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005) for position-taking in the highly competitive senior management field which is discussed next.

2.6.2. The senior management field.

The senior management field is defined as, "…sets of objective positions that persons occupy (institutions or 'fields') which externally constrain perception and action…. (Wacquant, 275:2013, 2005, Bourdieu, 1991, 1986, Swartz, 2003, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, Hilgers, and Mangez, 2015). So, agents accumulate their capital portfolios to compete for legitimacy with gatekeepers to enter the field (Carter and Spence, 2014, Ashley and Empson, 2017). Agents are socialised in the appropriate habitus or dispositions learned over time (Bourdieu, 1977) which gives agents an understanding of the 'rules of the game' for competition in the senior management field (Bourdieu, 1986, Wacquant, 1993).

To compete successfully they individuals must possess the "….right capitals for position-taking in the field", because the same capitals are not transferable between different fields (Iellatchitch et al, 732: 2003). However, management consultants work in "overlapping fields…," as opposed to occupationally-based professional knowledge field, which is interesting because the management consultants knowledge is situated and is communicated within their client networks" which are claimed to have "…porous boundaries..." , given the high job mobility of management consultants in the PSFs (Ashley and Empson, 219:2017).

Defintions of social class are multiple and contested. However, a narrow definition of class is of "a structure of positions, associated with a specific form of the historical division of labour" (Goldthorpe,

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467:1983). By contrast, Bourdieu defines class not just as the individual's relationship to the means of production, but of a wider definition which includes their occupation, education, and income (95:1984, 1986, Livingstone and Scholtz (2016). Bourdieu's (1991, 1989, 1986, 1984) theoretical concepts of cultural capital and the field analysis, where agents struggle for their capital accumulation and competitive positioning in the field addressed predominately class relations as opposed to gender inequalities in organizations. Interestingly, whilst Bourdieu (95:2004) did not expressly address gender inequalities, he recognised the existence of a "sex ratio" between men and women within a geographical field which is not socially neutral.

The social class composition of the powerful elite, males who are the partner gatekeepers remains homogenous and unchanged, despite the existence of gender and race diversity policies in the PSFs (Ashley and Empson, 2017, Sommerlad, 2016, 2015, 2012). The concepts of cultural capitals and field logic are used, to understand these persistent gender inequalities at different layers of reality including structure and, agency in the elite PSFs.

2.6.3. Reproduction strategies: The hidden selection criteria for partner promotion.

The entry to the professional occupations offers the middle class opportunities for social mobility (Abbott, 1985, Carter and Spence, 2014), given professionals have a monopoly over the technical competence which facilitates both their access to the requisite cultural capitals and class privileges (Bourdieu, 2004). Bourdieu (1986, 1984) argues that, class is not just a structural relationship with the means of production but involves these dominant groups sharing their "homogeneous conditionings "(Bourdieu, 95:1984) and conducting "hidden reproduction strategies," including the accumulation of elite education credentials which perpetuates their class advantage (Bourdieu 244:1986)

A reproduction strategy is defined as, "a legitimation strategy" which gives the powerful key players, the exclusive rights to cultural capital accumulation and for legitimacy in the field (Bourdieu, 245: 1986, Wacquant, 1993). There are mechanisms for the "elimination and channelling" of different groups for admission to or exclusion from the field (Bourdieu, 104:2004), which includes "tacit requirements leading to selection or exclusion without ever being formally stated" (Bourdieu, 96:1984). The beauty of these hidden informal selection processes are that powerful key players can "doubly conceal" their use of reproduction strategies, by operating without an explicit, stated criteria, which gives these gatekeepers the opportunities to make "exceptions" and to facilitate "the co-option of the chosen" which allows them to reproduce their own privilege..." (Bourdieu, 97: 2004). A good

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example, of a hidden, informal selection criteria is the merit claim defined as, " the capacity that systems of meaning and signification have for shielding and thereby strengthening relations of oppression and exploitation by hiding them under the cloak of nature, benevolence or meritocracy"(Bourdieu, P. (153: 2005).

2.6.4. Conclusion.

It is undisputed that the male-dominated senior management act as the gatekeepers who conduct selection, and assessment for partner promotion in the elite PSFs (Sommerlad, 2012). These male-dominated, gatekeepers enact their own hidden, informal reproduction and selection strategies (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984) which exclude outsiders such as women managers from cultural capital accumulation opportunities and, for legitimacy for partner promotion in the elite PSFs. Therefore, to highlight these gatekeepers actions and their hidden selection criteria which is used for informal allocation to career roles and for partner promotion, it is important to map the power relationships and underpinning logic to understand the logic of the senior management field (Ozbilgin et al, 2016, Ozbilgin, 2011 a, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2008 a, Ozbilgin and Woodward, 2008b). This is a research gap of interest to answer the research questions. The next section introduces the concept of intersectionality which is part of the conceptual frame for this PhD study.

2.7. Intersectionality.

2.7.1. Introduction.

Gender is defined as "socially constructed differences between male and female, and the beliefs and identities, which support that difference and inequality are present in organizations" (Acker, 203:2009).This section firstly, defines the concept of intersectionality, secondly explains how intersectionality (Acker, 2012, 2009, 2006, 2004) is relevant to answer the research questions, and thirdly outlines some research gaps in intersectionality research of interest for this PhD study.

A preliminary definition of intersectionality by Crenshaw (1251:1991, 1989) is, "…subordination is not intentionally produced… (*but)* interacts with pre-existing vulnerabilities to create yet another dimension of disempowerment…" (Nash 2008, Mohanty, 2003). This concept of intersectionality is an important part of the conceptual frame, to explore the existing gender imbalance in expatriate assignments and, for partner promotion at meso-level.

Acker (2006) recognises that, despite the economic and global growth in the 'new' economies of technology, strangely the gender segregation patterns replicate the same patterns which were present in the 'old' economies of manufacturing. Women remain stuck at the bottom of steep gender hierarchy of senior management in both developing and developed countries (Acker, 2012, 2004). Intersectionality helps to expose how informal hidden practices which are underpinned by a gender logic, shapes the sub-structure and are conducted by the senior management in organizations (Acker, 2006). To understand how women managers are hindered from gaining access to expatriate roles and, also promotion to partner roles in the PSFs.

2.7.2. Definitions of Intersectionality

Intersectionality is defined as "the interplay between strands of difference such as gender, ethnicity, and class" (Tatli, and Ozbilgin, 181: 2012, Acker, 2012, 2009, 2006, 2004, Peirce, 2003). Historically, Crenshaw (1989) identified a legal contradiction where black women as plaintiffs were outside of the law and did not exist in categories of either sex or race in America. Shockingly, a black woman for the purposes of seeking legal redress for domestic violence or rape, was without legal status compared to either white women or, even black men.

Still, intersectionality is highly debated in feminist circles some argue, that to collapse intersectionality into multiple identities ignores both structure and agency (Clegg, 2016). Therefore, to deconstruct the category of women in line with post-structuralism, merely "deconstructs all sorts of difference including those that gave rise to the need to theorize intersectionality in the first place" (Clegg, 506:2016). Gunnarsson, (2017, 2011) concurs that this is an impossible situation of trying to separate the inseparable. Others propose, an 'emic' approach (Tatli and Ozbilgin, 189: 2012a) which identifies the categories of difference "ex-post", after exploring power relations and disadvantages which exist within the wider structural, historical context and the social constructions experienced by individuals.

Intersectionality is defined as, multiple, and overlapping discrimination which is gendered, raced and classed (Acker, 2006). The definition of intersectionality settled upon confirms that inequalities are raced, gendered, and classed, which are mutually reinforcing and, consists of multiple forms of discrimination which serve to overlap and multiple those inequalities which an individual experiences in an organization (Acker, 2006). Intersectionality is useful to explore how informal, hidden shared, management practices can reinforce the 'inequality regimes' and, the existing gendered management power relations which reproduce and perpetuate gender inequalities (Acker, 2012, 2006, 2004, 1990).

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The research area of interest is, to expose the persistent gender imbalance in expatriate assignments which is neglected in the expatriate literature, and which mirrors the gender hierarchy for promotion where women (Acker, 2006) are invisible from partner positions in the elite PSFs. Power relationships reinforce gender inequalities (Tatli and Ozbilgin, 188:2012a) therefore to expose "the interplay between inequality dynamics, including historical context of processes, relations and structures that construct, maintain and reproduce power and domination" matters to surface inequalities in research.

2.7.3. Inequality regimes.

An inequality regime is defined as, "systematic disparities between participants in power and control over goals, resources, and outcomes, for work place decisions such as how to organize work opportunities for promotion and interesting work"(Acker, 454:2006). These include compliance and control mechanisms which include direct controls, indirect controls and internalized controls. Internalized controls are defined as, "the legitimacy of bureaucratic structures and beliefs" (Acker, 212:2009) which being invisible are the most difficult to challenge in organizations.

Acker (2009), strongly rejects the glass-ceiling metaphor of gender inequality (Kanter, 1977) where invisible structural barriers at senior management levels, can be resolved by the actions of individuals or, by micro-level interventions i.e. leadership programmes for women. This cannot counteract the wider, economic, and political context which contributes to structural gender inequalities in organizations (Acker, 2012, 2006).

The business case diversity model is critiqued for addressing gender, and race diversity issues within a framework of organizational performance goals, whilst ignoring the nature of power relations and, the specific historical, legal and political context in which discrimination occurs (Tatli and Ozbilgin ,2012a, Ozbilgin et al, 2016). Business case gender diversity formal policies and practices, show a poor record for diversity transformation in developed economies (Ozbilgin et al, 2016). For example, the unencumbered worker performance standard where the worker devotes all their time to work, not to children or family demands. Whilst, the existence of family friendly policies offers only temporary relief, this only signals women's inability to meet the norm of the unencumbered male performance standard (Acker, 2006, Williams, 2016). So, women managers face impossible conflicts between the spheres of production and reproduction, whether they are married or single in gendered organizations (Acker, 2004).

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2.7.4. The professional logic is a gender logic.

The professional logic is defined as, a detached logic which signifies male professionalism and venerates the unencumbered male performance standard (Acker, 2006). Male-dominated professionals and their structures of power, utilise hidden, informal practices which undermine women managers' legitimacy for allocation to career roles including expatriate assignments and, for promotion to partner positions in the PSFs. Despite the presence of formal HRM policies, selection and job allocation operate as informal, hidden practices conducted by senior management, and are anything but gender-neutral in organizations (Harris, 1997, Acker, 2006). Moreover, these processes of recruitment, hiring, and promotion are important because these, "at least partially define who is suitable "to occupy positions according to the existing gender, race, and class occupants (Acker, 208:2009).

To understand how male-dominated senior management, to reinforce the gender –uses this selection, assessment, and promotion practices which are informal and hidden substructure (Acker, 2006, 2004) and how these fit the logic of the senior management field are research gaps (Ozbilgin 2011, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005, Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986, 1984).

The criteria of competence used by the male-dominated senior management i.e. partners, who are at the apex of the existing power hierarchy cannot be gender neutral (Acker, 450:2006). Acker (2009) argues, that competence is a judgement made by the powerful decision-makers about who are the legitimate leaders which does not exclude gender, race, and class discrimination. It is strongly argued, that social networks reproduce existing gender, race and class inequalities at senior management levels. So, elites choose to hire those like themselves given their networks consist of members who possess similar characteristics and backgrounds (Acker, 208:2009, Burt, 2000).

Despite the existence of formal gender diversity policies, the powerful senior management enact hidden informal selection and promotion practices which are not scrutinised by the HRM department (Noon et al, 2013).The existence of taken for granted gendered practices for example, men being allocated to work in line positions "which manage the core processes of a company", whereas women are allocated to support positions "which facilitate and assist the core processes" (Acker, 208:2009). Hence, a gender logic is hidden in a set of subtle informal selection practices which gives legitimacy to the hierarchy of power and, structural inequalities of gender, race, and class in organizations.

2.7.5. The legitimacy and invisibility of gender inequalities.

The legitimacy of inequalities means women and those of colour even if when are promoted to senior management levels, they face the legitimacy challenges based on the wider gender, race, and class inequalities present in organizations (Acker, 2009). The visibility of inequalities differs with the seniority of the position held by a person so, those in the dominant groups think inequality exists elsewhere and, judge their own privilege as entirely legitimate (Acker, 2009, 2006). Whereas, an 'invisibility-paradox' occurs when the invisibility of women in senior management levels becomes normalised (Acker, 2006). More shockingly, women in male dominated cultures comply with their disadvantaged position by supporting the male power hegemony which does not legitimise them (Tatli et al, 2015, Acker, 2006, Bourdieu, 1991).

This PhD study intends to surface these hidden informal practices and, taken for granted realities which normalise the invisibility of women (Acker, 2006) and their lack of legitimacy for expatriate assignments and for promotion to partner positions in the PSFs.

2.7.6. Conclusion.

The business case gender diversity formal policies are failing to transform gender inequalities in developed economies (Ozbilgin et al, 2016) because this regime power relations are ignored in favour of the profit objective (Ashley and Empson, 2017). So, women remain invisible (Acker, 2006) for promotion to partners roles in the context of the elite PSFs.

The severity of inequality regimes is disguised where they are legitimacy of the existing power hierarchy, which makes their existence difficult to challenge and therefore to transform through policies. It is disputed that the criteria chosen by the existing power hierarchy is gender, race or class neutral because even the concept of competence represents a judgement by the elite of who is worthy to be in senior management positions. There is gender hierarchy between the gender imbalances in career positions such as expatriate roles and for promotion to partner roles in the elite PSFs. The research focuses on exposing the hidden, informal practices in selection and promotion which reinforce existing gender inequalities which reproduce the position of power for the male-dominated partners in the elite PSFs.

3. Chapter Three. Cultural capitals, competing logics, and gender inequalities in the elite PSFs.

3.1. Introduction.

This section returns to discuss the importance of valued cultural capitals such as social capital with senior management networks and the symbolic capital according to the logic of the senior management field in the elite PSFs. To explore how hidden gender inequalities exists and, how partner gatekeepers informally assess candidates' cultural capitals and their eligibility for entry to the senior management field of the PSFs (Bourdieu, 1986, Carter and Spence, 2014, Anderson-Gough et al, 2006, 2000). The literatures used are from sociology and gender.

3.1.1. Social capital with the gatekeeper networks and informal gender exclusion.

Social capital is defined as "the aggregate of actual or potential resources which are linked to a durable network of …institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, 249:1986, 1991a). Social capital is the most "disguised" form of capital (Bourdieu, 245: 1986) and is accumulated within "networks" (Bourdieu, 243:1986).

Women managers must accumulate social capital with gatekeeper networks to gain promotion however subtle, and resistant gender barriers position women managers as outsiders to these powerful, networks. This is a problem because gaining social capital connections with gatekeepers helps to "preserve or increase this social capital" (Bourdieu, 104:2004, Bourdieu, 1986). The most powerful, senior management networks are male dominated in organizations (McKinsey & Company, 2016, Burt, 2000, 1998). Male managers as gatekeepers sanction the rules, norms, and values which legitimate their own position as the elite in the PSFs (Bourdieu, 1986). The shared norms of trust and reciprocity protect network benefits, and exclude 'outsiders' to ensure obligations are repaid (Scott 1965, Burt, 1997, Coleman, 1988, 1977, Portes, 1998).

Symbolic capital or the legitimate competence according to the field logic, allows the holder to take profits "due its scarcity or value "(Bourdieu, 242: 2006, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005, Ozbilgin, 2011, Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012a) and grants them recognition. Symbolic capital enables individuals or groups to legitimate the value of other forms of capital, which is important for understanding how different forms of capital are transformed into power and privilege (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005). The valued cultural

capitals which are possessed by the powerful, partner gatekeepers are connected to the logic of the field, which signifies the symbolic capital which the same powerful gatekeepers value when granting candidates admission to the senior management field (Bourdieu, 2004). Therefore, symbolic capital according to the logic of the field, is important to understand how power relations are structured and hidden, gender inequalities are legitimated in the PSFs. Power relations are hidden, misrecognised which means even those less powerful accept the legitimacy of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991). Symbolic power is defined as "the capacity those systems of meaning have of shielding, and ….. Strengthening, relations of oppression and exploitation by hiding them under a cloak of nature, benevolence, or meritocracy "(Wacquant, 134: 1993, Bourdieu, 1991).

A form of symbolic capital is linguistic capital which signifies membership of an elite group or indeed class. Bourdieu (4:1991) defines language as socio-historical phenomena, where political and historical conditions i.e. wars, create a dominant, powerful language i.e. "victorious language ", belonging to the powerful group or class. Linguistic capital acts as "an instrument of distinction, and separates different cultures depending on their distance from the dominant culture" (Bourdieu, 167: 1991). French as the official state language is legitimated through an elite education system which requires this linguistic competence otherwise individuals are excluded. This language of the dominant culture, "is presented as shared universal interests, which allows the dominant class to distinguish themselves from others" (Bourdieu, 167:1991). Linguistic capital is a gendered, cultural capital, defined as capabilities to interact with elites including senior clients and gatekeepers, which signifies candidates for partner promotion to male-dominated gatekeepers (Carter and Spence, 2014, Kornberger et al, 2011). So, if the partner gatekeepers judge women managers as lacking the cultural competence of linguistic capital (Carter and Spence, 2014), then how can women managers signify their potential as talent for partner promotion?

The next section outlines the theme of competing logics whilst, utilizing the concepts of Bourdieu's (1991, 1989, 1986, 1984) cultural capital particularly symbolic capital in relation to the barriers women managers experience for allocation by the male-dominated partner gatekeepers to global client projects and partner promotion from literature on the elite PSFs.

3.1.2. The commercial logic: The symbolic capital of revenue generation for partner promotion.

To be seen as 'partner material' by the partner gatekeepers, the manager must evidence their cultural capitals of "revenue generation" (Carter and Spence, 973: 2014, Mueller et al, 2011) from, business development with clients to fit the commercial logic (Carter and Spence, 970:2014).Technical expertise has fallen in the hierarchy of cultural capitals for partner promotion. Mueller et al (2011) concurs that, the commercial logic is the dominant logic within a hierarchy of competing logics in the senior management field of the PSFs. A Bourdieusian field analysis is used (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986, 1984) to identify those valued cultural capitals which signify eligibility for partner promotion in the PSFs (Carter and Spence, 2014).

A former Canadian partner adopts a metaphor from the Canadian fur trade to explain recent, changes in the partner cultural capitals and habitus due to the shift to commercial logic. In the past, the partner was "a hunter, a killer and a skinner" (Carter and Spence, 967:2014) but, successful partners are no longer 'skinners' (Carter and Spence, 2014). Thus technical expertise becomes a "partially disembodied" cultural capital for partners (Carter and Spence, 970:2014, Bourdieu, 1986, 1984). Carter and Spence (2014) undertook qualitative interviews involving a sample of 32 managers, partners, and retired partners from 'the big 4 accounting firms' in Canada and the UK. Professional expertise is absent from the criteria for partner promotion. So, given women predominate in the lower levels of professional work (Sommerlad, 2016, Gray et al, 2007) what does this mean for gender inequalities in partner positions?

The commercial logic and globalization of business (Carter and Spence, 2014, Spence and Carter, 2014), privileges revenue generation however, it is disputed that a meritorious performance criteria is capable of overriding gender, race and class barriers for partner promotion. Therefore, equal opportunities based on merit does not exist for accumulation of the cultural capitals of revenue generation for partner promotion in the PSFs. The gender imbalance of partners is evident in the research sample, where out of a total of eighteen partners only one is a woman partner (Carter and Spence, 2014). There are subtle, hidden informal gender barriers which exist preventing promotion to partner positions in the PSFs. Indeed, Carter and Spence (977:2014).recognise, those barriers to partner promotion "are all but insurmountable for females and ethnic minorities".

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A successful partner must possess business development capabilities defined as, "… a complex and sophisticated activity including networking, developing client relationships, winning work…" (Carter and Spence, 955:2014). Partner gatekeepers, because of their networking capabilities with powerful senior clients (Bourdieu, 2004, Hartmann, 2000), value the manager who demonstrates linguistic capital. Linguistic capital is defined as, "… acquired primarily through the family (the "mother tongue")"… through linguistic style………evident in one's ability to demonstrate competence in the use of magisterial, scholarly or bourgeoisie language…." (Everett, 63:2002).

Linguistic capital suggests elite social class membership   and *power.* But, male-dominated partner gatekeepers do not associate women managers with power to signify their suitability for promotion to partner roles. Male-dominated partner gatekeepers see these valued partner capitals for revenue generation as being "…masculine attributes..." (Spence and Carter, 960:2014, Pinnington and Sandberg, 625:2013). Women managers are equally capable of conducting business development and client networking compared with men. But, if women managers are informally excluded from opportunities to accumulate their business development skills then, women can't evidence a track record of revenue generation for promotion. What is linguistic capital and, why do gatekeepers see this as a masculine competence?

However, revenue generation is not a meritorious criterion for partner promotion despite gender, race, and class according to the commercial logic (Carter and Spence, 2014), because male-dominated gatekeepers see business development with clients as a masculine attribute, which informally excludes women managers from partner promotion.

Partners must follow the rules of the game to sustain their competitive position in the senior management field (Carter and Spence, 2014, Muzio et al, 2012, Bourdieu, 2006, 2004). Even, elite partners face fierce competition from new entrants (Brivot et al, 2014, Bourdieu, 2006), and, relentless demands for revenue generation make the partner as disposable as everybody else. Where these partners seen by the remaining gatekeepers as "non-performers" are forced out by them (Carter and Spence, 2014, Spence and Carter, 2014, Brivot et al, 2014). These non-performing partners experience a 'hysteris' effect (Bourdieu 35:2004, 2000) where their capitals and, habitus do not fit the commercial logic of the field (Carter and Spence, 975:2014). Senior managers who are technical specialists but, hold good client lists, are given director roles but, are "second class citizens" according to gatekeepers (Carter and Spence, 975: 2014).

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3.1.3. The symbolic capital for partner promotion: Gender exclusion in the elite PSFs.

This section examines how client billing hours operates as a promotion criteria for partner and, how client billing hours impacts on women managers legitimacy with male-dominated partner, gatekeepers for promotion to partner. The dominance of commercial logic changes the hierarchy of desired cultural capitals for partner promotion, especially the symbolic capital or legitimate competence. So, how does this impact on the gender barriers to partner promotion (Tatli, and Ozbilgin, 2012, Ozbilgin, 2011a, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005, Carter and Spence, 2014, Bourdieu, 1991, 1989)?

The partnership respect the economic capital of revenue generation (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984, Carter and Spence, 2014), and professional performance is "commodified "(Kornberger et al, 784: 2010) i.e. measured as client billing hours. Client sales matter for revenue generation and, the average annual client sales turnover per consultant is £164,071 in 2016/17 (UK) (Feaco Survey, 23:2016/17). The profitability of 'billable' staff are measured by their average price level (the daily consultancy fees) and, their average chargeability (the number of days the consultant is charged out to clients (Feaco Survey, 18:2016/17). The client billing hours are divided using a calculation of standard working hours i.e. 40 hours per week divided by 12 months, to calculate their total client billing hour's contribution to the PSFs (Careers, 2018).

However, promotion to partner roles is not just about high client billing hours. Whilst, billable client hours are *still* an important criteria for partner promotion (Brivot et al, 2014), when a consultant or manager increases their annual client hours by 500, these professionals gain a single promotion in the elite law PSFs of France (Career, 2018). Interestingly, partners are allocated business development hours and, they pick staff to work with them on these developmental projects (Brivot et al, 2014).

Women lawyers worked about 126 less billable hours compared to men in the elite law PSF (Brivot et al, 2014) but, this gender differential in client billable hours worked is unexplained. Why are women managers charging out less billable client hours compared to male managers? More importantly, are women managers working less client billing hours given opportunities to work on business development client projects and seen as eligible for promotion by male-dominated gatekeepers.

There is a research gap to identify what is the symbolic capital or legitimate competence (Ozbilgin, 2011, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005, Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012) which is most valued by gatekeepers for promotion to partner positions in the PSFs. To identify the symbolic capital according to the

commercial logic of the senior management field, to explore those hidden informal practices which promote gender inequalities for partner promotion. To explore how this influences women manager's legitimacy for promotion to partner positions in the PSFs.

If the commercial logic alters the value of the hierarchy of cultural capitals which managers must accumulate for promotion then, to identify the symbolic capital which signifies eligibility for partner promotion is important to surface informal gender inequalities?

3.1.4. The client service logic: Competing logics and the partner promotion criteria.

This section discusses the client service logic framed within professional identity and professional performance at a micro level. To explore how this client logic impacts on gender exclusionary practices for promotion to partner at a micro level in the elite PSFs.

Networking is defined as a "… a planned, instrumental activity…" (Anderson-Gough et al "(245:2006) and, the "… rules of exchange…" dictate that managers through networking must extend their client networks (Hanlon (201: 2004). Networking and 'getting close' (Anderson-Gough et al, 240:2006, 2000) to the partners gatekeepers, are crucial for managers to gain visibility and legitimacy for promotion. Networking is defined as a "… a planned, instrumental activity…" (Anderson-Gough et al "(245:2006) where, the "… rules of exchange…" dictate that managers must extend their client networks (Hanlon (201: 2004). Networking skills signify to the gatekeepers that a manager has partner "potential", because partners must extend their networks to generate client project sales (Anderson-Gough et al, 242:2006).

Networking skills signify to gatekeepers a manager has partner "potential", because partners must build their networks to generate client project sales (Anderson-Gough et al, 242:2006).The client service logic requires managers to engage in afterhours networking with powerful partner gate keepers (Hanlon, 2004, 1994, Anderson-Gough, 2006), to gain visibility for their informal work allocation and promotion (Kornberger et al, 2010, Ashley and Empson, 2017, Carter and Spence, 2014) to develop their social capital connections, and trust with gate-keeper networks (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984). The importance of 'getting close' (Anderson-Gough et al, 240:2006, 2000) to the partners through networking, matters for managers to gain visibility through proximity to partners for their promotion. Managers who prosper for promotion argues Kornberger et al, (2010) must 'sell' themselves internally to the gatekeepers for work allocation and, externally to client by building client network relationships

(Mueller et al, 558:2011). The manager must influence the gatekeepers "impression" of their performance, by "playing the fame game" (Kornberger et al, 526:2010) working long hours, and maximising their client "billable hours" (Kornberger et al, 788:2010). An important criterion for partner promotion is client billing hours (Brivot, et al 2014, Kornberger et al, 2010).

Notwithstanding, building social capital connections and networks involves mutual trust and reciprocity (Hanlon, 2004, Coleman 1988) where, homology, shared values, the rules of the game and, shared practices exclude those "…who reject these values" (Hanlon, 206: 2004, Waters, 2015, Waters, 1995). Women managers working in male dominated cultures find the powerful, networks difficult to "…break into… "(Faulkner, 14:2009, 2007, 2001), because women are outsiders and are seen as a risk by gatekeepers. Hanlon (2004) confirms, women with children are informally, excluded from out of hours networking with gatekeepers and clients (Sommerlad, 2012, Bourdieu, 1986).

Of concern is that, male partner gatekeepers see client networking and business development as gendered competences (Kornberger et al, 2010, Carter and Spence, 2014). Which means that women managers must evidence their commercial and entrepreneurial business development skills **before** their promotion to partner (Hanlon, 2004, Pinnington and Sandberg, 2013). This poses the question of how women can gain client business development opportunities and the requisite cultural capitals for their promotion to partner? There is a research gap concerning how women managers gain business development capabilities and build their client networks for partner promotion?

A manager must engage in "playing the fame game" (Kornberger et al, 526:2010) which influences the gatekeepers "impression" of their performance, by working long hours, and maximising their client "billable hours" for promotion to partner(Kornberger et al, 788:2010, Brivot, et al 2014). The manager "sells" themselves internally to the gatekeepers for work allocation and, externally to client by building client network relationships (Mueller et al, 558:2011, Kornberger et al, 2010). Therefore, managers who are visible to gatekeepers gain informal work allocation to the best client projects and promotion (Kornberger et al, 2010, Ashley and Empson, 82:2016, Carter and Spence, 2014) The client service logic requires managers to engage in afterhours networking with powerful, partner gate keepers (Hanlon, 2004, 1994, Anderson-Gough, 2006) to develop their social capital connections, and trust with gate-keeper networks (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984).

Notwithstanding, building social capital connections in networks requires mutual trust and reciprocity (Hanlon, 2004, Coleman 1988) based on homology with shared values, and rules of the game which exclude those "…who reject these values" (Hanlon, 206: 2004, Waters, 2015, Waters, 1995). Women managers working in male dominated cultures find the powerful, male-dominated networks difficult to "…break into… "(Faulkner, 14:2009, 2007, 2001). Women are outsiders and seen as a risk by gatekeepers, for example, women with children are informally, excluded from out of hours networking with gatekeepers and clients (Hanlon, 2004, Sommerlad, 2012, Bourdieu, 1986). There is a "divided self" where women managers distance themselves from their professional identity as opposed to overtly resisting the client service logic, because the odds are stacked against them as a 'marginalized' group for acceptance by male-dominated gatekeeper networks for promotion (Mueller et al, 560:2011).

More importantly, partner gatekeepers see client networking and business development as gendered competences (Kornberger et al, 2010) however, women managers need these commercial and entrepreneurial business development skills for partner promotion (Hanlon, 2004). Women managers face subtle, hidden barriers for accumulation of the cultural capitals for revenue generation given, the male-dominated gatekeepers see client business development as a male attribute (Pinnington and Sandberg, 2013, Kornberger et al, 2011). This begs the question of how women are supposed to gain client business development capabilities which are important cultural capitals for their promotion to partner? There is a research gap concerning how women managers gain their opportunities to accumulate the cultural capital of business development capabilities and to develop client networks for partner promotion?

The client service logic is a harsh regime for women working on flexible hours arrangements, who cannot meet open-ended client expectations of partner gatekeepers (Anderson-Gough et al, 2006, 2000, Ashley and Empson, 2017). These women are invisible to gatekeepers for promotion (Acker, 2006), whatever hours of work which are outside of and "unseen" by the partner gaze in the workplace are irrelevant to gatekeepers for promotion (Kornberger, et al, 784: 2010).

Networking to get close to partner gatekeepers and into client's networks are crucial for women managers' to gain visibility for partner promotion. However, male partner gatekeepers see networking and, client business development as gendered competences, which informally excludes women managers from both these male-dominated gatekeeper networks and removes them from the informal allocation to client projects and, arguably for promotion to partner in the PSFs.

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3.1.5. Women as the dominated class in the elite PSFs.

Shockingly, the gender and class composition of the elite partnership of the PSFs, remains largely, unchanged despite the existence of formal gender and race diversity policies (Ashley and Empson, 2017, Sommerlad, 2016, 2015, 2012). The professions despite their ethical claims are not renowned for gender, race or class equality at senior management levels in the PSFs. Bourdieu (97:2004) confirms that tacit requirements for entry to the professions, such as age, class or ethnic origin, ensures those lacking the desired traits such as women, "are excluded or marginalized in less prestigious professional jurisdictions".

A hierarchy of male-dominated partner gatekeepers in their networks privilege their own cultural capitals when they conferring candidates with legitimacy for admission to the senior management field in the PSFs. This PhD research explores how gatekeepers within their networks of power conduct hidden, informal mechanisms to select and nominate their chosen candidates for expatriate assignments and promotion.

This PhD research explores how these powerful gatekeepers, recognise manager's cultural capitals and grant them legitimacy for entry to the senior management field (Bourdieu, 1991a, 1989, 1986, Swartz, 2003, Wacquant, 2013, 2005, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, Carter and Spence, 2014, Ashley and Empson, 2017). These partner gatekeepers enact reproduction strategies which reinforce their own legitimacy, and, also hidden, informal gender exclusionary practices which restrict access to expatriate assignments and, promotion to partner positions in the elite PSFs

3.2. Conclusion.

The volume of client billing hours as a performance measurement are still important criteria for promotion to partner which fits both the commercial and client service logics. Interestingly, partners are allocated business development hours and, this hidden, informal process allows gatekeepers protégés access to their networks for promotion to partner positions in the PSFs.

The performance measurement of client billing hours is an important criterion for promotion to partner according to the commercial logic. However, partners are allocated additional business development hours which means gatekeepers can informally, allocate their protégés to business development

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projects. This gives these partner gatekeeper's protégés career privileges for access to gatekeeper networks and opportunities to build their revenue generation track record for partner promotion.

If women work less client billing hours compared with men in the PSFs, then what does this mean for their promotion? There is a research gap concerning how client billing hours tacitly disqualify women from promotion and, how commercial logic legitimises gender invisibility from partner promotion.

There is a shift in the hierarchy of field logics, from the professional logic to the commercial logic in the PSFs with, corresponding changes in the valued cultural capitals which partner gatekeepers use as a criteria for promotion to partner. There is a demise in technical expertise shifting to business development capabilities with client's revenue generation which fits the commercial logic.

It is a dubious claim that, revenue generation is meritorious criteria for partner promotion which overrides gender, race, and class inequalities due to the dominance of the commercial logic in the elite PSFs (Carter and Spence, 2014). Rather, the male-dominated gatekeepers see business development with clients as a masculine attribute, which informally excludes women managers from partner promotion. If the commercial logic alters the value of the hierarchy of cultural capitals which managers must accumulate for promotion then, to identify the symbolic capital which signifies eligibility for partner promotion is important to surface informal gender inequalities? The next section examines the promotion criteria for partner of client billing hours.

To understand how gatekeepers in their networks conduct reproduction strategies and confer managers with legitimacy for entry to the field. It is important to map the power relations to identify the symbolic capital which underpins the logic of the senior management field. In order, to surface the valued cultural capitals which gatekeepers recognise and which reproduce existing gender inequalities for partner promotion in the PSFs (Tatli, and Ozbilgin, 2012, Ozbilgin, 2011, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005). Interestingly, the partner promotion criteria or the symbolic capital of client billing hours for revenue generation from the global client projects fits comfortably with both the commercial logic and, also the client service logic in the elite PSFs.

The powerful, partner gatekeepers confer entry to the senior management field (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984) utilizing informal selection, and assessment practices which exclude 'outsiders' such as women for partner promotion (Sommerlad, 2012) Are women managers a dominated class (Bourdieu, 1984,

Carter and Spence, 2014) or are they just invisible (Acker, 2006) for allocation to expatriate roles and partner promotion in the PSFs?

These elite PSFs are global businesses which means logically women must work globally, to accumulate the requisite cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984), especially symbolic capital which partner gatekeeper's value for promotion and fit the logic of the senior management field. How do gender inequalities exist despite formal diversity policies in PSFs? How cultural capitals of social capital and symbolic capital connect to practice and field logic (Bourdieu (1986), and used to legitimate gender exclusion in PSFs?

There is a research gap concerning informal gender exclusion for partner promotion, when partners allocate protégés to development projects, does this enable them to evidence a track record of revenue generation and build their networks with gatekeepers for future promotion? Additionally, does the hidden partner selection to their business development projects disadvantage women managers for promotion in the PSFs? Why are women working less client billable hours than men are and, how does this impact on their promotion in elite PSFs?

There is a research gap concerning informal gender exclusion for partner promotion. If partners allocate their protégés to business development projects, does this help them evidence a performance track record and build their networks with gatekeepers for future promotion? Additionally, does the hidden partner selection to their business development projects disadvantage women managers for promotion in the PSFs? Why are women working less client billable hours than men are and how does this impact on their promotion in elite PSFs? These are research gaps in the literature

Women work less client billing hours compared to men in elite PSFs. How do client billing hours tacitly disqualify women from promotion and, how do the competing logics legitimise women managers' invisibility for partner promotion.

3.3. Synthesis of the conceptual frame.

To meet the research aim of conducting a multi-level (Layder, 1993) PhD study, combining structure and agency which involves using a conceptual frame to investigate the research problem at macro-level, meso-level, and micro-level. This is important to answer the research questions and, to understand the layered complexities of persistent gender inequalities in the elite PSFs.

This conceptual frame integrates the institutional logics or, 'the competing logics' including the commercial logic at a structural macro –level, and the client service (Anderson-Gough, 2006, 2000) or agency, at a micro-level. The institutionalist literature, traditionally, involved economic sociologists and organizational theorists who privileged structure, and environmental factors at a macro-level (Di-Maggio and Powell,1983, Meyer, 1982) This classical institutionalist view failed to accommodate the importance of individual agency, including cultural values and professional identity for explaining change in organizations.

More recently, 'the competing logics' offers interesting insights to explain how structural changes occur at a macro-level in the institutional field, and how these logics are contested at practice level by agents at a micro –level in the elite PSFs (Greenwood, and Suddaby, 2006, Lounsbury, 2007, Marquis, and Lounsbury, 2007, Muzio et al, 2011). Bourdieu (1986, 1984) argues that agents compete to accumulate cultural capitals at a micro- level within the constraints of the field logic. The competing logics (Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006) would not contradict Bourdieu (1986) who recognises that a hierarchy of logics exist in the dynamic and changing senior management field. However, where Bourdieu (1991, 1989, 1986, 1984) and the institutionalists differ (Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006, Lounsbury, 2007, Marquis, and Lounsbury, 2007, Muzio et al, 2011) concerns their view of networks. The institutionalists see networks structural used for modelling the professional jurisdiction (Burt, 2000, Abbott, 1988) and based on the human capital of the individual (Becker, 1965)in the elite PSFs. By contrast, networks are seen as a relational forum where collective, shared cultural capital resources are converted and shared between members by Bourdieu (1986).

A Bourdieusian analysis of both cultural capitals and, of field analysis in the elite PSFs, finds that globalization of client business encourages a shift from the professional logic (Parsons, 1964) i.e. professional technical knowledge at a micro-level, towards the powerful commercial logic i.e. revenue generation from client projects sales as the valued cultural capitals for partner promotion due to globalization of client business at a macro-level in the elite PSFs (Carter and Spence, 2014, Spence and Carter 2014). This shift from the professional logic to a commercial logic in a global business context, is argued to change the cultural portfolio requirements for promotion to partner.

Interestingly, the power of these elite PSFs as global actors in the field is under-explored suggesting the position of the professional requires re-examination (Muzio et al, 2011).In particular, to examine the commercial logic as a criteria for partner promotion at a macro-level (Carter and Spence (2014)

and, the client service logic for professional identity at a micro-level (Anderson-Gough, 2006, 2000) are overdue given globalization in context of the elite PSFs.

However, an important but neglected aspect of research about partner promotion in the elite PSFs, is the persistent gender inequalities which exist at partner levels despite the existence of formal gender diversity policies. Whilst, Carter and Spence (2014) acknowledge that challenging gender barriers exist for partner promotion in the elite PSFs, these gender barriers are not explored. To understand how the competing logics could legitimise these existing gender inequalities, by exploring the hidden, informal organizations practices such as informal practices for selection, allocation to expatriate roles and, promotion (Acker, 2006, 2004), which are conducted by the male dominated senior management at a meso-level   completes the multi-level research analysis to answer the research questions in this Doctorate.

3.4. Conclusion.

To understand how persistent gender inequalities remain despite the existence of formal gender diversity policies publically supported by senior management in the elite PSFs. The chosen conceptual frame integrates the competing logics at a macro-level, the cultural capitals and field analysis of Bourdieu at macro-level and micro-level, and intersectionality of Acker (2006, 2004) at a meso-level.

4. Chapter Four. Social capital and networks: Informal gender exclusion in the elite PSFs.

4.1. Introduction: Defining social capital and networks.

This chapter defines social capital and networks using classical sociology literature, exploring gender exclusion from career roles or promotion which are informally, enacted within gatekeeper networks in organizations. This Doctorate is situated within the elite, global PSFs, who offer multi-disciplinary management consultancy services to clients including Engineering and Information Technology. As distinct from those global PSFs, who specialise in the professional services of accountancy and law.

Social capital defined as embedded in relationships between people, which allows purposive actors achieve their ends using their networks as a resource (Adler, and Kwon, 2002, Scott 1965, Burt, 1997, Tymon and Stumfp, 2003). Structural network positioning gives managers whose networks are rich

in structural holes, opportunities to manipulate information through access to powerful senior management for promotion in a "disconnected social structure" (Burt, 340:1997, 2000, 1998, 1992, Nahapiet, and Ghoshal, 1998, Podolny and Baron 1997). So, managers can engage in informal, career 'brokering' using their networks (Granovetter, 1973, Adler and Kwon, 2002, Makela and Suutari, 2009) to access unadvertised, available roles and promotion opportunities (Stahl et al 2007, 2002, Festing,2015). However, the structural network perspective (Uzzi, 1997) neglects an understanding of those who are excluded as outsiders to the senior management networks and power hierarchy at a macro level.

Whereas, social capital (Coleman, 102:1988) at a micro level includes norms of trust, reciprocity, and bonding within networks, which facilitate "enforceable trust", so members meet their obligations due to the power of the community (Portes, 7:1998). Taylor (338:2007) defines reciprocity as high "associability", where members in a group forego their own needs, in favour of the group needs (Bouty, 2000). Social capital excludes 'outsiders' using closure to protect the network interests of its network members (Portes, 15:1998, Weber, [1922], 1965). Closure is defined as, "the existence of sufficient ties between a certain number of people to guarantee the observance of norms" Portes (6:1998). Which makes social capital and networks are inherently, exclusionary to 'outsiders' such women managers, a point overlooked in classical sociology literature (Portes, 1998, Weber, [1922], 1965).

One renowned male sociologist suggested, women managers could 'borrow' networks from a more powerful senior male manager, to gain sponsorship access career benefits from networks (Burt, 1998, 2017, 2000). Burt (24:1998) recognises that women are "risky" outsiders, whose networks are devoid of social capital connections with the powerful senior management. So, women managers can 'borrow' networks from a powerful senior male manager to enhance their legitimacy for promotion (Burt, 1998, 2017, 2000). This simple solution fits with human capital theory (Burt, 2000, 1998, Becker, 1964) where social capital belongs to the individual but, social capital is not transferable. Women managers by loaning their male senior manager networks simply reinforce the gender order of male-dominated senior management (Broadbridge, 2010).

These male sociologists failed to address the 'outsider' status of women to powerful senior management networks, given most networks are male dominated (McKinsey & Company, 2016, Coleman, 1988, Portes, 1998) and, men as gatekeepers sanction the rules, norms, and values legitimating their own elite position in organizations (Bourdieu, 1986). A preferred definition of social

capital combines both agency and structure, involves relationally held, collective capital resources within informal, networks (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984). Bourdieu (243:1986) regards social capital as a long-term investment which generates collectively owned capitals, where network members gain a "credit". So, a rule of the game (Bourdieu, 1986) is network "insiders" gain career privileges compared to 'outsiders'. These informal barriers to accumulating social capital in male-dominated senior management networks, positions women as outsiders who are invisible to gatekeepers for access to career privileges such as promotion.

There is a research gap concerning how powerful, senior management networks, known as old boy networks operate, formal and informal gender exclusion given the gender imbalance in both expatriate assignments and, promotion partner roles in the PSFs?

4.2. Defining the 'old boys' networks: Gender exclusion.

The old boys network is defined as an all-male group, where informal norms and customs protect the shared privileges and benefits for members, barring 'outsiders' from entry i.e. women, ethnic minorities (Coleman, 1988, Shortland, 2011, 1988, Portes, 1998).Women managers who are outsiders to the partner gatekeepers informal networks are "…social paupers…" (Anderson-Gough et al, 248:2006) deprived of access to large, prestigious client assignments and promotion prospects. Networks are inherently, gender exclusionary because 'homophily' (Ibarra, 1993), encourages networks based shared characteristics of gender, class and race (Harris, 1999, Makela, and Suutari, 2011). Therefore, job segregation patterns (Reskin, and Maroto, 2011) are reflected in network composition so, senior management as the dominant group wont informally refer candidates who are "job atypical for their sex" for roles and promotion (Reskin, and Maroto, 84:2011, Fernandez and Sosa, 2005). Male-dominated networks, reproduce patterns of gender inequalities between jobs not just within jobs (Gray et al (2007). So, networking opportunities are "consequential" to structural separation or patterns of job segregation, not women managers' poor networking capabilities (McGuire, 516: 2000).

Male dominated networks are not open, fair or gender neutral (Mueller et al, 2011) and, operate as "a gendered form of social closure" (Walby, 10:2011, Benschop, 2009). Women managers as outsiders to these networks (Walby, 9:2011, Labour Force Survey, 2005, Styhre et al, 2001) are not 'invited' to male bonding activities such as golf or, "after-hours work socialising" (Sommerlad, 2012). Indeed,

women cannot share these informal, bonding practices where men use humour to reinforce the gender order even to women in senior management positions (Berger et al, 2015, Faulkner, 2009, 2007, Linehan, 2005, 2004, Linehan, and Scullion, 2008, vandenBrink et al, 2015, Bouty, 2000) which are gendered practices (Broadbridge, 2010).

Women managers are outsiders to gatekeeper "power networks" (Fischlmayr, 777:2002, vandenBrink et al 2016, Berger et al 2015), informally excluded from important, gatekeepers decision-making and, from informal allocation to career roles. The gatekeepers conduct 'hidden', discriminatory, informal selection practices in their networks (van den Brink et al 28:2006, Acker, 2012, 2006),which justify the invisibility of women managers for expatriate assignments and, promotion to partner in the elite PSFs. The expatriate literature confirms that, male senior management overlook women manager's for global client assignments using 'closed', hidden, informal selection processes (Harris, 1997), and roles are not advertised.

A "contacts culture" means a candidate must be 'known' by gatekeepers, with a demonstrable a 'track record' for work in the film industry (Wreyford, 88:2015). Gatekeepers justify these gender, race, and class exclusionary practices, by claiming high financial risks on the grounds of project failure rates (Wreyford, 88:2015). So, an 'outsider' without the social capital connections (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984) cannot infiltrate these gatekeeper networks for jobs despite their talent. Women managers without social capital connections (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984), cannot infiltrate these networks to build their requisite performance track record and, are invisible to gatekeepers (Acker, 2012, 2006, Tatli, et al. 2015) and promotion.

Notwithstanding, gender exclusion exists in all career stages despite formal diversity policies, because male-dominated gatekeepers tacitly exclude women from promotion in the PSFs (Sommerlad, 2012, Ashley and Empson, 2017).

Next, the male gatekeeper's misrecognition of women managers' cultural capital portfolio's for entry to the senior management field is discussed.

4.3. Women as 'outsiders' to the partner gatekeeper networks.

This section discusses the importance of social capital with gatekeeper networks for managers to successfully 'transition' to becoming a partner (vanden Brink et al, 2016), because their promotion is

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heavily reliant on gaining informal sponsorship from partner gatekeepers (Burt, 2004, 1998). Women managers face informal exclusion at all career stages in their careers, so for women just 'playing the game' by male rules is insufficient for them to gain career roles and, promotion. The male-dominated gatekeepers in their networks make the rules and promote informal norms, which privilege those cultural capitals which reproduce their own elite positions in the PSFs. Tharenou (124: 1999) argues women must work harder to network formally whereas men rely on "loosely connected networks", women openly, acknowledge their need for career sponsorship, but men do not talk about hidden sponsorship. Podolny and Baron (1997) confirm a sponsor must be powerful or, close to someone powerful to be of use, whereas less powerful sponsors who are supportive but without power are useless for women managers to gain promotion. Whereas powerful elite gatekeepers enable a closed "mentoring lineage" of sponsorship, where these gatekeepers protégés rise with them for the promotion into more senior roles (Gray et al, 155:2007).

Women face structural barriers for accumulating social capital with powerful gatekeeper's networks, which operate at elevated levels reflecting management hierarchy and professional grades. Women are disproportionately concentrated in low level support or technical jobs within IT and Engineering sectors (Truss et al, 2012, Sommerlad 2016). In these male –dominated technical, professions the gatekeeper networks which are more elevated and, difficult to access for women at the bottom of the hierarchy (Forsberg Kankkunen, 2015). Forsberg Kankkunen (2014) confirms in male-dominated engineering, the senior management networks are hierarchical and mirror management levels and professional grades. So, women struggle to accumulate social capital with the powerful gatekeepers, when as Gray et al (155:2007) state women managers cannot find "a structural bridge" or, a sponsor to access informal networks for support and promotion.

Women managers are 'outsiders' to these male-dominated, gate-keeper networks (Acker 2006, Bourdieu, 1986, 1984) making them invisible to partners for informal allocation to the large, global client assignments and for their promotion. Women manager's promotion chances are improved by working on the prestigious, client assignments (Kornberger et al, 2010), with opportunities for building social capital with partner gatekeepers and to demonstrate their cultural capitals for promotion.

Unfairly, women managers who are stuck in lower management levels (Sommerlad, 2012), struggle to access the gate-keeper networks and sponsorship for promotion (Grey et al, 2007). Yet, geographical "mobility" is crucial for women managers in lower management levels, to undertake expatriate

assignments and career progression to senior management. However, women with children not to geographically mobile and, face challenges carving out time for out of hours networking with gatekeepers in organizations (Ibarra, 1993, Fischmayr, 2002). Gatekeepers assess women managers as outsiders to the gatekeeper networks, as less worthy for informal, sponsorship and promotion (Linehan, and Scullion, 2008).There is a research gap concerning how hidden, informal sponsorship operates as a gendered practice for allocation to expatriate assignments and partner promotion in the PSFs?

4.4. The gatekeeper's misrecognition of women manager's cultural capitals for promotion.

This section argues elite gatekeepers in their networks (Bourdieu, 1991, 1977, 1986, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2011, Bourdieu, 1991) privilege those candidates who share their own "capital portfolios, disregarding women managers who do not fit with the existing partner profile (Carter and Spence, 974:2014, Bourdieu, 1986 Ashley and Empson, 2017).

The elite social classes reproduce their class dominance on the senior management boards in German and French MNCs (Hartman 2000), using informal networking to identify candidates who fit with their class and gender profile. Also, the shared class habitus is defined as, "the internalized form of class condition and of the conditioning it entails "(Bourdieu, 95: 1984). Women managers are not 'invited' to join senior management boards and, even those from the elite class judged a risk by elite, male gatekeepers (Hartmann, 253: 2000), because women do not fit the male-defined standards of appropriate dress or behaviours. Social class exclusion starts at graduate entry stage where gatekeepers privilege candidates from elite, Russell group universities for graduate positions in Banking and the Professions in the UK. These students are 40% privately educated compared with 7% of the wider population (Sutton Trust, 2009), chosen for the reputational capital which they bring compared to rival competitor firms (Ashley and Empson, 2017, 2013, Carter and Spence, 2014).

The elite, male-dominated gatekeepers 'misrecognise' the cultural capital portfolios of women managers, who without gate-keeper sponsorship are tacitly excluded from promotion (Sommerlad, 2012, Ashley and Empson, 2017, Riveria, 2012). These gatekeeper's networks offer career privileges and promotion to favoured candidates so, the" making and sustaining of personal bonds" cannot be overstated for allocation to the best client work and, promotion (Sommerlad, 2498: 2012). There is a

research gap, to identify the cultural capitals which gatekeepers in their networks, utilise to assess women managers as unworthy of informal sponsorship and, partner promotion?

Despite formal diversity policies, there is "a gendered class system" separating male-dominated partner gatekeepers from the rest (Pringle et al, 22:2017, Acker, 1990), where "old-boys networks" who share private school backgrounds are informally, allocated to the best client work and promotion. Whether or not women choose to recognise the existence of this class and gender barriers for partner promotion (Pringle et al, 2017). These elite, male-dominated gatekeepers disregard the cultural capital portfolios of women managers (Sommerlad, 2012, Ashley and Empson, 2017, Pringle et al, 2017) and, women managers without gate-keeper sponsorship are tacitly excluded as talent for promotion.

These social capital connections require network members to their share class habitus because, which acts as a proxy for knowing the unwritten rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984, 1977), and, allowing gatekeeper's networks to replicate class hierarchies. Which legitimates gatekeepers, informal exclusion of women, those of class or race, despite formal diversity policies in the elite PSFs (Ashley and Empson, 218:2017). Elite gatekeepers informally, screen out candidates without the cultural capitals or 'class markers' for promotion (Ashley and Empson, 2017, Sommerlad, 2012, Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, Rivera, 2012). Sommerlad (2489:2012) describes women professionals ignored by gatekeepers, who lack the "repertoire" of cultural capitals including elite education, speech, and dress codes according to "archaic class symbols" in the Legal PFSs (Sommerlad, 2012). There is a research gap, concerning how gatekeepers networks assess the cultural capital portfolios of women managers and identify the symbolic capital for partner promotion in the PSFs?

4.5. The hidden informal, selection practices in gatekeeper networks.

There is no reason to believe that gatekeeper's networks do not offer career privileges including promotion, to their favoured candidates rather than 'outsiders' of gender, class, and race in the PSFs. This section discusses the hidden, informal selection and assessment processes used by elite partner gatekeepers to identify candidates they see as talent for future promotion to partner positions.

The 'glass ceiling' (Kanter, 1977) perspective asserts as women managers ascend management hierarchies, they face increasing discrimination in organizations. Gorman (2015) confirms, serious gender inequalities exist in the selection and assessment processes used for partner promotion in the American Law firms (Gorman, and Kmec, 2009, Gorman, 2006). The existence of a formal preparation

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process for promotion to partner is disputed (Pinnington and Sandberg, 625:2013) and, the selection criteria for partner promotion is "opaque" (Pringle et al, 5:2017).

Partner gatekeepers rely on 'word of mouth' recommendations, privileging those candidates who possess social capital connections with gatekeeper networks for partner promotion (vandenBrink et al, 2016, 2006, Bourdieu, 1986, 1984). To be formally selected for partner positions by the male-dominated partner gatekeeper committees women, so managers must be "known" for successful partner promotion (Kornberger et al, 527: 2011,Gorman (2015) for their promotion to partner. There is an informal, hidden labour market which allows powerful, partners to "invite their chosen managers or, consultants to work with them" (Gorman, 40:2015). So, partners can informally select chosen consultants in their early career stages, and offer them the 'best' client projects to build their "track record" for promotion (Gorman, 40:2015, Gorman and Kmec, 1447:2009, Kornberger et al, 2010).

Women managers must evidence the cultural capital of revenue generation (Carter and Spence, 2014) and, substantial business development capabilities before gatekeepers see women as serious contenders for partner promotion, (Pinnington and Sandberg, 2013). Unless women managers are informally chosen by partners in their early career stages, given access to the best client work and, informal sponsors. How can women managers build the required cultural capital of revenue generation and a track record for promotion? There is a research gap concerning how women managers can develop an equivalent track record of revenue generation compared with men to legitimise their promotion in the PSFs?

Partner promotion involves an, "…informal process which precedes the formal selection criteria and assessment of competence…" (vandenBrink et al, 23:2016) by male gatekeepers who manipulate the formal selection criteria to excuse men's weaknesses and, 'play-down' women's strengths (vandenBrink et al, 23:2016). Exploratory research involving observations of assessment for promotion to senior management in: a Dutch PSF and a Swedish Bank (vandenBrink et al, 2016), found that gatekeepers (vandenBrink et al 2016), assessed the performance and competence of women managers as below the male managers. Gatekeepers utilised informal, hidden gendered selection practices (Martin, 2006) where the "ideal candidate" is by implication male, women managers are not assessed by gatekeepers according to the same standards as men (vandenBrink, 26: 2016, Acker, 2006).

It is hardly surprizing that, only a minority of women succeed for partner promotion (Ashley and Empson, 2017) given women lawyers must engage with "obligatory alcohol fuelled socialising "(Sommerlad, 2509:2012) which takes place in the informal networking forums where that gatekeepers informally allocate the prestigious client work and promotion. There is a research gap to explore how hidden work allocation occurs through powerful, gatekeeper networks which reproduces the existing gender, class, and race inequalities in the PSFs (Acker, 2006, Bourdieu, 1986, Alvesson, and Karreman, 2007, Alvesson and Robertson, 2006)?

However, global assignment are important for women managers careers because cross –functional assignments free women from job segregation (McGuire, 2000), by undertaking expatiate assignments women can overcome promotion blockages (Tharenou, 1999, Metz (2001). Hence, informal, hidden selection and networking processes conducted by the existing partners, are gender exclusionary for promotion to partner as confirmed by literature from Law and Accounting PSFs. The next section discusses the informal practices which promote gender exclusion from gatekeeper networks and, how invisible power relations perpetuate gender inequality in the elite PSFs.

4.5.1. The informal, hidden, selection and assessment processes for partner promotion.

This section discusses the hidden, informal, selection criteria and, informal assessment practices conducted in partner gatekeeper networks, used to identify candidates for client work and, which exclude women from partner promotion. The selection criteria for partner promotion is "opaque" according to Pringle et al, (5:2017) and, in reality partner promotion, involves an, "…informal process which precedes the formal selection criteria and assessment of competence…" (vandenBrink et al, 23:2016).

However, the male-dominated gatekeepers do not judge women managers by the same standards with men (vandenBrink, 2016, Acker, 2006), because women do not fit the "ideal candidate" which by implication is male (vandenBrink et al, 26:2016, 2006, Acker, 2006). These gatekeepers manipulate a formal, selection criteria by using 'gendered practices "(vandenBrink, 2016, Martin, 2006) so women managers performance and competence are assessed as being lower compared to men. The formal selection criteria for promotion is adjusted to 'fit' gatekeepers chosen candidate so, partners excuse men's weaknesses and, to 'play-down' women's strengths i.e. assertiveness as weaknesses (vandenBrink et al, 2016).

In the selection and assessment processes which are used for partner promotion by gatekeepers, there are hidden gender inequalities in the processes used by senior management in the American Law firms (Gorman 2015, Gorman, and Kmec, 2009, Gorman, 2006). Where an informal, hidden labour market and powerful, partners who control their own client projects "invite their chosen managers or, consultants to work with them" (Gorman, 40:2015). So, partners informally choose consultants for the 'best' client projects which means their chosen consultants can build their "track record" for promotion (Gorman, 2015, Gorman and Kmec, 1447:2009, Kanter, 1977). But, women managers must first prove their business development capabilities, otherwise women managers lack credentials with partner gatekeepers for their promotion (Pinnington and Sandberg, 2013). If partners do not informally choose women managers for client projects, then women manager's chances of building a business development track record are non-existent. A research gap exists concerning how women managers can develop their track record of client projects and, business development activities with client compared when women managers are not likely to be informally chosen by partner gatekeepers for allocation to the prestigious global client projects.

This questions whether a formal partner promotion process exists which is gender-neutral. Despite, partner committees making final promotion decisions, these committees are "male-dominated" (Pinnington and Sandberg, 625:2013). Unless, women managers possess strong, social capital connections (Gorman (2015) Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986, 1984) and, are "known" to the committee members they fail to gain partner promotion (Kornberger et al, 527:2011).

The partner gatekeepers utilise 'word of mouth' recommendations which privilege those candidates who possess social capital connections to gatekeeper networks for partner promotion (vandenBrink et al, 2016, 2006, Bourdieu, 1986, 1984, 1991). It is not incidental that, only a minority of women managers succeed for partner promotion (Ashley and Empson, 2017) when existing partner gatekeepers within their networks reproduce existing gender, class, and race inequalities in the PSFs (Acker, 2006, Bourdieu, 1986, Sommerlad, 2016, 2012, 2002). The partners are the elite who reproduce their own interests and reinforce their position of privilege through selection of candidates for promotion in the PSFs. The existing elite partners have minimal interest in changes have minimal interest in promoting transformational changes which rectify existing gender, class, or race inequalities for partner positions.

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Unsurprisingly, women managers are outsiders to 'old boy networks' in the professions. Women lawyers must engage in uncomfortable, informal networking practices with gatekeepers, based on "obligatory alcohol fuelled socialising "(Sommerlad, 2509:2012) to gain informal allocation to prestigious client work and for promotion. Women managers are outsiders to 'old boy networks which predominate in the professions. So, partner in their networks do not judge women managers by the same standards as men, because as women they cannot fit the 'ideal candidate' which is male. The hidden rationale which partner gatekeepers use for informally, separating their chosen candidates from others is a research gap in the gender literature about the PSFs. There is a research gap concerning how women are informally excluded from formal promotion by gatekeeper networks in the elite PSFs?

How can women managers overcome their position as outsiders to these gatekeeper networks? The requisite cultural capitals including symbolic capital which women must obtain to gain legitimacy with partner networks for promotion are discussed next.

4.5.2. Social capital and symbolic capital for promotion: Intersectional barriers of age and gender.

This section explores the intersectional barriers faced by women for promotion in the Universities and the PSFs. In particular, the academic promotion process to professor in universities, offers interesting parallels for understanding the requisite cultural capital portfolio for partner promotion and the gender barriers in the PSFs.

The formal professional career structure incorporates an invisible, informal gender and age threshold for partner promotion for women managers (Acker, 2006), who cannot undertake continuous, linear progression through multiple grades in the PSF (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, vandenBrink et al, 2016, 2015). Women managers suffer from intersectionality of gender and age, because the formal career structure operates as a gender hierarchy (Acker, 2006) in Academia and the PSFs. A important rule of the game is a manager must be promoted before they are forty years old in the PSFs (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, vandenBrink et al, 2016, 2015).Career capital is defined as, cumulative (Duberly and Cohen, 2010, Wacquant, and Bourdieu, 1992) and, unfairly those with cultural capitals can accumulate more, because despite agency structural barriers prevent some gaining access to career capitals. So, managers must invest their "domestic capital" by working outside of work hours for promotion (Duberly and Cohen, 194:2010, vandenBrink, 2016).

Women academics have lower promotion rates than men for professor in most academic disciplines in universities, where professorial gatekeepers use a 'closed', informal selection process according to research in the Netherlands (vandenBrink et al, 2006, Harris, 2002, 1997). These professor gatekeepers identify an informal 'list' of professorial candidates prior to any formal positions being advertised (vandenBrink and Benschop, 2014, vandenBrink et al, 2016). Even, a formal selection criteria is "tailored" by the gatekeepers to fit their chosen candidate's profile for promotion (vandenBrink et al. 536:2006), because the gatekeepers make subjective interpretations which are anything but gender-neutral (vandenBrink, 2006, Kirton and Healy, 2007). The gatekeepers apply their "discretion" and the selection criteria is fluid and shifting to justify their decision-making process for promotion (vandenBrink, 2016, Alvesson, and Karreman, 2007). For example, selection criteria such as academic leadership based on male-defined concepts is informally gender exclusionary.

The professors are key players and hold most power in the field so, as gatekeepers the professors make the rules which reinforce their own legitimacy and, allow them to allocate promotion privileges to a chosen few whilst informally excluding others (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986, 1984). During, the selection of candidates for promotion the gatekeepers choose the symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2011, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005) which signifies a candidate's eligibility for promotion (Docherty and Dickmann, 2009).

Male academics gain professorial promotion by evidencing their social capital (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986, 1984), from networking with existing senior professors during academic conferences. So, women academics like male academics, must accumulate their social capital to gain legitimacy with professor's networks, and evidence the symbolic capital of a track record of research grants (van denBrink, 536:2006) and find powerful sponsors (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989). Whilst, male academics find powerful, professors who are willing to sponsor them for promotion (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989). Unfortunately, for women academics access to the same powerful, male-dominated academic networks is not as open to them as 'outsiders' compared to men (Walby, 2011).

Therefore, developing social capital with powerful, gate-keeper networks and, obtaining a track record of academic publication is the symbolic capital which matters for professorial promotion in the academic field. Otherwise, the male professor gatekeepers disregard women who do not fit the logic of the academic field (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986, vandenBrink, and Benschop 2015, vanden Brink,

2006), because these women academics lack the cultural capital portfolio and credentials for entry to the academic field.

The domestic capital (Duberly and Cohen, 2010)investment is easier for men to make compared to women with family commitments because, women academics who take career breaks or work part-time, cannot accumulate social capital with powerful gatekeepers networks or, build their track record of publications. Women who cannot utilize their domestic capital due to their family responsibilities, are five to ten years behind their younger male competitors for promotion. But, women cannot catch up due to the time lost for accumulating the requisite cultural capital portfolios for promotion (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986, 1984, vandenBrink et al, 2014, 2016).

Women managers must recover their cumulative career capital losses (Duberly and Cohen 2010) by develop their social capital connections with powerful gatekeepers (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986, 1984, vandenBrink et al, 2014, 2016). However, gatekeeper networks are dynamic and power shifts, so the women academic who has been out of the game finds her social capital is out of date and the new powerful gatekeepers are unknown to her.

The rules of the game for promotion and the formal career structure does not fit the fragmented career pattern of many, women who undertaking flexible hours working arrangements, or career breaks in organizations. So, women academics cannot make career capital gains during their early career stages which matters most for promotion according to the field logic. If, the male-dominated gatekeepers see women over forty as 'too old' for the partner roles (Kelan, 2014) then, women must become invisible (Acker, 2006) for promotion in a formal professional career structure which suits men.

There is a research gap, to understand how intersectionality of gender and age in combination disadvantages women's career progression in the elite PSFs. To understand how, the gatekeeper exclusion from their networks, impacts on women accumulating the requisite social capital and symbolic capital in their early career stages for promotion to partner positions

4.5.3. Conclusion.

The preferred definition of social capital is not individualistic and transferable, but rather of relational collective capital resources which are shared within the partner gatekeeper networks. However, women are outsiders to male-dominated gatekeeper networks so, these networks are not as open to women

compared to men. Unsurprisingly, women managers are outsiders to 'old boy networks which dominate the professions, face gendered, informal class practices for access to client work allocation and legitimacy for partner promotion. An understanding of power relations is important to understand gender equality in the PSFs.

Unfortunately, women managers excluded from the male-dominated gatekeeper networks miss out on informal information, jobs referrals, and, promotion opportunities in organizations which is not accidental because powerful gatekeepers negatively judge women managers as unsuitable for expatriate assignments and for promotion.

Women face structural barriers for developing social capital and networks with powerful, male-dominated networks, which are hierarchical, with professional grades. Women without the social capital and networks with powerful gatekeepers, struggle to attract sponsors willing to invest in their promotion. But, the male-dominated gatekeepers make the rules, which reinforce the informal norms, privilege their own cultural capitals, and justify their own elite positions in the PSFs. So, why would the partner gatekeepers choose to sponsor or, even admit women managers for promotion to partnership?

There is an informal labour market and, informal selection process for partner promotion where partners identify their chosen candidates for allocation to client work and, career opportunities to work on business development projects to build a track record prior to formal partner promotion. Gatekeepers offer career privileges to those candidates who share their own cultural capital portfolios and class habitus, which legitimises the hidden, informal exclusion of the outsider, despite the existence of formal diversity policies in the PSFs.

If women are not informally, allocated to prestigious client work nor, given sponsors early in their careers, from gatekeepers in their networks, then how can women managers accumulate the requisite cultural capitals such as a track record of revenue generation for their promotion? Only, a small minority of women who managers succeed for promotion to partner levels, not surprising given the partner gatekeepers utilise informal selection, and talent identification practices, which reproduce the existing gender, class, and race inequalities in the PSFs A research gap concerns how partners informally, select and identify candidates as talent in their early career stages, to work on their business development projects in early career stages which is gender, race, and class exclusionary.

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The elite gatekeepers reproduce their class dominance on the senior management boards of German and French MNCs, privileging those who fit with the existing class and gender profile. But, women managers represent a risk for elite male-dominated, senior boards, because they do not fit dress and behaviour codes which suit male performance standards. Gatekeepers offer career privileges to candidates who share their own cultural capital portfolios, which legitimises the hidden, informal exclusion of the outsider despite the merit claim and the existence of formal diversity policies in the PSFs (Ashley and Empson, 2017).

Research confirms male professor gatekeepers use closed selection practices and, manipulate formal selection criteria making subjective interpretations about a candidate's legitimacy for promotion which are not gender-neutral. For promotion academics must develop social capital with professorial networks to gain powerful professorial sponsorship and, also the symbolic capital of research publications and research grants to gain legitimacy with these professors networks who recommend their promotion.

Women face intersectionality of age and gender in the formal professional career structure due to their career capital losses Career capital is cumulative and for women academics with partners and or children, working full-time and, outside of work hours i.e. domestic capital, to develop social capital with academic gatekeepers and accumulate symbolic capital by writing research papers and winning research grant bids for promotion in their early careers is not available to them. Women academics taking career breaks or working on flexible hours, fail to develop social capital with professor gatekeeper's networks by attending conferences, to accumulate a track record of symbolic capital i.e. credentials for entry to the academic field.

Women experience intersectional gender and age barriers competing with men for promotion because the formal professional career structure better suits men's career pattern. A rule of the game is that, professors must be promoted before forty years old. Whereas, women who are working on flexible hour's arrangements or returning from career breaks, are seen by gatekeepers as 'too old' for promotion to professorial positions. So, these women academics cannot recover their career capital losses because the time span to make good their career capital losses is too short compared with men who are ten years ahead of the in career terms. Women academics face a hidden invisible threshold of age which disadvantages their promotion despite flexible working practices.

This research is relevant for understanding gender inequalities for partner promotion in the PSFs. A research gap concerns identification of the symbolic capital which gatekeepers use to legitimate candidates entry to the senior field. There is a research gap concerning to understand how gatekeepers networks and the symbolic capital according to the logic of the field, disadvantage women managers for promotion to partner in the elite PSFs.

4.6. Global talent management, expatriate assignments and gender exclusion in the PSFs.

4.6.1. Introduction.

This section defines Global Talent Management (GTM), which is a contested academic field (Cerdin and Brewster 2014, Tarique and Schuler 125:2010).

A preliminary definition of GTM is, "…HR embedded business issues that focus on managing a firm, to ensure just the right amount of the right talent and motivation, at the right place, at the right price…" (Schuler et al, 507:2011, Lepak and Snell, 1999) in organizations. Alternatively, Resource-based HRM defines, "resourcing and development at the international level and the proactive identification, development and strategic deployment of high performing and high potential strategic employees on a global scale" (McDonnell et al, 151:2010,Farndale et al, 166:2010, Stahl et al, 2007,Wright et al, 1994, Wright and McMahan, 1992).

In theory, GTM identifies those employees with the potential to make differential contributions to organizations but, how this happens in practice is less clear. Talent is defined as "… tacit, inherently complex and difficult to measure because it… deals with potential rather than actual performance", which suggests senior management make predictions about individuals future performance and promotion which are subjective (Mellahi and Collins (147:2010). So, how the senior management identify managers with potential and, talent for future promotion is of interest in the PSFs.

Strangely, the expatriate and global talent management literatures are separate. Indeed, research confirms that expatriate assignments are not widely used as a talent development strategy for global leadership development (McDonnell et al, 2010, Beechler and Woodward 2009, Lewis and Heckman, 2006). This questions how the global HRM department as talent for allocation expatriate assignments (Beechler and Woodward 2009, Lewis and Heckman, 2006) can strategically identify candidates.

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The use of expatriate assignments as a talent management strategy for future global leaders seems logical for enacting talent management in global organizations. Yet, women managers are absent from expatriate assignments despite a global talent management shortage for managers with global experience. How do senior management make judgements about women managers' potential as talent for allocation to expatriate assignments and, for promotion to partner positions?

Business case diversity purports to maximise the contribution of talent management through team and organizational performance outcomes (Beechler and Woodward, (2009). However, research fails to confirm how gender diversity policies and global talent management practices are linked in organizations (Tatli et al, 2012c, Al-Ariss et al, 2014, Al-Ariss and Cowley-Henry, 2013). So, how does strategic HRM connect gender diversity, expatriate assignments, and global talent management processes in practice?

A research gap exists given women managers are a minority in expatriate positions, how does this impact on their future promotion to partner in the PSFs? The next section argues that, global talent management is an elite process, and explores the up or out promotion rule which justifies talent exclusion for the majority from promotion to the partner elite.

4.6.2. The elite global talent management process.

This section argues, GTM represents an elite, exclusionary process (Huang and Tansley, 2012) because a minority (6%) are identified as talent (Huang, and Tansley, 2012) which justifies the majority being excluded from promotion in MNCs (Huang and Tansley, 2012). Talent segmentation of a global elite (about 5-10%), who are 'A players' who are placed in talent pools for promotion to senior global roles in the MNCs (Lewis and Heckman, 150:2006, Cerdin and Brewster 2014, Collings, 2014, Collings and Mellahi, 2009, Cappelli, 2008), is a hugely divisive talent practice given the remainder of 'B players' are judged by senior management as"… lacking 'potential" who are condemned to career oblivion (Beechler and Woodward, 278:2009).

In reality, the global senior management at headquarters levels possess limited information about candidates for talent identification, given competing time demands and bounded rationality (Simon, 1979). Hence, senior management identify candidates from a limited, talent pool, using their own "personalized relationships" (Mellahi and Collings, 148:2010) and, networks for informal referrals (Makela et al, 2007). This favours the managers in the headquarters (Taylor, 2007), who are visible

being geographically and, culturally proximate to senior management (Mellahi and Collings, 2010, Makela et al 2010, Watts, 1999). So, a manager who is geographically "mobile" (McDonnell et al, 152:2010) and, works in "high profile international projects" (Makela et al, 139:2010, Williams, 2002, Garavan, 2012) gains visibility to global senior management to accelerate their promotion.

The expatriate assignment is a boundary spanning role (Harzing et al, 2016, Farndale et al, 2014, 2010, Makela 2007) offering managers' access to powerful, senior management and their networks for promotion. The social capital connections with powerful senior management enables expatriates to access career opportunities which are unavailable to managers remaining in their home country (Cerdin and, Brewster, 2014). Despite, some national cultures where informal norms and, customs judge women managers as inferior so, powerful, male-dominated senior management wont network with women managers. For example in China, the cultural concept of "guanxi" positions women as inferior, and outsiders in the senior management power hierarchy (Taylor, 349:2007).

Whether, women managers who work on the prestigious, larger client projects gain enhanced partner promotion opportunities is a research gap (Kornberger et al, 2010, Adler 1987). However, if women managers are not seen as talent by their senior management, and cannot rely on informal referrals for allocation to roles and promotion within the trusted senior management networks? The informal gender barriers for allocation to expatriate assignments and, promotion into global senior management partner roles are under-researched in the context of the elite PSFs. The next section explores the reality for women managers of the transition to partner in the PSFs.

4.6.3. The transition to partner: Gendered contradictions in the elite PSF.

This section discusses women manager's experience a tough transition stage for promotion because they don't fit the male-defined view of the ideal worker and, sponsorship is more elusive for women compared to men (Acker, 2006, Gorman, 2015, Kornberger et al, 2011, 2010, Acker, 2006).

The 'Cravath' system originated in American Law firms (Swain, 1946), where a minority of about 1-3% of the total population are promoted into the elite partner positions in PSFs. This 'up or out partner promotion is a crude talent management system promoting 'survival of the fittest' with annual turnover rates of 15- 20% for junior consultants (Pinnington and Sandberg, 2013). This promotion rule exploits consultants in their early careers by, cynically selling them the dream of partner promotion which for the majority is out of their reach (Careers, 2018).On the face of it, this high talent wastage for

management consultants and, high costs appears dysfunctional. However, graduate training and, salary costs for a junior consultant (£100,000), are paid back within three years of their post-qualification experience (Sommerlad, 2016). The human capital differences between a junior consultant and a newly qualified consultant are negligible so, lower level consultants are 'charged out' profitably, on the same rates in large numbers for client projects (Sommerlad, 2016). Partners see these lower-level consultants as substitutable talent given that new, cheaper graduate entrants are arriving to chase the partner promotion dream.

This up or out promotion rule is exploitative and contradicts the spirit of talent management. Women managers experience the harsh, reality of 'up or out' promotion during their 'transition' phase in the PSFs. Bourdieu's (1991) defines a rite of passage as "...a naturalised and legitimized version of social division… "where, a liminal threshold separates the managers who 'crossover' from those who don't for partner promotion (Kornberger, 517:2011, 2010). Hanlon (205:2004, 1994) concurs that women managers for promotion must fit a "…commercialised world view…" which is held by the male-dominated partners but does not specify what this means.

Women managers seeking partner promotion must 'fit' the elite, male-dominated partner hegemony (Anderson-Gough et al, 2006). Women managers face a "hostile…..environment "(Kornberger et al, 781:2010), because male dominated partners do not adapt to women managers needs despite the existence of formal gender diversity policies. Women managers must match male-defined performance rules (Kornberger et al, 2010, Acker, 2006) and, convince the partners they can "…outperform men… "(Kornberger et al, 2011, 784: 2010, Acker, 2006) to stand even a remote chance for promotion.

All managers must develop their social capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984) through networking with existing partner gatekeepers and, developing their client networks. But, existing partners utilize informal selection and, assessment practices, which are constructed using "class based notions of merit" (Sommerlad, 457:2012). Women managers without requisite cultural capitals and class habitus (Bourdieu, 1986), who are outsiders to the gatekeeper networks which justifies to the gatekeepers not granting women managers promotion. To succeed women managers must engage with the hidden, informal, "dark side of politics" (Mueller at al, 561:2011), to gain visibility to gatekeepers and find informal "advocates" for their promotion (Kornberger at al, 784, 2010).

It is naive to believe that talent alone is a sufficient criterion for partner promotion, given that partners utilize informal selection and, assessment practices. The gatekeepers assess women managers by utilizing a concept of talent which is gendered (Ashley and Empson, 2017, Carter and Spence, 2014) and, is constructed within a patriarchal framework (Kornberger et al, 2010). Ashley and Empson (2016). Research confirms there are formal performance appraisal procedures conducted by gatekeepers however, the gatekeepers allocate lower scores "… at all job levels..." to women compared to men in the PSFs (Ashley and Empson, 84:2016). This questions the reality of a formal, gender-neutral talent management process existing in the elite PSFs. It is argued that, women managers are *not* fairly, objectively, or equally against their male competitors for partner promotion.

Those women managers who are without the requisite cultural capitals (Bourdieu, 1986) are outsiders to the gatekeeper networks and, so gatekeepers informally exclude them from career opportunities and promotion (Sommerlad, 457:2012). Unsurprisingly, many women managers leave in huge numbers during transition stage prior to their partner promotion (Kornberger et al, 2010).Those women remaining outnumber men in lower level technical, professional positions (Sommerlad 70:2016, Williams, 2002), where client service demands high emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983, Sommerlad, 2016, Sommerlad and Ashley, 2015).

There is a research gap concerning informal gender barriers which prevent women managers gaining access to the large client assignments, and how these enhance their promotion prospects for partner? There is a research gap concerning how partner gatekeepers define potential, and what constitutes talent management states Sommerlad and Ashley, (2015)?

4.6.4. Flexible hours working and gender talent leakage.

The business case gender diversity model is "qualified" by bottom line profit, meaning the partnership won't let stated gender diversity objectives "disrupt client service and profitability" in the PSFs (Ashley and Empson, 81:2016). There is a contradiction between formal business case gender diversity and flexible hours working (Ashley and Empson 2013), and partner's willingness to informally, accept women working flexible hours in practice (Faulkner, 2009).

The powerful, senior management gatekeepers in the male-dominated cultures of the Science, Engineering, and Technology (SET) sector, are resistant to flexible hours working which legitimises "the leaky pipeline" of women professionals (Faulkner, 14:2009, 2007, 2001). Gender talent leakage

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occurs in the lower management and middle management levels (Magee, 2018), despite gender diversity policies and flexible working practices women equity partners are not increasing, casting doubt on the gender-neutrality of the partner promotion process in the PSFs (Pinnington and Sandberg, 2013).

Partner gatekeepers see women are as a "risk", who are not trusted as professionals unless they play by same male defined "rules" (Hanlon, 205: 2004). An unwritten rule of the game for partner promotion is sacrifice (Kanter, 1977, Bourdieu, 1986) where work commitments are "privileged" over family or private lives "(Pinnington and Sandberg, 622:2013). So, women must work full-time hours to replicate the same sacrifice as men or they are "written out" for partner promotion (Kornberger et al, 781:2010). Women managers must fit the un-encumbered male performance standard, and subordinate their private lives to their work demands for career progression (Acker, 2006, 2012).Indeed, women managers by working on flexible hours arrangements are breaching the informal professional norm of All-Hours Work (AHW) i.e. working beyond contract hours (Ozbilgin et al, 2011).

The partner gatekeepers regard work life-balance and child-care issues as "women's problems" (Pinnington and Sandberg, 617:2013) which belong in the private sphere not the public sphere of business (Acker, 2006). Gender diversity claims to offer women "a flexible use of time", is disingenuous argues Acker (149:1990), because senior management measure a manager's performance and contribution by their "face-time" in organizations (Acker, 443: 2006). So, women managers who work on flexible hours arrangements are signalling to gatekeepers their inability to match the unencumbered male performance standard (Acker, 2006).Hence, partner gatekeepers disregard these women because they are not meeting, identical performance standards to men (Ozbilgin et al, 2011, Acker, 2006, Hanlon, 2005).

Senior management hypocritically, present gender talent leakage outcomes as women managers making "an individual choice" to leave (Kelan, 796:2014). This presents women manager's withdrawal from competition with men for partner promotion as a voluntary act worse, the senior management are absolved from their responsibilities for gender talent leakage outcomes (Kelan, 2014, Tatli et al, 2015, Acker, 2006).Which ignores that, women managers leave due to clashes between career and personal constraints (Tatli, 2014, Acker, 2006). The uncomfortable reality is women working on flexible hours arrangements are assessed by gatekeepers as unsuitable (Kornberger et al, 2010, Muzio and Tomlinson,

2012, Ozbilgin et al, 2011) and lacking merit for promotion (Ashley and Empson, 2017, Sommerlad, 2016, 2012).

Unfairly, women on flexible hours arrangements are punished by the "fairness case" (Ashley and Empson, 80:2016) because senior management and peers value those who sacrifice their family lives for clients needs who are judged more deserving of rewards (Ashley and Empson, 2017). Yet, women managers working long hours are not respected as heroic breadwinners like men, women are either bad professionals or bad mothers with conflicting gender and professional identities (Williams, 2016, Williams et al 2013, Faulkner, 2009).

The business case gender diversity model assumes that gender talent retention facilitates a women manager's future promotion. But, if gatekeeper informal sponsorship facilitates partner promotion (Kornberger et al, 2011, 2010, Sommerlad, 2016, 2012) how does flexible hours working help women to gain promotion (Acker, 1990)? Whilst, senior management 'tolerate' business case gender diversity policies (Ashley and Empson, 2017) until, gender diversity jeopardises the profit imperative in the PSFs. So, how does the commercial logic which is integral for business case diversity fit with women working less hours whilst gaining promotion?

The business case gender diversity claim to offer women managers "a flexible use of time" is disingenuous (Acker ,149:1990), when senior management measure a manager's performance and contribution by their "face-time" (Acker, 443: 2006). To succeed for promotion women managers must fit the un-encumbered male performance standard in these gendered organizations (Acker, 1990) where employees private lives are subordinated to their unrelenting work demands (Acker, 2006, 2012,Muzio and Tomlinson, 2012, Ozbilgin et al, 2011). Women managers by not working beyond hours are signalling to partner gatekeepers, their failure to match unencumbered male performance standard (Acker, 2006).

On the face of it, gatekeepers tolerate business case gender diversity policies (Ashley and Empson, 2017) but only until flexible hours working jeopardises the profit imperative in PSFs. Hypocritically, senior management present gender talent leakage as women managers making "an individual choice" to leave (Kelan, 796:2014). Ignoring that, women managers leave because of the career and personal constraints they face (Kornberger et al, 788:2010, Tatli, 2014, Acker, 2006), and withdraw from

competition with men for partner promotion. Which absolves the male-dominated partner gatekeepers from having any responsibility for gender talent leakage (Kelan, 2014, Tatli et al, 2015, Acker, 2006).

There are gender barriers in the formal professional career structure which is hierarchical, meaning partner promotion requires linear, upward career progression through multiple grades (Pinnington and Sandberg, 2013).This could offer a rationale for male gatekeepers to pace women in support functions given their "feminine skills" (Clerc, and Kels, 208:2013). It is notable that, women outnumber men in the low level technical, professional positions (Sommerlad 70:2016), which require high emotional labour (Hoschchild, 1983). There is a research gap concerning the incompatibility of business case diversity and, gender talent retention involving flexible hours working for women's promotion to partner.

4.6.5. Conclusion.

The GTM literature takes for granted that the global HRM department implements talent management policies which identify candidates for expatriate roles and, for promotion as future global senior management. But, evidence does not confirm that expatriate assignments are part of a talent management strategy for future global leaders in the literature. Potential is a poorly defined concept in talent management literature, based on prediction of future performance which offers scope for subjective judgements made about women managers' potential as talent for promotion by senior management. Interestingly, for women managers working on large client projects is advantageous for their promotion, and women are the minority in expatriate assignments. Yet, women are the minority in expatriate assignments which requires research.

What are the informal gender barriers which prevent women managers gaining access to these large client assignments, and how might these enhance their promotion prospects for partner?

Talent identification is an elite and gender exclusionary process, because managers must be culturally and geographically proximate to the elite headquarters senior management, who use their informal networks for informal referrals, and to identify managers as talent who are worthy of future promotion. So, managers must accumulate social capital and networks with this elite senior management, and be willing to undertake expatriate assignments to accelerate their chances of promotion. Research confirms that women gain enhanced promotion opportunities from undertaking global, client assignments. But, where does this leave women managers not viewed as talent by their senior

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management, and who cannot rely on informal referrals from gatekeeper networks for allocation to career roles and promotion?

The 'up or out' promotion rule contradicts talent management given high talent losses in consultants at lower levels. The 'up or out' partner promotion rule legitimates the exclusion of the majority in favour of an elite minority in their early career stages, who are homogenous in gender, race, and class terms. This up or out rule is highly gender exclusionary, contradicts talent management, and legitimises women managers' invisibility as partners, and reproducing the elite partner profile.

An elite partner minority who are homogenous in gender, race, and class terms prevails despite the existence of formal gender diversity policies. The 'up or out' promotion rule is gender exclusionary , contradicts the spirit of talent management, and legitimises women managers' invisibility as partners, and reproducing the elite partner profile. So, there is not any incentive for the elite partners who succeed to make any gender diversity changes.

The majority of management consultants leave in early career stages yet, consultant training costs are paid for within three years and, lower level consultants on the client projects are profitable. Hence, elite partners see these management consultants in their early career stages, as substitutable talent not a talent loss. It is suggested, women consultants in early career stages are already, disregarded by the elite partners as not eligible for promotion.

The toughest stage for women managers is the 'transition' phase prior to partner, which is a rite of passage where women managers experience the severity of the up or partner promotion rule and large numbers of women leave the PSFs. To succeed for promotion women must outperform men and fit the commercialised reality in the PSFs. Women must develop networking relationships with partners for their promotion to partner .This not easy because male dominated gatekeepers don't recognise women as talent, because women do not share the requisite cultural capitals of the elite partner gatekeepers and are outsiders to the partner networks.

It is naive to think talent alone is a sufficient criterion for women to achieve partner promotion. Rather, talent is a gendered concept constructed in patriarchal context, which questions whether male – dominated gatekeepers judge women as talent for transition to partner promotion? How do partner gatekeepers define talent, and what are the informal gender barriers for women managers to gain allocation to global assignments and promotion to global partner roles? Moreover, talent leakage is a

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neglected in the context of global talent management literature, the next section discusses talent leakage in the PSFs.

If partner gatekeepers in their networks exclude women managers as legitimate talent, who do not share their cultural capitals, then how can women managers cross the threshold to transition to partner promotion?

Women academics suffer intersectionality of gender and age, because the professional career structure requires continuous, linear progression through multiple grades for promotion. Women managers or academics who are working on flexible hour's arrangements face an invisible, informal age threshold for promotion to partner.

A rule of the game is that professors must be promoted before forty years old after which, women returners are 'too old' according to male-gatekeepers. Women must invest their domestic capital by working full-time and, outside of work hours to accumulate social capital with academic gatekeepers in their networks, write research papers, and win research grant bids in their early career stages to gain gatekeeper recommendations for promotion.

But women after working flexible hours cannot recover their cumulative career capital losses. Hence, men are ten years ahead in terms of their career capital gains, whereas the gatekeepers see women in their late thirties as too old for promotion by partner gatekeepers.

This importance for women of investing their domestic capital in early career stages, by working full-time, and developing social capital with powerful gate-keeper networks to evidence a performance track record i.e. symbolic capital for entry to the senior management field are under-researched in elite PSFs.

4.7. The gender imbalance in expatriate management assignments.
4.7.1. Introduction.

This section explores, how the absence of women managers from expatriate assignments impacts on women's promotion to senior management in global firms. Expatriate Assignees (EAs) or Company Assigned Expatriates (CAEs) are, "managers and professionals who are sent abroad by their employer, who supports and funds their move to work an assignment temporarily for a pre-set periods of 1 -3

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years (Tharenou 161:2014). These CAE management assignments are company sponsored and are career preparation for women managers' promotion to partner positions in global PSFs.

A core argument of this doctorate is if women managers are not allocated to CAE management roles, they miss out on leadership skills and career development for promotion to senior management in global firms (Insch, 2008). These CAE assignments act as a career 'pathway' (Aguirre et al, 2012, Insch, et al; 2008) for entry to those talent pools from which senior management select, develop and promote future leaders in the MNCs (Brewster et al; 2014, Festing et al. 2014, Cole, 2011). These CAE assignments act as a career 'pathway' (Aguirre et al, 2012, Insch, et al; 2008) for entry to those talent pools from which senior management select, develop and promote future leaders in the MNCs (Brewster et al; 2014, Festing et al. 2014, Cole, 2011).

Firstly, the gender profile of the CAE management positions are summarised. Secondly, the reasons women lack of legitimacy with their senior management gatekeepers for allocation to CAE assignments are outlined. Thirdly, the informal selection process for allocation to CAE assignments is described. Fourthly, how women managers are not informally, selected for CAE assignments by gatekeepers, can use their own agency to instigate SIE assignments is explored.

Women are "strongly underrepresented… in comparison to men…" for CAE management positions claim Salamin, and Hanappi, (2014:344) in the MNCs (Tung, 2004, Tungli, and Peiperl, 2009, Varma et al, 2011, Waters, 2015).A CAE assignment incorporates strategic implementation, knowledge transfer (Brewster, 2014), and global leadership in the MNEs (Harzing et al. 2016, Hocking et al. 2007, Edstrom and Gailbraith, 1977). A manager is someone, "…who in one way or another, and to varying degrees, coordinate and control the behaviour of others…." (Wajcman, 4: 1988, Drucker, 1968). The expatriate literature discussed comes from the International Human Resource Management (IHRM) field and, global staffing defined as, "…a distinctive set of integrated HRM policies, and practices which are designed to suit the range of different types of expatriates, and assignments used in global organizations..." (Collins et al, 209:2007, 2006,2010, 2009, Scullion et al, 2007, Scullion and Collins, 2006, Scullion and Brewster, 2001, Perlmutter, 1969, Harzing et al. 2016, Hocking et al. 2007, Scullion et al, 2007).

The gender imbalance in CAE management positions is a taken for granted reality in the expatriate literature. Women managers are the minority of expatriates (Fischmayr, 2004, Tharenou, 2015, 2013,

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2010, Vance, and McNulty, 2014). The expatriate position is a male, white construction which excludes 'outsiders' such as women and those of colour (Berry and Bell (2012). Male-dominated, senior management hold gendered assumptions which undermine the legitimacy of women managers for allocation to CAE management roles (Tharenou, 2015, Insch et al, 2008, Altman, and Baruch, 2013, Shortland, 2015, 2011, Selmer, and Leung, 2003). These gendered assumptions fit with the unencumbered male performance standard (Acker, 2006, 2004), where traditional social norms position men in the breadwinner role (Hearn et al, 2008, Acker, 2006) with a wife or partner who devotes their entire time to taking care of their private lives. Women managers don't fit this 'ideal candidate' profile (Salamin, and Hanappi, 2014, Shortland, 2015), for CAE management assignments (Shortland, 2015, Hucthings, et al, 2012, Harris, 2002).

This gender imbalance is not incidental, rather CAE assignments mirrors the gender hierarchy (Acker, 2006), of women being a minority for promotion to partners positions in the PSFs. Women managers suffer from low legitimacy with their senior management for allocation to CAE roles combined with high invisibility (Acker, 2006) for their promotion to partner positions. Women are only 25% of the CAE population (Global Mobility Trends Survey, 2016), growing slowly from 24% in 2014 (Brookfield, 2016, 2014 Salamin, and Hanappi, 2014, Tharenou, 2013, Elborgh-Woytek et al 2013, Fairchild, 2015, Gripenberg et al, 2013, Shortland, 2016,2015; 2011, Dabic et al, 2015). Less women managers are married/partnered (19%) whereas, more men are married/partnered (49%) (Global Mobility Trends Survey, 2016). Single men are (22%) surprisingly, there are less single women (10%) in CAE roles (Global Mobility Trends survey, 2016). Most men are aged from 30 to 39-years-old (31%), and women are 24-29-years-old (38%) (Global Mobility Trends Survey, 2016), suggesting women are in junior roles, compared to men in middle or senior management roles.

Gender power relations are unequal at senior management levels and, a hidden, gender sub-structure (Acker, 2006) legitimises women from manager's absence from CAE assignment which justifies their invisibility from senior management (Acker, 2012, 2016, 1990, Tatli et al 2014, Kashima, 2015). (Tung, 2004). Senior male managers prefer to select and promote those like themselves (Mellahi, and Collings, 2010, Tatli et al, 2012, Tatli, and Ozbilgin, 2012) and CAE roles are labelled as male (Calas, 2014, Acker, 2012, 2006). This gendered assumption justifies to male -dominated senior management the absence of women managers from promotion to senior management in global firms. Notwithstanding, the gender imbalance is an unacceptable waste of female talent despite improvements in women's education and training in developed and developing countries (Tatli et al,

2012, Dickmann, and Baruch, 2011, Tung and Haq, 2012). A research gap exists concerning whether these gendered assumptions of male dominated, are transferred when senior management make decisions about promotion for women to senior management levels in global firms.

The expatriate position is a male, white construction which excludes 'outsiders' such as women and those of colour (Berry and Bell (2012). Male-dominated, senior management hold gendered assumptions which undermine the legitimacy of women managers for allocation to CAE management roles (Tharenou, 2015, Insch et al, 2008, Altman, and Baruch, 2013, Shortland, 2015, 2011, Selmer, and Leung, 2003). These gendered assumptions fit with the unencumbered male performance standard (Acker, 2006, 2004), where traditional social norms position men in the breadwinner role (Hearn et al, 2008, Acker, 2006) with a wife or partner who devotes their entire time to taking care of their private lives. Women managers don't fit this 'ideal candidate' profile (Salamin, and Hanappi, 2014, Shortland, 2015), for CAE management assignments (Shortland, 2015, Hucthings, et al, 2012, Harris, 2002).

4.7.2. Gender 'myths' held by senior management: Women managers' legitimacy for CAE management assignments.

The gender imbalance in CAE assignments has a long history, where persistent 'gender myths' give male-dominated senior management license to overlook women managers in preference to men for these assignments (Dickmann and Docherty, 2008, Strohl et al, 2000, Kollinger 2005, Insch, 2008, Hearn et al, 2008, 2004). Adler claims, powerful gender 'myths' allowed male-dominated senior management to claim woman managers 'choose' *not* to take expatriate roles (Adler, 1987, Fischlmayr, 2000, Collings et al. 2007).

Surprisingly, women managers experience "...back home bias..." from their senior management in headquarters, who adopt "…gendered assumptions…" about women working in foreign cultures (Paik and Shon, 2004, Paik, and Vance 69:2001, Stroh, et al, 2000, Harris, 1997, Adler, 1987, 1984). Male-dominated senior management purport to protect women managers from suffering discrimination by "foreigners" and, claim women managers are poor performers in expatriate assignments (Brewster et al. 2014, Brewster et al. 2010, Festing, et al, 2015, Hutchings et al, 2012, Tung, and Caliguiri, 1999). Tung (2004, 1998) disputes these unproven, gender myths stating women managers demonstrate

'…cultural toughness…' performing well in countries with high cultural distance from the parent-country (Altman, and Shortland, 2001).

The low levels of women managers in CAE assignments contradict earlier optimistic claims that globalization (Adler, 1987), would bring women more CAE positions (Harris (2002, Linehan, and Scullion, 2001 a & b). Despite affirmative action policies in the USA (Acker, 2006, Powell, 2015), and equality legal frameworks in the European Union, the gender imbalance in CAE assignments is stagnant. The expatriate literature confirms that having a powerful senior management sponsor from headquarters, gives a women manager acceptance with the host management in their expatriate assignments (Shortland, 2009, Linehan, 2005, Tungli, and Peiperl, 2009, Foster, 1999). But, gaining sponsorship is more difficult for women managers due to the lack of women at senior levels (Linehan, and Scullion, 2008, Kanter, 1977).

The expatriate management assignment represents important career development for women managers in their early, or middle career stages, to learn global competences and, gain strategic leadership skills for promotion into global senior management roles.

4.7.3. The informal selection process used by senior management for CAE assignments.

This section explores the informal selection or allocation of staff for CAE management assignments in the expatriate literature. Powell and Butterfield, (2015, 1994) differentiate between a "…job-relevant criteria…" i.e. education qualifications and, a "…job-irrelevant criteria…" such as gender, race (69: 1994, 2015). To expect the use of a formal selection criteria in selection to result in fair, objective gender, race and class selection outcomes is reasonable (Powell and Butterfield (2015, Powell, and Butterfield, 1994, Acker, 2006, Sommerlad, 2016, 2012), because an informal selection process (Acker, 2006, 2012 Noon et. al, 2013) is neither gender, class or race neutral but is highly subjective without a formal, written criteria.

Good selection practice (Guest, D. (2010), purports to find the 'best person' for a job which is underpinned by the merit claim defined as, "…emphasising the objectivity and measurement of excellence…" (vandenBrink and Benschop, 508:2011). However, merit is not a gender-neutral construct, merit involves subjective judgements by the elite senior management with the power to

decide who are included and, excluded for roles and promotions in the PSFs (Ashley and Empson, 2017, Acker, 2006). If merit is included in selection criteria nevertheless, this incorporates assumptions which are socially constructed about excellence in performance, therefore can be gendered, classed, and raced, for example a graduate entrant from an elite university (Kirton and Healy, 2009).

The expatriate literature confirms an informal selection process which is reactive, un-planned, driven by urgency to fill a position (Brewster, 1991, Collings et al. 2007, Brewster, 1991, Collings et al. 2007) and occurs unpredictably, at short notice (Halcrow, 1999). Docherty and Dickmann, (2009), state that technical competence comes first, before cultural competence, or interpersonal skills despite, the costs of high expatriate attrition rates (Collings et al 2007, Anderson, 2005, Tung 2004, 1998). A selection criterion for CAE management roles is the candidates "willingness to go" (Tungli, and Peiperl, 160:2009, Hofbauer, 2004). Shortland (2016) and, urgency to fill CAE management vacancies makes senior management unwilling to invest resources in expatriate selection or expatriate performance evaluation (Hu et al. (2010).

Most shockingly, informal selection relies on 'word of mouth' (Hutching et al, 1777:2012, Hu et al, 2010), which is shocking given 'word of mouth' selection is notoriously unreliable, subjective, and anything but gender neutral. Senior management informally allocate staff to CAE management assignments and as confirmed by the expatriate and sociology literature, and the senior management use a 'closed' informal selection process (Harris, 2004, 1999, Dabic et al. 2015). Thus 'closed' informal selection defined as, "….subjective and often, unstated criteria for assessment, with minimal systematic evaluation …. " (Harris, 193: 2002), with judgements made according to the informal 'reputation' of usually a male manager by senior management (Harris, 192:2002, Crawley, et al. 2013).

Senior management choose candidates from an internal pool (Linehan, and Scullion, 319: 2001, Harris, 1997, van den Brink, et al.2006), using a 'closed' selection process (Harris 2004, Harris 1992, Harris and Brewster 1999, Brewster, 2015, Brewster, 1991) outside of the global HRM department. Expatriate roles are not internally advertised, which suggests a reliance on informal referrals by the senior management (Cole, 2011, Berger et al 2015, vandenBrink et al 2016, Van der Brink and Benschop, 2011, Hearn, et al, 2008).

Whilst, expatriate literature acknowledges the gender imbalance in CAE management positions (Shortland, 2016, Brewster, et al.2014, Lyness and Thompson, 2000, Harris, 1997), but a critique of how informal, selection process used by senior management influences women managers career

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progression is missing (Santoso, and Looseman, 2013, Sebastian and Harzing, 2011, Seak, and Enderwick, 2008, Global Mobility Services, 2016, 2014, Brewster, 1991). The informal selection process for CAE assignments used by senior management, bypasses the formal gender diversity policies (Harris, 1997, Paik and Vance, 2001, 1998). The gendered assumptions used by male-dominated senior management acting as gatekeepers, during informal selection for expatriate assignments are transferable to other situations, where senior management assess women managers for promotion. The male-dominated senior management as the elite, hold the power to decide the valued cultural capitals (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2011, Bourdieu, 1991), which reproduce their own advantages through privileged cultural capitals and, exclude women as 'outsiders' for expatriate and senior management roles.

However, CAE assignments offer women manager's career opportunities to accumulate social capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984) and, to extend their senior management networks which are not available in the lower management levels (Hanlon, 2004, Gray et al, 2007, Granovetter, 1973, Makela and Suutari, 2009, Burt, 2000, 1997, 1992). This allows network members to participate in what is effectively an internal labour market to gain access to privileged career benefits and promotion (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984, 1977). So, without CAE management experience women managers face cultural capital deficits (Duberly and Cohen, 2010, vandenBrink, 2015, Linehan, 2000) for their entry to the senior management field (Bourdieu, 1991, 1986, 1977). Women managers undertaking a CAE assignment can accumulate social capital and, symbolic capital which signifies their eligibility for future promotion (Docherty and Dickman, 2009). There are research gaps concerning how women can accumulate their social capital and, what is symbolic capital gained during CAE assignments (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, Tatli, and Ozbilgin 2012) to accelerate their promotion to partner roles in the PSFs.

4.7.4. Defining the Self-Initiated Expatriate (SIE).

This section defines Self-initiated Expatriates (SIEs) who are an increasing presence in global staffing (Anderson and Biemann, 2013, Collings et. al 2007 Al-Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013, Brewster, 2015, Vance, and McNulty, 2014, Altman, and Baruch, 2013, Myers et al, 2017).

Earlier, definitions of Self-initiated Foreign (SIFs) working on tourist holidays, to gain unique cultural experiences and, self-development (Myers and Pringle, 2005, Anderson et al, 2014, Myers and Pringle

2005), suggests 'privileged' people from the developed world using their own agency to travel (Bourdieu, 1986, Wacquant, and Bourdieu, 1993, Bourdieu, 1991, 1986). This pursuit of individualised, self-actualization (Ajzen, 669:1999) reflects class and cultural privileges, because not everyone possess the economic capital to fund their own SIF assignments (Al-Ariss, and Ozbilgin, 2010, Al-Ariss, 2009, Bourdieu, 1986).

To prevent "contamination" (Tharenou, 158:2015) where multiple definitions of SIEs refer to different expatriate types (Andreson et al, 2014, Selmer and Lauring, 2012). An SIE is defined as, "managers and professionals who…. on their own initiative…..expatriate to search for a job abroad, self-fund their expatriation without organizational support…likely for a year or up to a decade, for career, professional, lifestyle, cultural and personal reasons…employed on a host-country contract….." Tharenou, 161: 2015, 2013, 2010).

Until recently, the Organisational SIE (OSIE) which is defined as a manager who "... instigates their SIEs assignments…" (Tharenou, 161:2016, 2015)", but with sponsorship and support from senior management in the same organisation was absent from the literature (Tharenou, 2015). The OSIE is sub-divided into, Intra-SIEs who apply for vacancies in a single organization or, Inter-SIEs who are mobile between organizations (Andreson et al, 2307:2014, Farndale et al, 2014, 2010). By contrast, managers and professionals who "... instigate their SIEs assignments using their initiative within their existing firm" (Tharenou, 161:2016, Andreson et al, 2014, Farndale et al, 2014, 2010) are under-researched in the expatriate literature. For clarification the research scope of this doctorate does not include migrants.

A common theme of the SIE is acting on their own agency as opposed being transferred by an organization (Al-Ariss, and Crowley–Henry, 2013), they must "…pay for their own repatriation" (Tharenou, 73:2010) and, are, "...hired on a contractual basis (Selmer and Lauring, 667:2012, Collings et al, 2007, Tharenou, and Caulfield 2010). There are "welfare risks" for SIE assignees due to (Farndale et al, 212:2014) their unequal power relationship with senior management who demand maximum temporal flexibility and, cost reductions. The skilled immigrant (SI) faces career disadvantages from a geographical transfer (Tharenou, 2014) even when highly educated (Al-Ariss, and Ozbilgin, 2010, Al-Ariss, 2009) because their cultural capitals are not recognised in the new field. However, this doctorate research does not include migrants.

Women managers face different constraints compared with men for career progression to global careers in senior management (Al-Ariss, 2009) which are neglected in expatriate literature (Al-Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013). Women managers transferring with their partners and families on CAE assignments, experience clashes between work and private demands such as managing their own expatriate adjustment and, the adjustment of their partners and children (Linenan, 2005, 2000). Thus short-term assignments of six months or less, are more difficult for women managers with families compared with men who have a non-working partner (Harris, 2002). The demands of expatriate manager role even for men transferring without their partners and families, requires their working 24/7 which impacts on their family lives (Cappellen and Janssens, 2010). So, for women matching the unencumbered male performance standard which demands their total time commitment is seriously difficult whether they are married or with children (Acker, 2006). It is taken for granted in the expatriate literature, that women traditionally become the 'trailing spouse' or follower of their male partners careers to the detriment of their own careers (Shortland, 2016, 2009, Gray, 2007). The 'Dual –career 'situation is defined as a couple who are equally committed to their full-time careers (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985) however, the demands of sustaining global careers and private lives for dual career couples in short-term assignments are underexplored (Shortland 2016, Harris 2004).

There are "welfare risks" for SIE assignees (Farndale et al, 212:2014) because their power relationship is unequal to the organization, and senior management seek cost reductions to gain maximum temporal flexibility in short-term assignments. Indeed, short-term assignments of six months or less, allows the manager minimal time to prepare their family arrangements, and is presumed difficult for women managers with families (Harris, 2002). Women managers who travel with their partners and families on assignments, experience double work and domestic demands from handling their own expatriate adjustment, and those of partners and children (Linenan, 2005, 2000). There is research gap regarding conflicts between career and domestic demands of SIE assignments, for women managers, especially those in dual-career situations or with children? It is recognised women professionals face constraints in their global career choices compared with men, however, because there are less SIE women in research samples (Al-Ariss, 2009) means their experiences are overlooked (Al-Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013). This is an important research gap.

The next section explores whether women managers who use their own agency to undertake SIE assignments, can access an alternative career progression route to senior management. There is a research gap concerning how useful SIE assignments are for women to gain promotion?

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4.7.5. Women managers using their agency to instigate SIE assignments: Cultural capital gains or losses for promotion to senior management?

This section continues to discusses how omen managers using their individual agency to instigate SIE assignments, can enhance their promotion prospects for senior management in the PSFs. To explore whether, women managers by undertaking SIE assignments, can accumulate the cultural capitals to accelerate their promotion to senior management? So, can women managers in SIE assignments, gain equivalent career capital compared with the majority of men working in CAE assignments?

Managers who build their social capital with senior management in CAE assignments, gain access to the inter-organizational networks, for informal information and referrals (Dickmann et al, 2016, Reiche et al, 2009, DeFillipi, and Arthur, 319: 1994). However, SIE assignments (Altman, and Baruch, 2013, Vance 2005) may not be equivalent to CAE assignments which are coordination and control roles for promotion purposes (Edstrom, and Gailbraith 1977). Women working in CAE management assignments gain access to senior management networks which are both structural and relational i.e. interfirm (Brewster et al, 2014, Burt et al, 2013), which matters for their promotion. It is questioned whether networks are available to SIEs who are working in a different organization, though some claim that "short-term assignments are less disruptive to individuals because they don't lose their home career networks" (Farndale et al, 208:2014).

There is a research gap concerning the career capital gains and losses (Duberly and Cohen, 2010), made by women managers who undertake SIE assignments ?Is the SIE assignment an alternative career option offering cultural capital accumulation for women managers who cannot otherwise gain access CAE assignments? Can women use their individual agency to instigate SIE assignments, and gain promotion on their return?

4.7.6. Conclusion.

This section explored how the male-dominated senior management choose not to offer women manager's expatriate assignments which are important for their career preparation for promotion to senior management in global organizations (Anderson and Biemann, 2013, Vance, 2005, Tharenou, 2010, Vance, and McNulty, 2014). If women managers miss out on expatriate management assignments women managers lack the requisite cultural capitals (Duberly and Cohen, 2010,

vandenBrink, 2015, Linehan, 2000) for entry to the senior management field (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986, 1977). This matters because women managers during expatriate assignments can accumulate social capital and, networks which signifies their eligibility for future promotion (Docherty and Dickman, 2009). There is a research gap concerning how career opportunities to accumulate social capital and, networking occur during CAE assignments? Also, whether these assignments accelerate women managers' promotion to partner roles in the PSFs?

The selection process for expatriate assignments is informal, ad-hoc and hidden, because this informal, closed selection process is enacted by senior management outside of the global HRM department (Harris, 1997, 2004). Which strongly suggests that senior management rely on informal selection and referral process, and can sidestep the formal gender diversity policies (Noon et al, 2013) which could be important for understanding the gender imbalance in CAE assignments.

Definitions of the SIE assignees compared to the CAE expatriate in expatriate literature do not consider the gender imbalance. SIF expatriates are a narrow group, of young middle class people who possess the economic capital, and cultural capital advantages (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984), to work overseas (Crowley-Henry, 2012). By contrast, according to the expatriate literature those working in SIEs are interested their own personal development not career progression.

A neglected area of research regarding women managers career development and promotion into senior management, and whether are SIE assignments an alternative career option (Tharenou, 2015, 2013, 2010)? For women managers does a SIE position offer equivalent career capital gains compared with undertaking a CAE assignment? The male-dominated senior management choose not to offer women managers these CAE assignments which are argued to be are important for managers to gain career preparation for promotion to senior management in global organizations (Anderson and Biemann, 2013, Vance, 2005). If women managers use their own agency to instigate their SIE assignments, could these assignments facilitate their promotion to senior management (Tharenou, 2010, Vance, and McNulty, 2014)?

If women managers use their agency to instigate SIE roles, can they accumulate equivalent cultural capitals, and gain promotion into senior management (Tharenou, 2015, 2013, 2010)? Whether women managers during their SIE experiences, accumulate equivalent social capital and networks with senior management compared with CAE assignments under researched (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989)? There are

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research gaps concerning the career capital gains and losses which women managers make during their global assignments (Duberly and Cohen, 2010), such as social capital and networks with senior management and, women's promotion on their return?

5. Chapter Five: Research Methods.

5.1. Introduction.

Firstly, this research methods chapter describes the ontology and the epistemology of critical realism adopted in this Doctorate. Secondly, there is a description of how critical realism as an ontology is combined with the chosen feminist epistemology of intersectionality. Thirdly, the research design and research methods used to investigate the research topic which is exploratory are discussed. Fourthly, the conceptual framework which is proposed to answer the research questions is set out.

There are common characteristics which define the ontology of critical realism (Bhasker, 2002, 1988, 1975, Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993, Archer et al, 1998). However, Adaptive Theory (Layder, 1998, 1993), is chosen because this incorporates a multi-level approach which combined with the relational concepts of cultural capitals and, the field analysis of Bourdieu (1991, 1989, 1986, 1984, 1977, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2011, 2005, Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012) enables a multi-level approach which incorporates macro-level and micro-level analysis to explore the research topic.

Adaptive grounded theory (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993) based on different levels of analysis fits with the research ontology of critical realism because it recognises the importance of both structural patterns at macro-level yet, incorporates an interpretive approach which fits the feminist epistemology to reveal why women managers' lack legitimacy with their senior management from allocation global projects, and their invisibility for promotion to partner positions in the elite PSFs. The choice of research ontology to answer the research questions is justified next.

5.2. The Research Ontology.

Research ontology questions what is reality and, the epistemology is utilised to examine the relationship between the inquirer and known (Lincoln and Guba, 2000, 1985). The ontology of critical realism differs from positivism (Kuhn, 1962, Merton, 1967) and rejects the 'successionist' view (Hume, 1888) which seeks to discover regularities during scientific observations of contiguous, and

measureable variables. A different logic underpins critical realism which is retroduction, shifting from observation and lived experience to identify the underlying structures and generative mechanisms to gain an understanding of social phenomena (Bhasker, 1988).

A defining feature of critical realism is that reality exists independently of our knowledge, hence "…elements of the social world which exist regardless of our current state of knowledge…" (Mutch, 328:1999, 2007, Bhasker, 1988).There is stratification of ontology which consists of three domains of reality: the real, the actual, and the empirical (Sayer, 12:2000, Bhasker, 1975, McEnvoy and Richards, 2006). Critical realism acknowledges causality, or a 'contingent causality' (Smith 2006), where generative mechanisms explain but cannot predict occurrences in the open systems of social science. Critical realism describes generative mechanism however, there are methodological challenges arise given the logic of 'retroduction' offers minimal guidance for research methods (Bygstad et al, 2016).

Adaptive theory (Layder, 1998, 1993) promotes an ontology and epistemology which overcomes the duality between structure and agency, by combining a recognition of structural barriers which act as 'generative mechanisms', and an in-depth understanding of the subjective interpretations using a multi-level approach (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993). This is relevant for the research topic because interpretive research methods are important to explore individual gender exclusion. Notwithstanding, there are structural barriers which contribute to the wider picture of gender discrimination which individuals may not be aware of. These contextual factors including history and power structures which impact on the individuals at meso and macro levels must not be ignored. So, a "layered and textured nature of social reality" (Layder, 27:1998) with the different levels of research analysis is employed to investigate the presence of power relations which characterise the reality of relationships between people "…… due to historical processes…emerged forms of domination and control based on group possession ….of valued resources "(Layder, 153: 1993).

Adaptive theory (Layder, 1998, 1993) overcomes analytical dualism not by selecting either objective or subjective research ontologies, which privilege the research study of either structural issues or individual agency (Layder, 1998, 1993). Adaptive theory by exploring the interplay between the different levels of structure and agency (Archer, 1995, 1998), attempts to overcome the analytical dualism by rendering structure and agency as interdependent rather than dependent elements (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2011, 2005).

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In summary, critical realism offers the best of both worlds by combining a realist ontology with an interpretivist epistemology (Bhasker, 2002, 1988, 1975). Critical realist ontology using adaptive theory (Layder, 1993) overcomes the dualism between structure and agency (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993) and examines the space where interplay occurs between structure and agency (Ozbilgin et al, 2011, 2005). Adaptive theory asserts that reality is multi-layered and the different levels of analysis incorporate both structural patterns and individual interpretations at macro, meso, and micro analysis. The research design includes pluralistic research methods including the case-study method, qualitative semi-structured interviews and in-depth interviews, memoing, observations, secondary statistics and a research journal (Layder, 2012, 1993, Bhasker, 2002, 1988, 1975) to capture these research levels to answer the research questions.

This section continues the discussion about the analytical dualism between structure and agency. A relational approach is proposed, which situates the individual in relation to the wider social relations and context, to eliminate the incorrect separation between agency and structure.

5.2.1. The Relational approach.

The conceptual frame which includes cultural capitals and analysis of the senior management field (Bourdieu, 1991a, 1989, 1986, 1984, 1977), is chosen to operationalise the relational approach and, are important for understanding how the senior management i.e. partners in their networks and their collective capital resources interconnect with individual actions and the power structure of the senior management field.

The senior management field is relational, and how individual agents engage in competitive position taking to accumulate their social capital, cultural capital and economic capital, are determined by the positions which the agents gain in relation to those at the apex of power(Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005). The senior management field is dynamic, and the allocation of capitals within the field are inherently unequal (Bourdieu, 2001, 2000, 1977). These concepts of capitals, habitus and field analysis, provide a power framework, to explore how the partner gatekeepers in their networks choose to confer legitimacy on chosen candidates for allocation to global projects and for partner promotion in the PSFs.

Ozbilgin and Tatli (867:2005) state that field analysis exposes "… those power relations which are rooted in different levels and forms, and go underneath the visible structures to find the "surface-level indicators" (Ozbilgin, 2011, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005, Bourdieu, 1991b). These concepts of cultural capitals and field analysis (Bourdieu, 1991a, 1989, 1986, 1984, 1977) highlight how social capital

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connections in networks are converted into collective cultural capital resources i.e. economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, Bourdieu, 1991 (a) 1991 (b), 1986, Swartz, 2003, Wacquant, 2013, 2005, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

To answer the research questions, it is important to identify the symbolic capital defined as the capital which confers recognition and status,"…to the holder due to its scarcity and value" according to the logic of the field (Bourdieu, 245:2006). Bourdieu (1986) confirms there is a disguised relationship between social capital and symbolic capital convertible into the legitimate forms of cultural capital. Therefore, to find the symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989) used by senior management to confer the candidate with the credentials for entry i.e. partner promotion according to the logic of the field, matters because symbolic capital is key to the deployment of other forms of capital (Ozbilgin, 2011, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005, Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986). Therefore, analysis of those capitals which are valued by the partner gatekeepers such as symbolic capital, helps to expose those hidden, informal practices used by gatekeepers for selection and assessment of candidates for promotion, which are gender exclusionary and undermine women managers' legitimacy for entry to the senior management field

The gatekeepers networks are male-dominated and represent the existing status quo, they have power to identify which are the valued capitals such as symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991a, 1989) which confers legitimacy for manager's transition to partner promotion in the senior management field. Notwithstanding where informal processes of selection, assessment, and promotion is enacted through hidden informal networks these reproduce the existing gender and race inequalities in organizations (Acker, 2006).

Women managers lack legitimacy with their senior management for their informal allocation to global assignments according to the expatriate literature. Whether this translates into women managers lacking legitimacy for their informal selection and assessment for partner promotion is under-researched. Tatli and Ozbilgin (2012a) explore how gatekeepers legitimated the exclusion of candidates, who did not fit the gatekeepers criteria for social capital and cultural capital associated held by themselves as privileged white middle class gatekeepers in the Arts and Cultural sector (Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012b). What are the credentials which the powerful gatekeepers use to confer their chosen candidates with legitimacy for partner promotion and to identify what is the symbolic capital or the legitimate competence (Ozbilgin, 2011, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005) which candidates must possess to

gain recognition from the gate-keeper networks according to the logic of the field? To explore whether the symbolic capital sought by the gatekeeper's networks represents a gendered competence, which informally precludes women from gaining entry to the senior management field?

This feminist epistemology by adopting the concept of intersectionality which identifies multiple levels of discrimination across gender, race, and class (Acker, 2012, 2009, 2006) facilitates a working relationship between critical realism and feminist epistemology for the research design of this PhD study.

In summary, the critical realist ontology and epistemology which utilises adapted theory (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993) to explore the research topic which is enhanced by using a relational framework of concepts which incorporates intersectionality, cultural capitals, and field analysis (Bourdieu 1991, 1989, 1986, 1984, 1977).

5.3. Research epistemology: Feminist insights on knowledge and power.

This section discusses the choice of a feminist epistemology to meet the research aim of the PhD study. Epistemology is defined as, "…a theory of knowledge (Letherby, 4:2003) ….which involves a consideration of the relationship between the knower and the known…" Skeggs (77:1995) argues feminist research begins with the important, two assumptions that reality is unequal and, hierarchical in western society.

Firstly, the researcher explains how a feminist epistemology rejects the positivist epistemology used in science, and recognises the relationship between knowledge and power relations historically, situates women in an inferior position within male-dominated science and, also the professions. Secondly, a feminist epistemology which advocates qualitative research methods is suitable to answer the research questions. Thirdly, chosen feminist epistemology presents the justification for using qualitative researcher methods to answer the research questions.

For clarification the researcher does not adopt the feminist writing convention of "I", not because she does not resist the knowledge claims based on objectivity and distance expressed by traditional academic 'authority' (Morely, 1996). The reasons for this omission by the researcher, is she has dyslexia and dyspraxia, and chooses to minimise problems with construction of grammar in writing the PhD study.

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A feminist epistemology fits with the ontology of critical realism (Bhasker, 2002, 1988, Sayer, 2000, Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993), because this epistemology recognises power relations, and seeks to identify those hidden generative mechanisms which are a route to explaining causal relationships and values the insights from interpretive qualitative research methods. The two logics which underpin critical realism of, "retroduction to identify and analyse causal powers and find generative mechanisms, and reinduction which studies the multiple causal forces which function in open systems" (Bhasker 68:1988).

Some feminists express concerns about contradictions between critical realist ontology and the deconstruction of the gender category present in intersectionality (Walby, 2012, Gunnarsson, 2017, 2011). Walby et al (2012) confirms that, critical realism provides the ontological depth (Bhasker, 1975, Archer, 1995), which is important to study gender inequalities within the existing social relations. The chosen feminist epistemology incorporates intersectionality to answer the research questions and seeks to operationalise inequality regimes (Acker 2012, 2006, 2004, 1990). So, critical realist ontology which acknowledges (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1994) power relations is combined with the relational approach (Bourdieu, 2006, 2004, Ozbilgin 2011, Ozbilgin, and Tatli, 2005) which enables exploration of research questions at different levels of analysis: macro, meso, and micro. This connects with the critical realist ontology used in this PhD, of adopting adaptive theory because reality is layered at different levels including macro, meso, and micro levels (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993).

5.4. Towards defining a feminist epistemology

The positivist research ontology disregards feminist 'knowing' (Oakley, (2000 a&b), as confirmed by Hume (1888) who saw science as an exclusively a male preserve. Aristotle (384-322 BC) reiterates that '…between male and female, the former is by nature superior and ruler, the latter inferior and subject…" (Grimshaw, 37:1986). Feminist epistemology rejects the positivist ontology which purports that scientific research is neutral, objective, and value free (Letherby 2003, Harraway, 1997). It is disputed that causal laws are discovered objectively, using deductive or quantitative research methods, because data categories are not value free, and nor are research outcomes free from the political interests of those conducting or financing the research (Oakley, 2000). Feminist epistemologies reject the positivist ontology and the use of deductive research methods, dispute that scientific research is neutral, objective, and value free (Letherby 2003).

There is not one feminist epistemology because feminists do not speak with a single voice, it is recognised that "female oppression varies in both nature and degree, and it is simplistic to assume that all women identify with each other on the basis of gender alone"(Letherby,46: 2003, Hughes, 2002, Morley, 1996). Notwithstanding, feminist research practice (Maynard, 1994) shares emancipatory research goals where by exploring power relations and, giving voice to those who are marginalised which facilitates transformation and action (Oakley, 2000a & b,1981, Letherby, 2003). Walby et al (2012), confirms that critical realism is compatible with a feminist epistemology for researching gender inequalities, which are defined as "intersecting inequalities which are neither additive or mutually constituted "(Walby et al, 235:2012). A feminist epistemology is relevant to answer the research questions and, to understand how the hidden power relationships of the dominant group i.e. male partners in their gate-keeper networks operate and how these gatekeepers utilise their hidden, informal selection, assessment, and promotion practices to undermine women managers' legitimacy for partner promotion in the research site of the PSF.

McCall (2005) suggests three different ways to develop categories for researching intersectionality. Firstly, an intra-categorical approach removes all categorization, and focuses on social groups at their intersections. Secondly, anti-categorical deconstructs all analytical categories. Thirdly, inter-categorical accepts existing categories to assess inequalities among social groups, and links these to wider structural inequalities (McCall, 2005). Nash (2008) affirms there are challenges finding a research methodology to explore the different intersections of race, gender, and class discrimination.

The researcher does not follow a feminist ethnographic research methodology (Bryman and Bell, 2015, 2007), given she could not participate in the knowledge bases of the different professions within the research sites. Additionally, the ethnographic approach does not accommodate multi-level research analysis (Layder, 1998, 1993). Moreover, the time line to undertake ethnography did not fit the research methodology. Nevertheless, the adaptive grounded theory approach (Layder, 1998, 1993) gives the researcher methodological freedom to utilise ethnographic methods for example in-depth interviews. The researcher utilises in-depth interviews of the research participants, the techniques of memoing and writing up of field notes which are ethnographic as part of the research design.

The researcher utilises two in-depth case studies, secondary statistics, and qualitative research methods of semi-structured and in-depth interviews to explore what is hidden informal gender practices under the surface (Ozbilgin 2011, Ozbilgin, and Tatli, 2005) which undermine the legitimacy of women

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managers with male-dominated gatekeepers in their networks for the selection, assessment, and promotion to partner positions in the PSFs. These points are discussed further, in the research design section 5.5.

In summary the researcher utilises the critical realist ontology of adaptive grounded theory (Layder, 1998, 1993) with the relational approach of Bourdieu (1991, 1989, 1986, 1984, Ozbilgin, 2011, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005) which combines an understanding of the wider structural inequalities in context and a feminist epistemology and the feminist epistemology including intersectionality as defined by Acker (2012, 2009, 2004) to explore power inequalities which are gendered, raced and classed in organizations.

This relational approach using the concepts of capitals, habitus and the senior management field are important to understand why women are the minority in partner positions and how hidden informal practices used by the gatekeepers in their networks, undermine women managers legitimacy for promotion to partner positions in the PSFs.

5.5. Research design.

Research design is defined as "…a flexible set of guide lines that connect theoretical paradigms first to strategies of inquiry, and second to methods for collecting empirical material "(Denzin, and Lincoln, 36:2003). This section justifies the research design chosen, and justifies how the chosen research methods for answering the research questions.

5.5.1. Adaptive Grounded Theory.

This section explains the research rationale for adopting the Adaptive Grounded Theory methodology to answer the research questions (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993). General theory is defined as, "schools of thought, and networks of ideas, that are associated with particular authors, and which are defined within disciplines of social science" (Layder, 39:1998).

Adaptive Grounded Theory or (AGT) is defined as, "attempts to combine an emphasis on prior theoretical ideas using models which feed into, and guide research while at the same time attending to the generation of theory from the ongoing analysis of data" (Layder, 19:1998). This is the preferred research design strategy to answer the research questions because, AGT allows the researcher to acknowledge the existing theory, whilst utilising multiple research methods which facilitate being open
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to emerging data findings which do not fit the existing theoretical explanations. Otherwise, the research process represents an "arbitrary severance" which closes off the value of using existing theory for data analysis Layder (77: 1998).

The relationship between theory and data is central to AGT, and there is a "dual influence of extant theory (theoretical models) as well as those that unfold from (and are enfolded in) the research" (Layder, 133:1998, 2012). This fits with the research aim of extending theory, by utilizing an interactive process between theory, and data at different levels of research investigation (Layder, 1998). It is disputed that, anyone is entirely devoid of prior theoretical assumptions and, enters the research field without any preconceptions. Layder (1998) advocates, the interaction with prior theoretical concepts to allow the emerging data to adapt with and be shaped by existing theories during the research process (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993).

By contrast Glaser, and Strauss, (1967) dispute the use of prior theory (general theory) in research, in favour of theory and data emerging inductively during the research process, nevertheless, Glaser (2:1978) argues that "generating theory and doing social research are two parts of the same process". This grounded theory approach requires the researcher must enter the field, without a hypothesis or any research questions (Birks and Mills, 2015). Indeed, the writing of a formal literature review is delayed until after data-collection, to prevent the researcher from imposing their existing theories and contaminating their research findings (Birks and Mills, 2015). The inductive data gathering process is intended to promote theory development according to the classical grounded theory scholars (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), and must be understood within its time and context, where sociology scholars espoused theories but without any empirical investigation (Parson, 1956).

Grounded theory does not advocate preliminary research questions to direct the field study, because during the research process the researcher (Birks and Mills, 2015, Hood, 2007) identifies these research questions. Theory is defined as being, "…….plausible relationships proposed among concepts or sets of concepts……….."(Strauss, and Corbin, 279:1994), and theory surfaces "….within the interactive context of data collecting and data analysing…. "(Strauss, and Corbin, 279:1994, Gibson and Hartmann, 2014).

Whether classical grounded theory actually facilitates novel theory development is contested, due to the claim that theories must emerge inductively ignoring the value of "analytical frameworks a priori"

(Timmerman, and Tavery, 167:2012). Indeed, classical grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) adapts existing theories and integrates them into the research findings as a means of developing new theories suggest Kovacs and Spens, (2005). Therefore, grounded theory methodology does not rule out the examination of the prior literature, "...if a researcher is exposed to prior theory and uses a partial framework that is reasonable, what is to be avoided are having pre-conceived ideas..." (Gibson and Hartman, 34:2014). Strauss and Corbin (1990) agree that researchers benefit from using prior theory, so long as the interactive process of theory generation and data gathering occurs during the research process.

The research design involved an initial reading of prior literature and a pilot study, which fits with using AGT to obtain a preliminary set of concepts and research questions to begin the research data-gathering process (Layder, 1993). These preliminary research questions are a guide not as a rigid framework, to avoid constraining the emerging data to make it fit with prior theories (Layder, 1993). The AGT methodology encourages pluralism by utilising multiple sources of data (Layder, 1993, Bhasker, 2002, Mutch, 2007, 1999) and research methods, to answer the research questions as distinct from strict methodological conventions associated with positivist and, even interpretivist ontologies and epistemologies (Sayer, 2000). Indeed, AGT (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993) offers the researcher freedom to include ethnographic research methods (Van Mannen, 1988, Layder 2012, 1998, 1993) including field notes, memos, and observations to capture and explore emerging data themes occurring at different research levels.

These mixed research methods give the researcher better opportunities to capture, corroborate and to triangulate the data during and, after the "dynamic, emergent aspects of social activity (Layder, 12:2012). The adoption of mixed research methods to examine interplay between different research levels (Layder, 1998) fits with the research strategy ." Relational perspectives to social research in organizational settings do not propose closure to the spectrum of methods that can be used to investigate relationality among individuals and organizational phenomena. Rather, they suggest that the way these methodological approaches are used, should be informed by a relational orientation which reflects an awareness of the interdependencies between individual, organizational and contextual phenomena" (Ozbilgin and Vassilopoulou (158 2018). Therefore, any reliance on a single data source which potentially weakens the explanatory power of the research is discouraged (Layder, 1998).

The choice of AGT offers validity and rigour for answering the research questions because this methodology differs from classical grounded theory (Glaser, and Strauss, 1967) and recognises the value of using a preliminary conceptual framework (Layder, 1998). Notwithstanding, this conceptual frame is preliminary and not intended to operate as a rigid framework. Additionally, AGT offers the freedom to combine research methods such as ethnographic in-depth interviews (Van Mannen, 1988, Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993) and to examine secondary data i.e. government statistics, company reports.

In summary, the researcher seeks to overcome the analytical duality between objective and subjective research ontologies (Layder, 1998, 1993). By selecting a critical realist ontology which advocates that objective and subjective epistemologies are interrelated and need not be separate (Layder, 1993) because they are recognised to be "interdependent not dependent" (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 619: 2011, 2005, Tatli et al, 2014). The adoption of AGT, gives the researcher the flexibility to recognise the usefulness of existing theory, whilst being open to emerging data which does not fit existing explanations. This offers a plurality of research methods which enables the researcher, to access a multi-level analysis to incorporate analysis at macro, meso, and micro levels, to answer the research questions. The research design includes the following research data-sources: secondary published data to examine the macro level, two in-depth company case-studies to examine the macro and meso levels, and qualitative methods i.e. semi-structured, in-depth interviews (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993). The next section outlines and discusses the design of different research methods to investigate the research topic.

5.6. The case study method

This section explains the rationale for the inclusion of the case-study method in the research design, to answer the research questions for this Doctorate. For clarity, the individual unit of analysis refers to the research participants who are embedded units in the two case study organizations which offer an appreciation of the similarities and differences in culture and context.

The case study research method (Yin, 2012,2003) is not selected to achieve generalizability from statistical sampling, but to achieve theoretical sampling (Eisenhardt, 1989) by exploring the units of analysis in their own the context. Yin (2012, 2003) defines a case study as a research method which is useful for investigating a phenomenon in its own unique context (Miles, and Huberman, 1994). The case study method (Yin, 2012, 2003) corresponds with the use of a preliminary theoretical frame, and

adopting the multi-level research ontology, because the case study explores the units of analysis of the individuals who are women and male partners, managers or key informants within the context of the PSFs (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993)

The case study method (Miles, and Huberman, 1994), supports the validity of defining a conceptual frame and, confirming initial research questions (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993). The researcher adopts a preliminary but by no means a fixed (Layder, 2012) conceptual frame, and also preliminary research questions from gaps in literature which are used to design the semi-structured interview and which is piloted in advance. The research aim of the Doctorate is to extend theory using "analytical generalization," (Yin, 32:2012), but is not using sampling generalization or a replication logic, which does not fit the research ontology and epistemology.

Whilst, the individual case is the unit of analysis for the research study these cases are embedded in their organizations at meso-level and at the sector macro-level of the PSFs. This contributes to gaining a wider contextual understanding of the PSFs. This supports the research ontology as the rationale for undertaking a multi-level study (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993), with research goals of gaining research data about individual experiences and interpretations and, examining the wider structures and patterns within an institutional context. Nevertheless to capture emerging qualitative data themes during the on-going research process, the researcher used in-depth interviews based on emergent themes from the data analysis (Layder, 2012, 1998).

 Yin (2003) affirms that sampling more than a single case-study, offers more opportunities to make comparisons between the data collected (Yin, 32: 2003, Eisenhardt, 1989). The two case study organizations are chosen as extreme cases from the SET sector, because these are gendered research sites where women scientists, engineers and IT professionals are a minority in the senior management levels. The gender imbalance at senior management levels persists despite pressure on the UK government to encourage gender equality i.e. CASE (2014), and the presence of formal gender diversity policies in the PSFs. The selection of these as extreme cases offers opportunities to understand the challenges to gender diversity transformation, and the informal gender barriers which restrict women managers' career progression and promotion.

The two in-depth case study organizations are allocated the acronyms of GC and GE. One case study organization is a huge, global PSF, with headquarters registered in America and, the second case study

organization is a smaller privately owned global PSF with headquarters registered in the UK. Both of the case study organizations compete for client project business across the globalised sector of science, technology and engineering (SET) in the UK and Europe. The research sample sizes of the key informants at senior management levels who are interviewed from these two case study organizations, and wider institutions located in the UK and Europe, offer the researcher a large data sample of qualitative research to answer the research questions. (Please see Appendix 8). The researcher faced budget constraints for the costs of travel and technology to visits the participants for interviews, which she absorbed.

5.7. Research methods.

This section outlines the use of qualitative interviews as the main research instruments for exploring the research topic and answering the research questions.

The research design excludes the use of a quantitative structured interview format which does not fit the research epistemology, as the researcher does not know the research participant's views in advance to design the research interview. The qualitative interview method is chosen for gathering inductive data which secures the research participants unique descriptions of their feelings, and experiences (Lincoln, and Guba, 1985, Blumer, 1954).This qualitative interview format is preferred to allow the researcher to probe the research participants answers and, to explore the research participants tacitly understood, but not openly articulated thoughts, to probe the hidden, rules of the game which are used by senior managers to succeed and negotiate their competitive position in the senior management field. The two stages of qualitative research interviews, include both semi-structured and in-depth interviews, which are designed to answer the research questions.

5.7.1. The qualitative research interview.

Feminist researchers such as Oakley (58:1981) rejects the positivist, "scientific" approach to interviewing   objectivity, in favour of the feminist interviewing style which generates "openness, engagement and the development of a potentially long lasting relationship", Oakley, (49:1981) asserts that "there is no reciprocity without intimacy". The feminist research interview seeks to understand the person being interviewed, as well as getting their interview questions answered (Reinharz, 1992).This interview process is characterised by the interviewer relinquishing their power to the interviewee by not using predesigned questions (Oakley, 1981).

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The feminist interview is not the chosen interview method for these reasons, an attempt to gain intimacy by becoming friends with the participants, does not with fit the research goals given the power dynamics between the researcher and the senior management research participants are sharper, hidden and complex to negotiate. Of importance for the qualitative interview process and design, in the situation of interviewing powerful senior management is to recognise the existence of 'reverse power relations' (Easterby-Smith et al, 2008a, 2008, b, 2002, Daft and Wiginton, J. 1979).Senior management are masters at using management rhetoric, which disguises their own thoughts or feelings wherever these do not fit with the dominant group of which they are members as the status quo, and reinforcing the power hegemony in their organizations. Senior management are a powerful group who are in control of, and can access the most valuable resources i.e. money and people from the elite senior management (Acker, 2006, Letherby, 2003:5).

What is relevant from the feminist interview approach (Oakely, 1981), is the importance of gaining the interviewees trust, where the interviewer develops, and demonstrates their personal integrity. The research practice of using qualitative interviews are selected to uncover those hidden meanings and interpretations which lie behind what the powerful, senior managers are willing to say, and the challenging task of probing underneath the surface of the interviewee's responses (Kuale, 1996). In order to, create a dialogue process during the in-depth interviews, the interviewer practices self-disclosure, but in stages, so the interviewee does not feel overwhelmed and "self-censor" their answers (Reinharz, 1992). The researcher seeks a dialogue process, and she has a relevant background in senior management which are useful for developing trust but she does not underestimate the subtlety and sensitivity which is required to handle these interviews with powerful senior management.

5.7.2. The use of memos and field notes.

At the end of every research interview the researcher found somewhere to sit down and write her field notes and memos within one hour of the interview, which required a lot of discipline especially when travelling or conducting two or three interviews during a day which is extremely tiring. However the effort of writing up the field notes and memos were highly worthwhile for the data gathering, and research data analysis.

This data from field notes and memos helped to capture immediate impressions about an interview, which enabled the researcher to ask questions and reflect on the themes from the emerging data. This

research data from field notes and memos, contributed enormously to the iterative data-gathering process and promoted reflexivity during and after the research process.

All of the field notes and memos are dated timed and situated to record the place of data-gathering and to capture the research context this evidence of research rigour in practice. The researcher cited field notes and memos which corroborated with other research data findings during the iterative research analysis and data-gathering phases of the research process. These field notes and memos helped to facilitate the 'dialogue' during the research process of going back and forward between the preliminary conceptual frame and generating emerging concepts from the data-analysis and the literature (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993, Sayer, 2000, Strauss and Corbin, 1998). These field notes and memos provided important data in their own right, and combined with other data-analysis i.e. interviews, secondary data, gave the researcher opportunities to be reflexive during the data-gathering, data-analysis and during the research write up stages of the Doctorate.

5.7.3. Research journal.

The researcher began keeping research journals as a research method, to fit with the research ontology of critical realism and to encourage plurality of research methods according to the research design. Layder (2012) asserts a research log, differs from a diary because the purpose is to reflect on all aspects of the research process, which includes "the research problem, design, sample, coding and analysis "(20).

This enabled the researcher to gain wide representation of data (Bhasker, 2002, Sayer, 2000) and research rigour, by asking questions about the data, to connect the data-gathering and data-analysis stages during the research process. The research journal is helpful at all of the different stages, to promote reflectivity during the research process. The research journals provided research data to cite and, also to triangulate my research findings during the research process

These research journals were useful for 'memoing' (Layder, 2012, 1993, Miles and Huberman, 1994, Strauss, and Corbin, 1990, Glaser, and Strauss, 1967, to capture the researchers ideas and insights which have emerged during the research topic and the research process including data analysis (Schon, 1983). The research journals acted as a forum for developing research themes (Miles and Huberman, 1994, Silverman, 2003), and for the researcher to question and record the research process, whilst actively moving between the complexity of data-gathering, research analysis, and theoretical concepts.

5.8. Triangulation of the research methods.

The plurality of research methods is a mechanism for the triangulation of research data, because different research methods subject the research findings to scrutiny, where further research questions assesses the explanatory power of generative mechanisms against existing theoretical frameworks (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993). The researcher triangulated research data using this pluralistic approach to data collection (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993, Bhasker, 2002, Sayer, 2000) comparing qualitative data from interviews, observations, memos, and research journals to promote reflexivity and also the use of secondary statistics (Robson, 2002). Data triangulation is facilitated by the research data and, the research methods collected over different time periods (Easterby-Smith, 2008, 2002). The researcher recognises the value of combing different methods, counteract the mutual strengths and weaknesses to offer wider insight to the research topic (Easterby-Smith et al, 2008a, 2008b, 2003). This triangulation of different research methods enhances research rigour (Easterby-Smith et al, 93:2002), and validity which contributes to the authenticity of the final research outcomes.

The secondary data utilised involves quantitative statistics from annual reports and public documents, because internal company documents (Stein and Urdang, 1981) were subject to confidentiality agreements although provided to the researcher by the HRM Directors as 'gatekeepers' (Easterby-Smith et al. 2008a, 2002).This documentation evidenced gender segregation at the different management levels and, identified the structural patterns of gender representation in the case study organizations. The HRM gatekeepers named these internal documents as confidential and, the researcher could not use these statistics for her thesis, which was very unfortunate as these statistics were of significance for meeting the research aim.

The researcher sought company reports i.e. annual reports and written company policy documents i.e. diversity policy. Whilst, public documents present a specific view i.e. powerful rhetoric or a public relations image which are conveyed to the wider public by organizations. However examination of this secondary data using content analysis is not relevant for the research design, because it requires data categories to be prescribed and a framework list in advance of the data-gathering (Easterby-Smith et al, 2003). Whilst the researcher gathered public data such as company reports and professional association documentation nevertheless, she took a critical view.

5.9. Research Ethics

The researcher is committed to providing written feedback in the form of a written report and a verbal briefing if requested to all the participating case study organizations. Notwithstanding, the data from all research participants and research sites are treated in the strictest confidence, in accordance with the Ethical Research policy of Brunel University.

Acronyms are used for all organizations participating in the research project, and the research data from the project is for the researcher's academic thesis. The researcher treats all research participants ethically, and with confidentiality to match the requirements of Brunel University's Ethical Research Policy.

A research invitation with a description of the research aims and its justification is emailed to research participants in advance of their interviews. The researcher explains to all participants that they have the right not to answer questions if they chose not to in accordance with the Brunel University Ethical Research policy. At the beginning of each interview research the research aim of project is explained to participants (Bryman, and Bell, 2007) and their 'informed consent' is gained, and their signature to the consent form used according to the Brunel University ethics policy. The real names of research participants are not used in this PhD research, to protect identities of all parties. All data is anonymous, confidential, and there are not any files shared with other parties.

All interview conversations are tape recorded subject to permission of participants, using audio recordings which are transcribed verbatim in word. Nevertheless, if any participants refuse to be taped the researcher relies on her own written notes.

5.10. Data collection.
5.10.1. The pilot study and gaining research access for the PhD study.

During the pilot stage of the initial data gathering process, the researcher used informal interviews to explore constructs from the initial literature review (Please see Appendix 1. For Pilot Interview questions).

The pilot study was exploratory enabling the researcher to enter the field and develop initial research constructs (Bryman and Bell, 2007), used to design the semi-structured interview schedule. The

researcher conducted informal interviews with key informants which included HRM Directors, who are important gatekeepers for research access. The pilot stage proved invaluable for gaining an understanding of the research site of the PSF.

During the pilot interview stage of the research process, the knowledge gained from key informants in the field informed the researcher's decisions about building a conceptual framework. The research constructs became refined, "….to explain ….graphically or in narrative form….the key factors, constructs or variables- and presumed relationships among them…"(Miles and Huberman, 18:1994). This was invaluable for designing research instruments i.e. interviews.

An important finding from the research pilot indicated that the HRM directors where 'partially' involved in the informal selection and nomination processes for allocation of candidates to CAE management assignments. The final and most powerful decision-makers in the selection and nomination processes were the partner gatekeepers. This is an important finding because the majority of research studies from the expatriate literature, focusses on the HRM directors as the important key informants in the research samples. However this pilot study gained data directly from the partner gatekeepers who hold the most power to make the final decisions as the key informants. The research data-gathering gained a wider representation of senior management, as well as the HRM directors.

The pilot study allowed the researcher to describe the research project to the key informants, and to their gain agreement to being involved in the research project. The pilot interview stage helped the researcher to reflect on how the research topic, and its presentation to the organizational gatekeepers i.e. global HRM directors and, senior directors whose sponsorship is essential for gaining research access to their organizations as research sites for the Doctorate. The term sponsorship for the research project refers to a commitment by the gatekeepers, to provide access to informants for the research project, but does not refer to any financial sponsorship or payment towards the costs of the research.

The pilot study included six organizations whom the researcher approached by email letter, using an introduction from a professional colleague from a local branch of the Chartered Institute of Personnel. The researcher is a member of this professional association for HRM directors and, she worked voluntarily on the committee of this local CIPD branch. In total during the pilot study the researcher spoke to senior HRM directors and a Chief Executive, in three PSFs, a 'Not for profit' organization, an airline company and a University.

The researcher chose the research sites which are the PSFs, because this sector is under-researched in the expatriate literature which mainly focuses on the MNEs. Additionally, to answer the research questions these are relevant research sites, women professionals join as graduate entrants in almost equal proportions with men. Notwithstanding women represent a minute minority (10%) at the partner levels, despite formal gender diversity policies which are publically supported by their senior management. Moreover, government funding and support goes into higher education and schools i.e. STEM, to encourage gender equality in the Science Engineering and Technology (SET) sector. So why despite women managers who enter in almost equal numbers at graduate entry stage, still a minority at the senior management or specifically partner levels in these global PSFs?

The researcher obtained these intermediaries who held the power, to gain the initial introduction to the senior management gatekeepers, (Easterby-Smith, 2008a, 2002), who were able to secure the sponsorship for research access to conduct the research study which required permission at the highest senior management levels. The whole process of gaining sponsorship for research access lasted about eighteen months, and the researcher held three meetings with all of the HRM Director gate-keeper contacts in each case-study organization.

This task of gaining the research access was extremely tough for a number of reasons, firstly the research topic concerns gender imbalance in expatriate assignments and at senior management both highly sensitive topics for organizations. Secondly, to answer the research questions the researcher needed to speak with senior management who are extremely busy and powerful people, therefore to gain research access to these research participants for her Doctorate in world class global organizations was no small achievement for the researcher. For example when the researcher first telephoned the HRM director gate-keeper in GC, this gate-keeper spoke to the researcher for fifteen minutes before he even agreed to any meeting to discuss his potential involvement in the research project. In these fifteen minutes the researcher used her business development skills from a previous life, to explain and to 'sell' the value of the research to the case-study organization. To gain research access the researcher presented a business case to all of the HRM Director gatekeepers, which convinced them of the value which the PhD research topic held for their organizations.

 When undertaking the pilot study the researcher gained the opportunity to finalise the research access with the HRM gatekeepers and, to justify why the research topic is important to them, to gain their agreement to sponsor the research. The pilot study gave the researcher clarity about initial research

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constructs from the literature and she used this pilot data to design the research instruments i.e. interview schedules.

The researcher requested from each contact in the data sites an initially sample of about six to ten participants. The researcher used a strategy of asking for a modest number of interviews to gain research access to the organization, and then to ask for a larger numbers of participants after gaining research access permission from gatekeepers. This avoided requesting a large research sample initially and putting gatekeepers off due to the time commitment. The researcher felt this would give her time to build trust and a professional relationship with the HRM Directors as the 'gatekeepers' (Easterby-Smith, et al, 2008a, 2002), to gain a favourable response for future requests for research participants. This strategy prevented the researcher being refused access for interviews, at the beginning or during the data-gathering process due to making high demands for numbers to the case-study organizations. The researcher negotiated access with the HRM Directors in two global PSFs, which provided the opportunity to conduct two in-depth case studies, the researcher recognises that gatekeepers at these levels of senior management get many requests for research from students for PhD studies.

The research participants are men and women managers which enables in -depth data exploration and also comparison to identify differences and similarities in the participant's experiences for gender purposes. The rationale is that where hidden gender discrimination processes exist these can be identified, which gives the senior management the opportunity to develop policies to eliminate these hidden gender inequalities within their organisations.

The researcher was successful in gaining a final commitment for research access at senior management global and European levels from two out of the three PSFs. Unfortunately one of the gate-keeper contacts became ill, during the latter stages of data –gathering. This gate-keeper helped during the pilot stage, but the researcher withdrew this third PSF research site.

The researcher is proud of the trust and support gained from the gatekeepers and which enabled this research study. The final research context consists of a large sample of about seventy six qualitative interviews and representing two in depth case studies of global PSFs in the UK and Europe.

Action Research (Robson, 2002), is not the research methodology or any part of the research design for this research study. Robson (2002) affirms that action research incorporates management change, the improvement of practice and the researchers role in implementing change process as part of action

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research (Lewin, 1946). The researcher independently chose her research topic to fit with the academic PhD requirements of Brunel University. The researcher obtained permission for research access based on the gatekeeper's interest in the research topic, and she hopes the research study outcomes are useful for professional practice in the research sites. Notwithstanding the researcher is not collaborating with the senior management in the implementation of any transformative change management project. The researcher intends to write management reports for the senior management of the case study organizations and other research participants, to thank them for their cooperation. Any actions which are taken by the senior management of the case study organizations, upon receipt of the researchers report are separate from the researcher.

The geographical scope of this thesis covers the UK and Europe. However the research samples included two participants from America, one from East Asia, and three from Australia. The research participant's interviews involved the majority which face to face in real time, however due the busy schedules and global work patterns of the partners a number of interviews took place using skype and by phone during conference calls (see research participants list).

For clarification the terms director and partner are used interchangeably in the case study organizations. In GC, the term partner distinquishes someone who is higher than a director or senior manager in the elite PSFs. However, in GE the terms of director and partner are used interchangeably because there is status between these levels. This contradicts the general trend in elite PSFs, where despite the directors status being lower than partner level, to avoid talent loss some senior management are promoted to director level but never to partner level (Carter and Spence, 2014). So, someone is classed as senior management, but *not as a* partner according to the hierarchy of formal professional grades in the elite PSFs.

The researcher began the pilot study about May- September 2015. The main stages of field work were planned and undertaken from about March until October 2016. The next section discusses the choice of the case study method and describes the case study organizations in more detail.

5.10.2. The semi-structured interview and the in-depth interview schedules.

The first phase of the main interview data-gathering process used a semi-structured interview design which is an important research method for investigating inductively those identified as key informant's e.g. senior managers, middle managers, and experts in the field. This semi-structured research design

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means a core of questions are asked of all participants, even if the order of questions is adjusted or adapted to explore unforeseen topics which are raised by the participants during the interview (Bryman, and Bell, 2007).

However there is flexibility for participants to raise issues which are of importance to them but which are unknown of or unforeseen by the researcher The semi-structured interview promotes a better understanding of the respondents own behaviours, and meanings (Denscombe, 2004, Denzin and Lincoln, 2003, 1994). The researcher designed the semi-structured interview to take up about forty-minutes to one hour with the individual participants.

The researcher offered to arrange interview times with participants preferably face to face, to facilitate interaction, and to promote trust for data-gathering. Due to the busy schedules of the senior management research participants, many interviews occurred by Skype or by telephone to give the participants the maximum flexibility to fit in with their business needs. Many of the participants in the interview samples worked overseas and outside London,

The researcher undertook interviews in early mornings or in late evenings to fit in with the research participant's commitments and to manage the challenges of the different time zones in America and Australia. The researcher travelled to London, Birmingham and to Surrey, despite a limited research budget.

There was a different, strange dimension to interviewing respondents by Skype compared to face to face however, skype offered some face to face interaction, and the interview process is in real time despite geographical distances. The Skype interview process involved managing broadband connections for conference calls which gave the researcher and, insight into the participant's work as partners which included numerous global conference calls on a daily basis with their teams, clients and other partners.

Whilst telephone interviews do not offer face to face interaction, the researcher is very experienced in telephone interview interactions. In a previous life the researcher was business development manager for an accountancy recruitment firm, and part of her role involved, intensive cold calling for sale purposes and gain meetings with clients for contracts. The researcher has extensive employment interviewing experience, and research interview experience from her Master's programme. The

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researcher's career background as a senior manager, meant she was not intimidated during these face to face, Skype or telephone interviews with these powerful senior managers.

The researcher is mindful that despite successfully establishing rapport and credibility with the middle managers and partners during her interviews with them, that these senior managers are adept at using powerful rhetoric, to conceals those hidden realities or meanings which they do not wish to disclose (Easterby-Smith et al, 2008a, 2002). However, the researcher probed the participants by using open questions during interviews, by asking for examples, repeating questions, and practicing active listening to encourage the respondent to speak.

After the first phase of semi-structured interviews data-gathering. It was clear to capture the emerging themes such as, partner habitus, informal hidden selection and assessment practices, and informal gender exclusion in the gate-keeper networks of power that this required a second phase of in depth interviews.

The in-depth interview from the ethnographic method is designed to explore the emerging themes which were not identified in the first literature review. This second stage of data-gathering involved using the in-depth interview method, which fits the research design of using a wide range of methods to gather data (Layder, 1998, 1993).To answer the research questions the researcher need to gain access to the deeper levels of the individual partners and managers' habitus, capitals and the senior management field. The researcher designed a second in-depth interview schedule exploring the career trajectories of the women partners and the men partners, to surface their career histories and gain insight into their partner capitals and habitus. To surface the partners experiences and interpretations, in order to understand how hidden informal practices conducted by the senior management reinforce the gender-substructure (Acker, 2012, 2006, 2004). To understand why women managers' do not have legitimacy with male-dominated gatekeepers in their networks for selection as talent and for promotion to partner positions.

5.10.3. Purposive sampling.

This next section discusses the uses of both purposive sampling and snow ball sampling. Suri (2011) asserts that the choices made about the sampling strategies used are important for the synthesis of qualitative data. Patton (230:2002) describes purposive sampling as, "the logic and power of purposive sampling lie in selecting *information rich* cases for study in-depth. Information rich cases are those

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from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of inquiry, thus the term purposeful sampling.

The chosen individual cases for the purposive sampling (Patton, 2002) are women and male partners and managers from the different knowledge bases including accountancy, computing, and engineering disciplines in the globally integrated PSFs. The sampling approach intended is cross case comparison (Miles and Huberman, 1994), using interpretive rather than aggregative (Suri, 2011).

The individual cases or key informants are women senior directors or partners who are aged about 40 to 50 years old, which is consistent with the age range when someone reaches partner levels in the PSFs. These research participants are valid and matter because their experiences and interpretations as the minority of women partners are necessary to answer the research questions. Secondly, these key informants of male partners are interviewed for comparison of their experiences and interpretations with the women partners. These senior women partners and male partners as key informants are very difficult to access for research purposes, regarding a sensitive topic situated in gender diversity in the PSFs. The researcher requested information on race, gender, age, religion, disability, age, and sexuality to fit with the intersectionality frame during interviewing from the research participants. All the individual cases selected are professionals with either a professional qualification, and/or are graduates.

The researcher recognises that senior women and men partners are in elite, partner positions and this makes them part of the 'status quo'. The main research population to meet the research and answer the research questions are the women partners in the research sites of global PSFs. The women partners are a minority of about 10% at senior levels, but these women partners are successful at obtaining promotion to partnership in the highly competitive situation of the PSFs. Thus gaining the perspectives from these women partners who have overcome the gender barriers to reach partner levels is important to answer the research questions in the research sites of the PSFs.

The male partners are important to compare with the women partners, for the research purpose of illuminating those differences and similarities. To compare the research accounts between these senior male partners and women partners and contrast the similarities and differences in their experiences for accumulating social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital for their entry i.e. promotion to the senior management field. How did these male partners and women partners accumulate their

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capitals, habitus and learn the rules of the game which are credentials for gaining entry to the senior management field? These are women partners are a minority as partners, but are successful in their positions, therefore to understand their experiences is important for answering the research questions.

The senior women and men partners are speaking retrospectively about their career trajectories, global assignments and their promotion experiences. Interestingly, the professions literature and during research process, it is confirmed that a 'transition' stage occurs at middle-management, or at the level just below partner, which the manager must successfully cross to gain promotion. Thirdly, the literature confirms that this transition stage is the career inflection point where most women managers drop off the promotion radar in the PSFs.

During the researcher process the researcher conducted theoretical sampling as the research study progressed and due to the nature of the emergent data (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993, Strauss and Corbin, 1998), gaining access to different research samples became important to answer the research questions. The researcher utilised theoretical sampling (Strauss, and Corbin, 1994), and she asked the gatekeepers for permission to interview a second sample of women and men middle managers to explore how their experiences as members of the existing talent pipeline compared with the retrospective experiences of the existing women and men partners. To explore any similarities and differences between the existing partner and the middle management samples, to understand the barriers which women managers face for their transition to partnership.

To explore the macro- level, research question the key informants are selected from the fields of management, professional service firms, and higher education in science, engineering, and technology (SET). These are key informants are researched to gain a micro perspective on women's careers. These key informants included firstly, a senior woman academic promoting gender inclusion in science, technology and engineering, secondly, a Chief Executive of a third sector organization which promotes higher representation of women on senior management boards, and thirdly a global HRM and diversity director of a major global accounting PSF.

Twice the researcher, firstly using the semi-structured interview format, and secondly using the in-depth interview format, conducted interviews all research participants named in the research samples. All interviews took between 40 minutes and 1hour, and these interviews were tape recorded. All permission for research access were agreed in writing, and finalised with the global HRM senior

directors, to protect confidentiality and to adhere to the high ethical standards for research of Brunel University.

The researcher gained full cooperation from the HRM gatekeepers, who met all the researchers numerous requests for access to male and women partners and senior management favourably and gave her access to these very senior partners and directors as research participants without any hesitation. The researcher is grateful to the HRM gatekeepers because without their help she would not have gained access to the research participants to build breadth and depth in the research samples.

5.11. Data analysis.

5.11.1. Snowball sampling.

This section explains how the researcher adopted the 'snowball sampling' method to gain access to research participants during throughout research process. Snowball sampling is defined as where the researcher to identify a case of interest from those useful contacts who know of the case concerned (Miles, and Huberman, 1994). Bryman and Bell (200:2007) define snow ball sampling as a situation where "the researcher makes initial contact with a small number of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these (participants) to establish contact with others ".

Snowball sampling involves asking the key informants for "…a chain of recommended informants…. (who)…typically diverge initially as possible sources are recommended, then converge as a few key names get mentioned over and over… "(Patton, 237:2002). This is a highly relevant sampling method which is not a random approach, but occurs where the extent of research population of interest is unknown and because where there is not a sampling frame for guidance this is an appropriate research sampling method. Snowball sampling is a valid form of research sampling, because to answer the research questions, it is imperative to gain entry into the participants in highly confidential research sites at senior management and middle management levels.

The researcher used snowball sampling because the research topic is situated within gender diversity, which constitutes policies where senior management are hesitant to disclose confidential information to researchers who are 'outsiders' uncles the research can first establish professional trust. By finding a powerful intermediary or else requesting help from existing research participants through snowball sampling this enables the researcher to gain access to other research participants in the sample.

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During the interview data-gathering when the researcher spoke to senior women partners, she asked for names of other senior women partners. The researcher requested of male and women partners, nominations for middle level managers when this population became an emerging theme to explore the current experiences of women and men in the talent pipeline below partner levels.

Snowball sampling is valid for researching those emerging data themes during the iterative research data-gathering and data-analysis processes. This supports theoretical sampling where interviewing specific populations becomes important, such as the women managers who are working on flexible hours arrangements and using snowballing sampling is best means to gain access to these research participants. The researcher requested nominations from male and women partners for those women working in flexible hours work arrangements, this is the only time the researcher did not successfully gain access to the desired research population. This research issue is discussed in the research limitations section in chapter nine.

The decision-making about closure stage of the data-gathering comes from two logics of data saturation and data sufficiency (Suri, 2011). Data sufficiency is determined where the collection of additional data fails to give further themes, insight, or information for the purposes of qualitative data synthesis and of data sufficiency where evidence supports the researcher's argumentation (Suri, 72:2011)

5.11.2. Transcribing and coding research data.

This section discusses the data transcription and data analysis which the researcher conducted as an iterative process involving the data-analysis and the data-collection must proceed *simultaneously (*Chamaz, 2014, 2006). The researcher began the data-analysis process from the first interview and data-analysis was conducted iteratively until the researcher reached the saturation stage of data emergence (Lincoln, and Guba, 1985).

The researcher describes different phases of coding, notwithstanding the data-analysis involved going back and forth between the data and the literature throughout the research process (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1994, Strauss and Corbin, 1998). This was not a linear process and was extremely difficult at times, the data analysis involved the combination of interview transcripts, memos and field notes used by the researcher to trigger the data-analysis and help to build categories. The researcher followed the principles of the adaptive grounded theory (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1994) and used the constant

comparative method (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, Chamaz, 2006, Glasner and Strauss, 1967) to explore emerging data.

To substantiate rigour in qualitative data-analysis process the researcher to ensure integrity of the data-analysis process and the research findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, Robson, 2002, Bryman and Bell, 2015, 2007) incorporated the concepts of trustworthiness and authenticity.

5.11.3. Provisional coding.

Silverman (2003) defines qualitative text as….”a heuristic device to identify data consisting of words and images which have been reduced without the intervention of the researcher “(Silverman, 348: 2003), including interview transcripts, from tapes i.e. voice or video recordings, documentation, field notes and personal observations.

The researcher began coding the interview transcripts in conjunction with the data-gathering process which involved interviewing the research participants, gathering field notes and memos. First, the researcher spent time reading the interview transcripts, to immerse herself in the qualitative data. The researcher listened to all taped interviews and she transcribed the contents of these interviews verbatim. The transcription of the taped digital interviews went slowly and laboriously for the researcher. Each interview tape consisted of 40 minutes to one hour of conversation, the transcription took the researcher between two to three hours to transcribe for every interview.

To promote rigour in the data analysis process and to ensure the authenticity of data recorded in the interview transcripts, the researcher listened again and again to the interview tapes and she repeated the interview recordings to catch missed any words to capture accurately the words used by the research participants. This took a long time because often research participant's had accents which were to understand, both research participants who were native UK speakers and those research participants from overseas. The researcher took care to reproduce the exact words of research participants in the interview transcripts, to ensure that the data reproduced in the typed transcripts the contained authentic, and accurate words of the research participants to form the basis of trustworthy qualitative rich data (Miles and Huberman, 1994, Silverman, 1993).

As the pace of the data-gathering increased and the number research interviews which the researcher booked into her interview time schedule accelerated, the volume of research interviews meant the

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number of interview tapes backed up waiting for the researcher to transcribe them. Sometimes the researcher interviewed two or even three research participants on a daily basis, often involving travelling to the different research sites which was exhausting for the researcher. The researcher was not in a financial position to pay for the costs of these interview transcripts to be typed up by someone else, which would have saved time. Many times the researched wished she possessed a larger research budget. Nevertheless transcribing the interviews tapes helped the researcher to immerse herself in the data and to remember the research participants as individuals during the transcription process despite the large data-set.

The next section describes the coding approaches used for transcribing the interview tapes, which fit the research design and ensure rigour for dealing with rich qualitative data during the data analysis and data-gathering during the research process.

5.11.4. The Orienting concepts.

The researcher started by 'pre-coding' using the typed up interview transcripts, highlighting or underlining text working line by line as recommended by Charmaz, (2014,2006) and, also making notes in the margins of the interview transcripts. The researcher consulted her field notes and any memos which related to these interview transcripts. This precoding of data is the starting point for building the core concepts and for classifying data according to Layder (2012, 1998, 1994).

The provisional coding process (Layder,1993) is similar to open coding which is used in classical grounded theory (Glasner and Strauss, 1967), but differs because there is reference to prior theory or literature, to include preliminary research questions, even if these are 'partial' (Miles and Huberman, 1994) . Layder (55:1998) argues that moving quickly from open coding to axial coding risks premature closure on the emerging data. This creates an "arbitrary severance" according to Layder, (77:1998) because the researcher misses out on their best chance to utilise their existing knowledge to support the data- analysis process and to facilitate theory building.

The provisional coding process (Layder 55:1998) facilitates the on-going data collection process, which exists in "dialogue" between emergent theory or general theory, and the data-analysis. This is imperative to prevent emerging theory becoming disconnected from existing theoretical concepts according to Layder (1998). The researcher developed an orientating concepts template(Layder , 1998), which she utilised as a preliminary coding list to identify major and minor emerging themes to

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facilitate dialogue between data analysis and data-collection processes. The orienting concepts template is not a "deterministic grid" which forces data into prior theoretical concepts (Layder, 125:1998) or for prior endorsement of prior theoretical views. Rather the orienting concepts template helps the researcher to begin to navigate the data, to identify core concepts and to build the research themes. The orientating concepts template and the emerging themes at this early stage were mainly tacit, however the researcher referred to the orientating concepts template and initial research themes during the iterative data-analysis and data gathering research process.

The volume of qualitative data including interviews, memos and field notes was huge, Easterby –Smith et al (2008a, 2002) suggests transcribing in batches of six transcripts during qualitative data-analysis. Next the researcher put the interview transcripts as individual cases into a number of different samples (Eisenhardt, 1989) to facilitate the comparison, and cross-referencing of the research themes. The researcher read the interview transcripts of the women partners in pairs first (Eisenhardt, 1989), then the researcher read the transcripts of at the male partner samples in pairs. As advised by her main supervisor the researcher looked for emerging themes by reading the transcripts as individual cases, but looking for themes within and across the samples of two different case study organizations to gain understanding of the differences in the wider context.

The researcher conducted data reduction (Miles and Huberman, 10:1994) defined as "the process of selecting, focussing, simplifying, and transforming the data that appear in written up field notes or transcriptions. Miles and Huberman (1994) confirm this data reduction process is an attempt at quantification and data reduction is not a separated from the data analysis process. Rather data-reduction is an on-going feature for trying to gain meaning from a large volume of rich, qualitative data, and to help the researcher to navigate a sometimes 'messy' data-analysis process.

As the numbers of interviews grew and the data-gathering intensified, it was inappropriate and inefficient for the researcher to attempt to manually transcribe this large data set. Whilst fine with a small number of interview transcripts i.e. 6-10, the initial manual provisional coding was too time consuming and not fit for purpose.

The researcher proceeded with coding the interview transcripts, memos and field notes using the NVIVO software package (Bryman and Bell, 2015, 2007). The NVIVO package is helpful to identify

research themes across a large data set and the make links between these concepts clearer during the data analysis process.

5.11.5. Data-analysis using the NVIVO software package.

This section describes the researcher's experience of the NVIO software package used for data analysis (Bryman and Bell, 2015, 2007), which assisted the identification of research themes from the huge amount of rich qualitative data which the semi-structured and in depth interviews, memos and field notes generated during the research process. The NVIVO software was helpful for the researcher to see research themes across and within a large data set. The researcher had experience of using NVIVO software for data-analysis during her Masters Dissertation, which involved a much smaller data set of about 20 semi-structured interviews.

The NVIVO software was massively helpful for handling the huge volume of interview transcripts, and memos, and was useful to create codes and then check them against each other throughout the data-analysis process. Miles and Huberman (1994) advise the importance of having all qualitative data in one place to organize the data-analysis, and NVIVO facilitates the management of a large data-set. The researcher used systematic matching of case-studies to compare patterns involves the researcher going back and forward between their theoretical framework, the data sources and the data- analysis whilst not forcing the research data into a pre-conceived theoretical framework (Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993, Eisenhardt, 1989, Dubois and Gadde 2002).

The researcher typed all of the interview transcripts up from tape recordings of the research participants and, these transcripts were transferred onto the NVIVO software. The researcher engaged with all of the interview transcripts memos, and notes, which were coded at least three times during data-analysis. After a short time the number of codes became too many to be meaningful, and the researcher went back to the data to recode again and reduce the number of codes. The researcher used NVIVO software to code the research data into nodes and to develop named research themes. 10.8.19 here.

However coding using NVIVO is not a very reflective process, and whilst helpful summarising a number of nodes across a data set the researcher felt some emerging themes required more in-depth exploration i.e. the partner habitus. The researcher began a parallel coding process by using the constant comparison method of data-analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) to explore the emergent data in depth. The research coding and data-analysis processes are described in the next section.

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5.11.6. The constant comparison method used to capture emerging research themes.

Abduction defines theory is not about seeking the truth, or "the discovery of some pre-existing reality" (Hartshorne and Weiss, 5:1958, Dewey, 1937). Abduction is defined as being "a situational fit between observed facts and rules", which attempts to identify the presence of anomalies in the data-analysis (Timmerman and Tavory, 171: 2012, Fabbrichesi, and Marietta, 2006, Peirce, 1931). This section outlines Abduction according to the pragmatist view of Peirce (1931, Hartshorne, and Weiss, 1958), highly relevant for understanding the research of Strauss and Corbin (1998) and their grounded theory method which includes constant comparison for data analysis (Glasner and Strauss, 1967).

Pierce (Hartshorne and Weiss, 1958) distinguished between two types of surprize "novelty or new experience… (and)… an anomaly or an unexpected experience" (Timmerman and Tavory: 171:2012, Kovacs, and Spens, 2005). Abduction is *not* proposed as an alternative to the logic of 'retroduction 'which underpins critical realism ontology (Bhasker, 2002, 1975, Sayer, 2000), but some critical realists claim abduction "is synonymous with conjecturing" (Bunge, 201:2004), and anomalies which signal something unexpected require investigation (Bygstad et al 2016). To explore unexpected anomalies in the research data, involves moving back and forth between data and theory (Timmerman and Tavory, 2012, Fabbrichesi, and Marietta, 2006, Kovacs, and Spens, 2006) by critically questioning the data to find answers to the research questions. An anomaly of interest from the expatriate research literature is the hidden, informal selection process used by senior management for expatriate staff. The senior management don't use formal, written selection criteria, which is contradictory given high levels of expatriate attrition problems and failure rates.

Abductive assumptions fit with Strauss and Corbin (1998) approach to data analysis and the systematic constant comparison used for data-analysis. The constant comparison helped to explore emerging data from interview transcripts, memos, and field notes, to explore unexpected anomalies in the data (Strauss, and Corbin, 1994). Constant comparison involved going between the transcripts and breaking up the data using open and axil coding, to slowly develop concepts and categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The researcher explored emerging themes across the rich data of the interview transcripts, memos, and field notes. For example an emerging theme of the transition for manager at the cusp of partner promotion, came through strongly. The researcher explored how the male and female partners and the male and female middle managers experienced this transition as a difficult threshold to cross and where many withdrew from partner competition. The researcher used systematic comparison to

build categories, by comparing an incident in the data to one recalled from the literature or experience. This encouraged the researcher to explore properties and dimensions, and to build concepts and categories from the data (Strauss, and Corbin, 1998)

5.12. Reflexivity.

This section defines reflexivity which is discussed in relation to the choices made by the researcher during her Doctorate research. Reflexivity is defined as "the self-conscious shaping of identity and a critical awareness that arises from self-conscious relation with the other" (Simpson, 381: 2009). Reflexivity is important to ensure rigour and quality when conducting qualitative research. Reflexivity of the researcher in business and management research, is neglected "in terms of the relationship of the researcher with him or herself according to Ozbilgin and Vassilopoulou (159:2018)

Feminists dispute that the researcher is completely detached from the research process,"…emotional involvement cannot be controlled by mere effort, and this subjective element in research should be acknowledged…" (Letherby, 68:2003). Reflexivity is an important part of the feminist epistemology, much written about and contested concerning how to conduct reflexivity in feminist research.

Letherby (68:2003) argues that "hygienic research is a myth" which proposes both an unsophisticated and deceptive perspective about research, given all research data-gathering involves a relationship between the researcher and the research participants, which is important to account for through reflexivity. It is important for researchers to acknowledge their "intellectual privileges" (77:2003) as the knower whilst not claiming intellectual superiority (Stanley and Wise, 1993), this includes the privilege of having the final opinion of and reflecting on the research experience which the respondents do not. Simpson (2009) researched the process of gender identities being negotiated in feminised nursing profession, which highlighted how male and female nurses as research participants when resisting the stereotypical gender norms in the feminised nursing profession practice reflexivity.

Reflexivity is not the sole preserve of feminists (Clegg, 2016), the goal is for the researcher to consider how their position impacts on the research participants and, ultimately on research outcomes (Berger, 2015). Bourdieu, (1977) argued, that reflexivity is crucial to the sociology challenge to tacit question tacit assumptions. Archer (2010) critiques Bourdieu's habitus, stating this presumes a stable set of structures in society which does not accommodate changes. Berger (2016) argues the stance of reflexivity in qualitative research, means the researcher is part of what is being researched, and she

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shares the experience of the research participants. Decoteau (2016) defends the use of habitus which is constantly emerging in relation to "field dynamics" (318), and habitus is a layered concept which permits reflexivity across different field positions and time. To disrupt the duality between structure and agency in social research (Bourdieu, and Wacquant, 1992) reflexivity is an important part of the research process.

Reflexivity is about the importance of trustworthiness, transparency, and accountability of qualitative research. Reflexivity involves the qualitative researcher openly acknowledging their role in "the (co)-construction of knowledge "Finlay (211:2002) and clarifying how intersubjective factors during the data-collection and data-analysis processes impact on the research outcomes. Finlay (226:2002) is critical of researchers who do this by conducting "participation validation" alone, and who purport that reflexivity is carried out which makes their research is trustworthy. In the next section, the researcher describes her personal history which influenced her own self-reflexivity during the research process.

5.13. Personal history.

The researcher is 59 years old in age, and from a lower-middle class background. The researcher's parents are Scottish and Irish, and immigration is part of her family history.

The researcher studied a BA (Hons) in Sociology with Professional Studies in Personnel Management at the University of East London, and then studied an MBA in Personnel Management and Industrial Relations in Cass Business School, London.

The researchers memories of the MBA, are of her management experience being non-existent as a student, hence some management theoretical frameworks, were highly abstract without the management experience. Notwithstanding the researcher gained huge knowledge and development from studying the MBA programme, including her lifelong view on learning, that both theory and practice are integral to knowledge and understanding.

The conducted dissertation research in the BA Degree and the MBA Degree, firstly about Equal Opportunities in the private sector within a government social sciences research department. Secondly, evaluating a Positive Action Training programme to counteract Gender and Race inequalities, in a metropolitan London Council.

The researcher began a career in business and management working in Human Resources and Training, in the public sector. The researcher in a former life worked as management consultant in management consultancy in a PSF, in one of the named case-study organizations. During the research data-gathering and data-analysis, this brought to mind the research own habitus and the rules of the game such client billing in the senior management field. Next the researcher became business development manager in the recruitment consultancy sector, this experience assisted the researcher with understanding of sales which is an important partner capital which fits the dominant commercial logic of the senior management field.

After about eight years the researcher sought a career change, and returned to university to study for postgraduate teaching qualification. The researcher worked as a senior lecturer in HRM, progressing to become a Course director of an IHRM Masters programme. The researcher wanted to return to education to update her knowledge and study for a PhD. The researcher studied on an MSc International HRM programme at Queen Marys University, and successfully applied for a PhD scholarship at the Business School in Brunel University.

The researcher adopted a Feminist epistemology for the PhD research study, which states the value of equality in the research relationship between the researcher and the research participants during qualitative research (Oakley, 1981). The feminist interview method critiques the goals of hierarchy and objectivity associated with positivist research ontology, and attempts to diminish status differences by building friendship during the interviewing process. The process of conducting of feminist research was challenging, because the researcher was challenging male power and gender stereotyping when interviewing powerful senior male managers (Maynard, 1994, Letherby, 2003). Not just male managers this PhD research, includes exploring complexities of gender inequalities, and career experiences of powerful women at senior management levels and less powerful women at lower-management levels who are constrained within a male-defined power structure.

As a mature woman with a background in senior management in the University sector, HRM, and a career which includes management consultancy, and a senior management background the researcher seeks to explore challenging, hidden, gender discrimination and practices.

5.14. Research Limitations.

This section discusses the research limitations of the PhD study in relation to decisions taken by the researcher to meet the research aim.

The limitations of the research study included the challenges of gaining research access and of obtaining permission to ask challenging research questions from the HRM gatekeepers. It is acknowledged that, the interview sample provided by the gatekeepers is self-selective in the case study organizations. So, the global HRM directors for the interview sample which limited the choice of the researcher selected research participants. Notwithstanding, the researcher was fortunate to gain access to this excellent research population of senior male and female partners, and also of male and female middle managers in the research sites of these elite PSFs. The researcher obtained a large sample size to answer the research questions for the Doctorate.

The research provided insight into the gender barriers at structural levels and of the experiences of both women and men which provided wide representation. Senior management at this level are not easy for a PhD student to gain access to, and this was essential for answering the research questions. It is recognised that the women and male partners were reflecting on their past career experiences, therefore it was useful to include the research sample of women and men in the current talent pipeline at middle management levels. This gave the opportunity to assess changes or similarities in the gender barriers for promotion to partner roles over time.

A missing part of the research picture is exploring the hidden population of women managers, who did not cross the threshold for becoming expatriates in their organisations for whatever reason is challenging.

Those women may have left their management roles as an assumed consequence of their being unable to transcend the barriers they experienced to gaining expatriate role. The researcher as an "out-sider" to organizations, and without political leverage, meant that she found it difficult to push "gatekeepers" (Easterby-Smith et al, 2008, 2002), to reach senior levels of management and gain permission for access.

The researcher acknowledges the difficulties of a controversial research topic in obtaining research access, rather the researcher stressed the validity of the research thesis and its positive outcomes for organisations i.e. talent management, diversity.

During the thesis research an important theme of talent leakage of women management consultants and professionals particularly at lower and middle management levels emerged strongly. As part of theoretical sampling the researcher tried to conduct theoretical sampling to interview those lower and middle management level women who were working on flexible hours arrangements according to the formal diversity policies in the case study organizations. The researcher gained about six referrals from the powerful senior partners and, directors in both case study organizations. So, emails from the researcher were sent to each of the women at least three times. Despite, the researcher contacting these potential research participants by email, the researcher did **not** gain any commitments from these women to undertake the research interviews. The researcher offered to meet them for interviews during the day, or in the evenings, or by phone or skype at their own convenience. However, not one of these women managers or professionals chose to reply to the researcher's interview requests despite the researcher gaining referrals from the senior management.

This is unfortunate because gaining research data from women professionals who are working on flexible work arrangements in lower and middle management levels, matters for insight into their experiences regarding the emerging research theme of hidden talent leakage in the PSFs. The male-dominated senior management see flexible hour's arrangements as part-time work (Williams 2016, Williams et al, 2013) and this informally excludes women managers or professionals as legitimate candidates for promotion to partner positions.

5.15. Conclusion.

Regrettably the women managers and professionals' voices who are working on flexible hours working arrangements are the missing voices in the PhD research study. Despite receiving referrals from the powerful gatekeepers, these women chose not to speak with the researcher, perhaps they were busy, or the women managers and profession might have felt under the spotlight by participating in the PhD research. Of course, any cooperation from research participants is entirely voluntary for the research study, and the researcher can only speculate as to why this population did not wish to speak with her.

Nevertheless, for future research exploration of the position of women who are working in flexible hour's arrangements in the PSFs. (This is discussed under further research in chapter nine)

A set of research limitations are recognised by the researcher which included the constraints of time, and lack of money to cover some research costs given the researchers budget as a student. The costs of international travel to interview candidates would have been prohibitive, fortunately, technology including Skype and telephone interviews reduced costs. The researcher made a number of train journeys within London and to Birmingham and she absorbed these costs.

6. Chapter Six. The competing logics: Gender inequalities in the elite PSFs.

6.1. Introduction.

This chapter six, firstly explores the competing logics (Muzio et al, 2011, Lounsbury, 2007, Suddaby, 2011) of the senior management field in the elite PSFs. In order to understand how these competing logics and, power relations legitimise gender inequalities at a macro -level despite formal gender diversity policies in the elite PSFs (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986, 1984, 1977).

This chapter describes the research findings and, answers to the first two research questions including of 1.2.1., and a sub-question of 1.2.1.1. All of the data chapters six, seven and, eight provide a summary of research findings at the end of each chapter.

1.2.1. How are gender inequalities legitimated by the 'competing logics 'of the senior management field?

The competing logics are identified to understand the context in which gender inequalities are situated at macro level and at micro level in the field of the elite PSFs.

A three-step analysis is used, to map the senior management field of the elite PSFs, (Ozbilgin, Tatli, 2005, Ozbilgin, Tatli, 2011, Tatli, and Ozbilgin, 2012). To explore the interface between structure at macro-level and agency at micro-level, to identify how the senior management i.e. partners identify the cultural capitals of social capital and symbolic capital and, confer access to global assignments and partner promotion according to field logic in the elite PSFs (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2011, 2005, Tatli, and Ozbilgin, 2012(a) & (b), Bourdieu, 1991, 1977, 1986).

These partner gatekeepers are the most powerful in the senior management field (Ozbilgin 2011, Tatli, and Ozbilgin, 2012) and, are chosen to identify the symbolic capital which legitimates hidden, persistent gender inequalities for partner promotion according to field logic(s). The career experiences of female and male partners are explored to gain insight into how gender exclusion from the large, global client projects and partner promotion occurs in the elite PSFs. To answer the following sub-research question:-

1.2.1.1. **What are the cultural capitals which legitimate candidates for promotion which fit the logic of the senior management field?**

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6.2. The case-study organizations.

This section introduces the two case study organizations which are Global Computers (GC) and Global Engineering (GE), chosen as the research sites to answer the research questions. This research sites offer multi-disciplinary professional services as opposed to just a single professional knowledge base i.e. law, accounting which dominates the literature about the elite PSFs.

These case study organizations are set in the macro context and the micro context, to understand and compare the cultural values which characterise these case study organizations. The research findings are contrasted using utilizing the 'competing logics' (Lounsbury, 2007, Muzio et al, 2011), at macro level and micro level. To outline the competitive position, history, culture and, gender diversity policies of both Global Computers (GC) and Global Engineers (GE).

6.2.1. Global Computers

History.

The history of Global Computers (GC) started as a computing firm in 1911 in New York, America. GC or 'the company' offers integrated information technology (IT) services, including an integrated portfolio of consulting, delivery, and implementation services of cloud and cognitive offerings, enterprise software, systems and financing solutions. GC is a huge, global conglomerate which owns two of the top global elite PSFs, and the group is head-quartered in New York, America. By contrast, GE is a privately owned company which is headquartered in the UK. The market share of the management consultancy business turnover is estimated at $7 billion within the 50 elite global PSFs (Consultancy. *UK,* 19 January 2018).

Senior management structure and ownership.

GC has undertaken a huge number of mergers and acquisitions and includes ownership of one 'Big 4' management consultancy firm. The company operates through five business segments: cognitive solutions, global business services, technology services and cloud platforms, systems and global financing. The global business services or the big management consultancy firms offers globally integrated networks of services are important because they contribute about 20 .9% or $16,700 million of the turnover in 2016. The growth in the company business sector is emerging mainly from the

technology and cloud services which reported turnover of $35,337.milliom or 44.2 % of total company revenue.

The company operates world-wide in the Americas, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and the Asia Pacific. The huge size of GC, is indicated by the ownership structure which includes 100 named subsidiaries. This company publically listed on the American stock exchange, and operates according to a shareholder structure. The tough global competition in the technology field, is indicated by company shares reducing in value from 2012 and to in 2018 ($192.60-$163.70).

Financial results.

The number of employees in GC is a total of 380,300.

Year. Turnover Profit

31.12.2017. $79,139.00 (millions) $ 6.14 billion. (Diluted EPS fourth quarter earnings 2018)

31.12.2016. $79,919.00(millions)£2.3 billion

The fourth quarter earning show for GC $ 6.14 billion. (diluted EPS fourth quarter earnings 2018), compared to a GC or 'the company' posted sales turnover of US$79,139. Million for fiscal year end December 2017, a decrease of 2.2% on 2015.

These figures indicate global competition for costs and the tightening of profit margins and ongoing litigation problems. The company paid shareholders dividends of about $5.3 billion.

Company culture.

The company has a strong culture of innovation and sales results however, GC is competing in a fierce global environment for technology business. The global business strategy of the senior management is to move away from 'commoditization' of technology, to focus on the cloud business and to allocate research development money to artificial intelligence.

Gender diversity.

The company does not report on gender diversity in the annual reports. The senior management board has a total of thirty three directors, of whom the chairman-president and chief executive officer are

both women. There are a total of six women directors including the chair, the directors have senior management status with the exception of one women director who has a non-executive role.

Human Resource Management.

There is an HRM women director with full senior director status on the board and, the Global HRM department is centralised in the American headquarters. There is a female global HRM Director and three other female directors with executive status on the global management board. In America the legal framework for diversity is stronger than the mainly, voluntary framework in the UK.

6.2.2. Global Engineers.

History.

Global Engineers (GE) or 'the firm', began life as a privately owned Engineering consultancy which has expanded globally and massively to offer a wide range of multiple professional services through its management consultancy projects including engineering, architecture, and construction services. At its core, GE is an Engineering Consultancy firm. However, professional services are offered to global clients in management consultancy, including building design, economics, and planning services, infrastructure and design services, management consultancy services, and specialist services.

The founder of GE was a charismatic, highly reputed architect and engineer in 1946. The founder's memory and importance in shaping the company remains strong. In particular, the cultural values held about environmentalism, professional identity and, innovation which are all strongly stated by staff in GE. GE can evidence iconic engineering and architectural projects throughout the world, which including infrastructure, transport, and buildings in many global cities.

Senior management structure and ownership.

GE operates as a private firm without shareholders or external investors so, the firm acts in partnership with its members or the employees. Thus profits are shared with staff including bonuses and virtual shares, which creates a sense of commitment to the firm in its employee relationship. The senior management plough back the majority of its profits for investment purposes to ensure they have freedom to undertake high quality professional client projects (Company Annual Report, 2015). This ownership structure in GE, takes away pressures to produce shareholders dividends. However, GE must still make profits in a context of fierce global competition.

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Financial Results.

Year. Turnover Profit Staff Turnover

31.3.2017 £1,509.5. Million£47.7million 10.6%

31.3.2016 £1,239.9 million. £16.1 million 11.5%

The company more than doubled its operating profit from 27.8 million in 2016, to 72.2 million in 2017.

The number of staff are 13,346 in 2017, which is an increase from staff of 12, 800 in 2016.

The headquarters of the Group Management Board, and the majority of its senior management are based in the United Kingdom. The annual report (2016) confirms a total of 17 directors in the company, of whom six are regional directors, who also sit on the main management board. At the time of data-gathering there was only one senior woman director who is a non -executive director (2016-2017).

The senior management authority, roles, and responsibilities are divided between the main group board and the regional boards, the main group management board operates a strategic agenda, and the regions are operational. All of the regions report directly to the headquarters on their financial performance. Where regions are performing to their financial targets they are permitted some localised control, but business control belongs to the main group board in the headquarters in London UK.

There are five regions including the Americas, Australasia, East Asia, Europe, and UKMEA (including Africa, and the Arab Emirates). Strangely the UK is not situated within the region of Europe, but is included in (UKMEA) as separate region. The largest contributor of client work and client income comes from the UK. GE despite being a small firm has a global reach of ninety two offices in thirty countries. However growth areas are China, South-East Asia, and North America. Thus strategic business strategy is for growth in global markets for client projects in: infrastructure, transport, and environmental development. The values expressed by the senior management in the company report stresses client relationships, trust and quality of client projects.

The firm has plans to grow in mainland China and Hong Kong hence, the directors recommend that a dividend is not paid in 2017, and this occurred in 2016.

The firm refers to disability in terms of health and safety, but there is not any comment about gender or race diversity policies in the annual report.

Company culture.

GE or the 'firm' expresses its company culture through the career stability of its senior directors who began their careers as GE graduates. The company values are articulated in GEs public material, which affirms the importance of treating people humanely, creating a professional architecture of professional work by combining multidisciplinary knowledge, working in teams, and generating prosperity for its own members through a profit-sharing scheme.

These strong traditional, professional values and norms are articulated by the senior management such as team working, high standards of client service, doing 'good work' and informally sharing professional knowledge through a responsibility for senior staff to mentor junior staff. The senior management of the firm strongly reinterate their commitment to developing innovation, and taking a pride in their client projects.

The firm is experiencing a transition from being a formerly, small business through increasing global competition and expansion. This is creating, tensions, and contradictions between the stated, paternalistic, professional goals of the company culture and, the tough commercial realities of the competitive global pressures faced by a smaller elite PSF. The senior management recognise the importance of maximising the client fee income to grow and, survive in a fiercely competitive global environment.

There is a temporal, stable career tenure for partners which reflects the company culture in GE. All of the male partners and female partners in the research samples joined as graduate entrants about 20 years ago in GE. For example, the women partners Greta and Edith have spent their entire careers in GE. Whereas, Deborah instigated a SIE assignment at an early career stage. Rowena briefly left to work for a competitor firm however, both women returned to GE.

This career stability means the partners accumulate inter-firm networks of huge size and depth, which facilitates knowledge sharing, reciprocity and trust between partners gained over long periods of time in GE. These women partners hold traditional professional knowledge bases and, professional jurisdictions for example a civil engineer or mechanical engineer in GE.

This creates challenges for global staffing because the stated values seek to avoid the staffing strategies of competitors, which involves flexible and insecure working patterns for professionals, such as the in-sourcing of professionals for client projects from cheaper, developing countries in the global economy.

The firm has a global strategy improve the environment, through its quality of project client work and meeting its client's needs. Its senior management articulate their business strategy from a marketing perspective and income perspective, including clearly defined targets to work in cities, transport energy, and water.

Gender Diversity.

Diversity goals appeared in management reports and the Annual Report (2015). However, GE does not have formal targets for gender or race diversity progress. The researcher did not get sight of a formal Diversity policy.

There are voluntary diversity champions who are responsible for diversity at a local level.

Human Resource Management.

The firm has a Global HRM department in the headquarters, and HRM departments in local offices and regions. The Global HRM Director is an officer of the main group board, but without executive responsibility on the board.

With the exception of the global HRM department in headquarters, the responsibility for implementing HRM policies and procedures are delegated to regional offices.

In 2016 the ratio of graduate applications was 8000 for 275 graduate positions. GE prides itself on attracting the 'brightest and the best' talent, this is unspecified but is presumed to consist of graduate entrants from the elite i.e. Russell Universities in the UK. There were 25000 applications for 630 graduate positions in 2015.

Gender Diversity is not reported on in the Annual reports of 2016 and 2017, at the time of data gathering, there was a single woman board director on the senior management board. Interestingly, two new women directors were appointed in about April 2017, within a total of 11 Board Directors

the senior management main board in headquarters London UK. One of these women is a Non-Executive Director.

The case study organizations of GC and GC are competing in the global space of the elite PSFs. Whilst, there are historical and cultural differences between GC and GE, which are based on national culture and, history of legacy from founders, there are surprizing similarities in the gender diversity position at partner levels in both organizations.

The next section outlines the competing logics in elite PSFs, to answer research question number. To explore, how competing logics legitimate gender inequalities despite formal gender diversity policies in the elite PSFs?

6.3. A hierarchy of multiple, competing logics in the senior management field.

This section contrasts the competing logics in the case study organizations at macro level and micro level to answer the research question about, how the competing logics legitimate gender inequalities for career progression and promotion to partner positions are of interest.

The research findings show the commercial logic is overall the dominant logic, but within a hierarchy of multiple, competing logics within both GC and GE. Interestingly, the professional logic is absent from the partner research accounts in GC, whereas, the professional logic is present in the partner accounts in GE. These competing logics which characterise the case –study organizations are described in detail next:-

The commercial logic is constructed in a harsh, sales reality, where sales of client projects and client fee income are unashamedly the criterion stated by gatekeepers for partner promotion in GC. To be eligible for promotion with the partner gatekeepers, a manager must build their own Profit and Loss (P& L) practice, evidencing a high sales turnover of client projects as their track record of revenue generation in GC.

Richard is a Global Partner in Banking in the UK and Europe, he confirms the importance of business development and evidencing a '**track record of revenue generation**' for promotion according to the commercial logic,

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Business development i.e. winning work are crucial cultural capital for promotion to partnership. The individual must gain **business in the region of 3 to $4 million per year.** (Memo: post interview from senior partner Richard, Senior Partner and Vice President, Global Banking, GCD4, on 7 September 2016 at 9- 9:30am).

Jane is a senior partner and vice –president in logistics and transformation in the transport sector, she is Chinese, / British, 50 years old, married with one child. Jane describes herself as a sales person first and, last. Jane states that client projects sales i.e. Revenue generation matters for promotion to partner:-

Sales are absolutely crucial for carving out partner role. (Field notes: Jane, Vice-President, and partner, GCD1W, 22.9.2016).

Partners face unrelenting, global, performance targets for business development with clients and, sales turnover in client projects involving '*eye watering' amounts of money*.

Juliet is a senior global partner, an accountant and, expert in government, she is in the second highest grade of partnership in GC.

Juliet is 52 years old, and married without children, she describes building her client practice and, how important '**winning work'** is for legitimacy with partner gatekeepers for promotion:-

And I was responsible for **a $1million PL (profit and loss account**) …….. And **now I'm doing the practice in Europe, around the present translation domain….**.. (Juliet, Vice President and partner, Government and Finance, GCDEW2).

Tara is a senior partner, in Transformation and Talent Management, she is Irish, 45 years old and married with one child. Tara agrees that revenue generation from client projects is the performance measure for partner promotion:-

we are in the business of making money.… You can make a contribution to something, but **if it doesn't hit the bottom line then it's not going to be perceived as valuable** (Senior Female Partner, Tara, GCDW4, Interview, 1).

Notwithstanding, the commercial logic is important for promotion to partner, and afterwards partners must '**win- work'** or revenue generation from their client project sales in GE.

Edith a senior women director is 45 years old, she is a chartered Mechanical engineer. Edith is a senior member of the Regional board in the Americas and, a Diversity advocate, she is an American, single and without children..:-

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I tend to have, oversight of projects of up to you know (US) $12 million. With probably up to 25 to 30 people working on those teams…I probably have about eight or nine of these projects, not all of the same size……... I also win work, and look after client relationships that also keeps working coming in…… (Female Senior Director, Edith, GE11Interview1)

Edith describes being **'called to the carpet '**by the elite partner gatekeepers to account for the profitability of her client projects annually. This profitability of client projects represents the criteria for partner promotion confirming the dominance of the commercial logic:-

Because profit as a metric of success, is the only thing that it has felt like the… board has paid attention to. Because, like **nobody comes to evaluate how I am …at being a supervisor**, but **I get called 'to the carpet' every half year to account for the profitability of my projects**. (Senior Director, Edith GED11Interview2& 3).

These partners convey a sense of responsibility for sustaining profitability within their professional groups and, of keeping their teams in professional work which fits the professional logic in GE.

Greta is a group director in Infrastructure, and a chartered civil engineer, is 48 years old, married without children. Greta reiterates the importance of '**winning-work'** and, profitability of client projects, but she indicates a commitment to her professional group and teams:-

I…am **responsible for financial performance of the group**, and… **you know making sure that we win work**… projects there to keep people busy and developing (Female Senior Director, Greta, GED3W2)

Dalvat is a senior director and a chartered civil engineer, a group leader in Infrastructure. Dalvat is 49 years old, Asian/British, he is married with two children.

Dalvat restates the importance of **'winning work'** which fits the commercial logic. However, Dalvat communicates his commitment to his professional group, his teams and, his professional technical expertise which fits the professional logic:-

My job I guess has two parts to it. One is the technical aspects of my projects, so technical strength and also this is the backbone of our group…... The other is the project and staffing issues. **So I am responsible for winning work, and keeping the sixty odd people here going. I do that for my team**. I am also responsible for them as individuals as people, and for their development and for their wellbeing and so on. That in summary is what I do (Dalvat, Male Senior Director, GED4).

But, for partner promotion the cultural capital of revenue generation or 'winning work' from client projects represents, the criteria for partner promotion which fits the commercial logic in both GC and

GE. Interestingly, the partner gatekeepers frame this cultural capital of revenue generation from client project sales differently in GC and GE. Gatekeepers are collective professional groups who share norm of professional reciprocity which fits the professional logic in GE. Whereas, revenue generation is communicated by gatekeepers as their individualistic sales performance according to the commercial logic in GC.

6.3.1. The lesser value of professional expertise for partner promotion.

Within the hierarchy of competing logics the rise of the commercial logic has displaced professional technical expertise as criteria for partner promotion in the elite PSFs. This trend in the demise of professional technical expertise in the elite PSFs, is explored next:-

Client business development is what matters for partner promotion in GC. Jane a senior partner and vice –president in logistics and transformation in the transport sector, is clear that ' **winning-work' for client project sales** and, a track record of leadership of the large, client projects 'trumps' technical expertise every time for promotion to partner:-

   As you get further up the chain, there are still those who followed the technical track. I am talking about consultancy roles now, **there are people who follow a technical track…** But the proportion would be a small proportion, **as the majority would be about sales and delivery** (Female Senior Partner, Jane, GCD1W).

Richard a partner in Global Banking, describes moving away from technical roles to gain partner promotion through, **'winning –work'** from client projects and, leading the large client project teams for promotion to partner-

   It's quite a simple model really....... after a few years … you are starting to run teams and…**the model does switch quite dramatically**….. …..where **you've got to show that not only are you leading teams but that you are developing relationships with other people**, and with other businesses….. **you are selling 'follow -on's …** finding new opportunities. (Senior Male Partner, GCD4, Richard).

So, **'winning work'** and leading the large, client projects represent important career routes to partner promotion which fit the commercial logic in GE. Nevertheless, the gatekeepers respect professional, technical expertise according to the professional logic:-

Reg is a senior director in the property group, 45 years old, he is a White/British chartered Civil engineer, who is married with four children.

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Reg describes four 'ideal types' by which the gatekeepers judge managers as candidates for partner promotion.-

There's three or four different types of GE directors. There's three or four different ways that you can justify to the company that you are director material. **One is …work winning, going out, and building relationships with clients.** The other one is someone who has got **real deep technical expertise**... **And usually, there's not much overlap between people who have got real technical expertise and people who like going out and building client relationships.** Quite often they are sort of engineering 'nerdy' type people. But you shouldn't give all the directorships to those people who are just management types, **because** eventually **all your best technical people are going to leave**. **So good for the clients and winning work, really good technical people**… **fourth… is people who run big projects**. (Reg, GED5, Interview 1).

Tom is 45 years, a senior director, who is Irish, and a chartered Engineer, he is married with four daughters. Tom agrees that professional knowledge is respected. Nevertheless, '**winning work' and leading large client projects and teams** are what matters for partner promotion:-

Yeah. What we're looking for in terms of a senior grade is we want people who are good at job winning and selling. So they have got to be insiders, who can look after large teams of people. They are people who are technically very sharp, and **they are very sharp in the technical skills to able to sell work.** Err….. And what's the fourth thing we want? Oh yes **to be able to deliver big projects and to handle big projects. So they must be able to manage big teams, lead them well, and deliver projects** (Male Senior Director, Tom, GED).

However, there are differences in the balance of the competing logics between GC and GE. The professional logic remains, because professionals collectively share their occupational knowledge bases in GE. By contrats, the 'hybrid' management consultants do not talk about their sharing their professional knowledge bases in GC.

This is clear where the next two participants Rowena, and Roberta, describe their professional knowledge and, feelings about professional identity comparing GE and GC.

Rowena, (GED12W2) is a global partner in GE. Rowena is proud of her embodied cultural capital of professional technical expertise which fits the professional logic.-

Well that's sits on a pile, I get a great buzz from that. My mother used to live in (….name of naval town in UK…), and **I get a real buzz from going up to the top of this tower and thinking I designed that.Its things that you can see, and you can feel, and you can touch. Which you were a part of**.

Whereas, Roberta who is a project manager in HRM and IT i.e. Cloud applications, struggles to find meaning from her technical expertise, except by demonstrating her commitment to the client in a one-sided power relationship (Roberta, IT project manager, GCM1W 11 October, 2017)

> **We actually give a quick response,** and we are there, ad ….. **we are committed** with …success of the project… **I think it is a matter of seeing people who are really committed** and who are...**Yeah, very much, they are very demanding (the client**). I think they (the client) need people on sight, they value that.

Roberta describes an **impoverished performative identity** which when compared to the embodied capital of professional technical expertise described by Rowena. Roberta's professional identity focusses on her commitment to the client during the project. This evidences the power of client service logic compared to professional identity, which is discussed more in section 6.3.2.

What is common is the importance of winning work and leading, the large client projects which gives a manager legitimacy with the gatekeepers for partner promotion according to the commercial logic in both GC and GE. These research findings confirm the criterion for partner promotion with gatekeepers, is that managers must conduct business development with clients to '**win work '**and/or lead the prestigious, large global client projects.

This global expansion of business has increased the performance demands for the global partner role in the elite PSFs. What these competing logics mean for gender inequalities for career progression to global partner roles are discussed next.

6.3.2. The client service logic: Gender inequalities for global partner roles.

The client service logic subordinates professional identity and performance to meeting the client's needs and, the gatekeepers fear losing client business in this highly competitive global environment. This section discusses what the research findings say about the gender inequalities in the elite PSFs.

Edith a senior director and regional board director, she gives the rationale for '**24 hour call out'** because the prestigious, large, global client projects importance for revenue generation means that clients demands require partners to engage in regular global travel at short-notice:-

> **The firm cannot afford to risk the client relationship, if it's not going to have that almost on-call relationship. And the industry isn't going to change, it actually getting more, and more intrusive… And the firm is not going to change, what it needs from people because the industry**

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is not going to change what it needs from the firm. So I think that the difficulty is that the industry is fundamentally incompatible with, the piece of the industry that we want to be in because of the prestige and of those type of projects… **because this is very demanding but you know kind of high profile projects have a lot of iteration in the design cycle. They have people with a lot of egos to please towards meeting the design community. And we and we are subordinate to their whims, and you know we have to do a lot of things in a short period of time** (Female Senior Director, Edith, GED11Interview1).

Tara confirms that global clients expect **'face time'** with the partners, despite technology and the barriers of geographical distance:-

   It's very simple the clients that you are selling to that you are engaging with expect to meet you. (Laughter from the participant), so it's that simple you have to physically go and meet them. And then you have to….. You can't just be an armchair person and then just turn up in an ambassadorial role. You know you sell the client work and then they never hear from you again. **There is an expectation that you will have some level of engagement with the client** project. So the clients do like to see the global leaders, because it makes them feel important as well (Tara, Senior Vice President and partner, Talent Management and Transformation, GCD4, Interview1)

The global travelling at short notice to meet clients for global business is shocking, global partners work over geographical time zones due to technology.

Tara a global partner in Talent management and Transformation, describes her formidable partner global client travel schedule over seven days:-

   Tomorrow I am flying to Chicago. I'll just give you an example of my schedule this week……**so on Wednesday actually I am flying to Chicago, and then I am flying onto Detroit. On Thursday I'm with a client all day in Detroit… On Friday I fly to Dallas, and then I fly onto Tokyo and then I fly from Tokyo I fly on to Manila. Which takes me over the weekend, and I will rely arrive in Manila on Sunday… I will spend Monday and Tuesday with clients in Manila** (Tara, GCDW Interview 1.)

Wanda an Associate Partner and an Accounts Manager, travels regularly to India and the Philippines for her role in GC. Wanda is 46, married but without children, she reflects on the demands women partners face leading the large, global client projects, with global travel at short-notice because being geographically mobile is crucial for career progression. So, women who are not geographically mobile face constraints for their career progression:-

   We have got a diverse range of clients that are widely spread…and this means that to progress through the accounts…requires you to **be prepared to work away from home** (Wanda, Associate partner, in Global accounts, GDAPW1)

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Tara describes the reality of a **24 hour call out** across global time-zones, which is highly disruptive for her personal life given the unrelenting, and open-ended time demands:-

But **now with technology, and you are completely interlinked .So you are always really always on 24/7.** (Tara, Senior Partner, GCDW4, Interview 2).

Roberta concurs the 24 hours call out and global commuting constitutes a harsh working regime:-

I work very, very, very…long hours… I could work around twelve hours, every day easily. I work as well, some weekends. So I would say that my workload is very high. **I usually start working very, very early…** before eight O'clock...for the **last four and a half years, I've been mostly travelling…every week…Monday to Friday…I've been spending weeks ….in abroad** (Roberta, Middle manager, GCMCW1).

Women must follow the male-dominated partner gatekeeper's rules i.e. the 24 hour call and be geographically mobile, for access to the large, global client projects for promotion.

Strangely, Tara a global partner is critical of other women who cannot match the 24 hour client call out**:-**

So if you are not able to play the same as your neighbour, and be involved in things then you are **not going to get the same opportunities**. It is simple as that, and that's why **it is difficult for women** in particular.… Because **they don't necessarily have the capacity to take on the, you know an extra range,** the extra things if you like, **that mainly reflects lack of flexibility or maybe they don't prioritise** that enough in my experience. (Tara, Senior Partner, GCDW4, Interview 2)

This client service logic legitimates gender exclusion from global partner roles, gatekeepers dismiss women who cannot meet the 24 hour client call out because they cannot meet client needs. This client 24 hour call out regime is more demanding for women managers compared to expatriate assignments, which allow geographical relocation for a period of time with family.

6.3.3. The commercial logic: Gender inequalities for global partner roles.

This section confirms women partners must work long hours to maximise their client billing hours for revenue generation i.e. economic capital, from client fees through leadership of the large global client projects in both GC and GE.

There is controversy from two contradictory accounts from female directors about the existence of long hours working according to the commercial logic in GE.

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Edith a senior director and a regional board director in the Americas, who admits to working long hours as a partner:-

I am working 80 hours a week (Senior Female Partner, Edith GED11 Interview 2&3)

Surprisingly, a senior woman director on the senior management board (headquarters) London UK, disputes the existence of a long hours working in GE:-

first of all **we definitely do not have an all-hours culture at all .That is absolutely so alien to anything that I know anything about (GE).....People do work hard, and people work hard to achieve at all forms of the delivery stages.** But there's no sense of at (GE), you know senior management making 'juniors' stay late...... **Hard work is expected, when hard work is required** (Female Board Director of Main Management Board, Deborah. BOD).

The commercial logic is the dominant logic within a hierarchy of multiple, competing logics in the field.

Even, the partner gatekeepers must be 'billed out' and, maximise their 'utilization' of client hours to evidence the cultural capital of revenue generation from the large, global client projects according to the commercial logic.

Richard a vice president and senior partner in Global banking. Richard reiterates that measurement of high 'utilization' in client billing hours is a performance criterion for everyone not least the partner:-

Yeah… **the consulting model is really quite simple** (…) **you live and breathe by your charge out rates. Whatever your function or seniority, clients either pay for you or they don't.** And **if they pay and you utilise then your performance is good. If the utilisation is awful, then you go down the in the performance stakes** (Senior Male Partner, Richard, GCD4)

Juliet a European senior partner in government and finance, confirms long hours working is just part of a partner's job:-

I work very hard. I work very long hours….. I suppose… **what else can I say**? (Juliet, Senior Vice President, and partner, Government and Finance, UK and Europe).

These research findings confirm the commercial logic and the client service logic legitimises the actions of the elite partner gatekeepers which, support the goal of profit in the elite PSFs. Needless to say, the competing logics of commercial logic, and client service logic do not challenge existing power relations or, encourage gender transformation.

The next section explores the interplay between the cultural capitals and field logic(s) at macro level and micro level, to find the symbolic capital which gatekeepers value for conferring candidates with 'admission' to senior management field. To explore the career experiences of female and male partners, to gain insight into gender exclusion for access to large, global client projects and, for partner promotion in the elite PSFs.

6.4. The 'consecration' of partners for promotion.

This section explores the 'consecration' of partners for promotion by the existing male dominated partner gatekeepers, which operates as a reproduction strategy where the existing status quo choose those with the cultural capital which reinforces their own legitimacy and, the existing gender inequalities in the elite PSFs. The consecration of partners is defined as"…the symbolic constitution produced by a social institution, and endlessly reproduced…..which encourages and…produces mutual knowledge and recognition …" (Bourdieu, 250:1986).

Research findings confirm that successful managers are 'co-opted' by the existing partner gatekeepers in their networks of power, because these candidates fit the existing status quo profile of gender, class, and race. Whilst, promotion decisions are formally, approved at the elevated levels of elite partner gatekeeper's power e.g. the senior management board in (London, UK) headquarters in GE and, the global senior management board in (Detroit, USA) headquarters in GC.

So if **it's on a project then next it will be the project manager**, **if it's my leadership team** it will be….the… erm…**if it's my role that actually goes up to the global management board of GC** (Gina, Senior Woman Partner, GCDW2)

Prior to this, candidates are endorsed through hidden, informal selection, and sponsorship processes which the partner gatekeepers in their networks of power conduct. For example, the elite partner gatekeepers in (London UK) headquarters receive candidates nomination forms which are signed by the candidate's sponsors, before the board formally approve these candidates for partner promotion in GE.

Tom a senior director confirms that candidates require social capital connections with the elite senior management, and reputational capital to gain partner promotion:-

Yeah. So there are about 70 Directors (headquarters, UK), there are a lot of people to have a direct line manager. But the way we work is very, very soft lines. **So it would be very unusual for someone who is very good not to be known to at least one of the directors. In fact it's impossible.** And from
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the people point of view who work here, **one of the points I make is that if you were working in (GE) ……..but really narrowly. And people don't know who you are, then that is not very good for your career** (Male Senior Director, Tom, GED2)

Michael is a senior director in construction, he confirms the fierce competition between the different professional groups for promotion places:-

It's the biggest part of (GE), but we know that (name of group) in London. **We know will only get so many associates, so many ADs, and so many directors for the group.** So what you have to do… is you really have to say right. **In my team we don't want to say, well let's put three of those up and four of those up. If we maybe think that really, we are only going to get two** (Directors) and **one (Associate Director) and one (Associate)** (Male Senior Director, Michael, GED6)*

To be successful a candidate must be a **'name'** who is known to the senior board at headquarters, with one or more powerful sponsors. The formal partner promotion process is highly political so, gatekeepers informally select candidates who 'fit' the profile of the elite senior management board.

This gatekeeper sponsorship process makes unknown '**outsiders**' a risk, to the partner gatekeepers networks. So, gender diversity suffers because the partner gatekeepers play it safe, choosing candidates who match the existing profile of the partners which are predominately male.

Edith confirms the importance of having a powerful sponsor and of candidates being 'known' to the elite senior management in headquarters for successful promotion:-

you know **the only place that we officially in the (name of region) use the word sponsor is, is for the promotion nomination form…**……. for all grade 6, and 7 and up… promotions. Which have to be approved by the regional board, and the board … and interviewed, and **that's when the paperwork has to, provide a business case as justification for the role. …. to justify why that person, is the right candidate to fill the role**. As the second half of the process, and **so the sponsor's name features on the in that conversation because they sign the…..They sign the recommendation letter, they write & recommendation**. So certainly**…… (Pause)…. there's bias associated with, who the sponsors are** (Senior Female Director, Edith, GE11Interview1)

Greta a senior director and group leader in the Americas, depicts an awkward situation where a promotion approved by the regional management board, was overturned by the senior management board in headquarters (London).

This confirms the lack of power in the global HRM department compared to elite partner gatekeepers at board levels, which questions the existence of strategically integrated HRM practices including talent management and diversity policies:-

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There are not any overall HRM or talent management practices linking the different parts of business globally, there could be situations where **someone was highly regarded overseas but not elsewhere.** The participant gave an example of a situation, where someone was promoted overseas. As a courtesy the headquarters (in London) were informed. **However the promotion was opposed and the person's promotion was turned down.** (Memo: Greta, Senior director and group leader, GDW1: Field notes 31/005/2016).

There is a power disparity between elite partner gatekeepers at board levels and, the global HRM department, which questions the ability of global HRM to deliver on talent management and, protect the integrity of gender, race and class diversity for the partner promotion process.

The **promotion to partnership process** is shrouded in secrecy, and **is almost like an admission to a secret society.** (Memo CMM: Post interview with Senior Partner. Richard, GCD4, on17 August 2016 at 15.15 to 16.15)

The successful candidates for promotion are '**consecrated**' by the elite gatekeeper in their networks of power and, a pre-requisite is managers must have powerful, gatekeeper sponsorship for entry to the senior management field.

6.4.1. The promotion 'lists'.

The nominees for promotion are placed on the formal promotion nominations '**lists**' which are sent to the elite partner gatekeepers in the headquarters. To be on the promotion 'list' the candidate must be '**a name and known**' to the elite gatekeepers and, possess powerful, gatekeeper sponsorship. Otherwise, the candidate's name would not be on the promotions list in the first place.

Michael a senior director in construction, explains that being a 'name' to the elite partner gatekeeper's matters for a manager's successful promotion:-

You should be well known. And that **you should be well known within (GE)….....** The processes is that eventually all the names get put forward**… it's easier if people know who the people are.** Yeah? **Because I've sat in on this process and the worst thing is.** You know **a team leader will say, I want to put forward this person (name). Does anyone else know them?** And then **what you kind of want is**….. If you get that resounding. Yeah, yeah. **They did that really good piece of work or they did that talk. Or they were involved in XY and Z….**That's an easier conversation in relation to the… Oh no not really. Tell me about them? **……..**…. But we just say…..…**you need to have an outward facing part of you that people just see**…**it just lubricates the process... Someone can say oh yeah….they are really good. Whereas if they say well what do they actually do? And you have to explain what their role is… your argument has to be much stronger** (Male Senior Director, Michael, GED6).

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Edith ratifies that those candidates who conduct informal networking with the powerful, elite gate keepers, are more successful for partner promotion:-

yes, networking helps you gain a profile with the people who make the decisions. And I think that's dysfunctional**. But it is true and people who are committed to networking, some people would say are kind of more successful…And people who are less committed to that (networking) are sometimes overlooked.** (GED11Interview 1, Senior Female Director, Edith).

Dalvat is a senior director who has worked in East –Asia, Australia, America, Eire, and the UK. Dalvat explains how leadership of the global client projects offers managers opportunities for visibility to the elevated, elite gatekeepers in headquarters, and to extend a manager's networks to gain powerful sponsors for partner promotion:-

One of the benefits of working overseas is the network…when you need people to back your application for promotion. The statements you have to write, as part of the process… **You can call on so and so and ask if they'll be happy to write you a paragraph** and say you're a good boy and so on. **That's very useful indeed, and needed** (Dalvat, GED4 Interview 1).

Michael a senior director, describes how gatekeepers employ different, informal selection practices to construct their promotion 'lists' in the different professional groups:-

We only promote once a year now. It used to be twice a year but it's only once a year now…**we sit and think really…we start off with a long list and then it becomes a shortlist…We always talk to people, not everyone does. Different teams do it in different ways** (Michael, Group Director, Construction, GED6).

Reg describes, the hidden, informal political brokering which occurs within the gatekeepers networks to agree their candidates for promotion:-

everyone will go through the whole group, and **kind of figure out who are the ….who we think we should be putting forward for promotion… there's a little bit of 'horse trading'. Is that person as good as that person? If we had to choose two of that three who would it be?** (Male Senior Director, Reg, GED5).

The elite partner gatekeeper's power is absolute and elite partner gatekeepers reject unknown candidates and, anyone whose application is not sponsored by a powerful gate-keeper at headquarters level. Michael a senior director explains how promotion application are ***'returned'*** by the senior management board:-

So when there are….. (Pause**)……** promotions are for the middle ranks, and the lower ranks they are a local issue. **Once you get to the leadership level to associate or to director level, it becomes**

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a much more formal process. So people have to make a business case and teams put people forward…**sometimes they get returns…And I do know for a fact that...I can't name names… senior people will say I am not accepting your recommendations because**………. It means that **I am not accepting your promotion recommendation…Yes, it's the leadership, it's not HR.** The leadership. (Male Senior Director, Michael, GED6).

Michael describes his own nomination process for partner promotion. Michael is working class which does not fit the class habitus of the elite partner gatekeepers in headquarters:-

they said to me**…** (*The partner gatekeepers*) **they** (*the senior management board*) **have come back with a question…its not a no**… it's just a question… (*the senior management board said*) **….he doesn't seem like a (GE) sort of chap…why do you want him**? (T*he gatekeepers replied)*…yes, **that's why we want him**… (Male Senior Director, Michael, GED6: Field notes 11.30, 25 May 2016).

It is averred, that without strong partner gate-keeper sponsorship Michael's promotion nomination would be '*returned'*

Edith a senior director from the Americas, she argues that gate-keeper sponsorship operates as a hidden, informal discriminatory practice:-

So when you have that kind of situation, and **end up with leaders having favourites and that sort of thing. And surprise, surprise, their favourites look just like them**. (Senior Director, Edith GED 11, Interview 1)

This research data confirms that candidates are **co-opted** by the existing partner gatekeepers through informal nomination and sponsorship for promotion. The candidates placed on the promotion lists by the gatekeepers networks of power, must be '**names'** who are known to and, who fit with the existing status quo of elite gatekeepers in the headquarters.

So, women managers who lack social capital with gatekeepers networks and are unknown represent a risk for promotion and, unlikely to be put forward for partner promotion. This consolidates the lack of impetus for gender diversity transformation because, the elite partner gatekeepers in headquarters are not gender, class or race diverse in the elite PSFs.

6.4.2. Sponsorship from the gatekeepers: tacit entry ticket to the senior management field.

This section argues that for women managers to succeed for promotion to partner positions, they require informal sponsorship from powerful gatekeepers which represents the **tacit, entry ticket** to the senior management field.

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Partners speak openly about gate-keeper sponsorship which is a rule of the game, still sponsorship remains a hidden, informal process. However, managers who harness gate-keeper sponsorship gain access to informal career roles and go to '**the front of the queue'** for promotion.

Jane is a senior partner and vice-president technological strategy, digital and software, she is 50 years old, married with one child. Jane is adamant that without informal, hidden sponsorship from powerful partner gatekeepers she would not be a partner in GC:-

I would say that without sponsorship I would not be a partner today. I would still be the same person, I would still be the same name, and **I would still be working with clients**. **What I'm saying is that without sponsorship progression is not possible** (senior female partner/Senior Vice President in Technological Strategy, Digital and Software Jane, GCD1W).

Jane is a senior partner in technological strategy, digital and software, she declares that unless a manager has informal sponsorship from powerful gatekeepers their chances of partner promotion are nil. Jane endorses the importance of being a 'name' who is known to the elite gatekeepers for successful transition from a manager to a partner:-

If you kept your head down and delivered well, then you could be comfortable and be recognised. But **when it comes to promotion if you want to progress, if you want to make progress then you have to be sponsored……… Our important senior people who are influential must know you. So that more people recognise you, because the whole promotion process.** I am talking about the GC ... it's the one thing that rings true all along **is sponsorship. I have seen it, and actually I have benefited from it.** (Jane, Senior female partner/ Vice President in Technological Strategy, Digital and Software Jane, GCD1W)

Pauline is a HRM Director in UK and Europe, a qualified accountant and HRM professional. Pauline is 58, single, and she worked in a global assignments:-

Performance ……and networking is key…to understand the rules…. To gain a sponsor and also demonstrate your capability. Probably it's important to have several sponsors…. different sponsors are important……. **but you have to deliver**… (GCSWDHRM1W, Pauline).

Jane first gained sponsorship from a senior women partner, when this partner used her power to recommend Jane for an immediate promotion. After an informal conversation with another powerful partner gate-keeper as if by magic:-

…She (the partner) was very fast…..she said…… I am going to speak to somebody…….then **I went to speak to whoever that was, then they went to speak to ……**you know…. **the people above**. …..about me……….by the **time I spoke to …….the person who ran the section was a senior**

partner…..for about two minutes. ……. Who said, **if you'll agree to move over, then I'll put you into the process for promotion immediately**. (GCD1W. Female Partner, Jane).

Sponsorship from the powerful, partner gatekeepers is the tacit entry ticket for admission to the senior management field. Sponsorship from the gatekeepers signifies that candidates possess the 'credentials' for promotion however, sponsorship is not about a candidate's merit:-

… **related to sponsorship, is talking people up at the upper echelons. But I personally …… believe, that truly in a meritocracy that should be not be necessary. Even though I know that, I know that that is the way it is now** (Edith, Senior Partner, GED11 Interview 1).

The women partners in this PhD study are the success stories, but these women partners are a minority of about 10% within the total partner population. For promotion to partner gaining informal, gatekeeper sponsorship is the tacit entry ticket to the senior management field. However, this gatekeeper sponsorship is a hidden process which is neither merit-based nor equally available to everyone. The next section discusses how gatekeepers make hidden decisions about which candidates are 'passed over' for promotion.

6.4.3. Being 'passed over 'for promotion.

The gatekeepers in their networks of power make hidden judgements about candidates for promotion, which by their nature are discriminatory and, some candidates get "**passed over**" for promotion.

Deborah is a senior board director from the management board in the London (UK) headquarters, she confirms that managers are "***passed over***" for promotion by the partner gatekeepers:-

…**I can see some people being passed over sometimes, who don't say my expectation is to be a Director given the right opportunity**…I can see people who do that very positively, and they are very articulate…But you've also got to do things. I see some people they have never kind of grasped the nettle. **They are very polished, and you know they are never going to be on the Board, because they are just not grasping the nettle**. (BOD1W, Director of the Management Board, Deborah)

Strangely, Deborah a senior director on the management board at London (UK) headquarters, recalls how the male-dominated gatekeepers used gendered performance standards to assess her for promotion:-

And where you know, they said (senior management) **has she been tough with the contractors**? Has she been fighting in the ditches? **And they looked for very masculine attributes** (Female Director of the Board, Deborah, BODW1)

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Oddly, Deborah blames the managers who are '**passed over**' for their own exclusion from partner promotion.

The gatekeepers networks of power make informal predictions about which managers are '**partner material**' early in the managers careers, which for those managers who are judged negatively by the gatekeepers does irrecoverable damage this manager's reputational capital and, their promotion prospects.

Reg a senior director in construction and property, reflects on why some managers get 'stuck' in the lower or middle management grades, after gatekeepers label them as not being '**partner material**':-

> **I see lots of very capable people, who get stuck in 6, and 7 and 8** (*grades*)... why do other people get stuck? **Well I guess the people who are making the decisions they kind of label people as well they can't progress any further**. (GED5 Male Senior Director, Reg)

Reg a senior director, explains that gatekeepers are reluctant to change their hidden, informal assessments made about a manager. So, any manager who is negatively labelled by the gatekeeper networks in their early career stages, loses reputational capital and faces poor prospects for their promotion:-

> I definitely have seen people. **Where I am going, oh this person is quite good and you know maybe we should be thinking about this person to progress into the next level. It's …oh no**… no**…** (*Sharp* **intake of breath... He's struggling. You know they're not demonstrating that, they can perform at the grade that they are at.** And I kind of go… oh okay…**I try to… (Pause)… unlock some of those pre– conceptions about people. I think it's just a little bit sad, that people have these kind of fixed views about people…** (GED5 Male Senior Director, Reg).

A secondary account, describes how women managers who when excluded for partner promotion by elite gatekeepers in headquarters, instigated their own global assignments to gain career opportunities. Interestingly, these women managers subsequently returned to headquarters having been promoted in the region which gave them enhanced legitimacy (despite the elite gatekeepers previous rejection of these women managers) for promotion with elite gatekeepers in the headquarters:-

> …I might have mentioned this last time, I am pretty sure there were examples of some individual, ….**some individual personality clashes here in the London office which were unlocked when they came to (Name of city in Asia Pacific) and within a few years they were promoted to senior levels.** There were five people who came over to (Name of City in Asia Pacific) and **I can think of two grade 8 females actually. Who are pretty senior here? They were promoted within two or three years of arriving.** And I am pretty sure that would never have happened here**… not that they weren't**

capable. **But for whatever reason they had just been labelled as, just not….'inside the tent' by whoever was pulling the strings.** (GED5 Male Senior Director, Reg)

Gatekeepers make these subjective, hidden, informal, judgements which are discriminatory about which consultants have partner potential early in their careers. Unfortunately, **'word of mouth'** within the gatekeeper's networks are the means to informally communicate a consultant's reputational capital. Where a consultant's **reputational capital is damaged in the gatekeeper's networks** there are no second chances. Those consultants who are **'labelled'** as poor performers by gatekeepers even though they may not even know it, are **'passed over'** by gatekeepers for promotion to partner.

The next section discusses, how successful transition from manager to partner requires a specific cultural capital portfolio and, how the informal gendered practices damage promotion chances for women managers.

6.5. The 'transition' phase from manager to partner: Symbolic capital, reputational capital and linguistic capital.

This section explores the **'transition'** phase for the manager which is a crucial career inflection point for partner promotion. To highlight the barriers which women managers face trying to accumulate the requisite career capitals according to the field logic.

This promotion transition requires managers to shift from the cultural capital of professional expertise to revenue generation or, of **'winning work'** from client projects sales. Additionally, managers must develop their social capital and networking skills with the partner gatekeepers to gain opportunities for informal allocation to the large, prestigious client projects.

Wanda an associate partner in logistics she substantiates that client projects sales or winning work is the dominant cultural capital for promotion to partner in GC:-

> **some people do focus on technical things some people focus on sales and some people focus on delivery and some people focus on industry specialisation.** I do believe that is important to be broad across sales and delivery. Because I think ….there are different kinds of sales, but **in the industry we are in think it's important to be hot in sales** (Associate Partner, Wanda, GDAPW1)

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Edith describes her shock when facing the multiple demands of leading teams and large client projects, handling the politics of client relationships and keeping control of project budgets during her **'transition':-**

At that point **you start to learn how to read contracts. To negotiate with the principal, and how to sign a contract…**…Even so **there is a corporate side that you have to be aware of because of legal issues.** But primarily the day to day work is in project. **And that's where I think there is a jump, because the next level is possibly beyond project management or project director. Because the next level involves a whole lot of people management sort of thing. So you start looking at what does it mean to be a discipline leader**? And the sort of learning and development, the coaching and the talent management ….. **And the people responsibilities associated with a group of anything from about twelve to about forty-five people**….. And what does it mean to be a discipline leader. You know **what it means to be a group leader in an office,** where things are kind of running adrift **……**And **you have to look after overheads**, and all those things (Female senior Director, Edith GED 11, Interview 1)

Reg, joined GE as graduate with a Civil Engineering Degree in the UK. Reg worked on a large client infrastructure project and he built social capital connections with the senior management team from headquarters (London, UK).

Reg, a senior group director specialises in property, he is married with four children, and he is 45 years old. Reg, is a geographically mobile leader, whose career trajectory includes relocations from the North of England to London (UK), to Australia, and back to London (UK) Headquarters. Reg moved from a small regional office to headquarters, then he was allocated to larger client projects after gaining visibility to the elite gatekeeper's networks:-

I joined Global engineers in …... with a civil engineering degree. **I started working with global engineers in the (…year…) (City in UK) office, a regional office with about 120 people at the time. I worked on some civil structural engineering for about three years. I spent some long periods of time outside on sites, getting more exposed to the management of contractors. I enjoyed that site management and those sort of things.** I found that I quite enjoyed them…**I had six months in particular working at a (regional) football stadium**… I got the bug I suppose. Then I was working at (regional) airport for six months. **I was introduced to a number of people who worked in a (GE) project management down in (Headquarters UK). So then an opportunity came up, and I transferred to join the project team in (Headquarters UK). This was about like (one year)...** In particular, I spent five years working on a big dance school in (city in UK) which was a super cool building. **It won lots of awards, and it was very much sort of my baby** (Male Senior Director, Reg, GED5)

Most importantly, Reg accumulated social capital connections and, he gained visibility to the elite gatekeepers for allocation to the prestigious, large client projects and, he built his track record of revenue generation for promotion.

Reg, built his reputational capital by becoming a '**name**' winning industry prizes and leading the large, prestigious client projects.-

> I **was lucky enough, to I suppose to get working on a number of good client side project roles**, and a number of jobs of that kind went well… **I got rung up by a guy who... leading the recruitment, and he said "oh congratulations we're going to make you an associate…at the time I didn't even know I was a grade 6? …** I can remember going oh cool**. But it wasn't like I was particularly managing my career at the time, particularly proactively at the time** (Senior Male Director, Reg, GED5 Interview2).

Richard is a senior partner and vice-president in the Global banking sector in the UK, and Europe, he is 40 years old, British and married with two children. Richard describes gaining the sophisticated repertoire of cultural capitals, including networking with gatekeepers, winning work and, developing client relationships, all imperative for revenue generation from client project sales to gain promotion to partner:-

> **you've got to show that not only are you leading teams but that you are developing relationships with other people, and with other businesses. That you know you are selling 'follow -on's and, finding new opportunities**…And doing it in a way that is err …**not disruptive. So you ...Its hopeless being a one man band**, and …. Being divisive. So you've got to sort of do that in a way that is sort of conducive to our values (Richard, Senior Partner, Global Banking, GCD4).

The male partners portray their transition from manager to partner as a smooth, almost an accidental process. Richard describes how managers must develop their social capital connections with and, work closely with the powerful gatekeepers.

To generate business development opportunities networking with clients and, for managers to consolidate their track record of revenue generation from client project sales for promotion:-

> **It was bigger projects, bigger clients. I progressed to associate partner**, errmm….in the bank I was working ……..**with the top management, and then you get closer to partners**. **It does shift more substantially into business development with really………Yeah then after a while I picked up the account partner role…… Yes so working with partners…**yeah that's pretty much it (Richard, Senior Partner, Vice President Global Banking, GCD4)

Richard gained opportunities to evidence his reputational capital to the gatekeepers, including the symbolic capital of linguistic capital and, of revenue generation i.e. winning work which are the credentials for partner promotion.

Richard signalled to partner gatekeepers that he could be trusted to manage senior level client relationships in confidential, difficult situations and, to handle the power relationships at elevated levels which are crucial partner capitals:-

I was out in some quite odd situations, and I managed to …you know, sort of keep the wheels on…And we were doing the …..…the M & A (Mergers and Acquisitions)…by a quirk of ….or by luck…….. **I got the role to go and sit with the (….client name…) in (City).** Whereas lots of the team were in (A different city)…….. I was effectively sitting on the board. I was attending meetings, and advising……………I became an important stakeholder in the process. ……with the Chief Executive…….Yeah you only need a few war stories like that…… it does give your career a very, very good boosting in the world of consulting.(Richard, Senior Partner, Vice President Global Banking, GCN4)

Richard is describing 'linguistic capital' where managers 'get close' to the partner gatekeepers and, the senior level clients when leading large, client projects and, during business development activities. To reach these elevated levels of power, the managers require partner gatekeeper trust and sponsorship, to develop their partner capitals for promotion *prior to* their formal promotion:-

I was beginning to pull in business. ……….it is really quite straight forward, you know you've got the metrics over three years in terms of time and….revenue and your niche…and ….. You know **I think the big inflection points for me was getting to the point where I felt confident about being the person driving business, and driving the …. Senior relationships** (Richard, Senior Partner, Vice President Global Banking, GCD4).

Gina a senior partner and vice –president in utilities, as a manager got an offer she could not refuse from a senior partner. The partner asked Gina to take over the back office administration in a large, prestigious client project where there were problems. Gina agreed but negotiated a role of shadowing an existing partner in this client project. This gave Gina exposure to interacting with the senior clients, and managing power relations during the large, client projects, which helped Gina build her track record of reputational capital, linguistic capital and revenue generation for partner promotion:-

I was asked by the lead partner to….sort out the project office…I …said no…he said (the lead partner) **no I really, really need you**… **we are in big trouble**... **you can name your price… you can have any role you want... I….. told him (the partner)… I wanted to be a programme manager, not a project manager**. I want to go and work with him because **I want to learn how to do that role …they forced the role in there for me… I got to really learn about contract**

negotiations, and about difficult discussions with the client. (Gina, Senior Partner and Vice President, Utilities, GCDW2, Interview 2)

For managers to successfully transition to partner they must develop their social capital connections with gatekeepers through networking, to gain allocation to large client projects for opportunities to build their reputational capital, linguistic capital and, a track record of revenue generation which fits the commercial logic in the PSFs.

This transition for women managers to partner promotion is not so smooth compared to the male managers. Women must overcome the gendered assumptions held by male-dominated partner gatekeepers that women lack the linguistic capital to 'network' with senior level clients for business development activities and, to handle power relations during leadership of the large, prestigious client projects.

Edith, is a senior director and group leader of Infrastructure and Buildings group, she is a Regional Director in the Americas. Edith confirms, that building reputational capital, and symbolic capital by working on the large, prestigious, global client assignments offers a manager more prestige as a **'name'** which matters for promotion:-

So it's not the quality of work that you do on the project, but the quality of the project itself…....If you are in the buildings part of the business, and if you are working on a museum **let's say….working with you know a Pulitzer Prize winning, European architect. You know there is … a status associated with working on that project, then if you are working successfully on this project type of project people tend to think you are quite good……you know that's the worst you could do, as compared to somebody who might be doing an equally excellent job in 125 room dormitory in a…. you know a local university…** (GE11W Interview 1).

Male-dominated gatekeepers are less willing to invest in women managers who they see as a risky prospect, compared with another man for allocation to large, prestigious client projects. For women managers to successfully transition to partner, they require a partner (s) willing to trust and sponsor them to work in the large client projects, to gain the requisite cultural capitals and evidence their track record of revenue generation **prior** to their partner promotion.

6.6. The partner gatekeeper's and the merit claim: Symbolic violence

This section discusses the hidden, informal resistance of male and, sometimes female partner gatekeepers to gender diversity. The partners use the merit claim to suggest, that women are positively

discriminated and favoured for promotion by non-existent gender quotas, which contradicts the reality of women's invisibility at partner levels in the elite PSFs.

Strangely, senior women partners oppose these non-existent gender quotas as fiercely as the male partner gatekeepers in both GC and GE do.

Tom a senior director who is Irish, married with children and 45 years old, offers insight into the male-dominated hegemony, and he confirms the most senior women on the board purports to oppose gender quotas:-

We don't really have targets for diversity. We don't have quotas……Formally, **we have targets for recruitment and selection, but not quotas…….I think we are getting dangerously close to quotas in some places,** and that I think just undermines the situation for females and males. **There is one female director** (only female member of the senior management Board) **who says that if we (GE) ever bring in a quota system,** (*verbatim: the senior women director states she will leave the company*)**…… I fully support that view that quotas would destroy her personal credibility** (Tom, Senior director and partner, GDW2, Interview 1).

Tom has worked in Dublin and London (headquarters) which he joined as a graduate trainee, and he seems to state not complying with requests for hiring more women despite the serious gender imbalance at partner levels:-

But **the firm would like us to (employ) fifty percent (women) and it's almost an edict**…….occasionally we get well you should not employ anymore males now. We must get all females. **Which we have resisted and I refuse to pass (that) on because that is blind prejudice** (Tom, Senior director and partner, GDW2, Interview 1).

Some gatekeepers state that, gender diversity is not a problem despite the absence of women in partner positions.

Donald is a Senior Director and Partner, and geologist. Donald is 60, and married with two children, he strongly reiterates that gender diversity is not a problem in GE:-

I've never come up against the diversity policy…I think it's just…a little bit. **What's the word for it? Not positive discrimination**…but what's the other? **Not quotas**. But whenever I hear …**I've never read the policy. I've never had any dealings with it.** Whatever. …There's been a couple of talks recently about diversity and stuff. **We don't talk about diversity because it's just not an issue. It does not need talking about,** someone obviously thinks it's an issue**……..**" (GED1 Male Partner, Donald).

Michael is a senior director and partner, and a mechanical engineer. Michael has worked in different countries including the Arab states, Africa and Europe, and he is a Diversity champion for a region. Michael describes his impatience with gender diversity, despite the absence of women at partner levels in GE:-

And if I'm brutally honest I got fed up with….. **To me to me all the chatter about diversity had been about gender……….**And I wanted to open the conversation, and I wanted to it to be more than a gender conversation. **And I hear the argument that if we get gender right then everything else will follow.** But I think... …. I felt, and I still feel and this is a personal view. **We are probably too gender focused**… I applied for it (the diversity champion role) because I felt that was, and **I still feel that everything is just about gender, gender, gender. And I was fed –up with it** (Michael, Senior Partner, Buildings GED6)

One male senior male director Reg, departs from this dominant hegemony about non-existent, gender quotas in GE. Reg, reflects that gender quotas could generate change, and transform the current, slow progress for gender diversity at partner levels:-

(GE) is at the stage where **we haven't set any targets we haven't set any quotas,** we have dismissed that. That would be doing it for the wrong reasons**, but actually nothing has changed. So maybe we are just kidding ourselves by saying that quotas won't work. Maybe you need to set some sort of quotas to make sure that actually everyone is treated fairly.** I imagine that's how I would see what the next step for GE. (Senior male director and partner Reg, in Property, GED5, Interview 1).

The powerful male partner gatekeepers including, women partners and managers, make shocking claims about women managers being promoted due to positive discrimination as opposed to not their own merit in GC and GE.

Morris is a male vice president and partner in the Media and Communications sector, he is British, 40 years old, married with two children. Morris makes an astonishing statement which confirms the male-dominated, partner gate-keeper hegemony, that women are promoted because of positive discrimination, not because they are the best candidates for the job:-

Positive discrimination is unhelpful, **where there was feeling that appointments were made not for the best person for the job** (Memo: Post interview CMM. By phone to Heathrow airport London, 16:30 hours on 15 August 2016. Morris, Senior vice president and partner, Media and communications GCDE3)

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Dalvat is a senior director and group leader in Infrastructure, he organized a recent gender diversity workshop within his professional group. Dalvat seems genuinely, perplexed about why women managers did not attend the gender diversity workshop. Nevertheless, Dalvat attributes the women's absence to their not wanting to experience positive discrimination:-

the girls that I have, **are not willing to be positively discriminated**….So if you call a meeting to for instance discuss gender issues. The girls will not go, they will not attend…an actual example, when our (group) lead came here about eighteen months ago… we had a workshop….there were about thirty something people in the room who came…So ten girls didn't come. Thirty guys felt that if they didn't go it would be bad. But the ten girls did not (Dalvat, GED4, Interview 1).

The reasons the women managers chose not to attend is the gender diversity workshop are unknown. However, if women hear this merit claim from the dominant male culture, they may not want to be visible in a public forum or, linked to this positive discrimination rhetoric which undermines their legitimacy for promotion to partner roles.

These impressive, and successful women partners and managers, recognise the gender absence at partner levels i.e. senior management. Yet, women repeatedly state their fear of being promoted not by merit but because they are women.

Wanda an associate partner, who leads global accounts in India, the Philippines, Europe, and the UK, she is 46, married and without children. Wanda acknowledges the lack of gender diversity and absence of women from the partner positions in GC. Still, Wanda argues against her own promotion according to merit:-

I guess from a woman's perspective, I look at it as if it's really helpful to me that there's a diversity agenda, and I support the diversity agenda. (GC). **On the other hand I…I would absolutely hate it if anyone's thought that… ...oh she's only got that job because she is a woman….…..so .I absolutely do not agree with positive discrimination for women,** I think it does women a disservice………. because no one is ever clear if someone promoted because they were good at their job, or because they are a women. **I think that there is a risk of promoting people who are not good enough at their job, because they are women. So I don't believe in positive discrimination**……… **I don't believe in positive discrimination for promotion……..**But **I do think there is a lot to be done to make sure that there is no bias taking place**, and to ensure that women are recognised(Wanda, Associate Partner, and Accounts Manager. GDAPW1)

Where is the evidence of women managers' simply *obtaining partner promotion*, whilst women are about 10% in partner positions (Ashley and Empson, 2017) in the elite PSFs?

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Worse, this merit claim makes insidious declarations about positive discrimination which undermines women managers' legitimacy for promotion due to the low proportion of women in senior partner positions in GC and GE.

Most shockingly, women managers and, even women partners repeat this bogus, merit claim which is oppositional to their own interests and, harnesses the male-dominated gatekeeper power to oppose gender diversity transformation:-

There is a widely held perception held by women middle managers about their being promoted on gender grounds? **There is a strong informal culture which affirms resistance, and even to gender quotas or targets on the grounds that individuals want to be promoted "their Merit".** This is interesting because **there are less women compared to men in the senior levels in GE and GC. Why is the "merit claim" so important to these women?** (Memo CMM with Marianne, Middle manager and a senior engineer, capital GE at 16 hours on 20 July 2016)

There are formal gender diversity policies yet, women managers and even partners, shockingly endorse the merit claim and, make incorrect statements about positive discrimination which casts doubt on their own legitimacy for promotion to partner positions.

Edith is a senior director, a regional board director in the Americas and, is an advocate for Diversity policies and practices in the Americas.

Edith is critical of the business case gender diversity model which focuses on 'bottom line' financial profit measures and performance targets. Edith ratifies that, business case diversity neglects to tackle existing senior management power relations and, overlooks the complexities for long-term cultural changes to create meaningful gender and race diversity transformation in GE:-

…every year we have three improvement plans…..It **tends to focus a little bit more on profit** and those kind of things, like making projects, and you know winning the right kind of work and things like that**….** ……. you know recommendations about training and all that. **So they added like about 3 ½ years ago, a GE plan related to diversity…..And there wasn't a great amount of clarity about… my problem with those kind of, texts to support them is that they kind of have a beginning and, and an end, and the end product which is useful to the firm**. And I didn't see that the people who were running that path forward, knew where the end was. **Because there is no end. Because there has to be a cultural change, and these cultural changes take a decade.** In order to achieve, and **you are not going to be able to get to the end of two years or three years. Then tick a box, and say yeah it all works great** (GED111, Senior Director, Edith)

The business case diversity model includes contradictions between setting out formal gender diversity goals whilst, protecting the bottom line profit in organizations. Interestingly, business the case gender

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diversity model does not conflict with the commercial logic nor the client service logic. Rather, business case diversity policies endorses the profit goal, specifically economic capital from client fee incomes which fits both logics of the senior management field.

Notwithstanding, the existing partner gatekeepers are not gender diverse. So, this questions where the impetus for gender equality transformation might come from, given gender changes would displace the existing status quo of male-dominated partner gatekeepers.

The current lack of gender targets despite the reality of gender underrepresentation in partner positions, confirms how business case diversity policies avoid challenging the existing power relations which underpin the gender hierarchy in the elite PSFs.

Gina, a global partner describes her disappointment after promotion to partner in GC. Gina felt invisible again and, at the bottom of another steep gender hierarchy:-

I was working towards the vision of making partner and …**I remember when I'd made partner I was then utterly appalled that….I was at the bottom of another really long ladder** ...it had never really occurred to me that…that would be the case**…. I suddenly felt that I'd gone back to being the person that they asked to make the tea every time that I went into a meeting.**.. (Gina, Vice-president, and Senior Partner in Utilities, GCDW1 Interview 1.)

The business case diversity model fits comfortably with the commercial logic, the client service logic and, arguably does not contradict the professional logic in the elite PSFs.

Therefore, business case diversity policies fail to challenge the existing, elite male-dominated partners and, existing, gender inequalities which are legitimised by the shared profit imperative not transformation diversity change in the senior management field.

6.7. Conclusion.

This conclusion briefly, summaries the main research findings from chapter six, and lists research contributions in section 6.7.1. The research questions of 1.2.1; and sub-question of 1.2.1.1, are answered in section 9.2 and, the contributions to theory are discussed in section 9.3, the research methods are discussed in sections 9.4 and, the implications for policy are discussed in section 9.6., in Chapter nine.

Firstly, this chapter explored the competing logics of the field at a macro level and, at a micro level in the elite PSFs. Secondly, this chapter mapped the senior management field to identify the key players who are the partner gatekeepers in their networks of power in the senior management field. To understand the valued cultural capitals according to the partner gatekeepers including symbolic capital, which the use gatekeepers to confer candidates with entry to the senior management field? Thirdly, the chapter explored how the competing logics at a macro-level relate to the business case gender diversity policies which exist in GC and GE

The multiple, competing logics operate within a hierarchy of power, and the commercial logic or revenue generation from client projects sale dominates in the elite PSFs. These multiple, competing logics co-exist with the client service logic and the professional logic at a micro level, but these logics are slightly different in GC and GE. Overall, the commercial logic is dominant but, professional technical expertise is highly respected by gatekeepers i.e. the professional logic, and is important for professional identity in GE.

By mapping the field the key players or the partner gatekeepers with most power in the field are identified, and the understanding of the symbolic capital helps to surfaces the hidden gender inequalities which are legitimated by the gatekeepers according to field logic(s) in the elite PSFs. Surprisingly, the global HRM department is less powerful compared with the partner gatekeepers who informally control nomination, assessment, and promotion decision-making.

The existing partner gatekeeper networks of power conduct an elite, reproduction strategy where successful candidates are 'consecrated' for partner promotion. These chosen candidates must be possess social capital with and, be sponsored by powerful gatekeepers to be 'names' known to the elite, partner gatekeepers in the global headquarters for successful partner promotion. Sponsorship from partner gatekeepers is the 'tacit entry ticket' to the senior management field, which informally excludes women managers who are 'outsiders' to the gatekeeper networks of power.

The multiple, competing logics: the commercial logic, the client service logic, and the professional logic in combination do not challenge, the existing power relations specifically the gatekeeper networks, because the competing logics informally legitimate gender exclusionary practices in the elite PSFs.

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Women suffer from symbolic violence imposed on them by the male-dominated gatekeepers and strangely, which even senior women partners accept although disguised by the merit claim. Male partner gatekeepers make incorrect, and hostile claims that women are promoted due positive discrimination and not on their merit. The merit claim used by gatekeepers undermines the women managers' legitimacy for promotion and justifies the invisibility of women from partner positions. More shockingly, women partners and managers as the dominated group, choose to repeat this merit claim which supports their own informal exclusion from promotion in the elite PSFs.

6.7.1. A summary of research contributions.

A research contribution is by mapping the senior management field, this reveals how the collective configuration of cultural capitals are relationally converted within the gatekeepers networks of power for members. These collective cultural capitals include social capital and the symbolic capital of revenue generation which the gatekeepers value as confirmation that a manager holds the cultural capital portfolio for partner promotion which fits with field logic(s).

The gatekeeper networks of power are stronger than the weaker global HRM department despite their formal policies on global staffing. So the gatekeepers control the informal allocation processes to the large global client projects and partner promotion. The global HRM department is weak, which questions their authority to enact talent management policy and gender diversity policy in the elite PSFs.

The power of elite partner gatekeepers is at elevated global levels, and promotion to partner is a consecration where the elite partners promote those who share their gender, race and class profile. The formal promotion process is preceded by an informal process of hidden 'lists' and, candidates requires powerful sponsorship from gatekeepers known to the elite gatekeepers to succeed for partner promotion. So, gender diversity is subordinated by the hidden, informal practice of partner gatekeeper sponsorship for promotion in the elite PSFs. If the elite gatekeepers in the headquarters do not know the woman because she is a network outsider, then without a powerful gatekeeper sponsor acting as a proxy to vouch for them the promotion nomination is rejected by the gatekeepers.

This means geographical mobility and allocation to the large, global client projects matters for promotion. For women managers gaining visibility and becoming 'a name' to elite gatekeepers and, their networks, matters to build their track record of the symbolic capital of revenue generation i.e.

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winning work from global clients to transition from manager to partner promotion. But women who are network outsiders to networks are not allocated to large, global client projects because gatekeepers do not trust them.

The multiple, competing logics in combination legitimate the informal gender exclusionary practices, which conducted by the gatekeeper networks of power in elite PSFs. These competing logics legitimate long hours working for client billing, matching the performance demands of the client service logic and, working full-time and 'beyond' contract hours to match the professional logic.

Despite, the co-existence of competing logics tensions exist for the professional identities of agents between the professional logic and client service logic at micro level, and are acute for women operating in the male-dominated cultures of the elite PSFs.

There is hidden resistance to gender diversity and change from many male-dominated gatekeepers, where male gatekeepers to undermine the legitimacy of women for promotion adopt the merit claim. Even, women partners repeat this merit claim which subjecting themselves to symbolic violence as a dominated group in the elite PSFs.

7. Chapter Seven: The gatekeepers networks of power and informal gender exclusion.

This chapter explores the gatekeeper networks of power, who enact the hidden, informal practices in selection, talent management, and promotion, which reinforce existing gender exclusionary practices in the elite PSFs. To demonstrate how women managers are informally excluded from equal access to global client projects or expatriate assignments and, for promotion to global partner roles at a meso-level in the elite PSFs. This chapter answers the following research question:-

1.2.2. **How do gatekeepers in their networks of power, utilise informal practices for the selection, and assessment of managers for expatriate assignments and partner promotion?**

7.1. The 'official' formal selection and, 'unofficial' informal selection of candidates for global projects.

This section explores the co-existence of the formal and informal selection processes for allocation to client projects in GC and GE.

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There is an 'unofficial 'informal selection process for allocating candidates to client projects which occurs within the gatekeeper networks of power and, an 'official' formal selection process which occurs in global HRM department co-exist in both GC and GE.

The gatekeeper networks of power dispense the available, but unadvertised client projects to their chosen candidates based on informal referrals within their networks. By contrast, power of global HRM department is shockingly weak compared with these gatekeepers networks of power because, the gatekeeper networks control the informal allocation process for client projects whereas, the global HRM department simply administer these staff transfers.

Pauline is an HRM director and partner (UK), she is 58 years old, single and without children. Pauline has worked in Eastern Europe, Europe, and the UK.

Pauline confirms, there are a lack of centralised, formal systems in the European/UK HRM department to co-ordinate formal staff requests for global career moves from appraisal forms in GC. This is a scandalous admission, which questions the authority of global HRM department to implement its strategic global staffing, talent management and diversity policies throughout GC:-

   …**There is not a single global HRM department to allocate a BLT (Business Technical and Leadership/appraisal form) person… However the jobs are not openly advertised** (Pauline, Pilot interview 1, 2pm, 8 June, 2015)

A significant research finding is, that global HRM department lacks the power to challenge the partner gatekeeper's networks to make them accountable for their hidden, informal selection and nomination practices despite the existence of formal, business case diversity in both GC and GE.

So, partner gatekeepers tacitly disregard the formal selection process when they are staffing their global projects in GE. Donald is a senior director in Infrastructure, he ignores the formal selection process run by the global HRM department for staffing his global projects:-

   One thing is there is an (GE) news. Which is published on line and it's got opportunities……**It's an HR thing-I think. I've no idea whether that produces any results. I certainly never read** it! (GED1, Donald).

Greta a senior director and, group leader of Infrastructure in the Americas. Greta confirms that informal selection occurs within gatekeeper networks and, is based on informal candidate referrals for staffing the large, global client projects:-

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More likely…… it starts with an informal process …. a more informal process initiates a conversation. It's more a case that somebody says …we need somebody who can do this sort of thing? **Can anybody help?** (Senior Female Director, Greta, GED3W2, Interview2).

Dalvat is a senior director in Infrastructure, who has worked in East Asia, America, Australia, and the UK. Dalvat prefers the informal allocation process used in the gatekeeper networks and, uses informal referrals for staffing the large, global, client projects:-

There is a more formal way. In which you raise an internal staff request. Which goes onto our internal circulation, and somebody could apply for a position internally…I think by a long way the informal one, works better…….It's much quicker. When you use the network…………. You can ring their line manager up… have a conversation…. **To find out what they are really like? You might get some information**… (GED4 Male Partner, Dalvat).

The greater power belongs to the partner gatekeepers in their networks, not the global HRM department for staffing the global projects in both GC and GE:-

I guess.HR comes into it once we …the …fraternity has identified that somebody needs to move. I'm not sure what other companies do. (GED4 Male Partner, Dalvat).

Greta confirms the superior power of the gatekeepers in their networks who are the final, decision-makers for staffing the large, global client projects. The gatekeepers sign off the budget for the global client project which pays for the staff costs, so gatekeepers hold the economic capital and power:-

Yes. **The person** that is normally **either the cost centre leader, or the project director** are the people who are…you know **financially responsible for the group or the project**. (Senior Female, Director, GED3W2, Greta).

These partner gatekeepers' social capital and, networks are developed over years which includes high levels of trust and reciprocity which firs the professional logic. These gatekeepers in their networks share their investment in staff, which includes mutual risks and losses from their large global client projects for revenue generation which fits the commercial logic of the field.

These male –dominated gatekeeper networks of power are inherently exclusionary to women managers who are network 'outsiders' and struggle to access the global client projects which are career preparation for promotion to the global partner roles.

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The next section describes the '5 minute drill' which is an informal staff allocation practice used by partner gatekeepers for allocation of staff to the global client projects in GC. The '5 minute drill' is conducted in the European/UK HRM department but, the partner gatekeepers are the powerful, decision-makers not the HRM department.

7.2. The gatekeeper networks of power: The '5 minute drill'.

The UK/European HRM department stages the '5 minute drill' for staffing the large, global client projects but , the partner gatekeepers hold the power and they make the final decisions about which candidates fill the positions not the UK/European HRM department in GC.

The "**5 minute drills**" are regular, meetings held between the HRM partner for UK /Europe with his team and, partner gatekeepers to examine the CVs of available candidates who are not 'billed out' on existing client projects.

Dermot is a Senior European HRM partner and vice –president, who is Irish, 40 years old and single. Dermot recognises that, comparing candidates for roles without any written, formal transparent selection criteria is complex and, relies on the gatekeepers "gut feeling". Shockingly, Dermot reiterates, the 5 minute drill practice which is used for staffing the global client projects, is based on **'gut feeling'** and, is not a systematic, selection process:-

The process is not systematic. The 5 minute drills don't last for five minutes. There is a view heard by everyone present. **Often the managing partner has the final say** (Notes from Interview with Dermot Vice president and partner, European HRM. At 10-11 am on Tuesday 5 April, 2016)

James is a vice-president and partner in Industrial and Retail sectors, he is 50 years old, married with two children. James agrees, the 5 minute drill is an unsystematic, selection process:-

How do we decide whether someone will fit in and adapt?…**I don't think we do it in a very systematic way to be honest.**… (GCD1/HRM Partner, James).

Pauline an HRM partner argues that, gender diversity is fairly assessed during the 5 minute drills, despite these global client projects not being advertised. Pauline's claim about gender diversity during the '5 minute drills' is highly dubious. Gender representation is low at the middle and senior management levels, so by using this existing proportion as a benchmark this does not promote gender diversity.

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The process is structured in the sense that all CVs are looked at….. (*The participant said "Diversity is strong"*).**The number of female applicants are looked at in the "5 minute drills" to see if the number of women is a fair representation**.

Women are already, underrepresented in senior management and, women continue to diminish as the senior management hierarchy ascends. So, this gender diversity claim is not an aspirational standard for promoting gender equality in the elite PSFs. The next section examines the position of women who are outsiders the gatekeeper networks, and the informal allocation process for client projects.

7.2.1. Women as outsiders to gatekeeper networks of power: 'On the bench'

Women who are unknown to partner's gatekeepers face an impossible situation for allocation to client projects. Unless, women managers are a **'name'** to the gatekeepers networks they cannot access the informal selection process which exists in gatekeeper networks for client projects to 'kick start' their careers.

Gina a vice president and partner in Utilities, was almost a casualty of the inherently, gender exclusionary gatekeeper networks. Despite holding superior technical skills, Gina was unknown to the partner gatekeepers which made her invisible for allocation to client projects.

Gina was not a **'name'** to the partner gatekeeper's networks so, gatekeepers for the informal allocation process to the client projects saw her as a risk:-

Because there's a way in a consulting firm that you may know….. There's a way that you 'staff' (projects)…….... **There's the 'official route 'and the 'unofficial route'…….**…Well **the important one is the 'unofficial route'** right? (GCD2W Women Senior Partner, Gina).

Gina did not join as a direct graduate entrant so, she was an outsider to the graduate network:-

So I started… **I had not got that whole graduate a group around me. I just turned up as a kind of consultant, with everybody else around me. Whereas everyone else around, 'knew the lingo' and had that look.** When I turned up everybody knew each other, but I didn't know them. So **I sort of sat in the office in London. After I did my two weeks induction** (GCDW2 Female Partner, Gina).

Gina possessed technical expertise of a breadth and depth not held by her peers, having worked in IT in the space and science sectors before joining GC. Still, Gina was left 'sitting on the bench' waiting for work, because the gatekeeper's networks of power were not willing to take a chance on her:-

I was full of ideas, and suggestions and really rearing to go. ………..everyone else was going off to work with clients and I was still stuck in London. **And I did actually go and see my career 'person… I said, well you know what's going on? I keep hearing you need technical people and I've got technical skills… I remember it to this day what he said**… **"Oh, well, we've got to check that you are 'housetrained' before we let you out with a client.** Those were his words. (GCD2W Women Senior Partner, Gina).

The gatekeeper's networks did not trust Gina because, no one was willing to '**vouch for her**' for client work:-

So there's that trust thing. And they couldn't check me out. No one could. **There was no one to vouch for me right.** So I kept being put forward for roles, and not getting landed because**, I was an unknown quantity** (Gina, Senior Vice President and Partner of Resources in Europe, GCDW2)

A partner urgently needed a consultant with specific IT technical expertise for his large, prestigious client project. In desperation, the partner went to the formal system administered by the global HRM department and Gina got hired for the client project:-

I learn quickly and became kind of a lead consultant in a team. Then I became the leader, then...I sorted out all sorts of technical issues, and kind of very quickly built my kind of…eminence' if you like of being known as a "fixer. Someone who could do stuff, **someone who was good at delivery. And that's what allowed me to go from consultant to team lead, and then to quite quickly make manager**………**And I got 'ponged on' to the next big project.** (Gina, Senior Vice President and partner, of Resources in Europe, GCDW2)

Gina's situation was a near miss for gatekeeper allocation to client projects. So, how many good women consultants are left '**on the bench**,' who are unknown and, are not trusted by the male-dominated gate-keeper networks?

Shockingly, Gina as a partner and 'an insider' gate-keeper networks, endorses the 'unofficial' process despite her earlier negative career experience. Gina sees any unknown candidate to the gate-keeper networks as a risk and, argues the formal HRM process as too slow for staffing the large, global projects:-

Normally **it takes too long, by the time you get to it ...well I don't know this person**… **there is the unofficial route which is… so and so… Says that's he's really good at** it…there's the kind of **official and unofficial staffing process, and …….. That exists at all levels** (Gina Vice President and senior partner, Utilities, GCDW1, and Interview 1)

The partner gate-keeper networks of power distribute their available, but unadvertised positions by using the 'unofficial' selection and nomination processes, which privilege those candidates with social capital connections to gatekeeper networks for the large, global client projects.

However, these chosen candidates chosen are not the 'best' which means, women who cannot access the gatekeeper networks cannot demonstrate their credentials to the partner gatekeepers for promotion. So, women who are 'outsiders' to the gate-keeper networks are put **'on the bench'** and, remain invisible to gatekeepers for promotion in the elite PSFs. These women never get the chance to come off the bench to cross the **'transition'** threshold for partner promotion

7.3. The gate-keeper networks: Social capital and, reputational capital for career progression.

The first rule of the game for the rookie management consultant is they are responsible for getting client work from partner gatekeepers in an extremely competitive situation. These rookie consultants are not taught to network, but they must learn fast or they get left behind in the career stakes.

Gina a vice president and partner explains, how new recruits must network with the powerful senior management gatekeepers to gain client work:-

> **So for new recruits coming in obviously it's about getting them familiar with the GC machinery. To get them productive, and give them the network**…. because this is a people business as you will know…..… **It's not really what you know, it's who you know so**… (Gina, Vice President, and Senior Partner in Utilities, GCDW1, Interview 1)

Tara is a vice-president and senior partner in transformation and talent management, she is 45 years old, and married with one child. Tara agrees that, a consultant must be a 'name' and, known to the gatekeepers to show case their own 'good work' by working on the larger, prestigious, global client projects:-

> **Well the early stages of one's career in consulting is all about, getting put on good work because you want people to put you on their projects….getting put on good projects.** That's my strong advice to people.…. So you must be very good at what you do, you must be much specialised, and…**And then people get to know you, and they hear that you are good and they want you on their projects…a good consultant is someone who is in demand**. (Senior female partner/Vice President of Transformation and Talent management, Tara, GCDW Interview 2).

The huge, global scale of operations means the gatekeepers cannot know all of the consultants in the elite PSFs. So, gatekeepers rely on informal networks for recommendations from other network members they trust.

Juliet a senior woman partner in the second highest partner grade, confirms that gatekeepers do not know **'everyone' so**, to alleviate the risks for the large global client projects, the gatekeepers accept informal recommendations from their network members:-

Yes. That's what it is, **because when you know who those people are, and I have experienced this too in my current role you don't know everybody …… you tend to work with those you know** (Juliet, Senior Female Vice President and partner, UK and Europe, Government and Finance, GCDEW1)

Juliet a senior European partner and vice-president in global government and finance, describes being '**noticed'** by senior partners and, building her reputational capital for doing good work with gatekeepers:-.

I had a good start in consulting, when I moved into the (name of global accounting firm). **I did two programs right at the start when I was fresh consultant.** I was literally in a team where there were about 200 people who were consultants… **I established a reputation right the start as somebody who they could give a problem to, and I had a reasonable judgement about when to go away and do the work myself. And when to bring it back in and ask for help. …**I got that right somehow. **I haven't always got it right throughout my career, but I did at start**. (Laughter participant). (Juliet, Senior Vice President and partner, Government and finance, GCDEW2)

Tara confirms that, for a consultant building their reputation for doing "good work" offers consultants opportunities to extend their gatekeeper networks for access to bigger and better career roles:-

The luck part is being in the right place at the right time with everything going really well…. And your work becoming you know, well-known…. the design part of it is doing the right jobs at the right time**…… And also being in the right circles, I mean whether we like it…… we are a huge business** (Vice President of Transformation and Talent management, Tara, GCDW Interview 2)

Wanda is an associate partner, she confirms working large, prestigious client projects, offers managers visibility to the powerful senior management gatekeepers at global levels in GC:-

The best way to get visibility I think in in GC, is I think to be working on projects where you are in (name of the headquarters)**.** So if you are working in (London, UK) where a lot of **the senior managers are working, then you are going to get great visibility** to the senior managers because they are most likely to be working there. (Wanda, Associate Partner, and Global Accounts Manager IT, UK, India and Philippines, GDAPW1).

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Wanda explains how, a manager's reputational capital is communicated by '**word of mouth'** between the partner gatekeepers. So, having social capital connections with senior gatekeepers and a strong 'reputation' are crucial for managers to gain allocation to the large, prestigious client projects:-

I think that networking is very important for someone's career.... (Pause)…. because networking goes wider than the people you know………it's quite surprising how often **people know each other by reputations…So actually your reputation within the network whether you know or not**……… And**… how diverse and Senior your network is**……can...**can make a serious difference to how your career will progress.**(Wanda, Associate Partner, and Global Accounts Manager, IT, UK, India and Philippines, GDAPW2)

A research finding is that a consultant's promotion involves their career progression from the small, client projects to the large, prestigious global client projects for their promotion.

Wanda is an associate partner, she describes how important progressing from the smaller, technical projects to leadership of the large, global client projects is for partner promotion:-

I moved onto a team leader, then onto project management and programme management, then moving to account management……then global accounts…." (Wanda, Associate Partner, Global Accounts Manager, GCDAPW2, Interview 2).

But, women who are not 'names' and known to the gatekeeper networks can't get opportunities to lead these large, global projects, because these positions are unadvertised and, are not available to network 'outsiders'.

Marianne a middle manager who is a trained architect, she is a British/ Iranian, 37 years old, and single without children. Marianne confirms that a manager must be a '**name',** with strong social capital connections to the powerful gatekeepers to be 'invited' to leadership positions for the unadvertised, large, global client projects.-

To access the large*, global client project opportunities* **it is important to speak to the senior group directors because they know what opportunities are currently available.** Otherwise these *large, global client project opportunities* **are unknown** (Post-interview field notes, Middle manager, Marianne.GEC2W 20.7.2016, 4.15pm, UK).

Women managers who are unknown to the gatekeepers network are informally, barred from career progression to the large, global prestigious client projects. So, women cannot build their social capital and reputational capital with the gatekeepers, to enhance their cultural capital portfolios for promotion

to partners. The next section describes the importance of geographical mobility for women managers' career progression.

7.4. The importance of geographical mobility for career progression to global partner.

Women managers' must be geographically mobile to take advantage of the global, client projects for promotion to the global partner role. This section explores the importance for women managers of being geographically mobile, and working in the large, global client projects in their early career stages to extend their cultural capital portfolio for promotion to global partner positions in the PSFs.

Dermot confirms that, managers seeking promotion are **expected** by partner gatekeepers to have global experience for promotion to the global partner roles. So, candidates who are technical experts but, lack the cultural capital of revenue generation fall behind for promotion. For career progression a manager requires geographical mobility to build their track record in revenue generation from leading the large, global client projects:-

The profile of the senior manager at GC, would tend to be someone with international experience...it would be very hard to justify someone who did not have this…. (Dermot, vice-president and senior partner Europe and UK: Telephone interview, 9.00 am, 24 March, 2016. GCD1/HRM).

Tara asserts that, a woman manager who is not geographically mobile faces constraints for developing her social capital with the elite gatekeepers and, extending their networks at a global level:-

in terms of being able to… **to be successful globally and to be thought of as someone who is a global player then you need ….you need international mobility and you need to have a huge network**(Senior female partner/Vice President of Transformation and Talent management, Tara, GCDW Interview 2)

Therefore, leading these global assignments matters for managers seeking promotion to gain visibility from face to face proximity to the elite gatekeepers who operate at elevated global levels. Otherwise, these elite gatekeepers at the elevated levels are impossible to reach for managers who are not geographically mobile in their early careers.

Greta a senior director and group leader in the Americas, describes her career experience of leading on a large, global, client project in Hong Kong. This gave Greta visibility to and, opportunities to build reputational capital with the elite senior management for her promotion to partner in GE:-

Well a good example is I was on a very high profile project in Hong Kong for a couple of years. Every time there was a visitor, you know travelling in from overseas someone senior. My construction site was the one that everyone wanted to go to visit and they (*the senior management*) **were brought to see it.** It was a very prestigious project and so **I got to network with everyone. You know the chairman and all the senior leaders that came into Hong Kong**. You know that was a good project opportunity where I got to show everyone, you know my particular construction site (GED3W, Senior Female Director, Greta).

Greta is a senior director and group leader, she reflects how being geographically mobile and working on the large, global client projects, gave her opportunities to get 'close' to and network with elite gatekeepers which matters for promotion:-

It was basically networking with people in the company, speaking to people that I knew in the company. I went from a very small office in (….city in UK…) to a very large growing office in Hong Kong. There were people there from all over the world in that context in Hong Kong. **So I immediately made contacts with people from inside the company. There were also people at a very senior level and, so I got to know a lot of people who were in the senior management team. I got exposure to people at a senior management level,** which I didn't have … in my small office in (city in UK) (Female Senior Director, Greta, GED3W2).

For women managers who are not globally mobile they are invisible to the elite partner gate-keeper networks which seriously, obstructs their career progression.

Greta as a senior director, confirms how networking with the powerful elite gatekeepers in global networks brings career benefits including informal information, favours, and informal recommendations for promotion:-

Oh yeah, yeah, definitely, oh yeah. It's all about the network…**Well yes, you know just the networks…the networks that I've built up. It means that I can call people up, wherever they are in the world, and ask them for favours, considerations,** or you know advice. So yeah that's a big advantage (Greta, Senior Women Director and Group leaders, GDW2 Interview 2).

Juliet is a vice-president and senior global partner, she is in the second highest grade of partnership globally in GC. Women managers who get 'close' to the powerful, elite gatekeepers in their networks at elevated global levels, when leading large global client projects are at the '**ahead of the queue**' for promotion:-

to the point about getting the last couple of years' experience in Europe with the global teams there…because of the network you know….**even now different from six months ago…I know who I can pick up the phone to in the global team…. if there's a problem… who knows me well enough to probably feel a little bit of responsibility, to help me fix it,** before I didn't know that…. and I think that **once you get into those sort of networks... you become noticed… as long as you**

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don't mess up…it's a double-edged sword**… if you don't do well**…**if you do a good job, then they are over you. I think that inevitably this means that you are slightly ahead of the rest of the pack. You know in the queue for the next job** (Juliet, European Board Director and Senior Vice President, GCSDEW1).

The managers and, the partners must build their social capital and reputational capital with the elite gatekeepers by reaching their elevated, distant levels of global power in the elite PSFs. Juliet describes a recent opportunity she gained when deputising for her boss at global headquarters:-

on his behalf… I fetched up in (City of headquarters) of GC…I was there for three days… Our overall head of global… And I meet three or four other senior directors…well because of my being on a call with all of those senior people… I actually got the chance to talk to them, and to find out what they do**, and for them to know who I am…. So next time I will have no hesitation in calling them up** (Juliet, European Board, Director, GCSDEW1)

So, for partners or managers who possess social capital connections with the elite gatekeeper networks at global levels, they can get '**in front of the queue'** for promotion.

Tara is a partner in transformation and talent management, she agrees that 'getting close' to the powerful elite gatekeepers at a global level and networking are important for promotion:-

Networking, is a core skill because it leads to building your connections… it's not what we know, but it's about who knows what you are and what you know…in our firm it's…. Quite tricky…Because the centre of gravity for decision making…is all in the US…for the business **we have a very important place in America,** where people sit with quite senior job titles…to really expedite my career in a big firm like GC. I needed to have a much stronger US network…And have more people in the US know me, because **they are kind of people who are actually making those kind of big decisions** (Senior female partner/Vice President of Transformation and Talent management, Tara, GCDW Interview 2).

These gatekeeper networks of power enact hidden, informal practices which allocate career roles to their chosen candidates.

Wanda is an associate partner in Logistics, she leads large global client projects in India, the Philippines, and the UK. Wanda describes how gatekeepers allocate career roles to their chosen candidates which are unadvertised. Wanda, does not query this subjective, informal practice of offering career privileges to some candidates but not others:-

We have a system where we can raise seats. Basically to raise a job role, it's almost like advertising...…that is sometimes the way that we take people into new roles. **Or we can find people new roles**…**Of moving people between accounts because somebody knows of them and they think**

they got just the right skills, so informally they get identified for role before it even gets advertised… For that **role which has …not even been fully finalised** (Wanda, Female Associate Partner, Global Accounts Manager, GCDAPW2, Interview 2)

Tara a partner describes an informal practice where roles '**emerge**' for some candidates, whose names are on a gatekeeper's hidden **'lists' which is a discriminatory, informal practice**.

Tara, is an 'insider' and, she takes it for granted this hidden, informal selection process is legitimate. This means that Tara cannot imagine a situation where promotion opportunities are informally withheld from her.

> **And then an opportunity comes out of the blue really, when everybody has decided that that's the thing for you……erm…. and this I think is a very obscure process**, but it is the way that things get done**. So if you are not on the list… and you are not on the radar…… then you have no chance of being selected for a global role** (Vice President, Tara, GCDW4)

Notwithstanding, gaining visibility to the elite, gatekeepers networks is a not taken for granted as a guarantee for by the male-dominated gatekeepers as acceptance of the women manager for partner promotion. It is not to be forgotten, that gatekeeper networks of power conduct hidden, informal discriminatory processes for allocating, unadvertised career privileges to their chosen candidates which legitimate gender inequalities for partner promotion.

These informal discriminatory practices which are conducted in the gatekeeper's networks of power are discussed next.

7.4.1. Gender exclusion from the large, global client projects and promotion.

This section explores how the male-dominated gatekeepers networks of power, utilise their hidden, informal practices which are gender exclusionary for promotion in the elite PSFs.

Reg is a senior director and group leader in construction, he describes how a candidate is chosen informally by the gate-keeper networks who rely on informal referrals from other network members to choose candidates for the large, client projects. This means the candidate chosen may not be the best person for the job but, they are the candidate who has the best social capital with the gatekeepers and who comes highly recommended from the gatekeeper networks-

err……its usually a sales pitch from the partner, finding out why you should join the project rather than finding out if you're the right person for the job. Again relying on …. a member of their team who says this person is the right person to put on this project (GED5 Male Partner, Reg).

A senior women director Greta, confirms the informal selection process is conducted by gatekeeper's network without recourse to written, transparent, objective selection criteria from the global HRM department. Rather, the informal selection paperwork is '**written up**' after the candidate is chosen:-

Then you go through the ranks of people that you have, and you try to sort of match a person with the opportunity … …. **and at that stage there is no… there is no…..no sort of written position** description. At that stage you have to get the get the information (*about the person*)…. a bit more informally and…you try and then pitch it to the person that you've identified … (Senior Female Director, Greta, GED3W2, Interview 2)

Greta confirms that, male-dominated gatekeepers control allocation to the large, global client projects. These gatekeepers select a man who is known and trusted by their network, before an unknown woman who is judged a risk by gatekeepers for a large, global client project:-

Yes definitely, I would say…you know, if you are talking about gender. There's….. a ………you know we are a very male dominated company, and that helps perpetuate things. Because **you know the first person who springs to mind might not be somebody…. you know of the opposite gender but rather one of their male colleagues**….so….err. So yeah, **I guess that is an issue and I guess that people think, well you know…so and so is married. And they (women) will not really be interested in going on an overseas opportunity**, because of their partner…and so on (Female Director, Greta, GED3W2).

These male-dominated gatekeepers are reluctant to stake their social capital connections on women for leadership roles in the large, prestigious client projects. This is a problem for women because these global, client projects are important for building their track record for promotion to partner positions.

Gina a senior vice president and partner in Logistics in Europe, concurs that the male-dominated partner gatekeepers are unwilling to stake their social capital with their networks, to allocate a women for leadership roles for large, prestigious client projects which hold women back for promotion:-

Well I think for me and **if we can look at it in the context of women…** and so**….** For me when I was coming up from the kind of junior consultant… **We get promotion as you come to that manager that senior manager… Partner…**… elevation is by being the team lead project lead or the project manager or…. **Manager you need to be in that kind of leadership position…and…. my observation is… Is it quite difficult for women sometimes to get involved in leadership roles…for partner…**? (Gina, Vice President, and Senior Partner, Utilities, GCDW1, Interview 1).

Gina a partner, reflects on the difficulties for women of getting through the hidden, barrier of the male –dominated networks, because gatekeepers offer the leadership roles on the large, global client projects to a man not a woman:-

It's like iron underneath you know what I mean ….the reason why **I think about it is because I was in an internal lead role very early** (Gina, Vice President, and Senior Partner, Utilities, GCDW1, Interview 1).

Even, these successful women partners experience subtle, informal exclusion from the male-dominated gate-keeper networks of power. Women partners are informally, excluded from networking activities occurring '**after work hours'** or, from male-dominated sports and socializing activities. Which matters because women partners are absent from the most important, powerful but informal, business decision –making processes which are conducted within the male-dominated networks of power.

Tara illustrates, her experience of gender exclusion due to family commitments from the '**weekend'** networking activities where powerful gatekeepers play golf and, from the informal business decision-making which is conducted in these networks:-

I notice the freedom to… You know a lot of my male colleagues play golf together at weekends…And a lot of business gets talked about then. But I don't play golf nor would I want to go off on a Saturday**. I don't want to go on a golf course for eight hours at home** on the Saturday with a bunch of blokes. **So you get excluded from those things because you not available to do them** (Tara, Senior Vice President and Partner, Talent management and Transformation. GCD4)

Rowena a senior director in the Asia Pacific region, describes her feelings of being an 'outsider', when as a women partner she goes to professional events to network which are overwhelmingly male-dominated:-

I don't think that I am quiet or shy, you know. But it's not helped by you know, when **you go into some of these industry events, and you walk in through the door. And there is just a sea of grey suits. It is very alienating.** (Rowena, Senior Women Director, GED12W, Australia).

Roberta has IT professional expertise in HR systems and Cloud applications. Roberta is 40 years old, Spanish, she works as a project manager in Europe including the Nordics and Asia.

Roberta explains due to the exhausting, intensity of global hours working and global travel, she cannot make time to build social capital connections with the powerful gatekeepers, for informal allocation to leadership of the prestigious, global client projects. So, Roberta is destined to remain an outsider to

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gatekeeper networks, and be stuck in the lower technical professional levels without promotion prospects:-

And to be visible to whoever …you know important decisions etcetera…..yeah. I've been working three weekends in a row. And **honestly, the last thing I think of doing when I've got a bit of free time to go out and you know spend some free time. Is to go to meet people at (GC headquarters** in UK). I cannot….you know…no way. (GCM1W Managing Consultant, Roberta)

So, what hope for promotion to partner is there for a woman like Roberta who is trapped in technical work with unrelenting, global hours and travel?

In subtle ways, these existing women partners are *still* excluded from the male dominated gatekeeper networks of power, and, from the important, informal, senior management decision-making occurring within them despite their co-option as partners. Therefore, even successful women partners are excluded from these higher layers of the male-dominated power hierarchy. The next section discusses gender talent leakage in the elite PSFs.

7.5. The paradox of gender talent leakage and, flexible hours working.

This section discusses the paradox of gender talent leakage which despite the presence of a formal diversity policy which promotes flexible hours working arrangements and, senior management public endorsement of gender diversity in the PSFs. Women managers who work on flexible hours arrangements face career detriment, because this allows gatekeepers to justify these women managers invisibility for promotion to senior management.

Tom is a senior director who has worked in Eire and London, he is responsible for professional training and, for a prestigious leadership programme run in the headquarters of GE (London, UK). Tom during his interview became visibly distressed, claiming he supports working women. However, Tom does not view these women working on flexible hours as talent for promotion.

This research finding confirms the male dominated gatekeeper's informal, hidden, but powerful resistance to women working on flexible hours due to their childcare for promotion which contradicts the professional logic.

Edith is a senior woman director, regional board director, and diversity advocate. Edith acknowledges, that gender talent leakage is a problem, but she repeats the senior management rhetoric that gender talent leakage is inevitable:-

And…and **we have to accept the fact**……..You know sorry as we may be to see them go right? **It's not just to say this must change and so**….. (Female Director, Edith, GE11 Interviews 2& 3, 37)

A strong, clear pattern of gender talent leakage is replicated across all functions in professional grades of 5 and 6, i.e. senior engineer. So, not just in the feminised functions i.e. administration but, in all professional groups within different countries of GE. (*According to internal documentation seen by the researcher*).

Greta a senior director and group leader group leader in the Americas, she confirms that gender talent leakage is highest when women are about ten years into their careers:-

Yes. **There's a lot of the grades fives and sixes, that's where we get the biggest drop off. You know so that's people who are maybe ten years or eight to ten years into their career**…. And **either at that point they don't see the advancement that they hoped**. Or they… maybe they go off and join competitors such defence. Or they go off and do something else with their career. Or **maybe they have their children and they maybe decide that they want to do something like ... Look after their children.** Or… can do better **by finding a career or an employer…Well you know who is amenable to being flexible** (Female Senior Manager, Greta, senior director and group leader in Americas, Interview 1: 2.30 pm, and 31.05.2015).

Women engineers spend their first three years studying for their formal professional qualification. So, after 5 to 8 years of professional training gender talent leakage means women leave, or are informally, segregated in the lower, technical grades i.e. client support roles in GE.

Greta a senior director, confirms the male resistance to flexible working and, the hypocrisy of some male partners whose wives who do not work full-time outside the home, because they are taking care of their domestic needs:-

Yes I dare say **there is a contention that childcare takes women out of the selection. …as employers we don't really deal very well with flexible** (working) …. **As a manager I know I had a lot of difficulty trying to convince them that, the male members of my team that…You know that a person, a person could work that they could work part-time and still be an effective,** and …. it was an uphill battle to convince …the team …that that was a workable solution. **But you know strangely all of those people were married, with their wives at home with kids… and they thought that was okay** (Female Senior Manager, Greta, and GD3W2)

The professional logic means gatekeepers disregard women who do not work full-time and beyond contract hours for promotion. The client service logic with its 24 hour client call out, means gatekeepers overlook women because they cannot meet global client's needs.

These male-dominated gatekeepers see these women working on flexible hours as failing to accrue the maximum client billing hours , which means women have less investment value for promotion, because client billing hours are a criteria for promotion used by gatekeepers which fits the commercial logic of the senior management field.

Also, partner gatekeepers see women who are working 20-25 hours per week on flexible hours, as having less investment value as talent for promotion, compared to someone who is working 80 hours a week according to the commercial logic.

So, women on flexible hours cannot progress to leadership of the larger, global client projects and, they cannot evidence their track record of the cultural capital of revenue generation from the large client projects which is the symbolic capital to gain legitimacy with partners for promotion.

Rather, these women get stuck working on small projects in client support roles without any client billing hours or career prospects. So, women managers working on flexible hour's arrangements careers are arrested, prior to the 'transition' stage from manager to partner. Furthermore, gender talent leakage legitimises these gatekeeper's judgements of women as a poor investment for promotion to partner.

7.5.1. A career or a family for promotion to a global partner role?

This section shows how the unrelenting performance demands of a global partner role create additional, barriers and pressures on women as partner. This is totally different compared with an expatriate management assignment, where women could geographically relocate with their family for two or three years.

The global partner roles means women must match the male-dominated partner gatekeeper performance demands of the ideal worker which is male, so women are not eligible for promotion, unless they evidence to gatekeepers their willingness to work beyond contract hours and be geographically mobile. These performance demands which are increased by global business expansion, dictate that a women must be single or without child care commitments in the elite PSFs.
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Despite the existence of formal gender diversity policies in GC and GE. Women managers and, even partners face subtle, pressures to put their work commitments before their private lives whether they are married or single.

Or is the price of a senior management career for women, not to have a partner or children?
(Field notes: Memo. Peter Senior Partner-Vice President, Asia Pacific, on 16.September 2016)

Whilst, male partners make sacrifices to their personal lives for promotion. Most male partner's wives do not have senior management careers or, paid work outside the home.

Tara is a vice president and partner, she states that most successful women partners don't have children and confirms that women partners make enormous personal sacrifices including their not having children in GC:-

I don't want to generalise but most of the women that I work with at this level. Either they don't have children. Or their children go to boarding schools, and they don't see them. They only see them (the children)….. You know at holiday time and that is the reality of the situation. Which to be honest is …err…. (Pause) is slightly tragic. But true. So I would say…. I would say that **I am very much in the minority with a young child….for my peers.** Err… and therefore **I particularly find that, women don't have children you know** (senior female partner/Vice President of Transformation and Talent management, Tara, GCDW Interview 2).

Juliet reflects that being a global partner is incompatible with children, and doubts whether she would be a partner if she had children:-

On the personal sacrifices point we don't have children…. (Pause)… ………On the positive side that's given me a lot more flexibility with my work life, I wouldn't be able to do ….. I can't imagine how I could have worked hours that I work and the hours that I do otherwise ….. …… **I don't know how I would have done the work that I've done if I had children. It just wouldn't have happened.** ……..….. **My husband will say…… he runs his own business but it is flexible………. so we just ….. It works for us that during the week we have an intense working** … neither of us work weekends, if we can possibly avoid it (Juliet, Senior Vice President and partner, Government and Finance, GCDEW2).

Wanda verifies that global partner roles make harsh demands on women so, few women partners have children. Unless, these women have a husband/partner who is willing to accept child care responsibilities and give up their own career:-

With women. **I do not know very many….I haven't got children, so I haven't needed that kind of thing**……. if that was something that companies encouraged people…. to ….. do then ….there would be more women and men who were sharing child care responsibilities. **I am also aware of a**

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woman who is working at the same level as me, and I believe that her husband ….erm takes the lead on the childcare responsibilities (Associate Partner, Wanda, Global Accounts in Philippines, India, and Europe).

The majority of successful women partners followed a full-time working pattern of 5 days week and, working beyond contract hours which is endorsed by male-dominated partner gatekeepers for promotion. It is no accident, that women partners with children took minimum statutory maternity leave. All women partners in the research samples, worked full-time, five days week and beyond contract hours.

Only, Rowena undertook flexible hours work arrangements for about two years prior to returning to work five days a week, fulltime and beyond contract.

The four women partners/directors from the GE sample: ***Deborah, Edith, Greta, and Rowena***. Edith is single without children, and Greta is married but without children. Both Deborah and Rowena are married with children. Rowena a senior director and regional director in the Asia-Pacific took two maternity leave periods, and she returned to work for four days a week for about four years.

Deborah a senior director on the main senior management board in London (headquarters) UK, has three children. Deborah took statutory maternity leave and returned to full-time working:-

I have always worked full-time but I have on occasions flexed my hours to meet family commitments… I left the office every day at 5pm when I had only one child as my husband travelled a lot and I had sole responsibility for childcare drop off and pick up. **I have tended to keep quite regular hours and if needs be worked my extra from home in the evenings or at the weekend** (Deborah, BOD, Senior Director of Main Board, London UK: Email reply post-interview, 05.10.2016).

Of the six senior women partners in the GC sample, four are married: ***Juliet, Gina, Tara, and Jane,*** only two of these women partners have children. Tara and Jane have one child each. All women partners with children took their statutory maternity leave and then returned quickly to their full-time working pattern in GC. **Amanda** and **Pauline** are single and without children. (Please see: Tables 1 &2 in Appendices).

The message is clear women must work full-time, beyond contract hours, and sacrifice their private lives to compete with men for partner positions. The male gatekeepers judge women who request flexible hours working arrangements, as part-time workers and perceive these women as not being talent for partner promotion.

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The gatekeepers judge a woman who is working about 20-25 per week in non-client billing role, compared to a man or women working 80 hours a week (with client billing hours) as a poor investment for promotion. Women who are working flexible hours are failing to maximise their client billing hours for revenue generation i.e. economic capital to fit the commercial logic of the field.

Tom a senior director responsible for staff development, argues that, women lose their confidence and technical skills on return from maternity leave, unless they return to a full-time working pattern:-

Again this is one of the things I am going to tackle **is I've noticed that when females have returned from maternity leave, and I can see a lack of technical confidence**. Which then means that they **drift into the sort of more project manager roles, working as helpers rather than the actually high level professionals. So they tend to forget their technical skills** and drift into the very easy, no not easy the more organizational skills in a sense. (Tom, Senior Director, GED2, 11.5.2-16).

An interesting research finding is male managers who cannot work full-time i.e. 5 days a week and, beyond contract hours due to child-care responsibilities perceive their careers to be stagnating:-

Michael a senior director in construction, talks about a male manager in his team who is sharing child care responsibilities with his partner:-

A lot of men are saying, well I feel that my career has now stopped since I've had children and I can no longer work the long hours. ….. **I've got one guy who….who was already an associate…..….** they had a child their first child. He took three months parental leave off. **He now can't work the long hours that he used to, and he is not as flexible as he once was.** He is sharing the childcare with his wife. **He now feels……….that his career is stuttering because of that**. But that might be his perception…. but…we have to be honest **we are in the construction industry, or a consulting industry…we have peaks and troughs of deliverables and** ….. **we rely on our people to work long hours whenever there is a deadline.** You might have to write a report or you might have to go and visit a site or you might be travelling for your job…. but what is happening is that certain individuals….. **this certain individual he now says that he can't now cover the hours…**And I do know this individual**... And he was someone who worked long hours and who regularly stayed late…** (Michael, Director, GED6 11.30 am on 25.5.2016).

Marvin an Associate Partner in the global HRM department, reflects on the career and personal tensions he is experiencing by not being able to work beyond contract hours. Marvin is sharing childcare with his wife who travels in her management career:-

My partner works in (name of city in UK**) during the week…..she comes home at weekends… its difficult…. I look after our child**… **its like being a single parent in the week**….. **I have to leave work early to pick our daughter up from nursery**…. The nurseries here are not as flexible as in

(country the participant comes from)….. Where they take children early in the morning … **I can't work late anymore which is a problem**……. (Marvin, Associate Partner, Global HRM, GEAD8).

A research finding is that the 'ideal worker' model is a powerful compliance and control mechanism in the elite PSFs. So, where men deviate from the norm their legitimacy for promotion suffers with male-dominated gatekeepers and the gatekeepers see them as a poor talent investment for promotion.

Gina a vice president and partner in Utilities, recalls her horror looking at the male partners earlier in her career. When, Gina wondered whether relinquishing her private life was a price worth paying for partner promotion:-

And I looked at all the other senior partners, and the way you know… they were all on their fifth marriages, and their new families. They were **all like amazing workaholics**… **I thought God, is that what I'm going to turn into?** (Gina, Senior Woman PartnerGCDW1 Interview 1).

Women managers must fit the 'male', ideal worker career model which is exacerbated for global partners, otherwise women who cannot fit lack legitimacy with male-dominated partner gatekeepers for promotion.

7.6. Conclusion.

This chapter explored how partner gatekeepers in their networks of power conduct the hidden, informal, practices in selection, talent management and allocation to global client projects at meso-level in the elite PSFs. This section provides a brief conclusion, and lists research contributions. The responses to research question 1.2.2 is answered in section 9.2, the contributions to theory is discussed in section 9.3., the contribution research methods is discussed in 9.4 and, the policy implications are discussed section 9.5.in Chapter nine.

There is an official formal selection processes conducted by the global HRM department, and an unofficial selection process conducted by the gatekeeper networks for allocation of staff to global client projects. There are not written selection criteria, rather gatekeepers in their networks of power decide these criteria informally.

There is a hidden informal career brokering process where gatekeepers allocate unadvertised career roles and client projects, to their chosen candidates who possess social capital gain career privileges with gatekeepers prior to their partner promotion which is discriminatory.

Women who are network outsiders cannot overcome this subjective and discriminatory hidden selection process conducted by gatekeepers, without client projects they cannot make career progress and are invisible to gatekeepers.

For women manager's geographical mobility is crucial to gain visibility with elite partner gatekeepers in headquarters, and for networking to be allocated the prestigious, large client projects to build their track record of revenue generation for their future promotion.

Despite being a gender diversity flagship policy, women who are working on flexible hours arrangements are seen by male-dominated gatekeeper networks as a poor talent investment for partner promotion. Hence, the successful women partners with the exception of Rowena followed the male-defined full-time working pattern which included working beyond contract hours. So, women with children took minimal statutory maternity leave which gave them legitimacy with gatekeepers for promotion according to the professional logic.

The client service logic due to global business expansion has extended the demands on partners and managers to include a 24 hour global call out, which involves regular, unpredictable global travel and working across time zones despite technology. This is a more oppressive performance standard for women with children but, gives gatekeepers opportunities legitimise women managers exclusion on the grounds they cannot meet global client needs according to the client service logic.

7.6.1. A summary of research contributions.

The elite partner gatekeepers operate at elevated global levels so, by working on the large, global client projects, women managers gain visibility to elite gatekeepers and opportunities to extend their networks for promotion. This counteracts the challenges for women who are 'outsiders 'to male-dominated gatekeeper networks, and not allocated to large client because women are seen by these gate-keepers as risky.

Women who are not geographically mobile due to their child care commitments, miss out on career opportunities because cannot develop their of revenue generation from the large, client projects.

Women who are working on flexible hours arrangements are breaching the rules by not accruing sufficient client billing hour to fit with the commercial logic. Despite being a gender diversity flagship policy, women working on flexible hours arrangements are allocated by gatekeepers to the small client
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projects, which are not client billable, without travel demands and where women make career capital losses.

However, women managers get stuck in these lower-levels of professional customer service work where they cannot accumulate the cultural capital portfolio of social capital with gatekeepers and revenue generation for partner promotion.

These informal organizing practices allow the gatekeeper networks of power to reproduce existing gender inequalities at partner levels, despite formal gender diversity policies.

There is no evidence of any linkage between the global HRM department, the talent management policy, and gender diversity policy in the elite PSFs. Therefore hidden gender talent leakage is overlooked by the greater power of partner gatekeepers, and gender inequalities are perpetuated by the logics at meso –level in elite PSFs.

8. Chapter Eight: Women managers who use their own agency to instigate global assignments: Career capital gains and losses.

8.1. Introduction.

This chapter outlines a core argument of this doctorate which is that women who use their own agency to instigate their global assignments, make career capital gains (Duberly and Cohen, 2010) in their early career stages from gaining cultural competences and, leadership skills which are career preparation for global partner roles in the PSFs.

The career experiences of the women partners who used their individual agency to instigate global assignments are discussed, regarding their career capital gains and losses made for their career progression in the elite PSFs. Firstly, career experiences of the senior women partners in either SIE assignments or OSIE assignments are described, secondly the career capital gains which these women directors and partners gained from their assignments in relation to their career progression to senior management are discussed.

For clarification, global assignments, global projects, SIE assignments, OSIE assignments, and global projects are terms used interchangeably. A SIE assignment is instigated by an "internationally mobile individual who moved according to their own agency and is not organizationally assigned" (Al-Ariss,

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A, and Crowley-Henry, M. 79:2013). By contrast, an OSIE assignment involves individuals who is working in the same company (Richardson and McKenna, 2014). What is common between the SIE and, the OSIE types assignments, that the individual instigates them by using their own agency, respectively, in the same or, in a different organization? This chapter answers the following research question: -

1.2.3. How do women managers who use their own agency to instigate SIE assignments, make career capital gains or losses for promotion to partner in the PSFs?

8.2. Career transition: A rite of passage?

An important research finding is that all of the women partners from the research samples of GC and GE, used their own agency to instigate their own global assignments, and, made career capital gains for their future promotion to global partner roles in the elite PSFs. All women partners ratify that without undertaking their global assignments, they would not be in their partner's roles. Next, the women partner's career experiences from their global assignments, including their career capital gains are discussed. The terms of senior director and partner are used interchangeably.

The GE research sample includes four women senior directors, and two women managers. All but one of these women senior directors instigated their own global assignments using a combination of their own agency and, senior management sponsorship in GE.

Two partners explain how in their early careers, they instigated roles in the large, global client projects which matter for promotion in GE. Greta is a senior director and a group leader of Infrastructure in the Americas, she is forty-eight years old and, married without children.

Greta used the formal selection process in the global HRM department as a junior engineer requested her first global project on her appraisal form in London (UK). Greta went to Hong Kong as a junior engineer for two years and, she remained for about 9 years.

After this first global assignment, Greta developed her own social capital with the powerful partner gatekeeper's networks and, informally brokered her own career roles:-

I would say the first time when I was selected for an assignment, when I was a junior engineer… I had actively I wanted to go on an assignment… **they were looking for two people…to**

go on an assignment. I don't know if it was by default or design, but there were two female candidates selected… I guess they wanted two people to work together and to live together. So they wanted two people of the same gender to share an apartment. So, I and another girl were selected. …..**But that was the only time known to me,…when my skills were assessed by someone I did not know and were matched for an opportunity. All the other times have been more of a networking opportunity, where my name came up in the field because I was known.** So I networked for opportunities or else people came to me to match up my skills with the opportunity which was available (Female Senior Director, Greta, GED3W2).

Greta's career experience is contrasted with that of Reg, who is a senior director and group leader of construction, he formally asked his manager for a global assignment. Reg, met with a powerful, gatekeeper and he was allocated to a global, client project:-

It was something that I raised in an annual appraisal I think. I said I'd be keen on going to (Name of Region)… or something like that. **And then the guy that did the appraisal, was going out to dinner that night with the Director who was from… Asia Pacific. The next day I had a meeting with him (the director from Asia Pacific).** And three months later I was there. **I can't remember exactly what. I think maybe we had talked about it in our heads** (Male Senior Director, Reg, GED5).

Deborah a senior director on the main management board in London (headquarters) UK, who has worked in Eire (Region), and GE London (UK) headquarters in GE. Deborah describes the early stages of her career and, following her partner in his career move to America.

On arrival Deborah had to find her own SIE assignment. This was tough because Deborah was without social capital connections or, reputational capital in America. Deborah, was starting from scratch in America:-

Then my husband got a job in America, and… **When I got there, I wrote to loads of companies, and I sent out about thirty CVs. And I got about two replies.** I went to see the one company. **They said we had a job yesterday, but we don't actually have a job today** (Deborah, Director of the Management Board, BOD1W).

Deborah got a job and, returned after two years to work in GE London (UK) headquarters. Deborah, had been working at a higher management level and, independently in her SIE assignment.

Deborah, on her return felt undermined by the backlash from her male boss and colleagues, who wanted to re-establish the gender order:-.

I was the sole structural engineer and, I had been working on a $ 55 million shopping centre on my own. But when I came back over to (….name of city…..) in the UK, and I could not believe

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the step backwards that I had to take…How backward it was. And I went back into a team of fifteen engineers, doing a £13 million shopping centre. And I could not believe it. **I went out of the office one day, to attend an Architectural competition. …And my boss told me off for having gone out of the office. On my own** …He said you do not go to meetings without an associate director or a director with you. **I was working fine in the states. I was probably too young to be doing those things, but anyway I was doing it…**God knows I was truly amazed…. (Female Director of Group Board, Deborah, BODW1).

Greta is a senior director and a group leader, she confirms that working on global projects extends a managers network and their opportunities to broaden their career development, which without being geographical mobile would never happen:-

   if they can take these opportunities … even if it's a project in another part of the same country, then you will definitely expand your network. And your experiences….. In a way that you wouldn't have done if you had stayed in the original place. So yeah. (Greta, Senior director and group leader, GEDW2, Interview 2).

Greta confirms this visibility to gatekeepers matters to be informally allocated to the more prestigious, larger global client projects and, to gain gatekeeper sponsorship for promotion.-

   The advantage of (global) assignments is to get access to global leaders, who you would not normally meet at home. (Field notes, Memo .2.30 pm, 31.5.2016. GED3W2 Greta, Senior Director, Partner)

By, working on global assignments managers begin their 'transition' for career progression to partner roles.

Edith is a senior director and, a group leader, she is a mechanical engineer, 45 years old and single, without children. Edith describes formally requesting an OSIE assignment back to America, after she finished her professional engineering training after two years in headquarters (London):-

   After I transferred back to the (…name of city…) the in region office, because I was born and raised in… the region, and **I wanted to get back to (.. name of city in …)**. I transferred back to that office with a project from the UK. **And… I have been here in (...name of city …) for nineteen years.** (Edith, Senior director, Buildings, GED11W)

Edith was severely, tested on her return because the majority of the senior leadership team set up a rival professional practice. Even worse, these departing leaders tried to take the client networks and client projects with them to directly compete with GE:-

   So when I got back to (name of city)… **I would say that this was an important part of my career, when I was tested because in about 1999-2000** in. (... name of city ….). **The leadership of my**

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group….basically disintegrated….when three of our leader's basically went across town and **started a firm and…….they just started out across the town to compete with us. And you know there I was working on a large, federal project** …**A guy I worked with on a previous job for a few years** when he worked with a former company… **he said," my bosses want me to take this job away, and to give it to the fellas who have started the business up town. Unless you promise me right now, that you will take care of this until the end of the project** then this work…. its gonna go. (Edith, Senior Director, GED11 Interview 2).

So, Edith gained a leadership role early in her career. Edith, developed social capital and reputational capital by building reciprocity and trust with her client networks.

Edith, explains how she informs the client of the worst case scenario at the start of the client project. So, Edith has gained the clients trust which protects her reputational capital and the client relationship should anything go wrong with the project:-

    I am known for sort of telling the truth too early on projects …You know there are some clients who don't listen when it comes to complications. **They just get excited…by… the presentation…**.. and I think…. **You need to be a little bit criticised for selling the juice too early right?**…I don't want people going down the wrong route. If they really want to do that thing, then it's got to be right…**I am always telling them the truth about why we should get together... I have built a reputation… I'll admit that if we miss out then it won't be that bad because they** (*the clients)* **won't be that anxious to get out**. (Edith, Senior Director, GED11 Interview 2)

The women during their global assignments began their 'transition' process, which involves leaving behind their professional expertise to accumulate the cultural capital portfolio for future partner promotion. These women managers accumulated social capital connections with gatekeeper networks, capabilities to manage client relationships and the large, global client projects which are crucial for partner promotion.

8.3. Women managers using their agency to instigate global projects in GC.

The senior women partners used their own individual agency to instigate their SIE assignments in their early careers in the GC research sample. The women partners come from diverse career backgrounds, with fewer women who are archetypal professionals (Ashley and Empson, 2013) in GC. Whilst, Juliet trained as an accountant in the Civil Service, and Pauline trained as an accountant in manufacturing. More, typically Gina was an IT consultant, and Tara worked in Hospitality before joining GC.

All of the women partners in the GC research sample, instigated their own global projects during their early career stages which they claim accelerated their promotion.

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Gina is a Vice-president and partner, she is 49, British, and is married without children. Gina worked as an IT consultant in the sectors of Science, Oil, and Utilities. Gina used her individual agency to instigate two SIE client projects in Europe, before she joined as a management consultant:-

Okay so I started my career in IT. I worked for (name of computer company) and…I went to work for the European (….name of science sector…..) **for a few years in Holland. I worked for (name of a global Oil company**). (Gina, Senior Partner, & Vice president, Untidies, GC DW2).

Gina, gained enhanced career development from her SIE assignments before joining GC. Gina possessed excellent technical expertise in IT, combined with her global management experience:-

Which was great because it gave me the overseas experience (…) on this modelling project. So **I was doing really 'high tech' projects" at a quite an early age.** (Gina, Senior Partner, & Vice president, Utilities, GC DW2).

Tara is a partner and vice-president in Transformation and talent management, she is 45 years old, British and, married with one child. Tara's first career was in the hospitality sector, before she studied for an MBA, to join as a management consultant.

Tara, developed social capital with gatekeepers and, also reputational capital by being geographically mobile to work on the large, global client projects:-

And in my early career I worked a lot abroad, so my international experience did not just start as a partner, and in fact it started in my early consulting career… I worked a lot in the oil industry, so there really wasn't the country that I didn't work in my consulting... **So my consulting career was quite international.** (Tara, Vice-President and partner, Transformation and Talent management, GCDW4).

However, gaining access to this important career development during global assignments is difficult for women because they lack legitimacy with the male-dominated gatekeepers:-

Juliet is a vice-president and, a senior global partner in GC. Juliet had to push the partner for a global assignment and overcome his resistance:-

I did have to… I went and found the person for… who was the person who did this. I sat down with him, and I said what I wanted to do…..**He said [the partner] well we don't like sending young ladies to difficult places like that! So I said, Oh no I really do want to do it**… he was actually against it… that I go out to [... Names of three states in Africa...] …..

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It is clear, women are not the male-dominated gatekeeper's first choice for a global assignment due to their gendered assumptions:-

No, I initiated them. In both cases that was me, saying… (Pause)...at a particular time in my life…It was all getting a bit samey, **I felt I needed to challenge myself.** I'd always wanted to travel with the job…**Through personal choice I've had two stints in my career, where I've chosen to go and work in another country…** in my late twenties…….. I got myself … to …. **(name of African country) in their accounting and consulting business…** in my late twenties, then …in my Thirties**….to (North America).** (Senior European Board Director, Juliet, GCSDEW2).

The male partner gatekeeper's resistance to sending women managers on global roles, confirms women manager's lack of legitimacy with their senior management for global assignments as discussed in the expatriate literature. Nevertheless, this resistance by male-dominated gatekeepers is a barrier and, unless women actively push these gatekeepers the gatekeepers won't offer them these important career opportunities.

Juliet a partner in global government and financial sectors, explained how during her global assignment, she felt "… **out of my comfort zone**..." But, Juliet gained confidence from handling the uncertainty, and adapting to different cultural environments.-

I think it accelerated my personal development… It took me completely out of my comfort zone… I was in a completely new situation, and a new culture... So I had to learn you know… new skills…In (…..name of country…..) **in Africa… I had to learn a new language and I had to learn a completely new way of doing business…I…was on my own….**which was quite difficult…**I had to become self-reliant** … **I can't really explain it any more than that, the challenge of operating in a world where things such as infrastructure only worked intermittently, but you still had to meet deadlines… experience of how to be resilient…how to be confident and how to handle unexpected situations** (Senior Female European Board Director, Juliet, GCSDEW1).

Nevertheless, for a women manager instigating a global assignment this is not entirely, agentic process within the same organization because gatekeeper sponsorship is needed to make the assignment happen. Next, the career experiences of women managers during and, after their global assignments are explored in depth.

These women (*now partners*) recall their career transition as junior managers, which challenged their capabilities to cope with unforeseen circumstances and, testing situations in different, unfamiliar often gendered cultures. These women managers gained the global leadership skills, which acted as crucial career preparation for their future promotion to the global, partner roles.

Gina a partner, describes coping in **'difficult'**, gendered cultures during her global assignments in Germany and the Netherlands. Gina confirms, being **'outside of her comfort zone'** during her global assignments. But, Gina accumulated the symbolic capital of 'winning work' and, she gained supreme confidence in her own leadership capabilities:-

On a basic level is the confidence level. In having dealt with some very difficult situations. A big part of what we have to go and do in this job is to pitch for business. You've got to get it right. …**to get a deal closed**. **And I can tell you that after having ….in Germany…. in German. I am not fazed by anything anymore. Especially if I am talking English**. So just the basic confidence level of pushing you to a point, into situations that you have never been in before not always in your home territory in English. (Senior Female Partner, Gina, GCDW2)

These women gained '**personal resilience**' from coping in demanding situations without senior management support which, broadened their career development for promotion to global, partner roles.

Deborah is a Senior Management Board Director, who during a global assignment worked independently without senior management support. Deborah is adamant that a global assignment is imperative for a senior leadership role, because this offers a strategic outlook for dealing with the large, global client projects:-

I learned a lot by being 'thrown in the deep end', which really helped me to be responsible. I did not have the office support that I had in (….name of home country…..). I worked there for two years. …..….I learned that in that time (…..) I had to work very quickly, and very leanly. That is the thing that I brought back with me when I came back to the UK…**I am probably able to demand a higher specification…when I went to (…name of major client project…) first. We had twelve cities and you had to physically take yourself around, and I was doing structural engineering…So they would not tell me where I had to go**. I had the opportunity to find my way around these cities…I had the opportunity to sit in (…..City in America….) **and to learn about the 'big' project issues…to understand the context, in which I would do my work**……And **that's probably why I am much better at big picture**, because I have listened to that process. (Female Senior Board, Deborah, Director BODW1W).

Deborah explains gaining 'personal **resilience'** from working in a large, global client project in America:-

It builds personal resilience…When I was in (….name of country…), **I had to often fly, on my own to another city to meet a client. I never thought about it. I didn't think where am I going to go? Where am I going to stay? I didn't think about it** .I would **have to turn up on my own to a city, to meet a client at an office or a site. I probably wouldn't know where it was, but I would just go there and buy a ticket… I knew I'd figure it out.** You figure it out… I just know that when I get there I will get a taxi. I will get a taxi, then I'll ask for a hotel. When I get to the hotel, then I'll

ask for advice on where is the site. **It's a big thing, but I don't even think about it.** (Deborah, Director of the Management Board, BOD1W).

Next, two female and male partners describe the intensity of performance demands and, being *'out of my comfort zone'* during their global assignments*.*

Juliet is a senior partner responsible for global government and finance, who describes working with an inadequate infrastructure i.e. transport in developing countries yet, being expected by senior management to deliver on her performance outcomes during a global assignment.

> **I went to visit a client and it took three days to get there, and then the telephones didn't work that was typical….. Resilience, how to be, how to be confident, and how to handle unexpected situations was all about me personally**. (Senior Female European Board Director, Juliet, GCSDEW1).

Michael a senior Director and Group director in Construction, is married with two children, who has worked in Africa, Australia, and Europe. Michael reiterates that, a manager must work independently in difficult, demanding, situations without senior management support during their global client project.

Michael, admits he gained confidence and, leadership development from undertaking global projects.-

> I encourage all of my team… to try and spend some time overseas, because it was the best thing I ever did in my career…**You know I was wondering why? I'd always noticed that engineers who worked overseas, were good and I couldn't define good… I now realise that good means confident, because you don't have the support network when you're overseas, you are there generally on your own….** …….if you are moving from GE London to GE Hong Kong, you are moving from one global centre to another. ….But if you are going to work in Mauritius, or Lagos, or Vietnam they are smaller operations. And **you don't have that network of people, you can't just turn to a neighbour and ask the question. You have to do a lot more research, and you have to make decisions… Yeah because you are working on a project, and you are going to get asked a question and you have to have the answer…you can't turn around and expect somebody else to answer it.** And you get a lot more responsibility…… It's because **you get a lot more responsibility. And it makes you confident engineer**. (Michael, Senior Director, Buildings, GED6).

All of the female and male partners made career capital gains from their intense, early career experiences of, being '**outside of my comfort zone'** during global assignments.

Women learned to handle unforeseen situations in unfamiliar cultures with confidence and, they gained global leadership skills which are crucial career preparation for future promotion to global partner roles. As global partner's women must operate in unfamiliar, often gendered cultures and, must convey

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confidence to others, including other partners and elite clients, when leading the large, global client projects in complex, strategic, and tough situations in the elite PSFs.

All of the women partners gained excellent career preparation during their global assignments for their career progression to global partner roles. These global assignments offered women managers career development, and global leadership development skills, which otherwise these women managers could not access as confirmed by the gender imbalance in the expatriate literature.

8.4. Career capital gains: Becoming a global leader.

In this section, the women partners describe learning to lead effectively from the large, global projects and, to communicate effectively with teams within different cultures. These are career capital gains which matter for promotion to partner.

Greta is a Senior Director and group leader, she has worked in the Asia Pacific, the Americas, and the UK. Women managers in early career stages must master their embodied cultural capital i.e. technical expertise and, then go beyond to gain the cultural capital or symbolic capital of leading large project teams for revenue generation in different cultures and countries:-

I gained in confidence. I think that when you work on an international assignment, and you are working in different cultures that you gain in confidence**. I learned to lead in different cultures.** (Senior Female Director, GEDW3, Interview 1, Greta).

Greta as a partner confirms that, working on these larger, global client projects gave her leadership capabilities to cope with change. These included opportunities to develop social capital with partner gatekeeper's networks of power which are crucial for women to gain legitimacy for promotion to partner in PSFs:-

Err ….**well yes to gain exposure to other leaders, and to get experience on bigger projects. Yes definitely bigger projects.** And yeah I guess some cultural experience, and allows you to grow personally. **And it makes you flexible to change really, or to prove that you are flexible to change…...and yeah just sort overall, I'd call it confidence building.** The fact that you can get up, go, and do something, you know somewhere else……**Sometimes it seems incredible that you can do that, but once you've done it. It's not that hard.** (Greta, Senior partner and Group Director, GED3W2)

Greta demonstrated impressive global leader capabilities, when despite the culture barriers and gender barriers, she conquered the male domain of a building site in a different country. Greta did not speak

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the native language of the host culture i.e. Chinese, but she successfully, lead a large, global client project and multi-professional teams in China for a prestigious global client project:-

The participant gave a fascinating description of when **she was working on a building site in China, and she was the only woman on the site. Nevertheless participant learned to lead a large, global client projects without speaking a word of the language in China**. (Memo: Field notes, Greta, Senior Director and Partner, GED3W2. On 2.30pm, 31.05.2016).

Wanda is an Associate Partner, she leads large, global client accounts in India, the Philippines, and the UK. Wanda explains the range of different leadership approaches in different countries, and the complexities for global leaders working in different cultures:-

So when I was in the Netherlands, the management style there…is very much on the manager and I am telling you how it should be. So that (laughter participant) that really doesn't work as a way to get things done in a European perspective. Where the view is that there are people from all levels who feel they should get involved, and have their say. **Where in the UK people expect that some direction should come from management, it's more a question of how do you think it should be done?** It would be seen as a weakness, to ask how you think it should be done. It would be why is the manager asking me? Don't they know what should be done? **Whereas in India the approach is well I have an opinion on how things should be done, but I won't give it**… even if I'm asked for an opinion… **I would not act on anything unless my manager told me** how I should act. **So that's three very different ways of approaching how a manager should manage these situations.** (Wanda, Associate Partner, Logistics, GCAPW).

Roberta is a managing consultant, and project manager in HRM/IT systems client projects, she is 40 years old, Spanish, single and without children. Roberta describes the challenges which women face leading in national cultures, where men do not accept women as legitimate leaders:-

…I was going there and I am a woman and …. I was a project manager at the time, so you go there and…The culture is completely different, and you must supervise them….But**… they are not used to having a women who must tell them how to do things….So you really need to take into consideration that the culture might be very different…** Most of the time it's a matter of understanding what they say with the words that they use…**So you really need to be… somebody whose very much…used to...to being in environment …That might be very different from a…from a cultural point of view** (Roberta, middle manager, global projects, GCMC1W).

But, global assignments are a challenging, and a lonely experience. Roberta is Spanish, she is a project manager in HRM/IT systems, who has worked across Europe, in the Nordics, and the Middle-East:-

If you are somebody …**who needs to have the support of other people at work …Then …don't take this** ….because it won't work for you. **You need to be somebody who is not afraid of working independent. Who is not afraid of being left alone (laughter) with many things…Or with many cultures in some cases that you don't really understand**…You need to be somebody who is brave

…Who **actually quite enjoys going outside their comfort zone**. If you are not like that, forget about it. (Roberta, middle manager, global projects, GCMC1W):-

Women face trials in gendered cultures often without senior management support, which offers them career preparation for succeeding in male-dominated cultures and partner promotion in the PSFs.

All women who used their own agency to instigate their own global assignments, made career capital gains in their early career stages, which offered them valuable career development and global leadership skills for their future promotion.

It is strongly argued, unless these women had used their agency to instigate their own global assignments, then they would **not** have been offered these assignments by the male-dominated partner gatekeepers.

The next section explores in depth, the different career capital gains made by women managers during their middle-career stages when undertaking large, prestigious global client projects or assignments.

8.5. 'Linguistic capital': Career capital gains for promotion to senior management.

This section describes the career experiences of the women managers who during their middle management levels made career capital gains including 'linguistic capital' from the leadership of their prestigious, global large client projects.

These key informants are senior women directors and, chief executive officers (CEOs) who work for institutional bodies promoting Gender diversity, who represent Science Technology Engineering Management (STEM), Gender equality for senior management, a Disability charity and, a Diversity director in a Global PSF.

These women directors are reflecting on their career capital gains made from global assignments which they instigated during their middle-management career stages. The women learned to handle power relations including how to conduct business by adopting linguistic capital by mastering their interactions with elite politicians and civil servants. This linguistic capital is an important cultural capital which women in the lower-management levels cannot normally, access as 'outsiders' to senior management. It is disputed that, women managers could accumulate the social capital and, symbolic capital of linguistic capital without career experience in these global assignments.

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Juliet a Vice –president and senior global partner in GC, instigated her second global assignment in the (North American) government:-

When I was just approaching **forty. I had an opportunity to go to North America, and that was……….and that was with (name of another accounting firm).** GC bought this company when I was out there. **So I was there for three years doing a specific project for a…. (Sector)…. client……** It was the implementation of the Oracle financial system**, and I got the opportunity to go in there with the whole of the functional experts around finance……….. To do one of the many sort of accounting/projects, and in that job I was one of the key leaders** of programme for couple of years. And then …err**….having been successful at that for couple of years. Er I had the opportunity to go and do a similar job for the government in (…….. name of state in North America…….)** (Senior European Board Director, Juliet, GCSDEW2)

Juliet, learned to handle power relationships with elite, senior government ministers, and partner gatekeepers during her global assignment in North America. Women cannot obtain these valued cultural capitals in the lower level positions, which do not offer them career opportunities to interact with elite gatekeepers and senior clients. The powerful, elite partner gatekeepers recognise these cultural capitals such as linguistic capital for promotion into global partner roles:-

The other thing that got from **in North America……**was that as **I was over there as the UK kind of expert,** I got exposed to and… **I had to deal with some very senior people in government and so on…….compared with in the UK ….. so I learned the skills of dealing with senior civil servants and politicians…such as how do you handle senior civil servants.** I learned this is a useful skill to have, and **I wouldn't be frightened now about going to a meeting with a Minister……… because I've done it** (Senior Female European Board Director, Juliet, GCSDEW1).

Lynne is a Chief-Executive of a Disability Charity, worked as a civil servant. Lynne is chief-executive who has advised on Disability policies at a senior government level in the UK. Lynne is married, with two grown up children and she is 58 years old.

Lynne accumulated the cultural capital of linguistic capital, for handling power relationships and interacting with elite gatekeepers and senior clients, including senior government officials and politicians during her SIE assignment working in the North American government.

The cultural capitals of elite partner gatekeepers and senior clients, are highly exclusionary and cannot be easily copied by 'outsider'. This SIE assignment gave Lynne the opportunity to become socialized in the social capital of networking and, also to learn the linguistic capital which used to handle power relations by the elite at senior management in organizations:-

(The career benefits of dealing with highly prestigious people, such having access to high-level politicians, and other high level people such as civil rights activists from the south (USA).Therefore different meeting people at such a high level, enables an understanding of political processes. This included understanding how the leaders of parties would build unity across the political parties, **and opportunities to learn the rhetoric which is used by the powerful people. In particular to learn the informal 'codes, and how to speak to senior civil servants**.) Memo: Lynne, Chief Executive of a Disabilities Not for Profit Organization, KI4A, Field notes from the pilot Interviews, 10.3.2016, KI4L)

Still, women managers experience covert, hidden '**gender exclusion**' from the powerful, male-dominated elite gatekeepers which undermines their legitimacy as managers:-

Lynne describes **experiencing "subtle" forms of gender exclusion**. Lynne referred to a "**patronising** attitude to women," and **assumptions that "women can't do certain kinds of work",** and **the use of networking where jobs were offered to men which informally "side-lined" women. (**Memo: Lynne, Chief Executive of a Disabilities 'Not for Profit' Organization, Field notes from the pilot Interviews, 10.3.2016, KI4L).

Gender exclusion is hidden and, covert, disguised in gendered tactics such as '**banter**' used by male senior management which makes this informal gender exclusion difficult to overtly, confront and challenge:-

The **'banter' used by men was gender exclusionary**. (Memo: Lynne, Chief Executive of a Disabilities 'Not for Profit' Organization, Field notes from the pilot Interviews, 10.3.2016, KI4L).

Pauline a vice –president and global HRM partner, and an accountant from industry before joining GC. Pauline used her agency to instigate a global assignment, by convincing a senior partner gate-keeper to transfer her into the East European region in GC.

Pauline made career capital gains from this 'start-up' situation, leading a large, global client project. Pauline accumulated social capital and networking skills with elite clients, and, the symbolic capital of winning work or revenue generation for partner promotion, :-

The (name of city in Eastern Europe) assignment. I asked a senior manager who convinced the MP (managing partner)…. This took some manuovering. ….However**, at that time no one was interested in going to Eastern Europe as it didn't seem like a great place….** What I gained from **that was generalist, commercial and people skills ……….I gained this expertise and flexibility …. I learned how to manage client projects in a different environment**….the most important skills are **to trust your own judgement**… (Pauline, European Vice –President and Partner, Europe, GC/SWD/HRM1W Interview Pilot)

Rowena a senior director and group leader in Infrastructure in GE. Rowena is married with two children, and she undertook a global assignment in mid-career stage at 35 years old. Rowena lead a

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large, global client project in a 'start –up' situation, which represents the symbolic capital of 'winning-work' i.e. revenue generation, which signifies to partner gatekeepers that a manager can build client relationships or linguistic capital which are important to for sales of client projects in difficult, and challenging global contexts.

This configuration of collective capital resources are highly valued by the gate-keeper networks, and incorporate the symbolic capital of revenue generation which signals to the gatekeepers that a manager is eligible for promotion to partner.-

> And that **I went over about three or four years**, and that allowed me **to grow the group**. **It raised my profile in (GE)…...”** (Female Director, Rowena, GED12W)

Rowena gained visibility and, legitimacy from the leadership of these large global client projects which consolidated her future partner promotion prospects with the elite gatekeepers:-

> **I was promoted to Associate**………..and I went back as an associate to (….name of city in America…) I went to (….name of city in America….). **And during the time that I was in (…..city in America….), I was promoted to a grade eight.** And then I moved to (…..city in Australia….) again, as a grade eight. ……..When I moved to (….name of city in America……), and (…..name of city in Australia…..) in both instances, **I went to set up a geo-technical team for (GE)…..But that was not promotion to the next grade that was the job I was doing. And then I was promoted to principal …… (…..name of city in Australia…). …**…**About five years after I had been in** (….name of city in Australia….) I was promoted to principal. And then last year I arrived here. It was not so much a promotion but **I have now have been appointed to the regional board of Australasia** (Female Senior Director, Rowena, GED12W)

Elena a global diversity director with a major management consultancy firm, who is a passionate advocate for global assignments. Elena built her career on global assignments in both early and mid-career stages. Elena worked in sector of global banking and, the PSFs, she is married with two children and 44 years old:-

> **I probably took about four kind of (SIE assignments….** I was about eight years into my career when I asked for a …(an assignment) of about a year….I remember at the time people were all saying to me….**gosh you are really brave. Almost, sort of saying you're kind off jumping off the track, so to speak…** I know that my career benefitted… partly **because of what I've achieved in my (SIE assignments)... I was offered a job in (a Global Bank)…**working in Hong Kong… **I would say that I wouldn't have that, if I hadn't taken the (SIE assignment)…when I was in that role, I did a lot of…international travel**… **because of the hours I was working… you know they would say to me one week I would be in the states, the next week I would be in Mexico. I would never be in same place, or working the same hours** (Elena, Key informant, Diversity Director in Global Consulting firm, KI13, Interview Pilot)

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Elena argues, the career experience from global assignments gave her a global strategic perspective, which is crucial, career preparation for promotion into a global partner position:-

I think you're going to work at a strategic level, you have to have a broad perspective ...One of the things that is said about me, is that I can create something out of nothing. ……..**I can look at things from a number perspectives and from that create a strategy … I can … take those perspectives, and listen to those different perspectives, and pick up part way an aspect of it.** And create a frame work around that… **and also tell the story of how it fits** (Elena, Key informant, Diversity and Talent Management Director in Global Consulting firm, KI13E, Interview Pilot).

Women who used their agency to instigate their global assignments during their middle career stages made serious career capital gains, from accumulating social capital with gatekeeper networks, and the symbolic capital of revenue generation which extended their capital portfolios for promotion to partner positions.

Women by interacting with elite gatekeepers and senior clients, learned how to handle power relations and gained the linguistic capital to work closely with partners and elite client at senior management levels. These career opportunities are not available to women at lower management levels in organizations.

8.6. Career capital losses: 'Networking back in' after global assignments.

This section confirms that, all of the women partners after their global assignments were not offered an immediate promotion by the senior management on their return to organizations. Whilst, the women experienced some career turbulence gaining a career position which involved either reinvigorating their existing networks in the same firm or, else building up their new gatekeeper networks from scratch in a new firm.

Juliet a Vice president and senior partner in global government and finance, confirms she did not gain immediate promotion on return:-

Although**…** it was not directly related to career advancement, and **I could not immediately get promotion from it**…….but **it did massively help me to develop my skills and capabilities**, **which I know helped to accelerate my career** (Senior European Board Director, Juliet, GCSDEW2).

An important research finding is, because these women utilized networking in their global assignments this gave them the agility to '**network back in**' on their return. As the next account of Juliet illustrates:-

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Juliet is a Vice president and senior partner in global government and finance, she describes the networking skills which she developed during global assignments:-

you know you move to a different environment and you have to build new networks, and you have to demonstrate that **your success is not dependent on you know…the comfort and the network and you know………that you come from**…..that it depends on the real skills that you have to do something new and **the capabilities that you are building from new** (Senior Female European Board Director, Juliet, GCSDEW2).

Juliet confirms that she experienced career turbulence on return from the global assignments. Nevertheless, Juliet's networking skills from her global assignments helped to re-invigorate the home networks and, re-establish her career position:-

And it was brilliant that I could do it… coming back **… I've gone away, and come back a couple of times, and it's always a bit hard**. It's a bit hard to come back in, because **lots of people have….moved on and your network is not quite what it was….**it's a bit difficult because **the people who know you, after three years they don't recognise you. Which is strange**... **I did make sure that before I was going to come back in, I called round you know everyone I knew…and said I am coming, any advice?** Then I kind of landed… **I had to do some network building ….because you go back down, and then you sort of come back up again** (Senior European Board Director, Juliet, GCSDEW2)

Juliet tapped into her social capital connections i.e. credits. Juliet networked with those who trusted her, who staked their social capital and reputational capital '**by vouching'** for her to powerful gatekeepers to get her client project work:-

And that was important **for those times when I came back into the UK, because … If things have changed, the people that you knew were not always…. necessarily in positions of big influence ….** There were just people that could guide me, and…..**and they had good reputations the same as me. They would go to the senior's and say, "(name of participant…..) can do this you should give her this she can be trusted**. And the seniors would trust it. (Senior European Board Director, Juliet, GCSDEW2)

At middle-management career stages women by undertaking global assignments accumulated social capital or linguistic capital with elite gatekeepers and senior clients, and a track record of revenue generation from global client projects which signifies symbolic capital to gatekeepers for their future promotion.

Women managers did experience some initial career turbulence after their global assignments and, they were not immediately, promoted on return. For these women managers the importance of using

their networking skills with gatekeepers for informal allocation to roles in existing or new firms was paramount.

8.6.1. Career risks for senior management from global relocation: The loss of gatekeeper networks and client relationships.

This section explores the career capital risks for senior management from short-term global relocation, which confirms that global assignments are not a one way bet. It is not ignored that, there are career capital losses made from geographical mobility which involves global transfers to undertake global client projects for those in senior management positions. These career capital gains and potential losses must be carefully balanced for senior management i.e. partner gatekeepers to keep their career progression on track in the elite PSFs.

Senior managers can face serious career capital losses from their home, gate-keeper networks, and their client relationships due to dynamic power shifts in the senior management field during their absence. Unless the senior management have strong networks and sponsors to rely on, they could find themselves in a worse career position on their return, if they are not in front of the elite partner gatekeepers for allocation to the large client projects and for promotion opportunities.

Tom a senior director has worked in Eire, and London (UK) headquarters, he describes the competitive nature of position-taking in the senior management field.

The senior manager or middle manager who accepts a global assignment faces *career risks* to their senior management networks, including shifts in gatekeeper power which jeopardises their competitive position in their absence, and their chances of finding an equivalent position on their return :-.

When somebody gives up a role here, and goes somewhere else…and comes back in about 5 years' time. On an individual level… the role will have previously been taken over by someone else. The contacts and networks you have… will have withered and died, and there will be a need to refresh them. You turn back up again in a way like somebody quite helpless, because there is a risk. **In an organization like ours, it's not to be underestimated because the system will close behind you. He's here now, he's needed but go away for five years, and it closes up. Others will grow as well to meet you, that's the other point**…You turn back up again can I have that role or that role? The departure is good, and the host country benefited…You will get what's available… One person undertook a project for about a year and a half, and…In a role that was, it was senior…The job they were given on return they thought was beneath them… they were working in a role that was below them…**Yes. Its difficult world in consulting** (Tom, Senior DirectorGED2).

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Reg a senior director and group leader of construction after 10 years in the Asia Pacific region, he was surprized not to be welcomed back on his return. Fortunately, Reg possesses strong social capital connections, and is "***well networked***" including the deputy chairman of the senior management board (headquarters) who is his former boss in the Asia Pacific region:-

I could tell that the (…senior manager of group…) was a little bit worried. You know, sort of "Oh a good thing you're coming back you'll be an asset to the group, but you are quite expensive .And also what are the other people going to think? **When another director turns up, do they perceive the queues getting longer?"** To me **I thought that they would be over the moon that I was back** (Male Senior Director, Reg, GED5)

Greta is a senior director and group leader in Infrastructure. Greta describes this delicate balance between being globally mobile to undertake global projects and, avoiding a slowdown in promotion opportunities. Even the partners, can become invisible to the senior management gatekeepers in the headquarters:-

I think it could be a disadvantage if you are moving around too much, you know like moving jobs between companies…that's probably not such a good thing for your career, because people think you know that you know you are not committed... That's not such a good thing…you get left behind in the promotions, because you are chopping and changing between things.…….. **I think is also important to have somebody who is your mentor, back in your home, one who recognises your potential. I know of a number of people who have moved around lot, but they haven't advanced in the same way**...**They have been kind of forgotten about in the promotions process, and it's taken them a long time, or longer** …..To get advancement. I can think of two particular examples where I think, you know where I personally think that people have deserved to be promoted and they have not been…they were ready for promotion but they didn't get promoted. Or it's taken them a lot longer….longer (Greta, Senior Women Director and Group leader, GDW2, Interview 2)

Gina a Vice president and partner in Utilities, agrees that managers must carefully time their acceptance of global assignments with their promotion applications. In particular, women managers miss out on gaining promotion, if they are invisible to elite gatekeepers in headquarters working on a global assignment:-

In the shorter term it is massive out of sight out of mind…**if you tear off for 6 to 9 months**…. **in the geographies**….. and your home country frankly couldn't care less. I mean whatever brilliant thing you did over there wasn't for their benefit… It can actually be a detriment. **I have seen that happen to women……. well they go work in Mexico, or in the US, a really tough and demanding assignment… and then when it comes to the evaluations… because there is not the same visibility with what they've done,** they might be a wonderful performer. But suddenly there are two performers… …who didn't quite make the top step anymore **because others**…….. **Who are (pause) more prominent or visible taking that position…..Emm…? I think it's about timing when you**

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do it……..if you've just been promoted its fine... But **if you are going for promotion that is not the year to go out abroad** (Gina, Senior Vice President and Partner, GCDW1).

Donald is a senior director of Infrastructure and transport, he describes a situation where a senior manager lost his social capital and, network connections with the elite partner gatekeepers in headquarters during a global client project.

The senior manager found his immediate boss left during his absence on the global client project, which meant on his return this senior manager had lost a powerful sponsor. Therefore, a senior manager who becomes disconnected from the gatekeeper networks of power, during their global assignment makes career capital losses which puts them at the bottom of the career pile in the elite PSFs:-

I knew of someone who was seconded to a client for a long time about two years. It was in (….). He was working for (company), and they actually closed down that … Anyway, he was there for years. **He did actually come back …I don't know, some agreement was reached...But looking back now he was probably …it was closing down there, and he came back. I think he only lasted about six months. I think his head of group changed**, and…they were no longer what he left, and that just finished it...He was almost forgotten about…because **when you are on a project... you are in the client's office and not around. You're not sort of….in front of the bosses** (Male Senior Director, Donald, and GED1)

Edith a successful senior director and, regional director in the Americas, is adamant she would not accept an expatriate assignment involving geographical relocation at this senior management level. Edith, fears losing the client networks and, reputational capital which she has built up over years which are irreplaceable in career capital terms:-

For me personally yeah, because **I have no desire to move anywhere**. Both for personal reasons not just for manager reasons as well, part of that has to do with. I am a person who naturally doesn't like change too much. , I would take this from the paradigm of being in a minority population, the literature supports this, **and it has taken me 21 years to get to the point where, where I can do whatever I want and people trust me**. And **that's through hard work** here, and this is why I want to stay here. **And I am successful here**, and **this is a problem that we have when we try to hire women and minorities from other countries** (Female Senior Director, Edith, and GED11W Interview 1)

Edith, is a senior woman director in a male dominated firm, she has built up client networks and reputational capital using trust and reciprocity. Edith uses her client networks for 'work-winning' or revenue generation, which protects her partner position according to commercial logic. Edith, does lead the large, global client projects and she regularly travels to meet the clients for global projects in Europe, in the America's and in China...-

The service, we don't sell product. **So your value in business terms, is based on your network in the market. So** it's more difficult and disruptive for the individual and also in terms of the firm. For someone like me has spent 19 years building a network, and ...as an engineer, it makes no sense to send me to name of American city. It makes no sense for me or for the firm**……To have to move to name of city, and then have to rebuild my network…The relationships are what win you the work, and what get you out of trouble if you do something wrong… because I know who will support me here, and I know the skeletons in the closet, I know how to manage the system and the people. And if I were to be parachuted into another place with a different internal political structure, or a different city wise understanding, in terms of what is valued and what not, then it would be a lot of hard work.** (Senior partner, Edith GED11Interview2)

The next participant evidences how geographical mobility alone is not enough for promotion, unless a manager has social capital with gatekeepers networks and, sponsorship then their promotion is unlikely.

Roberta is a middle management team project manager, she is forty years old, single, and unmarried. Roberta is a project manager who leads teams on HRM systems and Cloud applications in Europe, the Nordics, and the Middle-East.:-

I don't know how to play this role in a different way...**You literally… cut your…you cut your links with the ….with your home office. And it's difficult to you know…maintain…that type of relationship, and being visible as well**….when you are assigned to international projects you are (Roberta, Project leader, HRM systems and transformation, GCMC1W).

This section summarised the importance for senior management to protect their social capital connections with their gatekeeper networks, and for partners to keep in touch with their home networks to facilitate finding a job on their return.

At a senior management level career capital gains and losses from global relocation must be carefully balanced. A partner's social capital connections are built up over time and, damage to these networks can lead to the partner's loss of their competitive position in the senior management field.

Moreover geographical mobility alone, without social capital with the gatekeeper networks of power is not sufficient for a manager to gain promotion.

8.6.2. Career capital deficits for the senior women director: The reluctant trailing spouse.

This section discusses the position of senior women partners who are married or partnered, and are working in global careers, and experience dual-career tensions with their personal partners for their

mutual career progression. In reality, these dual career couples means that one partner must accept career capital losses in their career to sustain the other partner's career.

Greta has a successful career trajectory as a global partner including working in the UK, Hong Kong, and the Americas in GE. Greta confirms that, career 'compromises' are regularly agreed with her husband because, as a dual-career couple both have senior management careers in global firms. Greta explains both parties try to negotiate their career moves for specific time periods, to balance their mutual career capital gains and losses:-

Yes, yes, yes…**firstly you have to set yourself a time for a role that you are offered or that you want to do…. how long you will be in it**……. You know if you are taking for an offer or the job that you want to do. If it's a role based thing, **how long do you give yourself in that role before you start to look for another ?…. or giving your significant other a timeframe for how long they should be in a job?** Or also you know …..when they should looking for another role, or thinking about another role. **But timing is never perfect (laughter from participant). It doesn't always work…it doesn't always work seamlessly like that.** But I would say timing is the first thing (Senior Female Director, Greta, GED3W2)

Juliet is a vice-president and senior European partner working in a global government and finance, who explained when she got the global assignment in North America. (Field notes 9.2.2017).

Juliet echoes, Greta's comment about the '**career compromises**' made between global dual-career couples, and describes her husband gave his job up to follow her:-

To be able to come with me so **….. So you can always make those compromises but you don't get a job straight away in North America.** But healthy it's you know there's benefits as well……..err…. he understands the world of my work make those. **So you know you can always kind of compromises, because he got a job straight away in** North America (Juliet, vice president and senior European partner, GCDEW2).

Rowena's husband agreed to relocate which enabled her to undertake the global, large client project in New York, by his accepting full-time childcare responsibilities for their two children:-

Oh well yes. But New York was different because one of the things I benefitted from enormously was that I brought the family (Rowena, Senior Director, GE11, Interview 2).

Rowena is clear that without her husband taking the child-care responsibilities, she could never have met the demands of global, long hours working, global travel, and, most importantly, the 'after work hours' networking with the elite gatekeepers and, senior clients to successfully complete assignment:-

That is something that **I was able to do because, (….husbands name….), was home with the children they were pre-school age at the time.** So **I was able to do those trips** and do that work. **He was with the children who were three or four years at the time.** So I did not have to do day trips. **I was able to do that work and those trips (global commuting).** And **when you are working within different time zones, there is quite a lot of late nights** which is generally **in the office. You know ….long hours for conferences, and also for afterhours socialising** (Rowena, Senior Director, GE11, Interview 2).

In reality, sustaining a global, senior management career for a dual –career couple means that one partner must accept career capital losses to the detriment of their own career.

Greta is facing a serious career capital deficit after following her partner into his new global management position. Greta explains this career '**compromise**' involved instigating a role in East Asia, at a lower management level, with less compensation, and which is part-time:-

  So I would say, that I've accepted a step back in my career…To help my husband with his career. And then hopefully in a year or a couple of years or so, I can find a role that advantages my career a little bit more**…So I guess I see it as my total happiness is the most important thing "(laughter from the participant). So I am prepared to compromise a little bit on my development or my career for a short while. It's definitely a frustrating process. It's been a frustrating process with this assignment.** (Greta, Senior Group Director).

For a global partner like Greta, working in a short-term, lower paid and part-time assignment is a seriously bad career move which represents a career capital deficit:-

The participant is experiencing personal and career challenges at this time, she was working in a global assignment situation with "the firm", to accommodate her partner's career move. **This is difficult as the role is not challenging or advancing her career. This is not easy however, she felt that her husband had accommodated her career in the past, and they had always made decisions together about their careers**. (Memo Greta, Senior Director and Group Leader, Post –interview, 12 May 2015)

Alison is a key informant who is a Professor in Science and a STEM diversity champion, she is married with two grown up children. Alison describes the subtle power shift in her own dual-career situation, when one person's career takes precedence to the detriment of the other partner's career:-

  The real crunch came later when I got the permanent position, and his fellowship ran out…let's get this right, he then got a second fellowship in Cambridge…but when that ran out **and I had the permanent position**… **he had to make the decision…**Was he going to go and look for a job somewhere else?**... And I guess neither of us knew what sort of terminal decision that was. Usually it's the other way usually it's the woman…**we didn't realise that **you never get back into it** (Alison, Senior Professor and advocate of Diversity for STEM, K13A)

Elena is a key informant who is 44 years old, she is married with two children. Elena is a senior global Diversity and HRM director in an elite accountancy PSF.

Elena argues that, a man working in a senior global management role needs a full-time "wife" to take care of their domestic responsibilities. Elena is a global, senior director and, the 'bread-winner'. Elena's husband does not work, but he is unwilling to accept responsibility for their children:-

It's almost a prerequisite for … (*in a senior management global career for a man*)**… I found that it did 'not matter if you're a… a stay at home mum, if you're a part-time working mum, or if you're a full-time working mum. You're basically still doing the lion-share of the domestic work.** You know (…partner's name) and I …**You know if the kids got sick. I'm the main breadwinner, and yet I would be expected to …take time off**. Yes. Exactly, but I would hear from the other side what he would have to do. I am a senior person, I've worked. I'm my own boss …it's easier for…(*men*) …..**So in a way you can't win? One of you becomes…not a burden...but** (Elena, Global Director of Global management consultancy, GADL5)

Elena as a senior global director, reflects on the challenges women leaders face with partners and children, she became ill from trying to reconcile the tensions between the private and public spheres of her life. Strangely, despite being a 'breadwinner' this does bring Elena who is a global director the same domestic privileges compared to a man in her position:-

There's an argument for saying that the dual-career is the cause of my illness…I think I stretch myself too thin ...when I think about it now. I think that **in a way, I was living …Trying to do everything, how to cope with it … I'm the main breadwinner even though I am working part-time I am the main breadwinner …running the house, spending time doing all the care with two kids..**it became a bit too much…and I…I …believed I could do everything. To a pretty high standard...**that has taken its toll a little bit** (Elena, Global Director of Global management consultancy, GADL5)

Rowena elaborates on the 'no-win' position of the global women partner with children. Rowena, despite working long hours to complete a large, global client project, finds herself admonished by a male, senior client for neglecting her children:-

I remember there was one time……… about another project. We were having a video conference about the work cycle, and he (the client) made some comment about when do you see your children? So you know, I talked to him about my children and about (…..name of husband….) and whenever he gets in from work or whatever. I said that's alright, I am doing "xyz". I think what he saw was **he might have thought I was going above and beyond in the way I was doing my job.** (Rowena, Senior Director and Partner, GED12, Interview 2).

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It is hard to imagine a male, senior client making the same gendered comment to a male partner, and accusing him of neglecting his children when undertaking the global long hour's work which is expected by the client to deliver (*the client's*) large, global project.

In dual-career situations for global senior management, when one partner undertakes a global assignment and the other partner must follow this disrupts the follower's career trajectory. For male global partners whose wife or partner who does not work outside the home, then global career moves offer them distinct career advantages.

Peter a global partner, has made multiple global, career moves between Australia, America, and Europe in GC. Peter claims there are not any dual career tensions for him, because his wife does not work. Peter takes it for granted that his wife not having a career is a convenient solution which suits his global partner career ambitions:-

Peter stated there were not any issues concerning 'dual-careers' because his wife gave up work. It was taken for granted that this was an unproblematic decision on Peter's wife's part! This is not an option for women who face a 'biological clock' time-line imperative if they want children. **It occurs to me that men may delay getting married, and having children until they complete global transfers and their careers established** (Peter, Vice-President, and partner, Automobiles, GCD2 Field notes: memo 16.09.2016)

Peter outlines his career strategy of making global career moves in his early/ mid-career prior to marriage. Unfortunately, in the early to middle career stages many women managers are having children which effectively removes them from the important global career opportunities which are a route to partner promotion.

The majority of global male partners confirm their wives don't work and, their wives or partners have suffered career capital losses from following their global career moves:-

Reg admits that his career moves effectively destroyed his wife's management career, and she finally gave up working after four geographical relocations (Reg, Senior Director, GED5, Field notes 2pm on 15 June.2016).

Michael a senior director acknowledges his wife experienced career capital losses and, she struggled to rebuild her career after Michael's previous global, relocation. Understandably, Michael's wife is reluctant to relocate again:-

So you know my story is, my wife is a midwife. We were asked would we go to the US, so we looked into it and my wife would have to go back and requalify in the US. And she said I don't want to do that, I worked long and hard. **She had only been a midwife for 10 years, she re- trained as a midwife when we came back from going overseas last time…**she said I just come out of academic, and I don't do want to do that… (Michael, Senior Director in Construction.GED6)

Dalvat, a senior director explains that, his wife lost her management position in the public sector when he undertook his last global, relocation. Dalvat's wife, undertakes temporary contract work but, **she has been unable to regain an equivalent permanent management position since their return to the UK.** (Dalvat, Senior Director, 10.30pm by Skype, on 23 August, 2016, GED4, Field Notes) (*Refer to Table 6*)

An uncontested assumption in expatriate literature is that, when a 'male middle or senior manager' undertakes an expatriate assignment the trailing spouse presumed to be 'the wife' follows and takes responsibility for full-time childcare and, their private needs.

There are career capital losses made between dual career couples, the husband of a woman professor who agreed to take on full-time child carer responsibilities temporarily (Alison) but, he never returned to his previous career level. Another woman global partner Elena, who despite being the 'breadwinner' of the family, her husband chooses not to take responsibility for their children's child care. This situation replicates the traditional, trailing spouse and career break situation which women normally face from career capital deficits by following their husbands/partner's global careers moves.

All of the global women partners succeeded for promotion because their husbands or wives, followed their career moves at crucial career stages. However, women global partners face different contradictions compared with men, to reconcile the tensions between their personal and work spheres at a micro level.

The message is clear, to compete with men for global partner positions, a woman must be single and, without children or, else have a husband/partner who is willing to accept full-time child-care responsibilities at the expense of their own career temporarily or even permanently

8.7. Conclusion.

This section provides a brief conclusion, and lists research contributions. The research questions 1.2.3. is answered and, the responses to research questions are summarised in section 9.2, with the

contributions to theory in section 9.3., the contribution to research methods and, the contributions to policy implications are discussed in section 9.5 in Chapter nine.

This conclusion firstly, confirms the importance for women managers of using their own agency to instigate their SIE assignments to overcome career blockages where male-dominated senior management i.e. gatekeepers do not see women as legitimate candidates for allocation to global assignments. Secondly, this describes how women make career capital gains or career capital losses at different stages of their careers when they are undertaking SIE assignments at a micro-level.

By using their individual agency to instigate their own SIE assignments, all women managers (now partners) gained opportunities to enhance their cultural capital portfolios and, overcome career blockages to their promotion from male-dominated senior management in organizations.

Notwithstanding, career stage timing is crucial for women managers who use their own agency to instigate their own SIE assignments, to maximise their career capital gains in their lower-management and middle-management career stages. Women made career capital gains which supported their transition to partner in their early career stages which facilitated their 'transition' from manager to their future partner promotion.

Significantly, women managers accumulated linguistic capital for interaction and networking with elite gatekeepers and clients undertaking global assignments at middle career stages. This linguistic capital enables women to practice handling elite power relations which belongs to the configuration of collective cultural capitals, including the symbolic capital of a track record in client projects sales i.e. revenue generation which extends women cultural portfolios for their partner promotion.

Notwithstanding, for women at senior management levels undertaking an SIE assignment is a treacherous prospect, which offers potential, career capital deficits such as loss of social capital connections with the gatekeeper networks of power in the elite PSFs. This confirms that global mobility is not a 'one-way' bet for a senior management career progression, because there is a delicate balance for managers *and partners,* between being outside of the gaze of and networking with the powerful, elite partner gatekeepers in the headquarters and, rapid power shifts which cause manager or partners to lose their competitive position in the field. Therefore, global mobility is not entirely

agentic for managers and partner's competitive position taking, because they cannot ignore the interactions with gatekeeper power in the senior management field.

There are severe challenges and tensions between work and personal lives for the 'dual-career' couples who are both working in senior management levels in global careers. Inevitably, there are career power balance changes between these dual career couples, which lead to hidden career capital losses and career damage to the 'followers' career trajectory in a global, senior management career.

All of the (*now) women* partners, had husbands or life partners who chose to 'follow' their global career moves and/ accept full-time responsibility for child –care. An important research contribution, is that without this career flexibility having the domestic capital to make their global career moves. It is strongly argued that, these (*now*) women global partners would not have made their career capital gains which gave them the career development which positioned them for transition for their future promotion to global partner positions in the elite PSFs.

This research adds to understanding the gender imbalance in global assignments from a micro-level perspective which is neglected in the expatriate literature.

8.7.1. A summary of the research contributions.

All of the women partners used their agency to instigate their own SIE assignments and made career capital gains and, overcame promotion blockages which they faced from male-dominated senior management. However, career progression is subject to career timing and women must maximise their career capital gains during their lower management and/or middle management levels.

Unless these women *(now partners)* used their own agency to instigate their assignments, they would have missed out on this career development because the male-dominated senior management do not see women as legitimate candidates for allocation to global assignments.

The undertaking of a global assignment supports women's 'transition' from manager to partner, because women gain global leadership skills, cultural competences, and supreme confidence, often without senior management support or their home management networks. The global assignment constitutes crucial career development which acts as important career preparation for women managers' future promotion to global partner roles.

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At middle management levels women who used their agency to instigate global assignments, accumulated social capital and, linguistic capital with the powerful senior management and elite clients, including managing power relations which are career capital gains which women cannot make at lower-management levels to equip them for their future promotion.

In reality, for the dual-career couple the tensions for ensuring mutual career progression in global careers are exacerbated at a senior management level, because due to pressures to undertake global relocation and to transfer roles which occurs at different career stages for each person. This means that one party in the dual-career couple to facilitate the career progression of the other, must accept career capital losses which could arrest their careers.

All of the women (*now partners*) who made career capital gains for their promotion to global partner roles, had husbands or, life partners to take responsibility for the full-time childcare or, to put their own careers second to follow their global career moves. Without this support from their life partners, these women could not have instigated their global assignments at crucial career stages to make career capital gains for promotion to global partner roles.

The traditional, trailing spouse or follower role is the woman in global career partnerships. The majority of global male partner's wives do not work outside of the home due to the demands of their roles and, regular geographical moves which impose career losses on the follower.

Some male partners reflected on the career damage done to their wives/partners careers, whereas other male partners took for granted that their partner's careers were secondary to their global careers. It is hardly, surprizing if some male partners transfer these negative gender assumptions, when they are assessing the suitability of women managers for global assignments or, for partner promotion.

The SIE assignment does not offer career capital gains to women (*or male*) partners at a senior management levels, because the loss of their social capital connections and their investment value with powerful, gatekeeper networks and, their own client networks could cost them their competitive position in the senior management field.

For a women partner to accept an SIE role, such as Greta represents a position of serious career disadvantage. All of the women partners' career gains are hard won and, so they face career detriment from losing their gatekeepers networks and client relationships which are not geographically mobile.

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8.8. Revised Conceptual frame.

Research questions	Levels of analysis.	Summary of main data findings	Theoretical frame.
How are gender inequalities legitimated by the 'competing logics' of the senior management field?	Macro/Micro.	The multiple, competing logics co-exist in the senior management field. However, these competing logics in combination legitimise gender exclusion from senior management in the elite PSFs.	Multiple competing logics. (Muzio et al, 2011, Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006, Lounsbury, 2007). The commercial logic versus client service logic (Carter and Spence, 2014, Anderson-Gough, 2006)
What are the cultural capitals which legitimate candidates for partner promotion according to the logic of the senior management field?	Macro /Micro.	Mapping the senior management field, reveals the gatekeeper networks of power, and the cultural capitals which legitimise partner promotion according to field logic(s).	Field. Capitals: social, cultural, symbolic, and economic capitals. Linguistic capital. (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 186, 1984, 1977, Carter and Spence)
How do gatekeepers in their networks of power, utilise informal practices for selection, and nomination of managers for global client projects and promotion?	Meso.	There are hidden, informal selection, and sponsorship practices, enacted in gatekeeper networks which reproduce existing gender inequalities at meso-level in the elite PSFs.	Gate-keeper power (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 186, 1984, 1977) Gender hierarchy, Inequality regimes, Unencumbered male performance standard. (Acker, 2012, 2009, 2006, 2004, 1990)
How do women managers who use their own agency to instigate SIE assignments, make career capital gains or losses for promotion to partner in PSFs?	Micro.	All women partners used their own agency to instigate their own SIE assignments. These career capital gains in their early careers, supported their transition to global partner promotion.	Career capital gains and losses. (Duberly and Cohen, 2010). Gender hierarchy, inequality regimes, 'unencumbered male performance standard'. (Acker, 2012, 2009, 2006, 2004, 1990)

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9. Chapter Nine: Discussions and conclusions.

9.1. Introduction.

This chapter discusses the research contributions of this PhD study, in relation to the research questions, theoretical knowledge, research methods, policy implications, research limitations and, suggestions for future research. The structure of these different sections is as follows:-

Firstly, this chapter returns to the research questions for this Doctorate from section 1.2 of chapter one, which are answered using the research findings in section 9.2. Secondly, this chapter revisits the revised conceptual frame in section 8.8 of chapter eight and, also the literature review in chapters two, three and, four to discuss the contribution to Theory for this Doctorate in section 9.3. Thirdly, the contribution to the research methods are outlined in section 9.4. Fourthly, the research limitations and, research reflexivity are discussed in section 9.4.1. Fifthly, the policy implications are discussed in section 9.5. Sixthly, suggestions are made for conducting future research. Finally, the conclusion in section 9.6 summarises the main points from this Doctorate.

9.2. A summary of the responses to the research questions.

This Doctorate incorporates a critical realist ontology and a feminist epistemology which are utilised to answer the research questions, concerning the persistent gender imbalance in global assignments and for promotion to partner positions despite the existence of formal gender diversity policies in the elite PSFs. This Doctorate contributes to knowledge by utilizing a multi-level research analysis of the research topic including a combination of macro- level, meso-level, and micro level. The data findings from chapters six, seven and, eight are discussed in relation to the literature review in chapters two, three, and four, to answer the following research questions:-

1.2.1. How are gender inequalities legitimated by the 'competing logics' of the senior management field?

The research data confirms that a hierarchy of multiple, competing logics exists in the senior management field, which are the commercial logic at a macro-level, the client service logic in both GC. Additionally, the professional logic exists at a micro level GE. The research data supports the

view of Mueller (2011) that a hierarchy of competing logics exists in senior management field of the elite PSFs.

This Doctorate confirms that the commercial logic is the dominant logic as argued by Carter and Spence, (2014). This adds to the institutionalist literature of Suddaby and Viale, (2011) and Marquis, and Lounsbury, (2007) from the sociology literature concerning professionals in the elite PSFs. Global business expansion has driven the supremacy of the commercial logic in these elite PSFs, which celebrates partners and managers working long, global hours and, producing a high volume of client billing hours for revenue generation from the global client projects. For a manager this profile is imperative for them to match the performance standards of the commercial logic, to gain legitimacy with the partner gatekeepers for promotion in both GC and GE. A contribution is that for global partners these performance demands continue even after their promotion, and they must surpass these performance standards to sustain and improve their competitive position in the senior management field which is the case in both GC and GE.

The huge financial income from the sales of global client projects and, the cultural capital of 'winning-work' for revenue generation are of paramount importance for the success of partners in GC. Richard, describes bringing in "**business of about £3-4 million a year". Jane, Juliet, Tara**, all reiterate that client project sales are what matters for both promotion to partner and, for holding onto their competitive position. A research finding is the cultural capital of revenue generation based on economic capital which underpins the dominant commercial logic in the senior management field, is the most important factor for the assessment of a partner's performance in both GC and GE. Edith a senior partner describes, "**Being called to the carpet",** by the regional senior management every four months to account for the profitability of her global client projects which demonstrates the power of the commercial logic in GE.

This research data extends the research of Carter and Spence (2014), who argues that for the partner's professional technical expertise is a partially disembodied cultural capital, due to the decline of professional technical expertise as criteria for promotion to partner given the greater power of the commercial logic. This research data confirms the rationale for this demise of professional technical expertise in favour of revenue generation as the important criteria for partner promotion in the elite PSFs.

The research data shows that the picture is more complex given professional identity exists at a micro-level. Whilst, the commercial and professional logics are contested this creates tensions for individual partners and managers concerning their professional identity at a micro –level. For example the embodied cultural capital of professional expertise underpins the professional's identity according to the professional logic (Parsons, 1964). The mastery of professional expertise known as 'doing good work' is described with pride by **Rowena and Edith, and is a means of gaining peer respect from male professionals** in GE.

This is entirely different from the performative, professional identity which is described by **Roberta,** who is trapped in a never-ending cycle of global work as an IT project manager. Roberta looks for meaning from her work by talking about how important '**commitment' to the client is, which is situated** in a one-sided power relationship in favour of the client during her IT project work in GC. This research data extends the understanding of the client service logic (Anderson-Gough, 2006) which emphasises professional identity but, is focused on the client hegemony and of performance measurement which informs professional identity at a micro-level in the elite PSFs.

However, a research finding is that the multiple, competing logics co-exist and overlap within a hierarchy of power at a macro-level which creates tensions for the professional's identity at a micro-level. Whilst, the research data confirms the literature which states that professional technical expertise is under-valued as a criteria for partner promotion (Carter and Spence, 2014), because the existing partner gatekeepers value revenue generation as the criteria for partner promotion in both GC and GE Nevertheless, these multiple, competing logics are not presented as being entirely identical in both GC and GE, despite the overall legitimacy of the cultural capital of revenue generation i.e. 'winning work' according to the commercial logic.

The harsh reality of the commercial logic is mitigated by the professional values of reciprocity and mutuality which exists within the gatekeeper networks in GE, where the social capital held within the partner gatekeeper's networks comes from long-term relationships between these partner gatekeepers, who share the professional values of trust and reciprocity according to the professional logic. For example, these partner gatekeepers are willing to tolerate short-term staffing difficulties when transferring their staff onto global client projects within the gatekeeper networks as stated by **Dalvat, Greta, and Edith.** These partners stress the collective benefits of sharing staff globally on client projects for revenue generation. Hence, **Greta and, Dalvat** who are global partners articulate their

concerns about their teams being "**kept in work", and** these gatekeeper networks rely on professional values of reciprocity and, trust when they are allocating their staff to the large, global client projects. These global client projects are inherently, risky due to the high financial costs, the geographical distance and, uncertainty for performance outcomes, so all mutual gains and losses are shared collectively in these gatekeeper networks according to professional logic in GE.

Whilst, social capital and trust exists within the partner gatekeeper networks in GC, as confirmed by **Gina, Juliet, James, and Peter**, there is minimal evidence of the professional values of reciprocity according to the professional logic. Rather, the staffing of the large, global client projects are based on more transactional exchanges between the partner gatekeepers in their networks, which facilitates revenue generation from these large, global client project sales which fits the commercial logic in GC.

This adds to the research of Ashley and Empson, (2017) and Muzio et al, (2011), by confirming that the multiple, competing logics of the commercial logic and the professional logic co-exist across a hierarchy of power. The professional identities and, the presence of professional values which reflect the professional logic, are attributed to the differences between the 'archetypal' professionals (Ashley and Empson, 2017) who possess a bounded occupational knowledge base such as the partners and managers at a micro level in GE. By contrast, the hybrid management consultant or partner holds a more generic knowledge base such as IT, which is not a bounded occupational knowledge base and is arguably less rare than in the past. A research contribution is showing the complexity of how these these multiple, competing logics co-exist in the elite PSFs. This is confirmed by differences in the professional identity of the partners and, the characteristics of the partner gatekeeper networks. So, whether gatekeeper networks are collective emphasising professional reciprocity, or individual emphasising transactional sales, thus blending the commercial logic and the professional logic in GC and GE.

A research contribution is the existence of multiple competing logics in a hierarchy of power does not contradict Bourdieu's thinking (1991, 1989, 1986, 1984). Bourdieu confirms that cultural capitals are not fixed and, agents are continuously trying to accumulate the valued cultural capitals for position taking in the dynamic field (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989, 1986, 1984, Ozbilgin, 2011). Therefore, multiple, competing logics which co-exist across a hierarchy of power are not inconceivable, given the power shifts between key players and, the dynamism which characterises the senior management field of the elite PSFs. However, there are tensions for these global partners who must maintain their competitive

positions by evidencing revenue generation from client sales and, arguably sustain their professional identities whether these focus on their professional expertise or the client service logic at a micro-level.

A research finding is that managers who are seeking partner promotion must evidence the cultural capital of revenue generation through client project sales, and/or leading the large, global client projects to fit with the commercial logic in GC and in GE. To answer the research question, the commercial logic is the dominant logic within the hierarchy of logics, so client project sales or specifically revenue generation from 'winning work' represents the symbolic capital which a manager must evidence to gain legitimacy with gatekeepers for partner promotion according to the commercial logic in both GC and GE.

The research data confirms that partner performance is assessed and measured by their revenue generation which confirms the disposability of even the partners as stated by Carter and Spence, (2014). This research finding shows that partners face ruthless, continuous pressures to improve their own competitive position in the senior management field. This finding confirms Bourdieu's, (1991, 1989, 1986, 1984) theory that cultural capital distribution is unequal in the senior management field.

Notwithstanding, the commercial logic is informally, gender exclusionary to women managers who cannot work the long global hours and, who cannot be geographically mobile to maximise their client billing hours due to their child-care responsibilities. A research finding is that women managers who are not producing sufficient client billing hours according to the commercial logic, are seen by gatekeepers a performance problem and are disregarded by these gatekeepers in the competition for partner promotion.

Another research finding is that global client business has extended the performance demands for all partners and managers, who must fit with a '24 hour call out' to meet the service needs of global clients in the elite PSFs. This client service logic is informally gender exclusionary because its 24 hour call out working pattern, involves unpredictable global working hours and regular global travel which demands geographical mobility. The research data confirms that managers must be geographically mobile in their early career stages, to accumulate the symbolic capital of revenue generation from the large, global client projects for their promotion. A research contribution is that regular global travel and geographical mobility are just part of the global partner role, because partners must continue to

evidence their track record of revenue generation from the global client projects due to the global expansion of client business in the elite PSFs.

For women managers who are competing with men for promotion to what is a global partner role, this makes extensive performance demands which requires these women to sacrifice their personal and family lives. This confirms the research of Acker, (2006), who argues that the unencumbered male performance standard in male—dominated cultures separates the spheres of production and reproduction, which suits men whose wives are at home looking after their children but not women with children. A research contribution is the performance demands of the global partner role extends the severity of the conflicts which women face between their work and home lives, and makes promotion to a global partner role a more distant prospect for many women in the elite PSFs.

This research data confirms the research of Sommerlad (2012) that the global expansion of business extends the performance demands or, specifically, the length of working hours required to gain legitimacy with gatekeepers for promotion into partner positions in the elite PSFs. Both the commercial logic and the client service logic make huge demands for managers and partners to work long global hours to evidence revenue generation from the global client projects which are informally gender exclusionary.

The client service logic or specifically, the' 24 hour call out' is incompatible with family life as stated by **Tara and, Wanda** in GC and **Greta** in GE. A research contribution is to reveal how harsh, the 24 hour global client call out performance regime is, due to the extended global performance demands of regular travel and long global hours working. To succeed for promotion to global partner roles all women must sacrifice their personal lives but, for those women with children the compromises required are beyond impossible. A research finding is the client logic with its 24 hour global call out confirms the savage reality which women partners and women managers face, when trying to match the unencumbered male performance standard (Acker, 2006) which exists on an intensified global scale in the elite PSFs. This extends the research of Acker (2006, 2004) and Kanter, (1977) who argue, personal sacrifices are expected by the male-dominated senior management for partner promotion, because the existing male-dominated partner gatekeepers prioritise the interests of '**the firm'** over their own personal lives.

This adds to the research of Yamak et al (2015) which argues that, women managers punish their own gender identities by returning to work immediately after children in Turkey. This research offers interesting parallels which highlight the position of the successful women partners in GC and GE, who during their 'transition' phase before promotion to global partner returned to working full-time after taking minimal, statutory maternity leave in the elite PSFs. The research data confirms that women must effectively deny their own reproductive roles, to gain legitimacy with the male-dominated partner gatekeepers for promotion, and must subject themselves to the harsh performance regime of the unencumbered male performance standard as described by Acker, (2006).

Women must adopt the full-time professional 'all-hours' working pattern and, work beyond contract hours which fits both the professional logic (Ozbilgin et al, 2011) and the commercial logic (Carter and Spence, 2014). However, these informal, hidden rules of the game are designed to fit men according to the competing logics in the elite PSFs. This extends the research of Faulkner (2009) whose research confirms that women experience clashes between their professional and, gender identities when working in male-dominated professional cultures, and research data confirms these tensions are exacerbated by performance demands in the elite PSFs. So, women face the 'choice' of sacrificing their private life for their promotion to a global partner role, because this is the price for gaining legitimacy with the male-dominated partner gatekeepers for entry to the senior management field.

An important research finding is that the multiple, competing logics of the field including the commercial logic, the client service logic and professional logic, in combination legitimate the existence the informal gender-exclusionary practices which are conducted by the partner gatekeepers in the elite PSFs. More to the point, these multiple, competing logics collude with the powerful, male-dominated partners whose rationale is to legitimise the existing gender inequalities given the shared goal of organizational profit which is epitomised in the dominant commercial logic in the elite PSFs.

This extends the research of Ashley and Empson (2017, 2013) who argue, that business case gender diversity policies are 'qualified by bottom line profits' in the elite PSFs. Hence, business case diversity policies are 'tolerated' by senior management unless the profitability of the business is threatened by attempts to promote gender diversity transformation in the elite PSFs. This confirms the research of (Ozbilgin et al, 2016) who argue, that the business case diversity model ignores power relations and, fails to challenge the existing status quo of the male-dominated partner gatekeepers.

This is of concern because business case diversity model is situated within the global HRM department which is weaker than the male –dominated partner gatekeeper networks of power, and global HRM does not pressure the partner gatekeepers to enact gender diversity transformation policies or practices. Therefore, the multiple, competing logics are not troubled by the existence of business case diversity policies in the global HRM department, who fail to question the partner gatekeepers informal, hidden selection, assessment and promotion practices which are informally, gender discriminatory. Hence, gender inequalities remain for allocation to global client projects, and for promotion to partner positions despite presence of formal gender diversity policies in elite PSFs. This research finding offers some insight into the reality of the existence of formal business case diversity policies which coincides with the lack of impetus from the global HRM department to oppose the hidden, informal gender exclusionary practices which are conducted by the gatekeeper networks of power in the elite PSFs.

A research contribution is the multiple competing logics including the commercial logic, the client service logic and, even the professional logic, sanction the male-dominated gatekeeper networks of power and **legitimises gender exclusion** for allocation to global assignments and, for partner promotion in the elite PSFs. Indeed, these multiple, competing logics in combination informally legitimate the partner gatekeepers enactment of gender exclusionary practices such as informal allocation of staff to global client projects and, sponsorship for promotion to partner which are discussed below.

1.2.1.1. What are the cultural capitals which legitimate candidates for partner promotion which fit the logic of the senior management field?

This Doctorate identifies that the male-dominated partner gatekeepers in their networks of power are the key players, who control the allocation of candidates to client work and decide the valued cultural capitals such as symbolic capital which are used by these gatekeepers to confer promotion to partner in the elite PSFs. This extends the research of Tatli, and Ozbilgin, (2012) Ozbilgin, and Tatli, (2011, 2005), by focussing on the interplay between cultural capitals required by field logic, and surfacing the hidden , informal gender inequalities at macro level and micro level of the elite PSFs.

The partner gatekeepers in their networks of power, relationally enact the conversion of collective cultural capitals which offer career privileges and promotion to its network members. For example, the manager who develops social capital with the gatekeeper networks is informally allocated to the

global client projects, which gives them visibility to elite gatekeepers networks and opportunities to build their reputational capital and, to gain a track record of revenue generation or 'winning-work' which is the symbolic capital for partner promotion valued by gatekeepers according to the dominant commercial logic of the field.

So, women who are not allocated to global assignments by senior management gatekeepers miss out on crucial career development which equips them for their transition to partner promotion. The research data corroborates Gorman (2015), and Kornberger (2011, 2010), who argue, that women managers face a higher performance threshold, when judged for career roles and promotion by male-dominated senior management in the elite PSFs.

A research finding is how social capital and symbolic capital are connected for relational cultural capital conversion in the gatekeeper networks of power because, without social capital connections with the gatekeeper networks and, powerful gatekeeper sponsorship for allocation to client projects the candidate won't gain the tacit entry ticket of sponsorship to enter the field in the elite PSFs. It is not forgotten that, sponsorship is not freely available to women who are 'outsiders' to gatekeeper networks, and who are not seen as an investment by gatekeepers for promotion. Which means the consultant who is without social capital connections is not informally allocated to the client projects, which facilitates their cultural capital accumulation for promotion. **Gina**, now a global partner in Utilities faced this fate as a network '**outsider**' earlier in her career in GC.

This confirms the literature that women find it harder to gain powerful gatekeeper sponsors (Gorman, 2015, Kanter, 1977) from male-dominated senior management compared with men. A research contribution is, the gatekeeper power brokers are unwilling to risk their own social capital within their networks, by recommending 'outsiders' such as women who are seen as a risk for the large, prestigious client projects and also for promotion. This adds to the research of Harzing et al (2016) whose research confirms that geographical and cultural distance exacerbates the risks which senior management when selecting candidates for global client projects. This research finding shows that women as outsiders are seen by partner gatekeeper networks as risky for allocation to global client projects.

A research finding is that successful candidates for partner promotion must possess social capital connections and, informal powerful gatekeeper sponsorship before their '**names**' are placed on the hidden, informal promotion '**lists**' which are then sent as formal lists to the elite gatekeepers in
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headquarters of the elite PSFs. Therefore, the formal partner promotion process represents a reproduction strategy which is conducted by the elite partner gatekeepers in the headquarters of the elite PSFs. This adds to the research of Bourdieu, (1986) who argues, that elites co-opt those candidates who share their own cultural capitals to legitimise their own position of power. So, the formal partner promotion process is a reproduction strategy of '**consecration**' (Bourdieu, 1984) which is conducted by the elite male-dominated gatekeepers and is informally exclusionary to outsiders such as women who do not fit the existing partner profile in terms of gender, race or class in the elite PSFs.

Martin, and Edith describe the informal, preliminary selection process for partner promotion and how gatekeeper sponsorship acts as a proxy for candidate acceptance from the elite gatekeeper's networks in the headquarters in GE. **Reg** explains, the informal political brokering which occurs within the partner gatekeeper networks, who are competing to get their chosen candidates' names put on the hidden, formal 'lists' which are sent to the elite gatekeepers in headquarters in GE. A research contribution is that existing partner gatekeepers choose their preferred candidates *before* the formal promotion process. Therefore, successful candidates for promotion must fit the existing gender, race and class profile of the partners, because 'outsider' candidates such as women are not acceptable to the elite gatekeepers for formal partner promotion in the elite PSFs. This extends the research of Acker (2012, 2006, 2004) who argues that, where selection and assessment practices for promotion are situated in hidden, informal networks these reproduce the existing gender, race, and class inequalities in organizations.

This research data reveals how the partner gatekeepers within their networks of power, conduct their hidden informal, selection and sponsorship practices which legitimate, informal gender exclusion from allocation to global assignments and, also for partner promotion. A research finding is that existing partner gatekeepers make hidden , informal decisions about who is and who is not '**partner material'** during these managers early careers stages, which are based on their own hidden, subjective criteria of competence which adds to the research of Pinnington and Sandberg (2013). **Reg** a senior partner describes some managers who never progress beyond lower or middle management levels, Reg refers to managers being "labelled **as not being inside the tent…by whoever was pulling the strings** "in GE. Therefore, women without social capital connections and powerful sponsorship, face additional barriers as outsiders because they are seen as a risk and are unknown to the elite partner gatekeepers in headquarters.

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This confirms importance of possessing informal sponsorship which is the 'tacit entry ticket' to the senior management field, adding to the research of Bourdieu (1986). However, a research finding is sponsorship is ongoing even for partners, who must gain access to the 'elevated' partner elite in global headquarters, for visibility to them and, to extend to their own global networks. This is difficult because the elite gatekeepers who are most powerful operate at the global levels. **Juliet** a senior global partner describes how important being a 'name' is to get 'to **the front of the queue'** for informal gatekeeper allocation of career privileges such as career roles and for promotion in GC. This research finding extends the research of Mellahi, and Collings (2010) that having cultural and geographical proximity to the elevated (Hanlon, 2004) elite senior management, in the global headquarters matters for being identified as talent, because this visibility is crucial to gain access to the elite gatekeepers global networks and to gain their informal referrals for promotion in the elite PSFs.

Richard a global partner in Banking and Finance, describes the importance for a manager (*and a partner*) of evidencing their maximum **'utilization'** of their annual client billing hours which fits the commercial logic. This supports Brivot et al, (2014) who claim that maximising their client billing hours is the performance criteria which consultants must evidence for partner promotion. Nevertheless a manager who simply accumulates a high volume of client hours does not hold a guarantee for partner promotion. A research finding is that for partner promotion a more sophisticated cultural capital portfolio is required including social capital and, also of linguistic capital which involves networking with elite clients to facilitate the cultural capital of revenue generation or 'winning –work' from these elite clients

The partners are outside of operational sphere of managing the client projects, so partners engage in business development activities and networking activities with the elite clients, using their social capital for the accumulation of the symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) of revenue generation from large, global client projects sales which fits the commercial logic. This extends the research of Brivot et al, (2014) who states partners are given business development activities, and working on speculative client sales opportunities with elite clients. So, partners hold the power to informally allocate their chosen staff to career opportunities for conducting business development activities with clients.

Therefore chosen candidates gain career privileges including exposure to gatekeepers and elite clients, to develop their linguistic capital and to build their track record of revenue generation i.e. winning work **before** their formal partner promotion. Carter and Spence, (2014) defines 'linguistic capital' as

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partners interacting with elite clients during business development activities. However, the male – dominated partner gatekeepers see these business development activities with clients or, the 'linguistic capital' as a gendered competence (Carter and Spence, 2014, Kornberger et al, 2011, 2010). A research finding is that social capital and linguistic capital are the important cultural capitals for partners to build trust, and networking relationships with senior level clients through business development activities.

These gatekeepers do not view women as powerful leaders, who are capable of networking with elite, senior level clients who happen to be predominately male. So, the male partners in their networks are reluctant to involve women managers in client networking, and socializing events where business development is conducted with elite clients (Carter and Spence, 2014). A research contribution is that, where women managers are informally, excluded from these informal gatekeeper networking forums, they miss out on career opportunities to develop social capital and linguistic capital with the elite clients and, powerful gatekeepers who allocate the prestigious, large client projects to managers.

This is career disadvantage because women managers who gain exposure to 'linguistic capital' at elite, senior levels during networking and, business development activities with elite partner gatekeepers and clients learn to recognise the subtle, exclusionary elite codes or habitus. This linguistic capital is a crucial cultural capital which is used by the elite gatekeepers, but is informally exclusionary to outsiders such as women and are not accessible at lower management levels. A research contribution is this places women in the impossible position where they cannot demonstrate the valued cultural capitals such as 'winning-work' to the male-dominated gatekeepers *to gain legitimacy for* their promotion to partner.

This research data gives a better understanding of linguistic capital is, beyond that of 'interacting' with senior clients according to Carter and Spence, (2014). This extends the research of Anderson-Gough, (2006) who describes the importance of 'getting close' to the partners through networking for women for partner promotion, but neglects to explain what 'get close to partners' is in practice. A research contribution is to explain what 'getting close to partners' means for women managers in practice, which is not just performative behaviour at a micro-level (Kornberger et al, 2011, 2010), but involves connecting with the power relations of gatekeeper networks at a macro-level.

This reveals how subtle, informal gender exclusionary practices which are conducted within the gatekeeper networks of power are, which prevent women managers from accumulating the requisite cultural capital portfolio to make their smooth 'transition' from manager to partner in the elite PSFs. A research contribution is, women who cannot evidence the requisite cultural capital portfolio, which includes a track record of revenue generation from the large, global client projects struggle to transition for their promotion to partner.

A research finding is that even women partners face symbolic violence from the male-dominated partners, where gatekeepers choose to undermine the legitimacy of women for partner promotion by using the merit claim. Male -dominated partner gatekeepers argue, women should not be promoted on the grounds of their sex but rather because of their merit.

Male partners like **Morris, Donald and, Martin** complain about non-existent gender quotas in GC and GE. Strangely, women partners like **Deborah and Wanda**, concur with the dominant male-dominated hegemony, articulating their fear of being promoted but, not on the basis of their merit. Shockingly, even women partners who have gained admission to the elite partner hierarchy like Deborah, accept this this symbolic violence which contradicts their own legitimacy and, the goals of gender diversity in the elite PSFs. This extends the research of Yamak et al, (135:2015) who argues that women who succeed within the male-dominated status quo, become "fervent defenders of the ideological structure that makes them dominated, secondary citizens, even when in positions of power".

Only **Reg,** as a partner gatekeeper reflects on the failure of the existing, business case gender diversity policy given the lack of progress for gender transformation in GE. Reg states that gender quotas could be a future policy change to make the partners accountable through their performance assessments and to kick start the reality of gender transformation outcomes in practice. Reg says "**maybe we are just kidding ourselves because nothing has changed**". This research finding highlights the contradiction for women partners, and managers who voice the merit claim which justifies the existing status quo of the elite, male-dominated gatekeeper networks of power. These women by attempting to align themselves with the interests of the dominant male hegemony, and who unquestioningly accept this merit rhetoric about the existence of positive discrimination are serving to justify their own invisibility from partner positions.

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This extends the research of Bourdieu (1986, 1984) who affirms that symbolic violence is an invisible, indirect power which is accepted as legitimate by women as the dominated class in the elite PSFs. This research finding improves the understanding of how the merit claim is used by the elite gatekeepers to preserve women's inferior status. A research contribution is gaining a better understanding of how the merit claim operates as a disguised form of symbolic violence, to the extent that women accept their own subordination by the existing elite, male –dominated partner gatekeeper networks of power as legitimate in the elite PSFs.

Yet, women have nothing to gain from colluding with the elite partner rhetoric by accepting the bogus merit claim which justifies the invisibility of women managers from partner promotion which adds to the research of Acker, (2006) and Tatli (2015).

1.2.2. How do gatekeepers in their networks of power, utilise informal practices for the selection, and assessment of managers for expatriate assignments and partner promotion?

In answer to the research question 1.2.2, a research finding is there are 'official' formal and 'unofficial' informal selection processes for allocation to global projects which exist in parallel in the elite PSFs.

A striking research finding of this Doctorate, is the power disparity between the global HRM department and partner gatekeepers in their networks of power in the elite PSFs. The gatekeeper's networks of power are the key players in the senior management field, and these gatekeepers set their own criteria for conferring candidates with legitimacy for informal allocation to global client projects and for promotion to partner positions.

The global HRM department is weak compared to the gatekeeper networks of power, who control staff allocation to client projects, informal talent identification, and partner promotion. This questions whether the global HRM department has sufficient authority to implement strategically integrated global staffing policies, talent management policies and gender diversity policies in the headquarters and regions of GC and GE. There is an 'official' selection process for global client projects in the global HRM department, which is tacitly ignored by the partner gatekeepers who control the 'unofficial selection process, which is based on informal candidate referrals by members of the gatekeeper networks of power for unadvertised roles.

However, the gatekeeper networks of power control the global staffing of client projects through the 'unofficial' informal selection process in the elite PSFs. This extends the research of Harris (1997) concerning the existence of informal, 'closed' selection criteria for global assignments and, the research of vandenBrink (2016) who describes how partner gatekeepers adjust their selection criteria to fit their chosen candidate for promotion in the elite PSFs. This research data confirms the existence of a hidden informal selection process, and choice of criteria which are conducted by partner gatekeepers in their networks of power, for allocation of candidates to global client projects and for promotion to partner which are not gender-neutral. Therefore women are invisible to gatekeepers and are not informally allocated to client projects which arrests their career progression. The research data confirms that an informal labour market exists, which is reliant on the hidden, selection and assessment processes conducted by partners who allocate hidden, privileged career opportunities to their chosen consultants in their early career stages.

A research finding is there is a hidden informal career brokerage practice, where hidden, informal roles 'emerge' which are unadvertised but, which are allocated to a chosen few by partner gatekeepers networks of power. The research data confirms that social capital connections with elite partner gatekeepers, and visibility to gatekeepers are crucial for a woman manager to gain promotion to global partner role. A woman like a man must be **'a name' who is** known to the elevated, elite gatekeepers in headquarters to gain informal allocation to the large global client projects and for partner promotion. This verifies the research of Granovetter (1975) that managers must informally broker their own careers by seeking out unadvertised career roles and there is an informal labour market in the elite PSFs.

This confirms the challenges faced by women managers in the lower management levels, for gaining visibility to elevated global levels of elite senior management in their global networks to become a name for promotion. This adds to the research of Brivot and Gendron (2011), which confirms that a consultant's reputation is transmitted by word of mouth between the gatekeepers in the elite PSFs. Not, disregarding the fact that privileged career opportunities are only open to those who are sponsored by powerful gatekeepers, which are unlikely to be women who are outsiders to gatekeeper networks in the elite PSFs.

Women need social capital with the elite gatekeepers, and visibility to gatekeepers at elevated global levels, which is important to '**get to front of the queue for promotion' but requires working at a**

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global level as already confirmed by **Juliet** a senior global partner in GC**.** For career progression to global partner roles, the manager must be geographically mobile in their early career stages and, be visible to elite gatekeepers in their networks by working on global client projects. **But,** reaching these elite partners at global levels is difficult even for women partners, and impossible for women who are not geographically mobile who cannot work alongside the elite gatekeepers at global levels because these women are stuck in lower-levels of management and professional technical work in the elite PSFs.

A research finding is the powerful gate-keeper decide who are the candidates which they judge are suitable partner material, based on a vague, informal criteria referring to candidates 'potential'. So, managers who are judged by the existing gatekeepers as having potential as partners are informally allocated to the prestigious global client projects and, given sponsorship in their early careers to accumulate a track record of revenue generation **prior to** their formal promotion to partner which extends the research of Gorman (2015). This adds to the research of Kornberger et al, (2011, 2010) and confirms that male-dominated gatekeepers assess partner 'potential' according to male attributes which excludes women managers given the concept of talent is constructed in a patriarchal framework..

This research highlights the omission of gender talent leakage in both the global talent management and expatriate literatures. There is a paradox between the gender flagship policy of flexible working hours according to business case diversity policies and women managers' career progression in the elite PSFs. The assumption that women can undertake flexible hours working arrangement **and,** be acceptable to the partner gatekeepers as legitimate talent for sponsorship and partner promotion is a sham. The reality is that gender leakage occurs for women managers in their early career stages and, there is not any connection between talent management policies and gender diversity policies in the global HRM department which confirms the research of Tatli et al (2012).

Therefore, gender diversity at graduate entrant levels is cancelled out, because gender talent leakage mitigates against gender equality outcomes for promotion to global partner roles in the elite PSFs. A research finding is the male-dominated partner gatekeepers do not see women who are working on flexible hours arrangements as a talent management investment for partner promotion, or presumably as a talent loss when many women leave the elite PSFs.

This is a research contribution which adds to the research of Acker, (2006) that there is a steep gender hierarchy for women who cannot be geographically mobile in their early career stages to undertake the global client projects, which legitimates the invisibility of women for their promotion to senior management. So, women who are not geographically mobile at short-notice due to child-care constraints cannot accumulate the cultural capital portfolio for promotion a global client partner role in the elite PSFs. This gives a fuller understanding of how the hidden informal practices which the gatekeeper networks of power conduct, serve to legitimise the compliance and control mechanisms which reinforce the gender sub-structure (Acker, 2006). Therefore, women who are undertaking flexible working cannot fit with the unencumbered male performance standard (Acker, 2012, 2006) which is even more gender exclusionary in the global context of the elite PSFs.

1.2.3. How do women managers who use their own agency to instigate SIE assignments, make career capital gains or losses for promotion to partner in the PSFs?

A core argument of this Doctorate is that, unless the research samples of women partners had used their own agency to instigate their global assignments as younger managers, then they would not be allocated to these career development opportunities by the male-dominated, senior management in the elite PSFs. A research contribution is that all of the *(now)* women partners and, the key informants *(now)* women senior directors, used their own agency to instigate their own global assignments during their early management careers and, also during their middle management careers.

This is confirmed by the expatriate literature, which acknowledges that male senior management are notoriously, hostile to allocating women managers to global assignments in organizations. All of the *(now)* women partners and senior directors, strongly insist their career experiences during their global assignments were crucial for their 'transition' and eventual promotion into global senior management positions. All of the women partners and senior directors made career capital gains in their early career stages and, also in their middle management stages from using their own agency to instigate their global assignments.

This research offers an insight into the career 'rite of passage' or 'transition', which women managers experience during their global assignments at a micro-level in their early career stages which adds to the research of Bourdieu (1986) and Kornberger et al (2011,2010). All of the women describe **'being out of their comfort zone'** and, the challenges of working in difficult, demanding cultural situations

without senior management support. A research contribution is describing how women made career capital gains including cultural capabilities, strategic leadership experience, and gaining supreme confidence which are important to match the unforeseen, challenging circumstances faced by global senior leaders in organizations.

A research finding was that the career capital gains made by women partners and senior managers at middle career stages, were qualitatively different. **Lynne and Pauline** describe their career capital gains from networking with elite gatekeepers and, of accumulating the symbolic capital including linguistic capital which is important to handle power relations with senior level clients. Rowena describes her career capital gains from leading a 'start-up' global, client project which raised her visibility to the elite gatekeeper networks, and gave her a track record of the symbolic capital including revenue generation which matters for partner promotion.

All of the women (*now*) partners, are adamant that their global assignments accelerated their career progression to global partner roles over the long-term despite their not being immediately promoted on their return for global assignments. A significant research finding is, the women managers were not immediately promoted on their return, and most women experienced a short-period of career turbulence gaining a career position on return in their organizations. Nevertheless, these women managers returning from global assignments achieved their career roles by informally brokering with the gatekeeper networks of power in the elite PSFs. Women like **Juliet and, Tara** understood the rules of the game, so they could informally, **'network- back in'** by using their social capital connections with gatekeepers. An important research finding is that these women managers (*now partners)* whether married with children, partnered, or single without children all made career capital gains during their global assignments.

 A significant research finding is for these women their husbands or partners facilitated their career progression by their willingness to accept full-time responsibility for the child-care or, to give up their own jobs to 'follow' the women in their global career moves. **Rowena** accepted a position in America, at this time her husband was studying, and he looked after their children. **Juliet** accepted a position in North America, and her husband left his job to follow her career move. A research finding is for global women partners that their career progression, involved their husbands or partners accepting career capital losses which in some cases arrested their own careers for example Alison's partner and Elena's husbands. Therefore, mutually sustaining global career moves to achieve promotion to a global partner

role is hugely difficult for dual career couples. A research contribution is that one 'life' partner must accept hidden career losses, to enable the other partner to make career capital gains for their career progression and promotion to a global partner role in the elite PSFs

This adds to the research of Duberly and Cohen (2010) about' dual –career' couples who are working at a senior management level in global careers. The research data confirms that in the male partner research samples, the majority of male partners wives do not work full-time outside of the home in GC and GE

The research data shows that the majority of wives or, life partners of the male global partners are the 'followers', which positions them in career capital deficit due to their partners global relocations because they cannot make cumulative career gains which destroys their career trajectory. **Dalvat** explains that, his wife has been unable to regain an equivalent management position after they returned from his last global career move. **Reg** admits that, his wife gave up her management career completely after following four of his global career moves. **Peter** claims there are no 'dual career' tensions for his wife because she does not work, which obviously suits his career trajectory as a global partner. The reality for dual-career couples is there are hidden career capital losses for whoever is the 'follower', given the pressures of sustaining geographical relocations which occur at different times. An interesting question is that if male global partners take it for granted that their wives or 'life' partner's careers are secondary to their own global partner careers. It is hardly surprising, if these male partners transpose their own gendered assumptions that women should be at home looking after the children when they are making judgements about women managers' suitability for informal allocation to global assignments or, indeed for partner promotion.

Notwithstanding, the global women partners are subjected to serious clashes between their gender identities and, their professional identities at a micro-level which extends the research of Faulkner (2009). **Rowena** describes being 'admonished' by a male client for neglecting her children during working long hours to complete his global client project. It is hard to imagine a male client accusing a male, global partner of neglecting his children whilst working long hours to complete the same client's global client project. **Elena** explains that, despite being the **'bread-winner'** of the family, her husband who does not work refuses to accept any full-time child care responsibilities

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A research contribution is that SIE assignments offer career capital gains for lower-level managers. But, not for senior manager's i.e. global partners who face higher career risks for their own career capital losses compared to lower –level managers who have a less valuable competitive positions to forfeit in the senior management field. This is clear for a woman global partner like **Greta,** who finds herself in the position of being a 'follower' by undertaking a SIE assignment which is a seriously bad career move for a global partner in GE. A global partner like Greta must not risk being outside of the gaze of the powerful, elite senior management gatekeepers in the headquarters, due to the highly competitive nature of the senior management field in the elite PSFs. Greta is a global partner who could lose her social capital with the gatekeeper networks during her absence on this SIE assignment, due to the dynamism of power shifts within the senior management field. Greta might face difficulties convincing a new gatekeeper regime with whom she does not have social capital credits (Bourdieu, 1986), that she is suitable for senior management roles. Furthermore, Greta might struggle to evidence the symbolic capital of revenue generation from working in a part-time SIE role, which puts her in a career capital deficit situation.

For a women global partner like Greta whose competitive position is hard won, recovering her social capital connections and, evidencing a track record of symbolic capital such as revenue generation from large prestigious global client projects might prove elusive when she is working in a lower-level, technical part-time position. This adds to the research which explains how women who are part of dual-careers couples can become 'reluctant trailing spouses' of Shortland (2016). More importantly, where women become outsiders to the powerful gatekeeper networks, they get stuck working continuously in a cycle of short-term, part-time contracts without any career progression opportunities. This extends the research of Sommerlad (2016), Shortland (2015), and Gray (2007), by offering insight into how women get stuck in these low level professional technical roles, because they are without opportunities to 'interact' with the senior management networks and cannot gain sponsorship to accumulate the requisite cultural capital portfolio for their future promotion to partner roles in the elite PSFs.

An interesting research finding is that, instigating SIE assignments is not an entirely agentic process for women managers with the guaranteed outcome of career capital gains from global career moves because, there are structural career capital risks for both senior global partners' men and women at a macro-level for their competitive positioning in the senior management field. If global partners lose their social capital credits with the powerful, gatekeeper networks, then their investment value is

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diminished with the elite gatekeepers which could cost them their competitive position in the senior management field. This is a research contribution which contradicts the 'boundary less career' (Arthur and Rousseau, 1976) theory, that careers are individual and external to the organization. Which questions the claim that the individual careers are situated outside of organizations, and those who use their agency to be geographically mobile accumulate more career capitals compared to those who are not geographically mobile.

A research contribution is how important having social capital connections with the powerful, gatekeeper's networks are, and of being able to evidence a track record of valuable cultural capitals which enables a partner, or manager on return from a global client project to use their networks to re-establish their competitive position in the senior management field. Otherwise, for a partner who loses their social capital connections with the powerful gatekeeper networks and/ or their client relationships during power shifts in their absence, could return without anyone who is willing to **'vouch for them' in the networks**, and lose their competitive position in the field.

To answer the research question, career timing and domestic capital (Duberly and Cohen, 2007) matters for women to maximise their career capital gains from SIE assignment in their early career stages. Also, women who use their agency to undertake SIE assignments in their early career stages are without husbands or family commitments which act as constraints on women managers' geographical and career mobility. The research data confirms the professional and gender identity tensions which women global partners must negotiate compared to men, to maintain their competitive position in the senior management field. Women face different struggles to balance their different, conflicting identities but, men do not have these problems because their work and personal lives are separated in the elite PSFs.

9.3. A summary of the findings and contributions to theory.

This Doctorate makes a number of original contributions to theory, by combining the academic fields of the expatriate literature and, global talent management literature from International HRM, of the Sociology literature including Bourdieu, of the 'competing logics' from institutional literature and, of the Gender inequalities in the elite PSFs. The literature review discussed in chapters two, three, and four are referred to here.

This Doctorate makes a contribution to research methods and offers suggestions for future research. A research contribution to knowledge is made by this Doctorate using a multi-level research study (Layder, 1998, 1993) which incorporates an understanding of the competing logics at macro level and micro-level, of the valued cultural capitals which the partner gatekeeper networks of power use to confer agents for admission to the senior management field.

A research contribution is to surface the hidden gender inequalities which are legitimated by gatekeepers networks of power according to a hierarchy of logics within the senior management field at a macro-level and a micro-level. To illuminate how partner gatekeepers in their networks of power conduct their own informal, hidden organizational practices including selection, sponsorship, and talent management which operate as inequality regimes at a meso-level. To explore the career experiences of women managers who by using their own agency to instigate global assignments, make the career gains and losses in their early career stages, their middle career stages and their senior career stages for career-progression to global partner global positions at micro-level.

This Doctorate answers the research questions for the research problem (section 9.2) and, offers a wider picture to understand the complex interactions between structure and agency in the senior management field. This section brings together the different strands of the research findings and, discusses the research   contributions, to address research questions from the literatures of the competing logics, Bourdieu's theory of cultural capitals and the field, Intersectionality, gender in the elite PSFs, global talent management and the expatriates . To understand how persistent gender inequalities remain for promotion to partner positions, despite the existence of formal diversity policies which does the senior management of the elite PSFs publically support. The next section discuss the research findings and research contribution in relation to the literature review.

9.3.1. Research contribution to the competing logics in the elite PSFs.

This first section integrates the research contributions to the competing logics of the senior management field and, the gatekeeper networks of power which legitimates the gatekeepers gender exclusionary practices which prevent women managers' allocation to global client projects and for promotion to partner position in the elite PSFs.

Traditionally, institutional theory describes how environmental shocks at macro structural field levels, lead to adoption of universalistic practices in organizations (Meyer, 1982, Di -Maggio and Powell, 1982). This does not fully explain how changes occur in the institutional field, given the professional practice of the agent is embedded in "taken for granted prescriptions" or logics (Greenwood, and Suddaby, 27:2006). Further, this omits to describe how multiple competing logics in the elite PSFs (Lounsbury, 200, Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006), facilitate changes in professional practice at a micro-level (Djelic and Quack, 2004).

The commercial logic is based on "rationalisation, managerialism and the visibility of performance for management consultants" (Mueller et al, 559: 2011) and due to the expansion of client business on a global scale the commercial logic is dominant. The power of senior management is concentrated at a global level in the elite PSFs, which gives them unprecedented opportunities as global monopoly employers to influence the competitive field (Muzio et al, 2011, Suddaby and Viale, 2011). A research finding is the globalization of client business and the dominant commercial logic privileges revenue generation from client projects sales for promotion to partner in the elite PSFs, which extends the research of Carter and Spence (2014). However, the globalization of client business, has extended performance demands to include global hours working and geographical mobility which are gender exclusionary for promotion to partner which adds to the research of Sommerlad, (2016). A research contribution is describing how the co-existence of the competing logics including the commercial logic, professional logic and client service logic, allows the partner gatekeepers to legitimate the existing gender inequalities for promotion to global partner positions in the elite PSFs.

This Doctorate explores the co-existence of formal systems in the global HRM department and, the more powerful but, hidden informal partner gatekeeper networks of power which legitimise informal, gender exclusionary practices for selection, sponsorship for allocation to global client projects, and for promotion to partner positions in the elite PSFs. The multiple, competing logics confirms the research of Marquis and Lounsbury, (2007) Muzio et al, (2011) however, a research finding is these competing

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logics operate across a hierarchy or continuum of power in the elite PSFs. This Doctorate confirms that the commercial logic is dominant at a macro-level however, the client service logic and to a lesser extent the professional logic overlap at micro-level for managers and partners in the elite PSFs.

Overall, the research findings confirm how the competing logics of commercial logic, client service logic, and the professional logic in combination legitimate gender inequalities for promotion to partner positions in the elite PSFs. This is makes a research contribution which gives a better understanding of how these competing logics support the persistent gender inequalities at partner levels which are neglected in literature concerning the elite PSFs (Walby, 2011, Sommerlad and Ashley, 2015).

A research finding is that the partner gatekeeper networks of power determine the performance demands for the management consultant and, endorse the dominant commercial logic for promotion to partner in elite PSFs. The commercial logic requires consultants to generate a massive volume of client billing hours which are a performance criteria for promotion to partner. This extends the research of Sommerlad (2016) who argues that globalization has extended performance demands for management consultants which leads to hidden gender exclusionary practices in the elite PSFs. So, the male-dominated gatekeepers do not see women managers who cannot work the long hours to generate client billing according to the commercial logic, and women who are working on flexible working as a good talent investment for partner promotion. The research data confirms that women managers are allocated to the smaller client projects or to support roles which are not client billable according to the commercial logic and do not offer prospects for promotion. This extends the research of Sommerlad (2016), to explain how women are 'ghettoised' in the lower-level, professional technical, or client support work in the elite PSFs.

Gatekeepers see those women who cannot meet the client service logic which demands a 24 hour call out, and who are not geographically mobile due to child care commitments as totally unsuitable for partner promotion. This updates the research of Anderson and Gough (2006, 2001) and of Kornberger et al (2011, 2010) showing these women face a gender hierarchy of global mobility which means they cannot accumulate the cultural capital portfolio of revenue generation from undertaking the global client projects, to gain legitimacy with the partner gatekeepers for their successful transition to partner promotion.

A research contribution is that the multiple competing logics perpetuate the power relations of the existing elite male-dominated senior management or the partner gatekeeper networks of power, and are in harmony with the business diversity model which is practiced by the global HRM department due to their a shared commitment to the organizational profit. This adds to the research of Ashley and Empson, (2017, 2012) by explaining why on the face of it senior management 'tolerates' business case diversity policies because the global HRM department lacks the power to enact any meaningful gender diversity changes which would place HRM in conflict with the gatekeeper networks of power in the elite PSFs. A research finding is the competing logics legitimate informal gender exclusionary practices and ironically these multiple, competing logics do not contradict the business case diversity model which is underpinned by the goal of organizational profit in the elite PSFs.

9.3.2. Research contribution to mapping power relations, symbolic capital and hidden gender inequalities in the field.

This section maps the senior management field, to understand power relations at both macro-level and micro-level in the elite PSFs. A research contribution is to explore the interplay between the valued cultural capitals which existing partner gatekeepers use to legitimate candidates for promotion, and to understand how these fit logic of the senior management field in the elite PSFs.

A research finding is that the gatekeeper's networks are powerful forums where the conversion of collective capital resources are relationally enacted for members, which includes the informal allocation of career privileges to chosen network members in the elite PSFs. A research finding is that sponsorship from powerful gatekeepers is the tacit entry ticket for admission for partner promotion, which confirms the importance for managers of possessing social capital connections with the powerful, partner gatekeeper networks for admission to partner roles according to the field logic (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984, 1989, 1991).

This means that managers must accumulate a cultural capital portfolio which includes social capital connections with gatekeepers, reputational capital, and the symbolic capital of revenue generation from holding a track record of global client projects to gain legitimacy with gatekeepers for partner promotion. This extends the research of Bourdieu, (1991, 1989, 1986, 1984) Carter and Spence, (2014), and Ozbilgin, (2011), Tatli, and Ozbilgin, (2012) because the senior management power relations are revealed and, also the valued cultural capitals for admission to the senior management field in the elite PSFs.

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An important research finding is that the global HRM department is politically weak and, therefore does not possess the power to enact the formal global staffing, talent management, and promotion processes in the elite PSFs. This suggests there is an iniquitous power relationship between the senior management i.e. partner gatekeepers and, the global HRM department which is a female dominated profession. If the responsibility for implementing gender and race diversity policies are situated in the weaker global HRM department, then this does not bode well for gender diversity transformation in the elite PSFs. The existing elite partner gatekeepers are not gender diverse, so there is not any impetus for the existing, male-dominated gatekeeper networks to relinquish their own power as the status quo to promote gender equality in the elite PSFs.

This strongly, questions whether the global HRM department holds sufficient authority to scrutinise the informal selection and promotion, which are conducted by the gatekeeper networks for gender diversity outcomes .Rather, the gatekeeper networks of power informally conduct their gender exclusionary practices, when allocating staff to global assignments, for talent identification and for promotion which are based on informal referrals and sponsorship process where the existing gatekeepers informally approve the chosen candidates for promotion. This extends the research of Bourdieu (1986, 1984) by revealing how powerful, elite groups enact hidden, reproduction strategies which privilege their own cultural capitals and therefore reinforce the legitimacy of their position. The gatekeeper's networks reproduce their own power through recognition of their own cultural capitals which legitimate gender exclusion from global projects and for promotion to partner in the elite PSFs. This extends the research of Acker (2006) that any existing gender, race, and class inequalities are reproduced wherever informal selection and sponsorship occurs within networks for promotion to senior management in organizations.

This Doctorate makes a research contribution by evidencing how existing gender inequalities are perpetuated at partner levels, where the hidden informal practices of selection and sponsorship which precede the formal promotion process for partner promotion. So, 'outsiders' of gender, class, and race who are not acceptable to the existing elite partner gatekeepers, are removed from the hidden informal 'lists' prior to the formal co-option promotion process which is conducted by the elite partner gatekeepers in the headquarters of the elite PSFs. This research finding confirms how candidates who do not fit the existing profile of partners are eradicated from the fierce competition for partner promotion despite the existence of formal diversity policies in the elite PSFs.

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The merit claim is used by the male-dominated, partner gatekeepers to provide a justification for themselves as the status quo, which acts as a form of symbolic violence and positions women as the dominated class in the elite PSFs. This allows the partner gatekeepers to legitimise the invisibility of women for allocation to global client projects, or from partner positions on the grounds of their unworthiness through lack of 'merit'. This Doctorate finds a shocking level of hidden, hostility to gender diversity specifically gender quotas, from male partners. This adds to the research of Tatli (2015, Acker 2006) concerning 'visibility-(in)visibility paradox', by showing how even successful women partners choose to reinforce the dominant male hegemony and the merit claim which undermines their own legitimacy for partner promotion in the elite PSFs.

9.3.3. Research contribution to Intersectionality in the elite PSFs.

The impact of globalization means the patterns of gender inequalities in 'new economies' of science and technology, are replicating the same gender inequalities which characterised the 'old economies' of manufacturing and bureaucracies according to Acker (2012, 2004)

This Doctorate exposes how the hidden practices in selection and assessment in the male-dominated gatekeepers networks of power, reinforces the existing gender inequalities for promotion to partner positions in elite PSFs (Acker, 2006). This adds to the research about a 'closed' hidden , informal selection criteria for allocation of staff to expatriate assignments by Harris, (1997) and, the research of vandenBrink et al (2016), concerning how partners gatekeepers manipulate their own criteria to fit their chosen candidate for partner promotion. This increases understanding of the research by Noon et al (2013) that senior management power is greater than the HRM department, so the senior management can informally circumvent the formal selection, and assessment procedures to the detriment of gender diversity outcomes in organizations.

The formal professional career structure requires a manager to make continuous, linear progression throughout multiple, hierarchical grades, and a rule of the game is that a manager must be promoted to a partner position before they are forty years old (vandenBrink, 2016, 2015). A research finding is that women managers are subjected to multiple intersectional barriers of gender and age, which impacts differently on their career progression compared to men. Women like men must develop their social capital with partner gatekeepers in out of hours networking time to gain sponsorship for informal allocation to career roles, and build their track record of revenue generation i.e. symbolic capital from the large global client projects to fit the commercial logic of the field. A research finding is that women
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who are working on flexible hours cannot devote their domestic capital (Duberly and Cohen, 2010) during 'out of work' time due to their child-care commitments and, also they are not geographically mobile in their early career stages.

This extends the research of Acker (2006) that an invisible threshold of age and gender operates as a gender hierarchy, where managers must be promoted to a partner position before they reach forty years because the professional formal career structure is designed to suit the continuous working pattern of men not women. Otherwise, women working on flexible hours in their late twenties or early thirties, are five to ten years behind their younger male competitors for partner promotion. This adds to the research of vandenBrink (2016) that women working on flexible hours cannot recover their career capital losses, and are informally rejected as 'too old' by the male-dominated gatekeepers from partner promotion.

A research contribution is for women to cumulatively gain the requisite cultural capital portfolios, they must be geographically mobile in their early careers to successfully transition for promotion to partner. Interestingly, women's promotion prospects are improved by their undertaking prestigious global assignments (Kornberger et al, 2010). An important research finding is that all of the successful women partners worked on the large global, client projects in their early careers, which gave them opportunities to extend their networks with the partner gatekeepers and, to develop their reputational capital which enhanced their cultural capital portfolios for their future promotion to partner roles.

The classical sociologists failed to recognise the challenges faced by women who are outsiders to the 'old boys networks' which are all male groups who share career privileges and benefits which are inherently exclusionary to 'outsiders' such as women (Coleman, 1988,Burt, 2000, 1998). A research finding is that informal, hidden selection practices for allocation to client projects are conducted within gatekeeper networks of power, which operate as 'old boys ' networks to which women are the 'outsiders. A research contribution is that, women managers are seen as a risk by the gatekeeper's networks of power, so these women are informally excluded from access to the large global client assignments which are important for partner promotion. This adds to the research of Walby (2011) who confirms that networks are not fair, or open to all and networks actively practice internal closure to protect the benefits for their members in organizations.

An important research contribution is that the partner gatekeeper networks of power, are informally in control of the selection, and promotion processes in the elite PSFs. However, the male dominated partner gatekeepers misrecognise the cultural capital portfolios held by women managers and, offer their large, global client projects to their favoured candidates in the networking forums used for allocating client work which matters for a manager's promotion (Sommerlad, 2012). This confirms the research of Pringle et al, (22:2017) that, "a gendered class system separates male –dominated gatekeepers" because old boy networks are gendered, raced and classed. Indeed, those network members who share cultural capitals from private school backgrounds are allocated to the best client work and, also for promotion. A research finding is that even powerful women partners are outsiders to the male-dominated gatekeeper networks and are informally excluded the networking forums where important business is conducted, such as allocating client work which damages the promotion prospects of women as confirmed by the research of Sommerlad (2012).

The research on gender in the professions confirms there are serious gender inequalities in the existing selection and assessment processes for partner promotion in the elite PSFs (Gorman, 2015, Gorman and Kmec, 2009, Ashley and Empson, 2017). It is argued that, partners informally identify candidates they see as having partner 'potential', give these chosen candidate's sponsors and, these candidates are allocated to the prestigious client projects to build their track record **prior to** their formal partner promotion application (Gorman, 2015, Pinnington and Sandberg, 2013).

A research finding is those candidates who attract partner gatekeeper sponsorship and are allocated to the global client projects to gain opportunities to become 'a name' known to the elite gatekeepers in headquarters and, who build their track record of revenue generation are in a good position to succeed in the formal promotion process.

9.3.4. Research contribution to the global talent management literature.

There is a separation between global talent management literature and expatriate literature, which is surprizing given expatriate roles are important for developing global leaders of global firms. The global talent management literature takes it for granted that the global HRM department enacts its formal global staffing and talent management policies.

A significant research finding is the lack of power in global HRM department, which questions the reality of any strategic integration in global staffing, talent management and diversity policies between

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headquarters and the regions in the elite PSFs. This contradicts the majority of talent management literature, which suggests the global HRM department conduct succession planning, implement global staffing and talent management policies throughout global organizations.

Global talent management is a hidden, elite process where the 'up or out' partner promotion rule offers a rationale for talent exclusion of the majority given there is an annual turnover rate of 15 – 20% junior consultants (Pinnington and Sandberg, 2013). There is not any formal talent management process for partner promotion (Pinnington and Sandberg, 2013) so, for partner promotion women must be 'known' to the formal partner committees (Kornberger et al, 2011). A research finding is that partner gatekeepers rely on word of mouth recommendations which adds to the research of Brivot et al, (2011) and confirms that managers who hold strong social capital with gatekeeper networks have an unfair advantage for being labelled as talent (vandenBrink et al, 2016, Sommerlad and Empson (2015).

What is not in doubt is that to successfully transition for partner promotion (vandenBrink et al, 2016, Kornberger et al, 2011, 2010) women need sponsorship from the existing powerful partner gatekeeper. However, women face structural barriers for networking with powerful gatekeepers if they are positioned in the lower management roles because they don't get opportunities to network with powerful gatekeepers (Gray, 2007, Burt 1998, Reskin and Maroto, 2011).

It is unclear from the research data, why some women gain gatekeeper sponsorship yet, other women do not. **A women partner sponsored Jane (now a global partner) as a manager**. **A partner sponsored Gina** because of her excellent professional technical expertise earlier in her career. **Tara** spoke about doing a good job to 'get noticed' by the partner gatekeepers earlier in her career. By contrast the male partner gatekeepers do not talk about their sponsorship, whether men take their sponsors for granted is unknown. A research finding is for women gaining sponsorship is challenging because women are outsiders to male dominated gatekeeper networks of power, unless they have a powerful gatekeeper willing to act as a proxy and vouch for them.

This Doctorate confirms that linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1984) is imperative for women manager's to learn how to handle power relations in the presence of elite clients and gatekeepers during networking or business development activities. Women managers face legitimacy problems with the male-dominated gatekeepers, who see business development activities and networking with elite

clients for revenue generation as a male trait according to the research of Carter and Spence, (2014, Kornberger et al, 2011, 2010).

A research finding is the senior women directors and partners who instigated their own global assignments during their middle career levels such as **Lynne and Pauline**, made important career capital gains which included developing their linguistic capital during networking and business development with elite clients and senior partner gatekeepers. An important research finding is gaining a fuller understanding of linguistic capital (Carter and Spence, 2014). This research data confirms that women managers are in a difficult position, and are being judged by a higher performance threshold compared to men. This adds to the research that women must demonstrate substantial business development capabilities (Pinnington and Sandberg, 2013) including a track record of revenue generation (Kornberger et al, 2011, 2010), **before their** partner promotion.

Undoubtedly, the toughest transition phase for women is as a manager just below partner level, which is when the majority of women leave before partner promotion (Kornberger et al, 2011). Women managers who are competing with men for partner promotion, are operating in "hostile environment ", because there are not any concessions made to fit women's needs (Kornberger et al, 781:2010). Rather, women must adapt to fit the male-dominated performance rules despite the existence of any formal diversity policies This Doctorate confirms the hostility which some male-dominated gatekeepers hold towards women who are working on flexible hours arrangements, which means these women are disregarded as a talent investment for partner promotion.

A research finding is this gender diversity paradox between flexible hours working which is a flagship business case gender diversity policy which conceals the reality of talent leakage for women managers working in the elite PSFs. This supports the research which states that women who work flexible hours are assessed by male partner gatekeepers as unsuitable and lacking in merit for promotion (Ashley and Empson, 2017, Muzio and Tomlinson, 2012). This confirms the research that women who do not work full-time and 'beyond contract hours '(Ozbilgin et al, 2011) to strictly follow the male-defined performance rules are not trusted by gatekeepers (Hanlon, 2004).This confirms the research that women who undertake flexible hours working are 'written out' by partner gatekeepers as talent for promotion (Kornberger et al, 2010, Kelan, 2014).

A research finding is that gatekeepers disregard women working on flexible hours arrangements, who cannot be geographically mobile to lead the large global client projects as a talent investment for partner promotion. A research contribution is these women are informally excluded by the gatekeepers who allocate them to work on the small client support projects which demand high emotional labour supporting clients, but because these roles are not client billable and lack promotion prospects. This adds to the literature which confirms how women become the majority in the low-levels of professional technical work without any career progression prospects within the elite PSFs (Sommerlad, 2016, 2012).

A research finding is the business case diversity model does not challenge the gendered assumptions of the existing partner gatekeepers, because according to the commercial logic these women are a financial drain because they are not making a contribution to profit by bringing in the client billing hours which maximise revenue generation. A research finding is these women managers become trapped in the lower- level of professional client support work which arrests their career progression. Nevertheless, the male partner gatekeepers who have already discounted these women as a poor talent investment for partner promotion legitimate gender talent leakage.

9.3.5. Research contribution to the gender inequalities in the expatriate literature.

The expatriate literature ignores the gender imbalance in expatriate or global assignments (Salamin and Hanappi, 2014, Insch, 2008, Cole, 2011, Aguirre, 2012, Festing et, 2014). This research contributes to understanding, how the absence of women managers from global assignments impacts on their promotion to senior management in global firms. Overall, the gender imbalance is neglected in expatriate staffing and also the experiences of women in SIE assignments (Al-Ariss and Crowley-Henry, 2013, Al-Ariss and Ozbilgin, 2010, Brewster, 2014, 1991).

Women lack legitimacy with the male-dominated, elite gatekeeper networks of power in the headquarters (Tung, 2004, Mellahi and Collings, 2010, Adler, 1987, 1984, Paik and Vance, 2001). A research finding is an informal 'closed' informal selection process, which, means that women as outsiders to gatekeeper networks are not selected for global assignments. This extends the research about an informal 'closed ' selection process of Harris, 1997,Noon et al , 2013, Fischmayr, 2004 Hutching et al,2012) that selection process is based on word of mouth used for the allocation of staff to global assignments in the elite PSFs. This is a research contribution to knowledge because this informal 'closed' selection process operates with a hidden criteria (Harris, 1997, vandenBrink et al, 248

2016) which decided by the male-dominated partner gatekeepers is not gender –neutral but perpetuates the existing gender inequalities in the elite PSFs.

By using their own agency to undertake   SIE assignments women managers overcome blockages for promotion in the elite PSFs which confirms the research of Tharenou, (2015, 2013, 2010). An important research contribution is that all of the women partners and directors who instigated their own SIE assignments made career capital gains, including a track record of symbolic capital from global client projects for promotion to global partner which extends the research of (Dickmann et al, 2016, Docherty and Dickmann, 2011) The women partners descriptions of **'being out of their comfort zone**' during their SIE assignments, and how these career experiences assisted these women to make their 'transition' (Kornberger et al, 2011, 2010) for promotion into global partner roles in the elite PSFs. Nevertheless, a caveat is that early career timing is important for women to maximise their career progression which extends the research of Duberly and Cohen, (2010).

A research finding is that these women partners could not have undertaken the global career moves without domestic capital gained from their husbands or partners willingness to follow their global career moves, and enabling their career capital gains for their future promotion to global partner positions which adds to the research of Duberly and Cohen (2010). Interestingly, women partners or directors whose husbands/ or life partners 'followed' their global career moves, experienced permanent career capital loses (**Alison, and Elena**). A research finding is there are hidden career capital losses which are exchanged between 'dual-career' couples, because, wherever one must follow the global moves of the other partner this comes at the risk of their own career capital losses (**Greta, Juliet, Dalvat, and Reg).** This is a research contribution because these hidden career capital losses are not just those associated with the traditional, women as a trailing spouse, but included both men and women who became the reluctance trailing spouses due to global career moves and suffering from career capital deficits.

A research contribution is that expatriate roles are now rare and, regular, global travel to oversee the global, client projects is just a normal part of the job for global partners in the elite PSFs. The bad news is that global partner roles require regular travel, and global hours working which makes it much harder for women with children to manage their child –care demands. So, many women who are global partners to meet these personal and performance demands do not have children. A research finding is that the demands for global partners working patterns are more oppressive compared with an expatriate

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assignment which offered family relocation making promotion to global partner more difficult for women.

It is recognised that, by using their own agency these women managers broadened their own career development and extended their networks with gatekeepers. However, a research contribution is that this geographical mobility only pays dividends for an individual's career progression, where they can develop social capital with gatekeeper networks and, build their own client networks which allows them to make cumulative career capital gains (Duberly and Cohen, 2010) in the same organization.

A research finding confirms women were not immediately, promoted after their global assignments, and, they experienced a period of career turbulence even those returning to the same organization. It is known that women require sponsorship during a global assignment to compensate for their loss of home networks in expatriate assignments (Linenan, 2005, 2000, Shortland, 2015, 2011). However, a research finding is the importance of sustaining home networks for a woman manager, or even a women partner to gain a career position when returning from a global project even in the same organization.

9.4. A summary of the contribution to research methods.

A contribution of this Doctorate to research methods is the combination of selecting a critical realist ontology (Bhasker, 1975), which utilises a multi-level research analysis in the macro senior management field and, at micro levels of the individual to examine the complexity of power relations (Layder, 1998, 1993) by adopting a feminist research epistemology of intersectionality (Acker, 2006) which explores gender discriminatory organizational practices at a meso- level. This research design is relevant to illuminate the hidden power relations which reinforce the persistent gender inequalities for promotion to partner positions, despite the presence of formal diversity policies which are publically supported by senior management in the elite PSFs.

A critical realist ontology (Bhasker, 1975, Layder, 1998, 1993) asserts there is a material reality which includes structural barriers such as history, economics, and class, which exist whether or not the individual is actually aware of these factors. A critical realist ontology recognises there are hidden generative mechanisms of power relations, which are not observable to the individual (Bhasker, 2002, 1988, 1975, Layder, 2012, 1998, 1993). Therefore, a critical realist ontology helps to surface these

hidden power relations and to understand the complexities of the hidden gender discrimination for partner promotion which exists at multi-levels in the elite PSFs.

This research design makes a contribution to research methods because the combination of a critical realist ontology of Layder, (1998, 1993) and, a feminist epistemology of intersectionality (Acker, 2012, 2006, 2004) overcomes the false duality which separates structure and agency in research. Therefore, by exploring the complex interplays between the different levels of structure and agency, this research design clarifies the interdependence which exists between these different levels (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2011, 2005, Layder, 1993).

This Doctorate makes a contribution to research methods by adopting a relational research approach (Ozbilgin and Vassilopoulou, 2018) where the research design incorporates the use of Bourdieu's theory, (1991, 1986) which includes cultural capitals and field analysis (Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012, Ozbilgin, 2011) too understand power relations at macro level and micro-levels.

Firstly, field analysis is used to map the senior management field and, to identify who are the most powerful key players at a macro-level (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984). Secondly, the cultural capitals are identified which are most valued by these key players to confer agents with admission for competitive position taking in the senior management field of the elite PSFs (Bourdieu, 1986, 1984) Thirdly, the symbolic capital which is recognised by key players due its rarity and, value is identified according to the field logic (Bourdieu, 1991, 1989). This multi-level analysis extends the existing understanding of the complexities of interplay between power relations and, also surfaces the hidden gender inequalities which (Ozbilgin, 2011, Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005) which as barriers to women managers promotion to partner roles in the elite PSFs

The feminist epistemology of intersectionality (Acker, 2006) argues that, gender, race, class, and age inequalities are multiple and, overlap which exacerbates the complexity of discrimination experience by the individual (Acker, 2012, 2006, 2004, Clegg, 2006, Walby, 2011). The adoption of a feminist epistemology overcomes the traditional assumptions in natural science where male-dominated power relations position women and their knowledge as inferior. This feminist epistemology of intersectionality (Acker, 2006) is relevant to answer the research questions and to explore the complexities of how hidden power relations disguise those informal organizational practices which are conducted by the powerful, male-dominated senior management at a meso level.

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The choice of the Adaptive Grounded Theory (AGT) (Layder, 1993) approach for this Doctorate, recognises the value of existing but preliminary theoretical explanations for the research topic, by acknowledging that the researcher comes to the research process after reading existing theory and, forming an initial view based on their reading and life experiences. At the same time, a strength of AGT (Layder, 2012, 1993) is being open to the use of multiple research methods and during the research analysis seeking out 'emerging data'. For these reasons, AGT disputes the classical grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) which confirms that the researcher should approach the field without having undertaken any prior reading of theory.

To meet the research goals of this PhD research study to conduct a multi-level research analysis (Layder, 1993), the researcher adopted a mixed method research approach to capture the breadth and depth of the research data. The case-study method (Yin, 2012, 2003) examined the research sites and research participants in the context of the elite PSFs, which gave the researcher opportunities to compare and contrast both similarities and differences between these two case-study organizations of GC and GE at a macro-level, and, to explore the career experiences of men and women participants at a micro level.

The AGT research approach (Layder, 1993) advocates the use of multiple research methods to accommodate a multi-level research analysis and, a strength of the AGT research approach is that Layder, (1993) commends the use of ethnographic research methods (although not ethnographic approach), for example in-depth research interviews (Van Maanen, 1988). These in-depth interviews gave the researcher excellent scope to explore the research participant's career trajectories, their career histories and in some cases their career experiences if the hidden gender discrimination at a micro-level. A contribution of the research from the samples is to encourage the different voices to be heard from both men and women partners who have made the 'transition' for promotion to global partner and, also of women and men managers who are currently on the threshold of the transition to partner promotion.

The researcher used a semi-structured interview format designed after an initial research pilot and, after preliminary reading of literature to identify research gaps. The semi-structured interview worked well giving the researcher the opportunity to ask all research participants a core of the same questions, whilst capturing the emerging data which came from the participant's research accounts. These two research interview formats of the semi-structured interview and, the in-depth interviews were

important for generating rich research data (Silverman 1993). Additionally, the two research interview formats enabled the researcher to undertake a triangulation of the research data (Easterby-Smith, et al, 2002) through comparison of themes during the data analysis process. The researcher compared the interview research findings from the semi-structured interviews and the in-depth interviews, during the research analysis process to compare the findings with the conceptual framework.

The researcher included documentary evidence as part of the research design which included company reports, HRM reports, and company written policies and, information from the public websites in the research sites and in the relevant professional associations. This documentary research data gave the researcher some valuable insights into the context at macro-level, and an appreciation of the cultural values at micro-level in these case study organizations. Also, this documentation gave an understanding of how gender diversity practices are enacted by senior management at a meso-level within the research sites of GC and GE.

The researcher conducted an extensive and, lengthy process during data analysis to capture the different layers of reality at macro, meso and micro levels in the research sites of the elite PSFs. (Layder, 1993). The research was analysed in three stages and, these stages overlapped. Firstly, as semi-structured research interviews were undertaken the researcher conducted preliminary coding conducting to identify the initial research themes. Secondly, the researcher adopted the interpretive approach of Silverman (1993) to interrogate the rich research data from both the semi-structured interviews and the in-depth interviews. By the third stage, the researcher used the NVIVO computer software package to compare research themes and, to examine the research findings across and between the multi-levels of research analysis. However, using the NVIVO software whilst helpful to manage across a huge volume of rich research data nevertheless was not a reflective process to facilitate the analysis of emerging themes in the data. Fourthly, the researcher used the grounded theory approach of Strauss and Corbin (1998) to develop theory by making systematic comparisons, to bring together the emerging themes from the research analysis with reference to the conceptual framework.

9.4.1. Research limitations and research reflexivity

The research samples for this PhD study consisted of both male and female partners, are important to answer the research questions given these participants are all successful partners in the elite PSFs. It is noted that, these male and female partners were reflecting back on their earlier career experiences. Nevertheless, the research samples including male and female managers who are at the 'transition'

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stage of just below partner promotion. This is important to make comparison between the existing partner's career experiences before their partner promotion and those managers currently at the cusp of partner transition to see what is different, and what is unchanged in terms of gender barriers in the elite PSFs.

A limitation of the research which emerged during the research data-gathering was the opportunity to speak with women who were working on flexible hours arrangements and, indeed some male managers who were working less hours due to child-care commitments. Despite referrals from gatekeepers, and repeated emails from these groups were not available to the researcher. Simpson (2011) describes the importance of understanding gendered positions of privilege and, exclusion in research. So, the researcher reluctantly concluded these groups did wish to make themselves visible to the senior management, by getting involved in the PhD study. Hence, the researcher respected the wishes of this population.

A definition of reflexivity in research practice is of "a continual internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation "(Berger, 220:2015).The researcher was mindful of her own social position of gender, age, class and race, when she was interviewing powerful male and female partners on the subjects of their own career experiences and, more controversially about hidden gender barriers in the elite PSFs. The researcher had senior management background and, had worked a management consultant at the beginning of her career for an elite PSF. During the research data-gathering process of interviews which was intense and time-consuming, this revived familiar memories for the researcher of her habitus from being a management consultant including reporting client billing hours and of networking with clients for revenue generation (Archer, 2010).Here habitus defined as a set of acquired patterns of meaning, beliefs, behaviours and tastes (Bourdieu, 1984, Decoteau, 2016)

The researcher adopted the type of position of offering her shared the experiences of senior management with the research participants. The researcher attempted to (co)-construct knowledge with research participants and to make explicit how intersubjective elements such as gender, race and class impacts on data-collection and data-analysis to enhance the trustworthiness, transparency and accountability of the research findings.

However, the researcher was careful to temper this with listening carefully for "cues" from all the participants to their answers to her interview questions (Berger, 220:2015). The researcher did not

want to drown out the participants voices but, rather to hear the participant's own replies. The researcher had to listen carefully and to allow long silence at times, to encourage the participants to reflect and to answer the research questions.

The researcher was conscious of power relations and, she adopted a social critique approach to manage power imbalances between herself as the researcher and particularly of the powerful male and female partners whom she was interviewing on the sensitive and controversial subject of gender diversity in the elite PSFs. At times the researcher had to manage the interviews sensitively, but be persistent in asking questions. In some instances, the researcher had to push the participants to answer questions which they preferred to avoid. However, there were times when participants talking about their careers both male and female got visibly distressed and even tearful.

If the researcher were to attempt this PhD research study with hindsight, she would spend less time on the literature review at the beginning. The research data-gathering process provided fantastic data and in fitting with Adaptive Grounded Theory this moved the PhD research study in a different direction to the original literature review.

The research data analysis was laborious given the huge amount of rich date from 73 interviews and, the data analysis process would have been faster if transcription costs were not a financial barrier faced by the researcher. Nevertheless, a bonus of the intense data transcription was the researcher got to know the research data well and, she could visualise the interview participants which gave meaning to the data analysis process.

The qualitative research approach requires an on-going interaction between the theory or conceptual frame, the research analysis and the research data, which is challenging. Indeed, the analysis of qualitative data is far more challenging than most of the research methodology text books suggest and the researcher feels this is part of the research mastery gained during the research process. So, despite the hard labour the researcher has valuable gained expertise which constitutes her academic research apprenticeship to use when conducting her future research.

9.5. The policy implications for the research.

This section briefly discusses policy implications arising from this Doctorate and its research contributions to practice. The Doctorate reiterates that gender transformation policies and plans to

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succeed must address the senior management power relations at multiple levels inside and outside of organizations and, include performance targets to succeed within defined time frames to tackle gender inequalities to gain meaningful outcomes.

This section firstly, examines the challenges for gender inequalities and change which are implemented through government policy at a macro-level in the UK. Secondly, explores the gap between talent management and gender diversity policies at a meso-level in the elite PSFs. Thirdly, considers from an individual perspective the problems of gender talent leakage at the micro level for individual women's careers.

The voluntary government approach to gender inequalities in the UK government is not working which is evident from the statistics of 10,000 organization which show the UK's national median pay gap for full-time workers in private and public sector organization is 9.6% compared with 9.2 % in first 2017/2018. On average men are paid 13.1% more than women are in mean hourly pay (Burt, 2019). It is acknowledged that, the gender pay gap is a partial measure of gender inequality in organizations, but is it a measure of the government's commitment to addressing gender inequality in the UK. The gender pay gap is by no means the complete picture concerning structural gender inequalities, but it shows how the voluntary approach of the UK government to gender inequalities which is without the power or sanctions is not being taken seriously by organizations.

The UK government's voluntary approach to encouraging companies to implement a reduction in the gender pay is inadequate, because companies are not required to provide proper explanations to support their statistics, nor action plans to any rectify problems. Moreover, there is not a mandatory legal framework to deal with non-compliance by those companies who evidence poor practice such as fines. Despite the Equality and Human Rights Commission sending 1,400 organizations letters after the first deadline (Burt, 2019), it is hardly surprizing only a third of the sample returned the gender pay statistics from their organizations. A stronger legal approach from the government is imperative to trigger gender transformation such as implementing gender quotas, as opposed to tolerating poor practice from the worst employers. An important research contribution of this Doctorate is identifying the power disparity between the global HRM departments which is weak compared to the partner gatekeeper's networks of power in the elite PSFs. This is of concern because the responsibility for Gender diversity management is usually situated within the HRM department in most organizations.

The research findings from this Doctorate shows there is complacency about gender diversity policies and practices within the elite PSFs. The dominant business case diversity approach advocated by senior management fits well with the logics of the field and the existing status quo of partner gatekeepers, being focussed on organizational profit, and, lacks the impetus to create meaningful gender transformation through culture change, policies, and practices. At a senior management level, gender targets should be part of the performance measurement assessed at individual, and group level which is driven by the senior management not the HRM department. An important policy implication is whether the senior management can utilise their informal processes such as selection and assessment to sidestep the obligations of formal gender diversity policies, which suggests non-compliance for gender diversity policies in the elite PSFs.

At an individual level the existence of gender talent leakage arrests women manager's careers at lower-management and middle management levels, which cannot be without costs given the high commitment to entry level training for professional in the elite PSFs. There is a serious disconnect between business gender diversity and talent management, and gender talent leakage is overlooked in global talent management literature. This is a gender diversity policy weakness, which means that gender equality at graduate stages is almost pointless, because where women's career progression is arrested in their early or middle career stages when they begin working on flexible hours arrangements in the elite PSFs. Whereas , those women who return to work on flexible hours arrangements who are left without support from talent management programmes to regain their lost career capital, are stuck in the lower levels of professional client support work which is an unacceptable waste of talent and requires policy intervention.

9.5.1. Future Research.

The following areas for future research are of interest to follow up on the research findings in this Doctorate.

Firstly, to explore strategic integration between global staffing, talent management and diversity management policies, given the research findings concerning the lack of power in global HRM department in the elite PSFs. This questions the claim that there is a strategic role for global HRM which is linked to business strategy enacted by powerful senior management which is taken for granted by the expatriate and talent management literatures.

Secondly, to research the career stories of the hidden population of female managers whose career patterns are broken due to their working on flexible hours arrangements or their gender talent leakage in the elite PSFs. Also of interest are those male managers who by sharing their child-care responsibilities find their investment value as talent for partner promotion is diminished with partner gatekeepers.

Thirdly, to examine the gap between talent management and diversity management for women returners in the elite PSFs.

9.6. Conclusion

This Doctorate integrates the literatures of sociology, gender diversity, and expatriate management to offer unique insight into the hidden power relations which perpetuate gender inequalities at partner levels, despite formal gender diversity policies which are publically supported by the senior management in the elite PSFs.

This Doctorate makes an original contribution to knowledge by exploring at multi-levels how multiple, competing logic (s) co-exist at a macro-level, whilst there are tensions for professional identities at micro-level. In particular, to examine senior management power relations which highlights that business case diversity does not challenge the existing power relations nor conflict with the multiple logics which support organizational profit rather gender transformation goals? This goes some way towards understanding how persistent gender inequalities remain despite formal diversity policies publically supported by the senior management of the elite PSFs.

This Doctorate by mapping the senior management identified the key players who are the gatekeeper networks of power and, by exploring the configuration of valued cultural capitals which gatekeepers in their networks use to confer chosen candidates with entry to the senior management field. This Doctorate illuminates how the cultural capitals of social capital and the symbolic capital of revenue generation are relationally converted between network members which fits the dominant commercial logic of the field, and informally excludes women who are network outsiders from partner promotion. This Doctorate surfaces the hidden informal gender exclusionary practices which exist in selection, sponsorship, and promotion which are enacted by gatekeepers which allow them to undermine women managers' legitimacy for promotion in the elite PSFs.

This Doctorate identifies the gender diversity paradox of flexible working arrangements and gender talent leakage where the gatekeepers in their networks of power conduct informal practices for selection and talent identification, which means women who cannot be geographically mobile in early career stages suffer the multiple intersectional barriers of age and gender which undermines their legitimacy for partner promotion in the elite PSFs.

This Doctorate reveals the importance for women of making cumulative career capital gains at a micro-level, by using their own agency to instigate their own SIE assignments in their early career stages. The global assignment offers women manager's crucial career development which they otherwise, would not be offered by male-dominated partner gatekeepers, and which supports their transition to future partner promotion in the elite PSFs.

Notwithstanding, for women in partner positions who are 'followers' of their husbands or 'life' partners in their global career moves, this result in career capital losses such as social capital connections with gatekeeper networks which could arrest women's competitive position in the senior management field.

Word Count: 96,787.

Appendices.

Appendix. 1. Pilot questions for semi-structured interview

1. Please describe the Business strategy of your organization?
2. Please describe the global staffing policy in your organization?
3. Outline the talent management plan for your organization?
4. What are the drivers for expatriate or global staffing assignments/ or projects? Prompt:
5. Where are staff sent to the developing or the developed countries?
6. What type of staff are sent on expatriate or global assignments/projects? Prompt: Please give examples of their management background i.e. support, line management experience.
7. What type of expatriate and global assignments and projects does the organization utilise? Prompt: Prompt: Expatriate assignments or projects? Global assignments or projects? Short-term commuters? Others?
8. What responsibilities does the International HRM department have for selection, talent management and development for those staff undertaking expatriate or global assignments/ or projects? Prompt: Please give examples?
9. How are senior or line managers involved in the selection of staff for expatriate or global assignments/ or projects? Please give examples
10. At what stage of their career are managers (or professionals) identified to undertake an expatriate or global assignment/ project? Please give examples?
11. What formal selection criteria is used for staff undertaking expatriate or global assignments/ projects? Prompt: Please give examples of the selection criteria?
12. How are individuals chosen for international assignments? Prompt: How are staff identified as being 'high potential' for undertaking international assignments?
13. Please describe the Diversity policy in your organisation?
14. What proportion of female compared to male managers (or professionals) are sent on expatriate or global assignments/projects? Prompt: Any figures?
15. What proportion of women managers (or professionals) are from senior management levels? Prompt: Please explain?
16. What proportion of women managers (or professionals) are from middle or junior levels?

17. What reasons do staff give for refusing offers of expatriate or global assignments/ or projects? Prompt: Family reasons? Others?

18. How would lack of international management experience influence a manager (or professionals) future promotion into a senior management position in your organization?

19. How important for a manager (or professional) is their participation in management networks for gaining nomination from senior management for expatriate or global assignments/or projects? Prompt: External professional management networks? Prompt: Global management networks internal to the organization.

Appendix 2: The University Code of Ethics.

<u>LETTER OF APPROVAL</u>

Applicant: Ms Christina Mary macneil

Project Title: An exploration of those selection and talent management practices for Company Assigned (CA) expatriate, and the implications for gender imbalance in Professional service consultancies

Reference: 3670-LR-Sep/2016- 4120-2

Dear Ms Christina Mary macneil

The Research Ethics Committee has considered the above application recently submitted by you.

The Chair, acting under delegated authority has agreed that there is no objection on ethical grounds to the proposed study. Approval is given on the understanding that the conditions of approval set out below are followed:

- The agreed protocol must be followed. Any changes to the protocol will require prior approval from the Committee by way of an application for an amendment.

<u>Please note that:</u>

- Research Participant Information Sheets and (where relevant) flyers, posters, and consent forms should include a clear statement that research ethics approval has been obtained from the relevant Research Ethics Committee.
- The Research Participant Information Sheets should include a clear statement that queries should be directed, in the first instance, to the Supervisor
  (where relevant), or the researcher. Complaints, on the other hand, should be directed, in the first instance, to the Chair of the
- relevant Research Ethics Committee.
  Approval to proceed with the study is granted subject to receipt by the Committee of satisfactory responses to any conditions that
- may appear above, in addition to any subsequent changes to the protocol.
- The Research Ethics Committee reserves the right to sample and review documentation, including raw data, relevant to the study. You may not undertake any research activity if you are not a registered student of Brunel University or if you cease to become registered, including abeyance or temporary withdrawal. As a deregistered student you would not be insured to undertake research activity. Research activity includes the recruitment of participants, undertaking consent procedures and collection of data. Breach of this requirement constitutes research misconduct and is a disciplinary offence.

Professor James Knowles

Chair

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Appendix 3: The semi-structured first interview with the Senior HRM Director/Senior Partner.

Introduce the research aims and self to the participant.

Explain Brunel research ethics policy.

Offer a definition of Company Assigned Expatriate (CAE) positions: - a middle, or senior manager undertaking a time-based assignment for about between one and three years in the developed or developing countries.

Gender?	Age?	Ethnicity?	Disabilities?	Married/Single/Other?

Part 1. Core interview questions.

1. What level of management are you? Partner? Senior Director? Senior manager?

2. How many people report to you?

3. What is your functional/or professional background?

4. Tell me about your job?

Organizational context.

Describe the global business strategy in this organization? Prompt: How does this translate to your functional or group level? Please give examples?

What is the global HRM strategy? Please give examples?

Part 2. CAE assignments and projects.

(a) From the perspective of the decision-maker for a CAE assignment.

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Describe the global staffing options used by this organization? Prompt? CAE assignments or projects? Short-term projects? Others? Please give examples?

What type of staff are sent on CAE assignments or projects? Please give examples.

What are the outcomes of a successful CAE assignment or project? Prompt? What are the risks of a CAE assignment or project? Please give examples?

Describe the selection process for CAE assignments and projects? Prompt: How does selection work for these assignments and projects? Please give examples?

How are available CAE opportunities communicated to managers? Please give examples?

How important is a senior manager's recommendation for gaining any CAE opportunities? Please give examples?

Who makes the final decision about who is selected for a CAE assignment? Prompt: Senior management in headquarters? The HRM department? The manager responsible for the assignment? Please give examples?

Describe the selection process? Prompt: Are the selection processes formal or informal? Please give examples?

What is the selection criteria used for your CAE assignment or project? Prompt: Technical skills? Language skills? Please give examples?

(b) From the perspective of a candidate for a CAE assignment.

10. Describe how you are selected for a CAE assignment? Prompt: Where other candidates involved? Please explain?

11. Did you think about refusing the offer of an assignment or project? Please explain why?

(a) How do you think the CA expatriate assignment (s) or project (s) helped your career progression? If not, why not? Please give examples?

Anything else?

Part 3. The selection, talent management, and senior management development.

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Describe the selection and identification processes for talent management and senior management development processes? a) Prompt. What about succession planning? Formal programmes for senior management development? International management assignments? Please give examples.

What are the talent management priorities in this organisation? Please give examples?

Please explain how are senior management identified and developed as talent in this organization? Please give examples?

How are high potential talent identified and developed? Please give examples?

How does the performance management system identify staff for CAE positions? Prompt: How is the performance management system integrated with talent management processes? When are staff seen as high potential talent offered CAE assignments? Please give examples?

Anything else?

Part 4. Career progression and promotion.

What are the career benefits for managers who undertake CAE assignments or projects? Prompt: Promotion to senior management? Visibility to senior management for future promotion? Access to the senior management, network? Please give examples.

What career capital value does a CA expatriate position offer for promotion to senior management? Prompt? Does a CAE assignment mark someone out as a being high potential? Please give examples?

How soon are managers promoted on return from CAE assignments? Prompt: Or do these managers go back to their previous jobs?

What are the differences between men and women expatriate manager's promotion rates on return? Please give examples?

Would a manager without international experience or who is not geographically mobile be promoted to senior management? Please give examples?

What reasons do managers give for refusing assignments? Prompt: Family reasons? Dual-careers? Please give examples?

When would you not send a women manager on a CAE assignment? Prompt? For cultural reasons? For family reasons? Other? Please give examples?

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Anything else?

Part 5. Management networking?

How can a manager's career benefit from their involvement in professional networks? Prompt: Client networks? Internal management networks? Please give examples?

How important are management networks for a manager's promotion? Prompt. For raising their profile? For developing client relationships and business development opportunities? For access to informal information about jobs and promotion opportunities from their senior managers? For access to senior management sponsors?

How important are management networks for a manager to gain senior management referrals to CAE assignments? Please give examples.

How important are management networks for promotion? Please give examples?

Anything else?

Part 6. Gender Diversity

Please describe the Diversity policy? Please explain?

What are the diversity targets for women and ethnic minorities? Prompt: For recruitment and selection? For promotion into senior management? How are diversity targets monitored? Over what time periods? Please give examples?

Who is responsible for diversity issues? Prompt? The Senior Board of Directors? A diversity champion? The global HRM department? Please give examples?

What are the proportion of women in the total workforce? Prompt: What are the proportion of ethnic minorities in the total workforce? Any statistics?

What are the ratios of men and women in the senior management levels? Prompt: What are the ratios of men and women at middle management levels? What are the ratios of men and women at graduate entry? Any statistics? Please give examples?

What are the ratio of male and female managers undertaking CAE assignments? Prompt: Any statistics? Are women at junior/ middle or senior management levels? Please explain?

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At what levels are male and female managers sent on CAE assignments? Prompt? Junior? Senior management? Middle management? Please explain?

What are the gender initiatives which are linked to Talent management programmes? Prompt: Senior leader programmes. Please give examples

How is merit defined by senior management? Please explain?

Anything else?

Appendix 4. The semi-structured first interview with middle manager with experience of CAE assignments.

Introduce the research aims and self to the participant.

Explain Brunel research ethics policy.

Offer a definition of Company Assigned (CA) Expatriate positions: - a middle, or senior manager undertaking a time-based assignment for about between one and three years in the developed or developing countries. (Tharenou, 2015, Brewster, et al. 2014).

Gender?	Age?	Ethnicity?	Disabilities?	Married/Single/Other?

Core interview questions.

1. What level of management are you? Partner? Senior Director? Senior manager?

2. How many people report to you?

3. What is your functional/or professional background?

4. Tell me about your job?

Organizational context.

Describe the global business strategy in this organization? Prompt: How does this translate to your functional or group level? Please give examples?

What is the global HRM strategy? Please give examples?

From the perspective of a candidate for a CAE assignment.

Describe how you are selected for a CAE assignment? Prompt: Where other candidates involved? Please explain?

Did you think about refusing the offer of an assignment or project? Please explain why?

(a) How do you think the CA expatriate assignment (s) or project (s) helped your career progression? If not, why not? Please give examples?

Anything else?

Part 3. The selection, talent management, and senior management development.

What are the talent management priorities in this organisation? Please give examples?

Please explain how are senior management identified and developed as talent in this organization? Please give examples?

How are high potential talent identified and developed? Please give examples?

How does the performance management system identify staff for CAE positions? Prompt: How is the performance management system integrated with talent management processes? When are staff seen as high potential talent offered CAE assignments? Please give examples?

Anything else?

Part 4. Career progression and promotion.

What are the career benefits for managers who undertake CAE assignments or projects? Prompt: Promotion to senior management? Visibility to senior management for future promotion? Access to the senior management, network? Please give examples.

What career capital value does a CA expatriate position offer for promotion to senior management? Prompt? Does a CAE assignment mark someone out as a being high potential? Please give examples?

How soon are managers promoted on return from CAE assignments? Prompt: Or do these managers go back to their previous jobs?

Anything else?

Part 5. Management networking?

How can a manager's career benefit from their involvement in professional networks? Prompt: Client networks? Internal management networks? Please give examples?

How important are management networks for a manager's promotion? Prompt. For raising their profile? For developing client relationships and business development opportunities? For access to informal information about jobs and promotion opportunities from their senior managers? For access to senior management sponsors?

How important are management networks for a manager to gain senior management referrals to CAE assignments? Please give examples.

How important are management networks for promotion? Please give examples?

Anything else?

Part 6. Gender Diversity

Please describe the Diversity policy? Please explain?

Who is responsible for diversity issues? Prompt? The Senior Board of Directors? A diversity champion? The global HRM department? Please give examples?

What are the ratios of men and women in the senior management levels? Prompt: What are the ratios of men and women at middle management levels? What are the ratios of men and women at graduate entry? Any statistics? Please give examples?

At what levels are male and female managers sent on CAE assignments? Prompt? Junior? Senior management? Middle management? Please explain?

What are the gender initiatives which are linked to Talent management programmes? Prompt: Senior leader programmes? Please give examples

How is merit defined by senior management? Please explain?

Anything else?

List of Tables and Figures.

1. Interview Sampling frame for GC.

A male and woman Human Resource Management Vice Presidents/partners.

Name	Position	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Marital status.	Children	Professional Qualification.	Number of interviews.
Dermot	Senior Vice President HRM Director /Partner (Europe & UK)	Male	40	Irish/ White.	Single	No.	BA (Hons) in Business/MBA/ Fellow of CIPD	3 Interviews (including 1 for pilot)
Pauline	HRM Director/ Partner (UK)	Female.	58.	British/ White	Single.	No.	BA (Hons.) in Business. Certified Accountant. Fellow of CIPD.	3 Interviews (including 2 for pilot)

Male Vice Presidents /partners.

Name	Position	Gender.	Age.	Ethnicity	Marital Status.	Children.	Professional Qualification	Number of Interviews
James	Vice-President /Partner (Industrial Sectors)	Male	50	British/White.	Married.	Two	BEng/Chartered Mechanical Engineer.	2.
Richard	Vice-President Partner (Banking Sector)	Male	40.	British/ White.	Married.	Two.	BA (Hons) Business.	2.
Morris	Vice President/Partner (Media & Communications Sector)	Male	40	British/White.	Married.	Two.	BA (Hons) Business.	2.
Peter.	Vice President/Partner (Retail sector)	Male	38	Australian/ White	Married.	Two.	BA (Hons) Retail.	2.

Total number of interviews: 8

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Female Vice Presidents/partners.

Name.	Position.	Gender.	Age.	Ethnicity.	Marital Status.	Children.	Professional Qualification.	Number of Interviews
Jane	Vice President/Partner (Logistics/Transformation).	Female.	50.	Chinese/ British	Married	One.	BSc Computers/Operations management.	2.
Tara	Vice President Partner. (Managing Consultancy : Talent Management)	Female.	45.	Irish/White.	Married	One.	BSc Hospitality Management.	2.
Gina	Vice President/Partner. (Utilities Sector)	Female.	49.	British/White.	Married.	No.	BA (German)	2.
Amanda	Vice President/Partner (IT Italy)	Female.	40.	Italian.	Single.	No.	BSc Information Technology.	2.
Juliet	Senior Vice-president/ Global (Public Sector/Specialist)	Female.	52.	British/White	Married	No.	BSc Business. Qualified Accountant.	2.
Wanda	Associate Partner. (Accounts Manager IT : India)	Female.	46.	British White	Married.	No.	BSc Information Technology.	2.

Male Project Managers (Middle management level).

Name	Position	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Marital status	Children	Professional qualifications	Number of Interviews
Gordon	Managing consultant	Male	40	British/ White	Married	Two	BSc Information Technology	2
Robin	Managing consultant	Male	40	British/ White	Married	No	BSc Information Technology	2
Dick	Managing Consultant (Oil & Gas)	Male	38.	German/ White	Married	Two	BA/ MBA (Germany).	2
Daemon	Managing consultant	Male	35	British/ White	Married	No.	BSc Information Technology	2
Leonard	Specialist Technology Consultant (Procurement Supply Chain)	Male	42	British/ White.	Married	No.	BA Business/Archaeologist IT Technologist.	2

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Female Management Consultant (middle management level).

Name	Position	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Marital status	Children	Professional qualifications	Number of Interviews
Roberta.	Managing Consultant (Specialises In HRM/IT systems.	Female	40.	Spanish	Single	No	BSc in Information Technology	1

Total interviews: 1.

2. Interview Sampling frame for GE.

Male Directors/Partners

Name	Position	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Marital status	Children	Professional qualification	Number of interviews
Donald	Director/Partner	Male	60	British/White.	Married.	Two.	BEng/Chartered Engineer/Geologist.	2
Tom	Director/Partner	Male	45	Irish.	Married	Three.	BEng/Chartered Civil Engineer.	2
Dalvat	Director/Partner	Male	49	British/Asian.	Married	Two.	BEng/Chartered Civil Engineer./Masters Management (GEUniversity).	3.
Reg	Director/Partner	Male	45	British/White.	Married.	Four.	BEng/Chartered Civil Engineer.	2
Micheal	Director/Partner	Male	52	British/White.	Married.	Two children.	BEng/ Chartered Electrical Engineer.	1
Marvin	Associate Director.	Male	35	Dutch.	Married.	One.	Chartered Accountant/ &HR professional.	1
Peter	Global Director Of HRM.	Male.	56	British/White.	Married	Two.	Degree in Business/Fellow Of CIPD	3 (including 2 interviews for pilot)

Women Directors/Partners.

Name	Position	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Marital status	Children	Professional qualification	Number of Interviews.
Deborah	Director of the Senior Management Board	Female	58	Irish	Married	Three.	BEng/ Chartered Civil Engineer FREng/FICE Honary CBE.	1.
Greta	Director/Partner	Female	48.	British	Married	No.	BEng/ Chartered Civil Engineer. Masters Management (GE University).	2.
Edith	Director/Partner	Female	45	American	Single.	No.	BEng/Chartered Mechanical Engineer	3.
Rowena	Director/Partner	Female	45	British	Married	Two.	BEng/Chartered Civil Engineer.	2.

Male Senior engineers/middle managers.

Name	Position	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Marital status	Children	Professional qualification	Number of interviews.
Brad	Senior Engineer (Grade 5)	Male	28	British/White.	Single	No.	BSc/Construction Management.(Not a trained engineer but construction professional)	1.
Clive	Senior Engineer/Associate. (Grade 7)	Male	33	Chinese/Australian.	Single	No.	BEng/Chartered Civil/Marine Engineer.	1.

Women Senior engineers/middle managers.

Name	Position	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Marital status	Children	Professional qualification	Number of Interviews.
Marianne	Senior Engineer (Grade 6)	Female	37.	British/Iranian.	Single.	No.	Architect/Masters in Environmental Engineering.	1.
Claire	Senior Engineer (Grade 5)	Female	33.	Irish/American.	Single.	No.	BEng/Chartered Civil Engineer.	1.

Names changed to protect confidentiality.

*The terms Director and partner have the same meaning.

All participants were asked about Disability, but none stated they had any disabilities.

3. Interview sampling frame for Key Informants: Senior women board directors and leaders for gender diversity in education and business.

Name	Position	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Marital Status	Children	Number of Interviews.
Elena	Global Director of Diversity in Global Professional Services Firm.	Female	44	British/White	Married	Two Children	3 interviews (including 2 interviews for pilot).
Rona	Founder and Managing Director of Charity for Gender diversity In Senior management boards (international).	Female		British/Australian	Single.	No.	1 interview.
Alison	Professor of Science in University sector/ Diversity champion for Science & Engineering in Universities (UK government).	Female	63	British/White	Married	Two children. (Statutory maternity leave) Otherwise working in University allowed flexibility: three days fulltime, two –days part-time & week end working.	2 interviews
Lynne	Chief Executive of a Disabilities Not-for- Profit Organization.	Female.	58	British/White	Married	Two children	1 interview. (Pilot)

4. Working patterns in GE.

Name of Director.	Children.	Working pattern during career.
Deborah/Director of the Group Management Board (Headquarters UK).	Full-time/Yes.	3 children Deborah returned after all her maternity leaves to work full-time, took long summer holidays.
Greta. Senior Director.	Full-time/No.	N/A
Rowena. Senior Director.	Full-time /Yes.	2 children working for 3 years on flexible hours then husband took on child-care role which allowed Rowena to accept CAE assignment.
Edith. Senior Director.	Full-time/No.	N/A

5. Working patterns in GC.

Name. Pauline. Vice President/Global HR partner	Children. Full-time/No	Working pattern/A.
Juliet Vice President /Europe UK.	Full-time/No.	N/A
Gina Vice President/Europe UK	Full-time/No.	N/A
Tara Vice President/America/Far East.	Full-time/Yes. One child.	Minimal maternity leave/full-time nanny.
Jane Vice-Président/Europe UK.	Full-time/Yes. One child.	Minimal maternity leave/partner undertakes child-care role.
Anna Vice President/Europe/Italy.	Full-time/No.	N/A

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6. The types of SIE or CAE assignments undertaken by women partners and managers in GE.

Name	Type of Assignment	In the same or a different organization.	Age at the time	Career stage	Reason.	Promotion on return/or career progression.
Deborah	SIE	Different	1.24-25 years.	Early career	To follow her husband's career	No/As a senior engineer, re-hired in GE headquarters.
	OSIE	Same	2. 33 Years.	Mid-Career		Yes. Career progression to Senior board Director in headquarters(Global role)
Edith	OSIE	Same.	1.21-23 years.	Early career.	Finished Graduate Training & wanted to return to region.	1.Career Progression from Senior engineer to senior director (Global role)
Greta	OSIE.	Same.	1.24 -25 years.	1. Early career	SIE project.	Junior engineer career progress Senior engineer.
	CAE	Same.	2. 33 Years.	2.	Multiple CAE assignments.	2. Career Progression to senior director.

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	SIE	Same.	2. 45 years	Mid-career. 2. Senior Career.	CAE roles.	(Global role) 2. Career progression to senior Director (Global role).
			3.48- Years Present.		SIE o follow her husbands Career.	3. Career disruption/ working in a lower-level SIE role /part-time to follow partner.

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Rowena	CAE	Same.	1.33 years. 2.38 years.	Mid-career. 2. Mid-career.	CAE. CAE. Assignment. Husband undertook Child-care Responsibilities.	1.Career Progression to director (Global role) (Global roles)
Claire	OSIE	Same.	Years 27	1. Early career 2.	SIE Project. SIE	1. Career Progression to senior engineer.

			Years	Early career	Project.	2. Move professional Group. Grade 6.
Marianne	SIE	Different.	1.30 years.	1.Mid career	SIE.	1. Career transition an architect, who studied for environmental engineering masters in UK. Grade 7.

*SIE: Self-Initiated Expatriate.

CAE. Company Assigned Expatriate/project

7. The types of SIE or CAE assignments undertaken by women partners and managers in GC.

Name Senior Women Partners	Type of Assignment	In same or different organization.	Age at time.	Career stage.	Reason.	Promotion on return/ Career progression.
Juliet	CAE CAE	Same. Same.	1.29 Years. 2.39 Years.	Early Career. Mid-career.	Career challenge. Senior leadership.	No/ Career progression to global roles.
Tara	OSIE	Same.	1.26 Years	Early.	1. Global project work in oil, dot.com and utilities sectors.	No/ 2. Career progression to global roles.
Gina	SIE.	Different.	1.24 Years 2.26 years	Early.	1.Global project Work in oil and science sectors.	1.No/ Career progression to global Roles.
Amanda	CAE.	Same.	1.23 Years.	Early.	1.Global project Work in dot.com sector.	1.No/ 2.Career progression To global roles.

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| Pauline | OSIE. | Same. | 1.33 Years. | Mid-career. | 1. Career blockage/ a new challenge. | 1. Yes/career progression from a specialist to a generalist/global roles. |
| Jane. | CAE. | Same. | 1.30 Years. | Early. | 1. Global project work in logistics. | No/ 2. Career progression to global roles. |

*SIE: Self-Initiated Expatriate.

*CAE. Company Assigned Expatriate/project

8. The types of SIE or CAE assignments undertaken by Key informants i.e. senior directors and partners.

Key informants. Name.	Type of Assignment.	In same or different organization.	Age at time.	Career stage.	Reason.	Promotion on return/career progression.
Elena	SIE.	Different.	1.28 Years.			No/ However career Progression to global roles.
		Different.	2.30 Years.			
		Different.	32. 4.35			
Alison	SIE assignment.	Different.	1.25 Years.			Yes/ recruitment into first academic post in Elite university in US.

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	SIE assignment	Different.	2. 35 years			Fellowship Award return to Elite university in UK.
		Different.				
Rona	SIE assignment	Different	1. 28 years.			No/career change.
Lynne	SIE.	Different.	38 Years.	Mid-career.	Mid-career fellowship to change Career.	No./ Career shift and career progression to senior leadership Role in charity sector.

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*SIE: Self-Initiated Expatriate.

CAE. Company Assigned Expatriate/project

Table 6. Senior directors/partners/wives in paid work outside of the home in GE.

Name	Position	Wife/ or partner in paid work or career outside the home.	Children. Yes/No.
Donald.	Director/Partner.	No.	Yes/ Two.
Tom.	Director/Partner.	No.	Yes/Three.
Dalvat.	Director/Partner.	Yes/Temporary work.	Yes/Two.
Reg.	Director/Partner.	No.	Yes/Four.
Michael.	Director/Partner.	Yes/Full-time career.	Yes/Two.
Marvin.	Associate Director.	Yes/Full-time career.	Yes/One.
Peter.	Global Director of HRM	No.	Yes/Two.

9. Senior directors/partners/wives in paid work outside the home in GC.

Name	Position	Wife/or partner in paid work or career outside the home. Yes/No.	Children. Yes/No?
James.	Vice-President/Partner.	Yes/Full-time career.	Yes/Two.
Richard.	Vice-President/Partner.	No.	Yes/Two.
Morris.	Vice-President/Partner.	No.	Yes/Two.
Peter	Vice-President/Partner.	No	Yes/Two
Dermot.	Senior Vice President/HRM Director (Europe/UK)	Single.	No.

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