



**NAVIGATING THE
LABYRINTH: A
BOURDIEUIAN ANALYSIS
OF GENDERED AND
RACIALISED POWER
STRUCTURES IN
ORGANISATIONAL
PRACTICES**

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Abstract

This research project aimed to explore the issue of gender and racial inequality within the London Ambulance Service through the lens of Pierre Bourdieu's concepts, such as field, capital, habitus, and symbolic violence. The findings of the study highlighted how existing structures, gendered practices, and racial biases shaped the career experiences of women and employees from Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) backgrounds.

By conducting in-depth interviews with 23 individuals working at the London Ambulance Service, this research revealed dynamics across different aspects of the organisation. The competitive nature of the ambulance service created an environment where certain cultural capital was highly valued but predominantly held by men. Consequently, those lacking capital faced disadvantages in their advancement. Furthermore, leadership practices reinforced norms that hindered efforts towards equality while subjecting minorities to heightened scrutiny and penalising behaviour among women.

The study also found that the recruitment and promotion process perpetuated biases favouring traits traditionally associated with masculinity and leadership styles. Additionally, these processes framed women and BAME employees' capabilities as deficiencies. Exclusionary social networks concentrate decision-making power within dominant groups sharing privileged backgrounds and conforming to normative values.

However, it is important to note that this study also sheds light on how women and BAME employees employ approaches to gain leadership capital by regulating their identity performance and leveraging support networks among peers who share experiences. These strategies help counterbalance their exclusion from privileges typically associated with proximity to identities. However, managing one's identity constantly takes a toll on well-being. This highlights the necessity for reforms rather than relying solely on individual negotiations. The research illustrates how Bourdieu's theoretical concepts can help us better understand the dynamics of inequality within public service organisations. It suggests that by disrupting barriers and going beyond surface-level diversity initiatives, we can bring about cultural change. Conducting research could provide valuable insights into how complex identities contribute to the experiences of minority women facing compounded symbolic violence. Ultimately, this study emphasises the significance of approaches that challenge structures by acknowledging diverse capabilities and promoting inclusive cultures.

Keywords: gender inequality, racial inequality, career experiences, women, BAME (Black, Asian, Minority Ethnic) employees, Dominant structures, gendered practices, racialised practices, Pierre Bourdieu, Field, Capital, Habitus, symbolic violence, exclusionary dynamics.

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Glossary

Black, Asian, and minority ethnic - BAME

National Health Service - NHS

London Ambulance Service - LAS

Full-time equivalent - FTE

Critical Race Theory - CRT

Actor-network theory - ANT

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Chapter One Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Recent studies within organisation theory have illuminated that an individual's inclusion in organisations is deeply rooted in their perceived value to the organisation, as outlined by (Adamson et al., 2021). This perceived value stems from an intricate blend of belonging and uniqueness experienced by individuals in their respective organisations, a notion supported by (Shore et al., 2011). In response to a long-standing history of discrimination, legislative measures have been implemented across organisations, particularly within the UK's public service sectors, to mitigate these issues (Valfort, 2018). Despite these efforts, evidence from (Opara et al., 2020) indicates that women and Black, Asian, and ethnic minority (BAME) employees continue to face exclusion from organisational opportunities. Joan Acker's seminal research, including "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organisations" (Acker, 1990) and "Inequality Regimes" (Acker, 2006), further exposes how HR practices, influenced by gender, race, and social class, perpetuate these disparities.

Previous studies have indicated that women's work experiences can differ significantly from those of men, despite the shared need for a sense of belonging and uniqueness (Doldor, Sealy, and Vinnicombe, 2016). For example, women often face gender-based discrimination frequently in the workplace. This bias can impact their earnings, job prospects, chances of holding leadership positions, and overall career advancement (Blau and Kahn, 2020; Gino et al., 2015; King, 2020; Schieder and Gould, 2016). These discriminatory patterns are often associated with human resources practices (Khan et al., 2021). Consequently, women generally experience a lower status compared to men in society (Verniers and Vala, 2018).

Discrimination is a profound factor leading to feelings of exclusion and a diminished sense of individuality among employees. Racism, characterised by systemic inequality, institutional bias, internalised discrimination, and pervasive racial attitudes (Shiao and Woody, 2021), extends its impact well beyond the workplace. It catalyses disparities in income, educational access, healthcare availability, social service provision, and justice, affecting numerous facets of life (Ford et al., 2018;

McGregor Smith, 2017; Modood and Khattab, 2016). This multifaceted discrimination underscores the critical need for comprehensive and inclusive policies to bridge these gaps.

There's a nuanced distinction drawn by scholars between the concepts of race and ethnicity, highlighting the complexity of identity (Syed and Ozbilgin, 2019). Race is often linked with perceptions of superiority and a history of Western dominance through colonisation, while ethnicity delves into the rich tapestry of cultural elements, including language, religious beliefs, and traditions. In the workplace, discrimination may surface through policies or practices that disadvantage specific ethnic groups (Kamasak et al., 2019). It's vital to delve into the interplay of social characteristics tied to both race and ethnicity to grasp the full scope of such discrimination. Particularly, employees from BAME backgrounds frequently encounter a workspace where their differences are amplified, compelling them to exceed the performance benchmarks set for their peers (Ishaq and Hussain, 2022). The experiences of BAME employees in the UK, marked by recurrent discriminatory encounters that entrench stereotypes and uphold unfair social dynamics, are well-documented (Ishaq and Hussain, 2022; Kanter et al., 2020). The pervasive neglect of workplace discrimination, bias, and inequality by those in leadership and HR roles, despite clear evidence, represents a significant oversight (Moncrieffe, 2021). This oversight is not just a moral failing but an economic one, costing the UK economy an estimated £2.6 billion due to the systemic discrimination faced by BAME workers (Webber, 2018).

Exploring the nuanced relationship between gender and BAME experiences in public service employment unveils the intricate nature of discrimination through the lens of intersectionality. This perspective, championed by scholars like Mallett and Meliou (2021) and Tatli and Ozbilgin (2012), illuminates the varying shades of discrimination that arise at the crossroads of gender, ethnicity, and class. Embracing this intersectional viewpoint offers invaluable insights into the unique challenges faced by BAME men and women in the workplace, paving the way for more effective strategies to combat discrimination and champion inclusivity. A case in point is the distinct challenges encountered by ethnic minority nurses within the National Health Service (NHS), as documented by Ross (Ross et al., 2020). BAME female nurses, in particular, grapple with pervasive stereotypes and a conspicuous scarcity of empowerment opportunities relative to their White peers (Brathwaite, 2018). This disparity manifests in the underrepresentation of BAME women in NHS roles and an increased probability for BAME midwives to undergo fitness-to-practice hearings, as compared to their White colleagues (Pendleton, 2022). This evidence underscores the imperative for nuanced approaches that address the multifaceted nature of workplace discrimination, steering towards a more inclusive and equitable environment for all.

This chapter embarks on a critical exploration of the intricate and closely linked challenges of gender and racial inequalities within the UK's public service sector, with a particular emphasis on the National Health Service (NHS) and the London Ambulance Service. By exploring the historical backdrop of women and Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) communities within British society and the workforce, we establish a foundational understanding of these pervasive issues. The chapter then deepens its exploration with a detailed review of the NHS and the ambulance service, focusing on their organisational structures and distinctive operational dynamics. Furthermore, the chapter explores the valuable theoretical framework developed by Pierre Bourdieu. This framework serves as a powerful lens through which social structures, power dynamics, and the often-subtle mechanisms that perpetuate inequalities can be examined. This thesis's goal then is to contribute meaningfully to the ongoing discourse on these critical issues, ultimately driving positive change and fostering greater inclusivity within public service organisations.

1.2 Research rationale

The persistent issue of inequality in the workplace, encompassing disparities rooted in gender, race, and class, significantly affects employee career progression and access to opportunities. Joan Acker's seminal work in 2006 introduced the concept of "inequality regimes" to describe these systemic inequities arising from deep-seated power imbalances associated with gender, race, and class distinctions (Acker, 2006). Acker highlighted how such regimes are perpetuated through processes that embed inequality deeper within organisational practices (Amis et al., 2020). In her pioneering book, "Gendered Organisations," Acker revealed how the very architecture of organisational structures, influenced by human resources decisions, can inadvertently reinforce gender-based disparities. This notion of inequality regimes has since broadened to include the dynamics of race and ethnicity (Acker, 2006), offering a more comprehensive understanding of workplace discrimination.

Further expanding on this foundation, research by Anthias investigates the complex interplay between gender, ethnicity, and class within the layers of social stratification, examining the extent to which workplace power dynamics exacerbate or alleviate discrimination against women and employees from Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) backgrounds (Anthias, 2001). This multidimensional analysis challenges the research community to transcend the traditional siloed approach to studying inequality, advocating for a more integrated examination that captures the nuanced realities of those impacted by multiple forms of discrimination.

Diversity initiatives, despite their well-meaning intentions, might inadvertently deepen rather than diminish workplace inequalities, as DiTomaso et al. (2007) argue. Supporting this, Dover et al. (2020) caution that such initiatives can often produce mixed signals and potentially negative effects. Dobbin and Kalev (2016) further critique that many diversity efforts offer mere symbolic support without tackling the root power structures fuelling inequality. Özbilgin and Tatli (2011) advocate for a shift towards a more holistic approach, integrating equality and diversity across systemic levels.

The introduction of The Equality Act 2010 aimed to combat workplace discrimination yet, as Ishaq and Hussain (2022) note, BAME employees continue to experience wage disparities and undervaluation in public sectors, like the EHRC (2017) and Andrews and Ashworth (2014) have documented. The challenge of achieving true representation and inclusion for women and BAME staff in public services is ongoing, marred by persistent inappropriate language and microaggressions.

The disconnect between the noble aims of policies and their real-world application is starkly visible across various organisations. Hoque and Noon (2004) coin the term "symbolic policy" to describe the phenomenon where organisations ostensibly commit to diversity policies yet fall short in their actualisation. The UK Workplace Employee Relations Survey highlights this gap, showing that fewer than half of organisations with diversity policies effectively implement supportive measures, such as flexible working arrangements for women transitioning between full and part-time roles, with access to these measures often contingent upon one's role within the organisation (Kirkpatrick and Hoque, 2022). Kirkpatrick and Hoque's inquiry into whether diversity policies tangibly improve workforce diversity and performance yielded inconclusive results, suggesting the outcomes depend heavily on how these policies are enacted within specific organisational contexts.

Despite advancements in policies and legal frameworks aimed at reducing workplace inequalities, systemic inequities remain entrenched within organisations, leading to ongoing marginalisation for certain groups. This thesis seeks to build upon existing research into inequality regimes by examining the lived experiences of women and BAME employees within the London Ambulance Service. It explores their perceptions and experiences of discrimination and its impact on their professional advancement. Furthermore, it investigates why inequality persists despite existing policies and legal mandates. This research aims to illuminate the complex ways in which current practices both perpetuate and challenge established norms around gender and ethnicity, thus enriching the discourse in this critical area of study.

1.2.1 Gender inequality in the UK workplace

In our society, the challenge of gender disparity is an inescapable reality, especially within professional settings (Cleveland et al., 2013). This disparity manifests when women are unjustly deprived of the same privileges or opportunities that men enjoy (Stamarski and Son Hing, 2015), often rooted in a biased belief that men are inherently more competent (Ridgeway, 2011). Women are routinely subjected to unequal treatment in aspects critical to professional growth, such as job responsibilities, advancement opportunities, and equitable compensation, highlighting the pervasive biases they face (Stojmenovska et al., 2021). This paper delves into the underlying causes of gender bias in workplaces and its detrimental effects on women's career trajectories and overall life quality.

The Sex Discrimination Acts of 1975 and 1976 categorise sex discrimination as any treatment based on sex, encompassing employment, education, harassment, and the provision of goods and services, along with property transactions (Sex Discrimination Act 1975, 1976). This unfair treatment can be direct or indirect, intentional, or accidental (MacKinnon, 2018). The foundational principles of these Acts have been assimilated into more comprehensive laws, notably the Equality Act of 2010, which was designed to consolidate and reinforce Britain's anti-discrimination legislation, merging the Equal Pay Act of 1970, the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975, and the Race Relations Act of 1976 into a unified framework (Hand, Davis, and Feast, 2012).

The Equality Act 2010's inaugural chapter mandates a duty to prevent discrimination, harassment, victimisation, and other prohibited conduct, fostering equality of opportunity between people regardless of protected characteristics such as age, disability, gender reassignment, pregnancy, maternity, and race, and promoting harmonious relations among diverse groups. This duty is not limited to authorities but also applies to non-governmental organisations performing public duties (Equality Act, 2010). Blau and Kahn pinpoint a persistent gender wage gap, further aggravated by the scarcity of career progression avenues for women (Blau and Kahn, 2020). This gap persists even in fields where women are as numerous or outnumber men at entry-level positions, with occupational segregation continuously reinforcing gender disparities daily.

The notion that occupations with a significant proportion of female workers may operate differently than those predominantly male-dominated is intriguing (Stier and Yaish, 2014). Occupations heavy in

female participation often promise better opportunities for social interaction and generally entail less physical strain. Yet, it's crucial to acknowledge that these roles typically come with lower remuneration and scarce chances for career progression (Levanon et al., 2009; Padavic and Reskin, 2002; Reskin and Roos, 1990). Extensive research has delved into the delicate balancing act women perform between their professional aspirations and caregiving duties, a balancing act fraught with challenges. The reinforcement of stereotypical views of women as primary caregivers by organisations leaves working mothers in a precarious position, forced to choose between family commitments and career advancement within a patriarchal framework (Sharma and Tiwari, 2023). Moreover, the ambition for career growth among women can also attract age-related discrimination (Choroszewicz and Adams, 2019; Healy et al., 2011), underlining the importance of exploring the nexus between gender and age discrimination as these biases are not mutually exclusive but intertwined (Healy et al., 2011).

Recent studies probing the intersections of age, gender, and social class have uncovered significant wage disparities that disadvantage individuals from working-class backgrounds, especially when compared to their counterparts from more affluent backgrounds occupying senior positions (Friedman and Laurison, 2019). Women from working-class backgrounds are particularly disadvantaged, facing a compounded effect of socio-economic factors that exacerbate income inequality (Woodhams, Lupton, and Cowling, 2015). The presence of entrenched career advancement barriers for these women further amplifies workplace gender disparities (Friedman and Laurison, 2019). Hence, delving into the intersectionality of age, gender, and class is essential to grasp the multifaceted nature of discrimination and to formulate effective policies for its mitigation. Despite the significance of this intersectionality, its exploration within employment contexts remains scant (Choroszewicz and Adams, 2019; Healy et al., 2011). This thesis aspires to enrich the existing body of knowledge by examining the persistence of gender inequality in UK workplaces, challenging the efficacy of legal frameworks and organisational policies designed to combat such disparities.

1.2.2 Racial inequality in the UK workplace

Despite strides towards bridging the ethnicity-based pay gap in the UK, evidence highlights persistent disparities in compensation and valuation of roles for individuals from Black, Asian, and minority ethnic (BAME) backgrounds (EHRC, 2017). Furthermore, BAME employees frequently face challenges related to gender segregation, both at vertical and horizontal levels within organisations, significantly hampering their career progression and access to leadership roles (Kirton and Greene, 2016). These circumstances imply the existence of systemic barriers, erected by employers and

organisations, that obstruct BAME employees' advancement through the organisational ranks. Notably, the likelihood of BAME professionals securing equivalent positions in the UK lags that of their counterparts (Ishaq and Hussain, 2022).

The discourse on workplace inequality, particularly in Western contexts, has predominantly centred around the narratives of White women, overshadowing the unique experiences of BAME women within these settings (Ryan and Branscombe, 2013). Given the critical insights provided by the Equality Act (2010) mandating organisations to adhere to the Public Service Equality Duty with an emphasis on racial equality this dissertation seeks to delve deeper into the enduring issue of racial inequality in UK workplaces. It questions why, despite comprehensive legal frameworks and organisational policies designed to combat such disparities, racial inequality remains a pervasive challenge.

1.2.3 Representation and inclusion in public service organisations

This study delves into how women and BAME employees are represented and perceived within public service organisations across the United Kingdom. Highlighting that organisations mirroring the diversity of the communities they cater to foster a supportive environment for individuals from a wide array of societal backgrounds (Ferdman, 2013). Despite a notable increase in female employment within these sectors, gender-based discrimination remains rampant, underscored by persistent pay inequalities (Office for National Statistics, 2022). Notably, the impact of motherhood on career trajectories is significant, with mothers often reducing their working hours years after childbirth, a phenomenon starkly evident in the gender wage gaps of countries like the US and the UK, where career interruptions are common for mothers (Kleven et al., 2019).

In the UK, public service organisations often overlook the representation of Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) employees, failing to mirror the diverse makeup of their communities (Andrews and Ashworth, 2014). This oversight is compounded by the subtle, yet pervasive, use of discriminatory language within some organisations, which subtly reinforces racist stereotypes (Ishaq and Hussain, 2022). While there has been some focus on the obstacles BAME employees face (Kline, 2014), the nuanced interplay between gender and ethnicity, alongside their collective impact on workplace integration and acceptance, remains underexplored (Andrews and Ashworth, 2014; Ryan and Branscombe, 2013). Furthermore, there's a notable lack of insight into how diversity influences workplace culture and administrative practices (Andrews and Ashworth, 2014). Despite growing

interest in the tangible benefits of diverse representation and its potential to cultivate inclusive work environments, a comprehensive examination of organisational norms and practices is lacking (Ashikali et al., 2021). This study seeks to bridge these knowledge gaps, examining the crucial relationship between representation and inclusion within the context of the UK's public service organisations.

1.3 Contribution to research

Recent scholarly efforts have delved into the intricate dynamics of inequality within public service organisations, particularly focusing on the career trajectories of female and BAME (Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic) employees. Pioneering researchers like Acker (2006) dissect how factors such as gender, socioeconomic class, and ethnicity mould the structure and efficacy of these institutions. Meanwhile, scholars like Amis et al. (2020) scrutinise the enduring nature of these inequalities. Anthias (2001) underscores the critical importance of addressing both tangible and symbolic elements in the dissection of organisational hierarchies.

The discourse on the career advancements of women and BAME personnel further broadens with insights from Ashley and Empson (2013), who highlight the nuances of class and exclusion, particularly within the legal profession. The research by DiTomaso et al. (2007) probes into how the interplay of power dynamics, social prestige, and numerical representation affects diversity and inequality in the workforce. Dobbin and Kalev (2016) offer a critical analysis on the shortfall of diversity programs in meeting their intended goals, complemented by Dover et al. (2020), who explore the ramifications tied to such diversity-enhancing efforts. This enriched narrative aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted challenges faced by female and BAME employees within public service sectors, paving the way for more effective interventions and policies.

To bridge existing research gaps, several academics have turned to Bourdieu's theoretical framework, which integrates key concepts such as field, capital, habitus, doxa, and symbolic violence. This approach has been effectively utilised in investigations akin to the current study. Notably, Tatli et al. (2015) have illuminated how Bourdieu's intricate theory sheds light on the multifaceted nature of diversity and inequality challenges within organisations. In parallel, Zanoni and Janssens (2015) demonstrated the applicability of this framework in dissecting and understanding the nuanced diversity narratives prevalent in workplace environments. Their inquiries into organisational power dynamics offer profound insights into the discriminatory experiences facing women and BAME employees, as outlined by Hussain et al. (2023). A deep dive into the personal experiences of these demographics,

revealing how they process and internalise discriminatory practices, provides invaluable perspectives on the detrimental impact of bias on career advancement (Roberson et al., 2017; Tatli et al., 2015; Zaroni et al., 2010). Despite the growing focus on diversity initiatives and affirmative action policies, scepticism regarding their true efficacy persists (Dobbin and Kalev, 2016). Thus, it becomes imperative to critically assess the outcomes of such measures and delve into the complex narratives that underpin diversity in the workplace (Dover et al., 2020; Zaroni et al., 2010), offering a comprehensive exploration that may pave the way for more effective strategies in promoting inclusivity and equality.

Bourdieu's conceptual framework, incorporating elements such as field, capital, habitus, doxa, and symbolic violence, has been increasingly applied in research aimed at dissecting the persistence of inequality across various spheres (Bourdieu, 1977). A multitude of studies have leveraged Bourdieu's framework to delve into issues like mobility (Hillmert and Jacob, 2015), educational inequality (Reay, 2017), and disparities within organisations (Ashley and Empson, 2013). This framework has been instrumental in elucidating the mechanisms through which social hierarchies and inequalities are perpetuated by institutions and processes (Anthias, 2001; Amis et al., 2020). Bourdieu's theory, highlighting the dynamic interplay between structural forces and individual agency, provides a sophisticated lens through which the complexities of social inequality are explored within constantly evolving societal landscapes (Tatli et al., 2015).

Employing Bourdieu's framework offers a profound avenue for investigating discrimination faced by women and ethnic minority employees, enabling a deep dive into their lived experiences and the discrimination navigation strategies that influence their career trajectories. For instance, a study by Ashley and Empson (2013) on a UK law firm scrutinised social class-related perceptions and experiences, uncovering disparities in recruitment, career advancement opportunities, and task allocation. Similarly, research like Zaroni et al. (2010) underscores the critical need to distinguish between diversity and inequality within organisations, aiming to fully comprehend the experiences of women and BAME employees. Conversely, Dobbin and Kalev (2016) critique diversity initiatives for their tendency to focus on immediate goals such as enhancing the visibility of women and BAME individuals, while often neglecting the underlying structures perpetuating inequality. Despite the availability of analytical frameworks, studies such as Hussain et al. (2022) point to persistent discrimination and inequality issues in the workplace, disproportionately impacting women and BAME groups. These challenges have been further intensified by the COVID-19 pandemic,

underlining the urgent need for more effective and inclusive strategies in addressing workplace disparities.

Addressing the existing gaps in research, our objective is to unravel a deeper insight into the mechanisms of inequality within public service organisations. For this purpose, we are guided by Bourdieu's rich theoretical framework, which intricately weaves together concepts such as field, capital, habitus, doxa, and symbolic violence. This methodological approach positions us to delve into critical research questions:

- (i) Which prevailing structures within public service environments critically influence the professional trajectories of women and BAME individuals?
- (ii) How are gendered and racialised practices and systems instrumental in moulding the career pathways of women and BAME individuals?
- (iii) In what ways do women and BAME employees engage with and navigate through these prevailing structures and the gendered and racialised practices to shape their professional journeys?

This enhanced exploration aims not just to identify the barriers but also to understand the dynamics of interaction between individuals and structural forces, thereby contributing to a nuanced comprehension of inequality within public service contexts.

1.4 Background

This section delves into societal dynamics, concentrating on the experiences of women and individuals from varied racial and ethnic backgrounds. Additionally, we will touch upon the history of the NHS and offer an overview of the London Ambulance Service.

1.4.1 Women in British society and employment

The Office for National Statistics' UK Labour Market bulletin from October to December 2021 highlights a positive trend, showing that 15.52 million women aged 16 and above were gainfully employed across the UK. This figure not only underscores an increase of 153,000 from the year prior but also sheds light on the evolving dynamics of the female workforce (Employment in the UK. Office for National Statistics, 2022). Despite these gains, it's important to note a slight discrepancy in the

employment rates, with men's employment standing at a robust 78.8 percent compared to the slightly lower female rate of 72.2 percent. This discrepancy points to a subtle yet present gender gap in employment, retreating slightly from the high of 72.7 percent observed between December 2019 and February 2020.

A closer inspection of the employment landscape reveals that of the employed women in the UK, around 9.68 million are in full-time roles, with an additional 5.84 million engaging in part-time work. Women represent a substantial 38 percent of this part-time workforce, a figure significantly larger than the 13 percent representation by their male counterparts, highlighting a gendered trend in part-time employment (Employment in the UK. Office for National Statistics, 2022). The sectors of education and healthcare emerge as predominant fields of employment for women, collectively employing about 21 percent of the female workforce as of September 2021. In a further breakdown of the workforce demographics, the Office for National Statistics' 2022 data reveals that a staggering 78 percent of the health and social work sector's employees, who hold higher education qualifications, are women (Employment in the UK. Office for National Statistics, 2022). This is followed by the retail trade and education sectors, at 13 percent and 12 percent respectively, underscoring the significant contribution of women to these vital industries. Given this context examining the London Ambulance Service as a case study for this thesis, is not only relevant but appropriate as it a reflection of broader employment trends and gender dynamics within the UK's workforce.

1.4.2 BAME, history and British society and employment

The acronym BAME, which stands for Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic, is central to discussions about workforce diversity, especially concerning the underrepresentation in leadership roles within the UK (Wyatt and Silvester, 2015). The Race Disparity Unit, tasked with the critical role of gathering and scrutinizing government data on ethnic minorities' experiences, has unveiled some troubling statistics. As of 2019, it reported notably higher unemployment rates within Black, Bangladeshi, and Pakistani communities, peaking at 8 percent, highlighting a stark employment challenge (ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk, 2021).

A broader look at the UK's employment scene reveals significant disparities. While employment rates for White individuals stand at 78 percent, the figure drops to 66 percent when considering all ethnic minority groups combined. Specifically, the employment rates for Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups hover around 56 percent, underscoring a persistent employment gap. These groups have also faced a

consistent wage disparity over an eight-year period from 2013 to 2021, further compounding the inequality (ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk, 2021). It's also noted that White individuals are more likely to earn a weekly income over £600, compared to their counterparts from ethnic minority backgrounds (ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk, 2021).

The McGregor-Smith Review delves into the workplace hurdles encountered by BAME individuals in the UK, revealing that discrimination and bias are prevalent throughout one's career journey, from the very outset during recruitment to daily experiences within the workforce (Race in the Workplace, 2017, p. 3). This comprehensive examination not only highlights the systemic barriers faced by ethnic minorities but also underscores the urgent need for inclusive practices and policies to bridge these gaps. The report further illuminates the systemic obstacles BAME employees encounter, notably the significant disadvantage stemming from insufficient access to information. This deficiency crucially affects their prospects for career advancement, as pinpointed in McGregor-Smith's analysis (Race in the Workplace, 2017, p. 9). McGregor-Smith underscores that the hurdles intensify with the dependence on informal mechanisms for progression, the glaring lack of BME mentors or role models to guide and inspire, and the disconnect between well-intentioned equality and diversity policies versus their practical application within organisations (Race in the Workplace, 2017). This insight calls for a reevaluation of workplace structures and practices to ensure they foster genuine inclusivity and equal opportunities for all.

1.4.3 A brief history of the NHS

The National Health Service (NHS) in England stands as its most substantial employer, with an impressive workforce of 1.4 million full-time equivalent (FTE) personnel, tasked with delivering hospital and community services (Imison and Bohmer, 2016). The NHS's ambulance services, structured into ten distinct trusts covering specific geographic regions, includes the notable London Ambulance Service, which provides vital services to the London area (Pollock, 2013). An in-depth exploration into the experiences of women and BAME groups within the NHS is pivotal for understanding their roles and representation.

Funded through general taxation from its inception in 1948, the NHS represents the backbone of the UK's public healthcare system. However, 'NHS' collectively refers to three different entities: NHS England, NHS Scotland, and NHS Wales, along with Northern Ireland's distinct Health and Social Care system (Webster, 2002).

A closer look at the 2021 data shows women comprising 76.7 percent of the NHS's 1.3 million-strong workforce, predominantly in nursing, health visitor roles, ambulance services, and various scientific, therapeutic, and technical positions, including managerial roles (england.nhs.uk, 2021). Despite their significant presence, the representation of women in senior positions remains disproportionately low (NHS Digital, 2018). While there has been progress, only 44 percent of Chief Executive roles across NHS Trusts and other bodies are filled by women, with similar disparities observed in medical leadership roles (NHS Digital, 2018). Additionally, the concentration of women in the lower pay bands of the NHS starkly highlights ongoing wage disparities (NHS Digital, 2018). This analysis calls for a critical review and actions towards achieving gender equity and diversity at all levels within the NHS.

When examining BAME employees' experiences within the NHS, we observe a reflection of broader societal disparities. By March 2020, White individuals made up 77.9 percent of the NHS's robust workforce in England, leaving BAME groups to fill the remaining positions (ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk, 2021). Discrimination and unequal access to promotional opportunities are pervasive challenges faced by BAME staff (NHS National Employee Survey, 2015). Even with targeted strategies such as the NHS Workforce Race Equality Standard (WRES) designed to mitigate these disparities, significant underrepresentation of BAME individuals in top managerial roles persists (England, 2019). Furthermore, BAME staff disproportionately experience discrimination, face barriers to employment, are more frequently subjected to disciplinary actions, and often doubt the fairness of career progression opportunities relative to their White counterparts (England.nhs.uk, 2019).

Particularly for women of BAME backgrounds, the obstacles are even more pronounced, encapsulated by the term "double disadvantage" (Bradley et al., 2022). This dual burden of racial and gender bias leads to notably unjust treatment of BAME female nurses, who confront a workplace environment markedly different and more challenging than that of their White colleagues, with racial stereotypes exacerbating these inequalities (Brathwaite, 2018). This situation underscores the urgent need for holistic and inclusive policies that address both racial and gender disparities within the NHS, fostering a truly equitable and supportive environment for all employees.

1.4.4 A brief overview of the London Ambulance Service

Delving into the London Ambulance Service (LAS), a cornerstone of the NHS in London, reveals a complex and diverse operation, with a workforce surpassing 8,000, including both employees and

volunteers, LAS plays a vital role in the city's emergency medical response. Frontline staff, numbering around 3,300, are deployed across numerous ambulance stations, while about 500 dedicated individuals operate two critical Emergency '999' control rooms. The organisation benefits from the support of many other staff members located throughout London, ensuring a comprehensive coverage (Working for us - London Ambulance Service NHS Trust, 2022). Gender representation within LAS is commendably balanced, with an almost equal split between women and men. Despite ongoing efforts to eliminate gender-based pay disparities, significant challenges persist, especially in closing the wage gap at the higher echelons of management and in equitable bonus distribution (London Ambulance Service NHS Trust 2018/19 Gender pay gap report, 2019). The disparity in senior management roles, with a surplus of male over female managers, underscores the need for further progress (LAS Annual Report and Accounts, 2019).

Concerns about the treatment of BAME staff have also come to the forefront. Recent feedback indicates a marginal increase in BAME staff reporting discrimination within the workplace, highlighting an area requiring immediate attention and action (NHS Employee Survey 2020 local dashboards, 2020). This feedback, coupled with a noticeable rise in reports of ethnicity-based discrimination, underscores the pressing need for LAS to intensify its efforts in fostering an inclusive and equitable work environment for all its staff, regardless of gender or ethnicity.

1.5 Bourdieu's conceptual framework of Field, Capital, Habitus, Doxa, and Symbolic Violence

Bourdieu's introduction of the 'field' concept offers a nuanced lens to examine the complex arenas of interaction, where individuals navigate based on common understandings and rules. He argued that people strategically utilise types of 'capital', such as economic, cultural, social, and symbolic, to succeed in these fields (Bourdieu, 1986). This framework profoundly elucidates the operational dynamics of public service organisations, highlighting how they inherently value certain capitals and behaviours. This, in turn, influences individual outcomes and experiences significantly. For example, Navarro (2006) insightfully explored how bureaucratic structures within a health agency subtly shape power dynamics, favouring specific credentials and dispositions. Eyal (2019) brought to light the critical role of educational achievement as a form of capital in the public education sector, driven by meritocratic ideals, thereby sidelining those devoid of such capital. Furthermore, Wacquant (2009) exposed how policy fields can perpetrate symbolic violence by demeaning neighbourhoods that lack economic capital. These instances vividly illustrate how the dynamics within fields and the interplay

of different capitals can dictate experiences, fostering exclusion and shaping perceptions and behaviours at an individual level.

Bourdieu's focus on 'field' and 'capital' thus offers a potent analytical framework to dissect how public service settings inherently privilege certain groups. Armed with this understanding, we are better positioned to question and transform prevailing structures and cultural norms for a more equitable society.

1.6 Thesis outline

To guarantee the successful achievement of the study's aims, the organisation of the study will follow a structured approach. The initial chapter will illuminate the theoretical underpinnings of this investigation, with a detailed examination of 'Bourdieu's Conceptual Framework of Field, Capital, Habitus, Doxa, and Symbolic Violence'. This exploration aims to articulate the genesis and evolution of Bourdieu's theory of practice and its intricate web of relations. Furthermore, this section will delve into the application of Bourdieu's theory across different fields and real-world settings, offering a comprehensive perspective on its versatility and utility.

The subsequent chapter on methodology will outline the research design and the strategies employed for data collection, providing insight into the foundation of our investigative process. In analysing the data, a multifaceted approach will be adopted, prioritising cross-verification techniques to ensure the robustness and credibility of our findings. Acknowledgement of the study's limitations and propositions for future research avenues will also form a crucial part of this discussion.

Drawing from the insights garnered through this inquiry, the study will propose an advanced application of 'Bourdieu's Conceptual Framework of Field, Capital, Habitus, Doxa, and Symbolic Violence', aiming to enrich the theoretical landscape and offer novel interpretations. The final chapter will offer a comprehensive summary of the research, encapsulating the key themes, discoveries, and theoretical contributions made, thereby concluding the study with a synthesis of its critical insights and potential implications and recommendations.

1.7 Chapter summary

This chapter lays the foundation for our investigation, elucidating the motivations behind the study and its potential to enrich related academic fields. It sensitively navigates the experiences of women and BAME individuals within society, providing a comprehensive overview of the National Health Service (NHS). This includes an exploration of its origins, objectives, and organisational structure, thereby illuminating its significant contributions across the UK. Additionally, the analysis extends to the London Ambulance Service, highlighting its integral function within the broader NHS framework and operational dynamics. Concluding this introductory segment, this paper will engage with Bourdieu's theoretical perspective, critically assessing its application as a methodological compass for this research endeavour.

Chapter Two Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the research will begin by reviewing existing studies that have utilised Bourdieu's framework to understand how gender and racial biases impact public service organisations, such as the ambulance service (Bourdieu, 1977). The research will then explore concepts like "field," "capital," and "habitus" to examine the barriers in structures, policies, and everyday interactions that lead to differing career experiences for women and minorities compared to dominant groups (Bourdieu, 1986; Russ-Eft et al., 2008).

Subsequently, the study will compare Bourdieu's viewpoint with theories such as critical race theory, feminist theory, social identity theory, Actor-network theory, Assemblage theory to gain insights into organisational inequalities and through an intersectional lens (Acker, 1990; Crenshaw, 1995; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Intersectionality recognises that categories like race, class, gender, and sexuality are interconnected rather than isolated, shaping systems and experiences of power and oppression (Crenshaw, 1995).

Finally, the study will collate studies grounded in Bourdieu's concepts that examine how dominant structures within public service workplaces contribute to policies, leadership norms, and insider networks that consistently benefit men while limiting opportunities for women and BAME employees (Kirton and Greene, 2010; Savage, 2011). The review will also examine research uncovering biases related to gender and race in aspects such as recruitment, promotion, discipline, and wellbeing systems. These biases tend to favour certain groups while marginalising individuals with identities, styles, and backgrounds that do not conform to the norms (Liff and Wajcman, 1996; Noon, 2010).

Furthermore, the literature review will highlight studies exploring how women and BAME employees navigate challenges to overcome disadvantages and accumulate valuable resources. It will also address the burdens placed on dominant groups even when they succeed in progressing (Billing, 2011; Rollock et al., 2015). Throughout this chapter, the importance of scholarship will be emphasised, highlighting Bourdieu's framework as a tool for understanding exclusionary dynamics within public services and driving systemic changes towards equity (Tatli et al., 2020).

In summary, this review will underscore Bourdieu's contributions in revealing the mechanisms of power imbalances, biases, and inequality ingrained in structures, policies, norms, and interactions shaping diverse career experiences within public services. It will emphasise the need to move beyond superficial diversity commitments by dismantling systemic barriers.

2.2 Bourdieu's concepts of Habitus, Field, Capital, Doxa, and Symbolic Violence

Bourdieu's theoretical framework provides insights into the dynamics of gender and racial bias that permeate norms, structures, and everyday interactions within public service sectors such as the London Ambulance Service (Bourdieu, 1977; 1989). It elucidates how social inequalities are reproduced through the interplay of habitus, field, capital, doxa, and symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1977; 1989).

The concept of "field" illustrates how ambulance services function as environments governed by rules that determine individuals' positions based on their accumulation of valued "capital," including credentials and connections (Bourdieu, 1986). Subsequently the notion of "capitals" explains how individuals gain advantage and status by acquiring assets such as economic capital (financial resources), social capital (networks and relationships), cultural capital (educational credentials, preferences), and symbolic capital (prestige and recognition) (Bourdieu, 1986). As observed by Russ-Eft (2008), experienced paramedics often utilise their capital, rooted in years of service, to influence decisions regarding the hiring of Emergency Medical Technicians who share similar backgrounds and mannerisms. The term "Habitus" describes how internalised behaviours reflect an individual's position within society (Bourdieu, 1989). While "Doxa" refers to the accepted and unquestioned beliefs that are seen as valid, such as the narratives of meritocracy that emphasise formal qualifications (Thomson and Grenfell, 2008). However, Neckerman and Kirschenman point out how certain requirements, like college degrees, can act as hidden evaluation mechanisms in job applications, excluding minority candidates who may not possess these valued credentials (Neckerman and Kirschenman, 1991). This perpetuates existing hierarchies under the guise of impartiality.

"Symbolic violence" demonstrates how social hierarchies and inequalities are sustained through practices and societal norms that impose the perspective as universally accepted. This reinforces existing power dynamics (Bourdieu, 1991). For instance, research discovered that expectations for paramedics to demonstrate nurturing behaviour were normalised as "natural" for women (Alobaid et al., 2020), consequently confining them to caregiving roles and justifying the concentration of

leadership positions among their male colleagues, who were assumed to be more naturally fit for command.

In summary, Bourdieu's theoretical concepts offer a framework for understanding how gender and racial biases become deeply embedded in the workings of public service institutions. These biases are reinforced by factors like field dynamics, capital accumulation, habitus formation, taken-for-granted (doxa) assumptions, and various forms of symbolic violence.

2.3 How does Bourdieu's framework compare to other sociological theories in explaining social inequalities in organisations?

Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical concepts offer a framework for understanding inequalities within organisations. However, clarity can be enhanced by examining how his approach complements, contradicts, or extends prominent sociological theories on inequality. The goal of this analysis is to contextualise Bourdieu's ideas on field, capital, habitus, symbolic violence, and Doxa within the theoretical perspectives on entrenched biases and systemic disadvantage in organisational settings.

Several theories provide insights into understanding forms of inequality in organisations. These will now be discussed.

2.3.1 Critical Race Theory

Critical Race THEORY (CRT) goes beyond merely documenting racial inequality to interrogate the racist underpinnings ingrained within organisational structures, policies, and behaviours that systemically disadvantage minority ethnic groups (Crenshaw, 1995). For example, a CRT critique of UK police promotion metrics reveals White racial biases that implicitly undermine the context-dependent capabilities cultivated by Black and Asian officers through community policing (Housee, 2021). However, some scholars argue that CRT rhetoric risks overreaching in confronting racism without nuance (Tomlinson et al., 2013).

Contrarily, Bourdieu's rich, multidimensional concepts, which scrutinise the intricate interplay between bias, exclusion of capital, and embodied dispositions, present a more comprehensive account of how systemic inequalities are perpetuated within organisations (Bourdieu, 2005). Applying Bourdieu's theoretical concepts to NHS leadership structures could reveal potential biases in how

certain traits, potentially associated with specific racialised groups, are perceived as universally desirable or equally undesirable for leadership roles. This analysis could highlight areas where seemingly neutral standards might unintentionally disadvantage individuals based on their race or ethnicity (Bourdieu, 1991). This effectively marginalises the skills of minoritised individuals, offering a discerning insight into the barriers encountered by BAME clinicians aspiring for merit-based progression (Bourdieu, 1991; Salway et al., 2022). Additionally, Bourdieu's examination of the dynamic relationship between structural constraints and individual agency significantly deepens the analysis of how public service employees from diverse backgrounds strive to build leadership capital amidst pervasive obstacles (Bourdieu, 2005; Tatli et al., 2020).

In essence, while Critical Race Theory plays a crucial role in highlighting racism, it may fall short in providing a thorough systemic critique, a gap Bourdieu's framework adeptly fills with its comprehensive, multidimensional approach (Tomlinson, 2013). Thus, for leaders committed to fostering genuine inclusivity in the challenging terrains of the public service, Bourdieu's analytical framework emerges as a more effective, nuanced tool for identifying and addressing the intricate patterns of exclusion (Kirton et al., 2010), equipping them with the insights needed to navigate and dismantle the deeply ingrained structures of inequality.

2.3.2 Feminist theory

Feminist theory delves deeply into the analysis of women's subordination, aiming to uncover and critique the systemic, gendered biases entrenched in organisational norms, practices, and power structures (Acker, 1990). Highlighting this, feminist theory critiques illuminate how the preference for competitive and individualistic traits in leadership roles, particularly within the UK police force, inherently favours masculine characteristics. This biases the selection process against women, undermining their potential and contributions (Prokos and Padavic, 2002).

In contrast, Bourdieu's multidimensional concepts, which focus on the subtle interplays between bias, capital exclusion, and embodied dispositions, provide a suitably nuanced explanation of the systemically gendered regimes of organisational inequality (Bourdieu, 2005). For instance, Bourdieu's analysis of symbolic violence sheds light on how feminine styles are implicitly constructed as deficiencies within UK civil service evaluation frameworks. These frameworks impose penalties when women exhibit the same decisively assertive behaviours as men, which are valued for senior authority roles (Bourdieu, 1991; Krook and Mackay, 2011). Furthermore, Bourdieu's emphasis on the

interrelation between structure and agency deepens our understanding of the gendered demands on habitus. This strain affects women diplomats' ability to reconcile global availability expectations with family care duties (Bourdieu, 2005; Elgstrom, 2000).

While feminist theory is invaluable for shedding light on gendered biases, it may lack the depth of systemic and relational scrutiny found in Bourdieu's comprehensive and balanced framework (Tomlinson et al., 2013). Therefore, for change leaders aiming to foster equitable inclusion within persistently gender-inequitable public sector environments, Bourdieu's nuanced diagnostics offer a more fitting framework for uncovering and challenging complex exclusionary dynamics (Tatli et al., 2020).

2.3.3 Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory unveils how workplace inequalities are underpinned by dominant groups' establishment of norms that privilege ingroup characteristics, these biases systematically disadvantage minorities, sidelining them based on group identity rather than merit (Hogg and Terry, 2000). A case in point involves UK housing authorities, where leadership dynamics rooted in White masculine norms preclude BAME individuals from progressing, underscoring a critical barrier to diversity and inclusion (Abdullah et al., 2022). Nevertheless, this theory may not delve deeply enough into the structural mechanisms that cement these intergroup biases, leaving a gap in our understanding of their persistence and proliferation (Atewologun, 2018). This insight prompts a call for more intricate analyses to fully grasp and tackle the embedded inequalities within organisational settings.

Bourdieu's comprehensive approach offers a nuanced lens through which to examine the subtle yet impactful forces of bias, capital exclusion, and group-specific dispositions that fuel systemic inequality within organisations (Bourdieu, 2005). For instance, Bourdieu's analysis of symbolic power highlights how leadership models have historically constructed White male attributes as the universal standard, implicitly marking the competencies of minoritised individuals as lacking, thus justifying their exclusion from positions of authority (Bourdieu, 1991). Additionally, Bourdieu's analysis of the structure-agency dynamic sheds light on the strategic manoeuvring by BAME individuals to build reputational capital amidst entrenched barriers to leadership pathways (Bourdieu, 2005; Tatli et al., 2020).

While social identity theory contributes valuable perspectives on the dynamics of workplace exclusion, its scope is somewhat narrow (Atewologun, 2018). In this context, Bourdieu's richly layered framework stands out as an essential tool for change leaders aiming to break down the persistent barriers to equality in the public service. It equips them with a sophisticated understanding and methodology for tackling the intricate exclusionary practices that pervade these settings (Kirton et al., 2010). This strategic approach empowers leaders to not only identify but also dismantle the deep-seated structures of inequality, paving the way for genuine inclusion and diversity.

2.3.4 Actor-Network Theory

Actor-Network Theory (ANT) delves into how workplace dynamics of advantage and marginalisation are constructed through complex networks involving both human and non-human actors, which serve to reinforce dominant interests (Latour, 2005). For example, ANT examines the sustained under-representation of women MPs in the UK Parliament, attributing it to historical smoking-room configurations that facilitated influential networking among male legislators while excluding women from such visibility (Puwar, 2004). Despite its innovative approach, ANT faces criticism for possibly sidelining the critical role of individual agency by focusing too heavily on the influence of material conditions (Tomlinson et al., 2013).

In stark contrast, Bourdieu's rich theoretical landscape weaves together an intricate analysis of bias, capital dynamics, habitual practices, and symbolic violence, unveiling the layers behind systemic inequalities in the workplace (Bourdieu, 2005). Bourdieu work is also used to shed light on the strategic ways professionals counter systemic hurdles, showcasing how minority public civil servants actively seek out mentorship to navigate through networks that are traditionally exclusive (Tatli et al., 2020).

Although ANT provides a unique lens on organisational dynamics, it tends to gloss over the nuances of personal agency and the entrenched nature of inequality, areas where Bourdieu's comprehensive framework excels (Tomlinson et al., 2013). For leaders in the public service committed to promoting true inclusivity, Bourdieu offers a nuanced, actionable framework for dissecting and dismantling the intricate web of exclusionary practices, paving the way for a more equitable organisational culture (Kirton et al., 2010). This approach not only identifies but also targets the root causes of inequality, ensuring a strategic pathway towards meaningful change.

2.3.5 Assemblage Theory

Assemblage Theory suggests that enduring phenomena such as systemic inequality arise through heterogeneous, situated gatherings of humans and non-humans, rather than being the result of individual motives or characteristics (DeLanda, 2016; Phillips et al., 2019). For example, when applied to racial harassment that undermines the sense of belonging among minority employees in public transit, assemblage perspectives trace causality beyond the perpetrators. They identify socio-material configurations that facilitate harm, including isolated station visibility conditions that enable abuse, protocol ambiguities that fail to activate support, and policies that eliminate deterrents for witnesses (Phillips et al., 2019). Such configurations of enablement are powerful yet fragile, as the introduction of subtle monitoring, responsive measures, or accountability mechanisms can reconfigure conditions towards cultures of care that resist harassment. In essence, assemblage theory illuminates how constructions of inequality are manifestations within an endless array of reassembly possibilities, empowering collective agency to transform environments towards greater inclusion and dignity (Phillips et al., 2019).

Bourdieu's analytical lens reveals how the persistence of social hierarchies, including those based on race and gender, is intricately tied to the entrenched dispositions and unequal distribution of capital that define various fields of practice (Bourdieu, 1986). These enduring social structures are not fleeting but are deeply ingrained in individual practices and resource accumulation, systematically organising individuals within the power dynamics of organisations. Such positions grant or restrict access to vital resources like economic, cultural, and social capital, crucial for influencing policy and organisational culture (Bourdieu, 1986). Consequently, minority employees find themselves engaged in ongoing struggles over representation, evaluation standards, the efficacy of diversity efforts, and the formulation of anti-harassment policies, particularly in structured environments such as public transit systems (Celik, 2022).

Assemblage theory provides a hopeful perspective on the potential for reconstructing more inclusive and positive spaces, yet Bourdieu's approach offers a more detailed exploration of the limitations imposed by historical legacies and the cyclical nature of structural inequalities. A synthesis of these theories could yield a comprehensive strategy for tackling the complex facets of inequality.

2.3.6 Intersectionality Theory

Intersectionality Theory casts light on the intricate biases that exacerbate barriers at the confluence of identities, notably race and gender (Crenshaw, 1989). Investigations into the UK's housing sector highlight the exacerbated challenges BAME women face, navigating a landscape marred by overlapping prejudices that undervalue their capabilities in comparison to the established norms of White masculinity (Abdullah et al., 2022).

Bourdieu's intricate theoretical landscape offers a profound systemic explanation for the complex regimes of inequality that characterise organisational structures, through a keen examination of the dynamics between bias, capital exclusion, and embodied dispositions (Bourdieu, 2005). He shines a light on how leadership models, by upholding traits associated with White masculinity as the normative standards of competence, systematically marginalise women and BAME clinicians, precluding them from ascension to leadership positions (Bourdieu, 1991). Moreover, Bourdieu delves into the structure-agency dichotomy, revealing the intricate strategies minority women employ to navigate through and overcome the compounded barriers they face in accessing leadership development opportunities (Bourdieu, 2005; Tatli et al., 2020).

While intersectionality theory brings invaluable insights into the discussion, it tends to overlook the nuanced interplay between individual agency and structural constraints in fostering systemic inequality (Tomlinson et al., 2013). Thus, for leaders in the public sector committed to fostering an environment of equitable inclusion, Bourdieu's comprehensive framework emerges as a superior tool, adept at unpacking and challenging the complex exclusionary mechanisms at play (Kirton et al., 2010). Enhancing this framework with intersectional perspectives could further refine its analytical power.

Bourdieu distinguishes his approach by focusing not merely on the facets of inequality but on elucidating the mechanisms through which power dynamics, resource accumulation, and deep-seated dispositions intertwine to sustain inequality (Tomlinson et al., 2013). While other theories might prioritise either agency or structure, Bourdieu advocates for an appreciation of their symbiosis (Abrahamson, 2004).

Ultimately, Bourdieu sets himself apart from other sociological theories by offering a rich, multifaceted framework that adeptly captures the intricate interrelations among biases, capital, dispositions, and symbolic violence that underpin systemic disadvantage in organisational contexts

(Bourdieu, 1989; Thomson and Grenfell, 2008). His holistic view underscores the complexity of inequality, transcending simplistic attributions to delve into the heart of systemic disenfranchisement.

2.4 Dominant structures, gendered and racialised practices and employee negotiation and resistance

Bourdieu's field concept effectively reveals how public service sectors function as battlegrounds where individuals with dominant White masculine cultural capital are favoured, leaving women and BAME employees at a systemic disadvantage (Bourdieu, 1977; Everett, 2002). The criteria for leadership and meritocracy within these spheres continue to echo the long-standing dominance of White males, with requirements for top positions often hinging on elite educational credentials and political networks largely accessible to White men (Savage, 2011).

Leadership values prioritising individualism, assertiveness, and self-promotion further sideline the collaborative and inclusive leadership styles typically espoused by women and ethnic minorities (Billing, 2011; Liff and Wajcman, 1996). Everyday organisational practices also manifest racial and gender biases, subjecting minority employees to excessive scrutiny and labelling assertive women as "aggressive" or "emotional" (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Mavin et al., 2014). Through the lens of Bourdieu's social capital concept, it becomes evident that career mobility is intricately tied to one's position within exclusive insider networks, predominantly occupied by White males, thereby ostracising women and minority groups (Puwar, 2004). Despite these challenges, research highlights the resilience of minority employees who navigate and counteract these systemic barriers by developing their social capital outside traditional networks (Davidson, 1997; Rollock et al., 2015). Confronted with network exclusion, the dynamics of symbolic violence as per Bourdieu illustrate how minority individuals strategically modify their habitus, such as Muslim employees cautiously aligning religious practices with secular expectations, despite the inherent psychological toll (Kamenou and Fearfull, 2006; Puwar, 2004). Furthermore, instances of proactive resistance, exemplified by Black managers embracing authoritative roles to challenge prevailing stereotypes, underscore the active agency within these communities to overturn entrenched biases (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018). This comprehensive analysis underscores the complexity of navigating public service fields, spotlighting both the systemic obstacles and the avenues for resilience and resistance employed by those marginalised.

In summary, Bourdieu's rich theoretical arsenal offers a sophisticated lens through which to examine the systemic gender and racial prejudices limiting minority career advancement within public service organisations. Moreover, it also unveils the strategies employed by individuals to manoeuvre these challenges, employing capital accumulation and habitus adaptation. The call for more intersectional research stands to further dissect and comprehend these intricate interactions (Tomlinson et al., 2013). True equitable transformation demands a critical reassessment of prevailing structures, advocating for a genuine appreciation of diverse identities, experiences, and talents, beyond superficial diversity initiatives (Kirton and Greene, 2016). Through Bourdieu's analytical viewpoint, we gain insight into the entrenched barriers that necessitate overhaul for authentic inclusivity.

The following sections of this review aim to amalgamate empirical findings that leverage Bourdieu's framework, elucidating the dynamics between entrenched power structures, and the gendered and racialised practices within organisations, particularly as they affect women and ethnic minorities. Additionally, this review will delve into the adaptive strategies women and BAME individuals employ in navigating these entrenched structures and practices, highlighting their resilience and ingenuity in shaping their professional journeys. This comprehensive approach not only illuminates the challenges faced but also underscores the potential pathways towards more inclusive and equitable organisational environments.

2.5 Bourdieu and understanding dominant structures, gendered and racialised practices and systems of organisation: how Women and BAME employees negotiate them

Through the prism of Bourdieu's theoretical constructs of field, capital, habitus, and symbolic violence, we can dissect the intricate ways in which dominant structures, along with gendered and racialised practices, shape the professional trajectories of women and BAME individuals within public service sectors like the ambulance service (Bourdieu, 1986, 1989). The ambulance service, characterised by its competitive nature, is steeped in masculinist and White racialised norms that elevate the traits and abilities of White men as the gold standard, sidelining diverse identities (Puwar, 2004). This scenario unfolds in meritocratic narratives that idolise assertive, commanding leadership styles, leaving women who might display traditionally feminine behaviours at a disadvantage (Russ-Eft et al., 2008). Daily interactions and assessments within this field further enforce symbolic violence, evaluating employees based on their adherence to the ideals of White masculinity (Bourdieu, 1991; Thomson and Grenfell, 2008). A poignant example from the police service underscores ethnic disparities in recruitment and

retention, with BAME candidates facing significantly higher hurdles throughout the recruitment process (Strategic Review of Policing, 2021).

The criteria for leadership capital similarly favour men who embody traditional masculine norms of domination (Russ-Eft et al., 2008), compelling women and BAME employees to navigate a labyrinth of negotiations to gain and retain valued capital without incurring penalties. Women strive to balance demonstrating sufficient masculine capital to be perceived as competent while mitigating backlash for not conforming to feminine expectations (Alobaid et al., 2020). Similarly, BAME workers report feeling pressured to conform to White cultural norms to advance in their careers, a finding echoed by a comprehensive study involving 2,000 UK workers (Baska, 2020), thereby highlighting the pervasive nature of these systemic biases and the urgent need for transformative change within organisational cultures.

In this manner, Bourdieu's theoretical approach meticulously uncovers how systemic inequities are woven into the very fabric of organisational norms, day-to-day interactions, and evaluative practices that favour White masculine standards. It sheds light on the daily realities and strategic negotiations of women and BAME employees who find themselves at a disadvantage, navigating a workplace that inherently values and reinforces dominant gender and racialised dispositions within the competitive landscape of public service sectors. This analysis highlights the pressing need for organisational transformation to acknowledge and address these deeply embedded biases, paving the way for a more equitable and inclusive professional environment.

2.5.1 Dominant structures that exist within public service workplaces that shape the career experiences of women and BAME employees

While public service organisations have progressed towards diversifying leadership on a demographic front, insights grounded in Bourdieu's theoretical framework reveal the persistence of nuanced, yet systemic obstacles that distinctly impact the career trajectories and achievements of women and minorities, setting them apart from more traditionally dominant groups. This section will explore how key organisational dimensions, such as formal policies and procedures, leadership norms, and informal social networks, serve as arenas where dominant structures are manifested, restricting the advancement of non-traditional groups. Empirical evidence will be used to demonstrate how these systemic dynamics confer an advantage to those possessing dominant capital and habitus, while marginalising women and minorities who bring alternative credentials, styles, and networks. The analysis seeks to

foster a critical perspective on how organisational structures, though ostensibly neutral, may in practice perpetuate demographic imbalances. This highlights the need and opportunities for intentionally restructuring systems to dismantle barriers and foster a genuinely inclusive public service.

Bourdieu's 'field' concept sheds light on the competitive nature of public service organisations, illustrating how these environments favour individuals endowed with specific types of 'capital', including credentials, connections, and competencies (Bourdieu, 1977; Everett, 2002). Yet, investigations into these dynamics reveal a bias towards capital types that align with the dispositions and habitus of White men, who have traditionally held sway over leadership positions (Liff and Wajcman, 1996; Puwar, 2004). The criteria for ascending to senior civil service roles often underscore qualifications, political savvy, and networking opportunities predominantly accessible to White men (Savage, 2011). Consequently, women and minorities face an uphill battle, contending with an implicit valuation system that casts their distinct forms of capital, networks, and leadership methodologies in a lesser light (Puwar, 2004). A broader exploration into this phenomenon could enhance our comprehension of the intricate ways in which exclusionary practices within the 'field' of public service manifest, affecting diverse groups across various contexts, hierarchical levels, and professional roles, thereby spotlighting the need for systemic reforms to foster truly inclusive organisational cultures.

Public services often present their policies and procedures as neutral and fair, yet a deeper scrutiny through a critical lens uncovers entrenched biases that systematically disadvantage women and minorities. The preference for credentials from elite institutions, for example, privileges White men, echoing the historical demographic trends of these institutions and excluding a broader spectrum of talent (Holgerson, 2013). An illuminating study in the UK revealed that the stipulation for Oxbridge degrees has led to an overwhelming majority of senior civil servants being White men, accounting for 75 percent of the demographic (Greer and Jarman, 2010).

Conventional definitions of leadership that extol traits of assertiveness and dominance inherently embody a gender bias, as seen in promotion criteria within the UK that underscore 'taking control' as a valued leadership quality (Billing, 2011). The standardisation of competencies often fails to recognise the efficacy and value of collaborative leadership, a style more commonly exhibited by women and various cultural groups (Young, 1990). Moreover, subjective assessments concerning 'fit' and potential frequently reflect unacknowledged racial and gender prejudices, highlighted by a study in the US where Black women felt compelled to demonstrate their capabilities to a far greater extent than their White male peers to achieve recognition (McGee and Bentley, 2017). Such practices

entrench and normalise the standards of the dominant group, sidelining alternative but equally valid approaches and styles (Everett, 2002). Public service norms that exalt confidence and self-promotion often inadvertently discount the collaborative, inclusive styles associated with female leadership (Liff and Wajcman, 1996). A focused exploration into how and where these systemic biases are codified within organisational policies and procedures could offer critical insights, guiding efforts to dismantle these barriers and fostering a truly inclusive public service environment.

Research highlights that the habitus and capitals prevailing in public service leadership predominantly mirror the norms of traditionally privileged White men. Senior roles have historically favoured individualistic leadership qualities, which are more often encouraged in men, whilst penalising feminine-coded traits such as collaboration (Liff and Wajcman, 1996). For instance, UK civil service promotion criteria have emphasised 'taking control' and 'personal impact', indicating an implicit masculine bias (Billing, 2011). Moreover, leadership development programmes rely on generalised, context-independent competencies, sidelining the cooperative skills that are particularly valued among women and minority cultures (Kirton et al., 2010). Daily management practices further expose racialised and gendered double standards. Women frequently face criticism for being 'too soft' or 'too aggressive' when exercising authority, a manifestation of symbolic violence that polices their behaviour (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Mavin et al., 2014). Similarly, BAME employees often encounter heightened scrutiny and are labelled 'aggressive' or 'intimidating' for behaviours that are celebrated in their White counterparts (Puwar, 2004)

Bourdieu elucidates how social capital circulates within exclusive networks that systematically disadvantage women and minorities. For example, research has shown that senior roles within the UK civil service are predominantly occupied by White Oxbridge graduates, a trend facilitated by sponsors leveraging alumni connections for promotions (Savage, 2011). This practice effectively marginalises non-dominant groups who are outside these networks. A study on local governments exposed how leadership opportunities are often disseminated through an 'old boys' network' of influential White men, sidelining women who lack such access (Tallerico, 2000). Similarly, in the US, public servants have reported feelings of exclusion from insider 'men's club' circles where critical decisions are made (McGee and Bentley, 2017). Being cut off from these networks limits individuals' advancement by depriving them of crucial information, visibility, and sponsorship (Puwar, 2004). For instance, an analysis highlighted that BAME employees in the UK public service perceive their promotion prospects as being hindered by network exclusion (Greer and Jarman, 2010). Further research could deepen our understanding of these exclusionary network dynamics.

Nonetheless, Bourdieu's insights underscore how systemic dynamics across public service structures, policies, norms, and networks function to maintain career barriers and disparities for women and ethnic minorities.

2.5.2 Gendered and racialised practices and systems that shape the career experiences of women and BAME employees

Public service organisations across the UK have witnessed a notable shift towards greater diversity, marked by an increased representation of women, BAME employees, and other historically underrepresented groups (GOV.UK, 2022). Despite these advancements, a glaring disparity remains at the apex of leadership, where such groups continue to be significantly underrepresented in managerial and executive roles relative to their distribution within the wider workforce (Ashley and Empson, 2016). In the realm of the UK civil service, for instance, the representation of BAME employees at senior leadership levels is disproportionately low at 6 per cent, against their 12 per cent share of the workforce. Similarly, women, who constitute a substantial 65 per cent of the civil service workforce, hold only 38 per cent of executive positions (Cabinet Office, 2018). This discrepancy transcends individual stories, highlighting entrenched systemic biases and barriers that impede gender and racial equality in career progression and access to opportunities.

Leveraging Pierre Bourdieu's seminal theoretical constructs of field, capital, habitus, doxa, and symbolic violence, this literature review delves into a critical analysis of the underlying practices, norms, and power dynamics that perpetuate the disparate career trajectories of women and ethnic minority employees within the public service sector (Bourdieu, 1977; 1989), offering insightful perspectives on the structural challenges that sustain these inequalities. Bourdieu's analytical framework offers profound insights into how organisational practices and systemic norms subtly enforce exclusion and disadvantage, even amidst professed commitments to diversity and inclusion (Thomson and Grenfell, 2008). Research reveals that the entrenched ideas of leadership, criteria for merit, and the specific types of 'capital' that are valued within the realms of public service often mirror the habitus and established norms of traditionally dominant groups, specifically White males (Liff and Wajcman, 1996; Puwar, 2004).

This section of the review synthesises insights from empirical studies demonstrating how formal and informal practices in areas such as recruitment, promotion, discipline, and day-to-day interactions may

systematically favour certain identities, backgrounds, and ways of being while limiting opportunities for those who do not fit the mould. Applying Bourdieu's critical perspective can uncover the hidden rules and biases that perpetuate homogeneous leadership despite evolving workforce demographics. Unravelling these subtle dynamics is crucial for developing more equitable systems and cultures. For example, studies have shown that presumed gender-neutral recruitment practices often implicitly valorise masculine-coded traits and dominant cultural capital, creating hidden barriers for women (Liff and Wajcman, 1996; Noon, 2010). Research has found that civil service job advertisements emphasise agentic qualities typically associated with men, while women encounter gendered assumptions about their capabilities in interviews (Noon, 2010). Another study revealed that UK civil service selection methods judged BAME candidates' context-dependent communication styles as deficiencies rather than as diversity, reflecting an implicitly racialised organisational habitus (Kirton and Greene, 2010).

Investigations into public service progression systems highlight inherent biases that disproportionately disadvantage women and minority groups. These systems often prioritise networks and value forms of capital that remain largely inaccessible to these demographics (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1996; Greer and Jarman, 2010). A striking example of this is found within the UK civil service, where White male-dominated sponsorship networks channel leadership opportunities towards individuals who epitomise the traditional Oxbridge archetype. This practice sidelines women and BAME employees who lack such connections (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1996). Leadership criteria entrenched in masculine-coded attributes, such as assertiveness, further obstruct the advancement of women, who are also frequently marginalised from male-dominated informal networks crucial for decision-making (Liff and Wajcman, 1996).

Moreover, empirical evidence points to a significant promotion gap, wherein women and BAME staff encounter delays in career progression compared to their White male counterparts, even when qualifications are accounted for (Johnston and Kyriacou, 2007). BAME individuals in the public sector report experiencing slower promotions due to their exclusion from pivotal organisational networks (Greer and Jarman, 2010). The prevailing archetype of leaders as predominantly assertive also systematically favours men, disadvantaging women who employ more relational approaches and are penalised for not conforming to these assertive norms (Billing, 2011).

This dynamic is compounded by a masculine organisational culture that valorises overwork, placing women who leverage family-friendly policies at a further disadvantage and subjecting them to stigma amidst their disproportionate share of caregiving responsibilities (O'Meara and Stromquist, 2016).

Recent research highlights that disciplinary policies in the workplace disproportionately affect BAME employees, suggesting the presence of racialised double standards (Archibong et al., 2010). In the UK, evidence shows BAME public servants face a higher likelihood of being involved in formal disciplinary actions compared to their representation within the overall workforce (Archibong et al., 2019). Similarly, women are often subjected to criticism that is distinctly gendered; assertiveness or perceived aggressiveness in women is often unfairly labelled as a deviation from expected feminine behaviours (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Mavin et al., 2014). In addition, BAME employees might experience undue pressure to avoid sick leave even, when necessary, in efforts to demonstrate dedication amidst a backdrop of racialised scrutiny regarding absenteeism (Eikhof, 2012). Furthermore, the daily experiences of microaggressions, which compound the stress faced by minority groups, serve as forms of symbolic violence, significantly affecting the overall well-being of BAME employees (Torres et al., 2010).

The conceptual framework provided by Bourdieu, encompassing the ideas of field, capital, habitus, doxa, and symbolic violence, equips researchers with the analytical tools necessary to dissect the underlying mechanisms through which dominant norms, relational dynamics, and various forms of capital are entrenched within public service workplaces. These processes are subtly normalised, facilitating the systematic and often invisible reinforcement of gender and racial disparities (Bourdieu, 1986; 1989).

The review synthesised studies revealing how practices in areas from recruitment to promotion, discipline, wellbeing, and everyday interactions may embed dynamics that unconsciously disadvantage those not fitting the traditional White, male public service mould. This illustrates how increasing workforce diversity alone is insufficient to transform systemic exclusion without purposeful critical analysis of organisational culture, norms, and practices through an equity lens. However, limitations of this review point to the need for further intersectional research on how nuanced combinations of identity shape multi-layered experiences of inequality regimes within specific public service contexts. There is also a need for more empirical examination of how alternative policies and practices might better recognise diverse forms of leadership capital and foster inclusive habits of interaction. Nonetheless, this review demonstrates the value of Bourdieu's Framework for diagnosing how power circulates through public service field dynamics to maintain gender and race hierarchies. Further scholarly exploration of these concepts can support public services in moving beyond surface-level commitments to diversity towards more equitable systems for all employees to thrive.

In conclusion, this section of the literature review has demonstrated the value of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts for elucidating the subtle workings of power, bias, and inequality woven through formal and informal systems influencing experiences and advancement of women and ethnic minority public servants.

2.5.3 How women and BAME employees negotiate the dominant structures, gendered and racialised practices and systems that shape their career experiences

Despite the avowed commitments to diversity by public service organisations, leadership remains demographically imbalanced, with a stark underrepresentation of both women and BAME employees in senior positions (McGregor Smith, 2017). This situation underscores the imperative to delve into the unique ways these non-dominant groups navigate the systemic obstacles that distinctly shape their career pathways, through the lens of Bourdieu's theoretical framework (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990). In the context of the UK's public service sector, where dominant White British cultural capital inherently confers advantages, evidence suggests that BAME individuals actively seek elite educational qualifications as a strategy to mitigate exclusion (Shah et al., 2010). Concurrently, women are found to utilise community connections as a form of bridging social capital, counterbalancing the pressures towards cultural assimilation (Byrne, 2009). Additionally, it has been observed that BAME employees often resort to secularised modes of communication to circumvent potential bias against cultural practices (Gumperz, 1982). In a parallel strategy, women in roles such as NHS nurses adopt impression management techniques, notably the assertive demonstration of competence, aiming to forestall any doubts embedded within organisational policies (Healy et al., 2011), even as they find themselves sidelined by the pervasive 'old boys' networks' that gatekeep access to leadership roles (McGregor Smith, 2017).

In terms of management, research indicates BAME managers resist racialised passive stereotypes through authoritative behaviours countering expectations within local governments (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018). Separately, identity burdens remain for women striving to conform and succeed within civil service leadership models (Puwar, 2004). Consequently, being excluded from insider networks, BAME employees build peer support ties and leverage professional groups to gain leadership capital in White male-dominated public service fields (Davidson, 1997; Rollock et al., 2015). Here, BAME employees may downplay cultural attributes to avoid symbolic violence from dominant norms

(Fearfull and Kamenou, 2006). Separately, women emphasise feminine skills during hiring to align with the gendered organisational habitus (Gatenby et al., 2011)

Lacking sponsor access, BAME employees appear to use a variety of coping strategies, including: (i) leveraging professional groups despite constraints from dominant social closure in leadership pipelines (Puwar, 2004); (ii) countering negative stereotypes and accumulating community capital (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018; Lam, 2022); (iii) adopting defensive communication tactics and evidence dossiers to counter assumptions in workplaces (Creegan et al., 2003; Kamenou and Fearfull, 2006); and (iv) feeling pressured not to take sick leave to prove commitment (Eikhof, 2012). Furthermore, women employ additional strategies, including: (v) remaining silent to avoid sanctions for assertive behaviours (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Mavin et al., 2014); (vi) pursuing cross-identity mentors and proactively pursuing assignments to advance (Davidson, 1997); (vii) emphasising feminine leadership capabilities to navigate gendered promotion criteria (Billing, 2011); and (viii) pushing past family expectations despite risks of marginalisation (Gatrell, 2013).

These instances vividly showcase the strategic methods by which non-dominant groups navigate and overcome systemic barriers, accumulating valued forms of capital, fine-tuning their identity portrayals, and harnessing the power of peer networks to mitigate the absence of privileges typically reserved for those closely aligned with dominant White, male archetypes within gendered and racialised arenas (Bourdieu, 1986; Rollock et al., 2015). Notably, research has highlighted how ethnic minority women cultivate leadership capital by engaging with professional circles, even as they confront barriers from exclusionary insider networks prevalent in predominantly White workplaces (Davidson, 1997). Yet, this review also sheds light on the additional challenges faced by women and minorities, even as they navigate through these systems via conformity. The continuous effort to modulate one's presentation and limit authentic self-expression, undertaken to eschew scrutiny or punitive measures, emerges as a subtle yet pervasive form of symbolic violence, further entrenching the cycles of inequality regimes (Kamenou and Fearfull, 2006; Puwar, 2004). This nuanced understanding underscores the complex dynamics at play, revealing the resilience and ingenuity of non-dominant groups whilst also highlighting the persistent structural challenges that sustain inequality within public service sectors.

While non-dominant employees skilfully adopt reactive strategies, the responsibility should not rest solely on marginalised groups to navigate environments shaped by dominant interests. Transforming public service fields requires moving beyond celebrating isolated diversity 'success stories' towards the purposeful disruption of systemic barriers embedded within policies, structures, behaviours, and

norms (Tatli et al., 2020). Bourdieu's theoretical framework then provides leverage for such change by elucidating the subtle workings of gender and racial bias constraining careers. However, fully dismantling public service inequality regimes will take a collective will to empower marginalised voices and fundamentally reimagine systems.

In conclusion, this review has demonstrated how Bourdieu's theoretical concepts elucidate the nuanced strategies and responses adopted by women and ethnic minority employees to navigate systemic disadvantages within UK public service environments structured by dominant interests.

2.6 Chapter summary

In conclusion, this review has demonstrated how Bourdieu's theoretical framework illuminates the subtle workings of power and systemic barriers woven through public service environments that shape the divergent career experiences of women and ethnic minority employees.

Firstly, his concepts of field, capital, and symbolic violence reveal dominant structures like normalized leadership roles, evaluative policies, and exclusionary networks that privilege certain identities and disadvantage others (Bourdieu, 1977; Puwar, 2004). For instance, research showed how progression ecosystems in organisations like the UK civil service depend heavily on homosocial reproduction, with opportunities flowing through insider networks dominated by elite White men (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1996). Such dynamics systematically constrain leadership access for women and minorities lacking the privileged social and cultural capital.

Secondly, Bourdieu's focus on organisational habitus elucidates the deeply embedded gendered and racialised constructs and practices that impose barriers to advancement (Bourdieu, 1989). Studies synthesized in the review demonstrate how norms around leadership, communication styles, discipline, and well-being reflect dominant masculinised, individualistic ideals that implicitly marginalise women and minorities through misrecognition and imposed conformity pressures (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Liff and Wajcman, 1996; Mavin et al., 2014).

Finally, Bourdieu's Framework revealed how women and ethnic minority employees navigate these systemic disadvantages through agentic capital accumulation strategies and subtle resistance tactics, yet still encounter burdens including identity strain (Bourdieu, 1986; Puwar, 2004). For instance, research showed Muslim employees cautiously adapting religious expressions to avoid scrutiny from dominant secularist norms (Kamenou and Fearfull, 2006). However, constantly regulating habitus to succeed within environments that devalue minority identities and capitals imposes psychological costs.

In summary, this review has highlighted the need for further intersectional research while demonstrating Bourdieu's value in diagnosing exclusionary public service field dynamics and opening possibilities to transform systems towards more equitable inclusion of diverse experiences. Concrete recommendations include restructuring leadership roles, validating alternative forms of capital, building inclusive networks, and critically examining biases woven through structures, policies, and everyday practices. However, achieving diversity alone is insufficient without the purposeful

disruption of systemic gender and racial barriers. Bourdieu's concepts elucidate the complex negotiations within public services and provide tools to support marginalised employees in expanding their capital and driving change.

Chapter Three Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter, will explain the approach used to investigate the power imbalances related to gender and race within the London Ambulance Service, using Pierre Bourdieu's framework (Bourdieu, 1977; 1984; 1989). The study employs methods to uncover oppressive structures and practices that influence employees' experiences. Drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, and habitus, the research aims to reveal the dynamics of dominance, subordination, and symbolic violence within this organisation (Bourdieu, 1977; 1984; 1989). The study critically examined how certain privileged groups accumulate capital that enables them to dominate the institution. Additionally, the study explored how marginalised employees navigate these hierarchies and resist them.

To gain an understanding of these dynamics, the study employed a qualitative approach. The primary source of data comprises in-depth interviews conducted with London Ambulance employees from various genders, races, and positions within the field. Through these interviews, we gather insights into their experiences with power imbalances and how they navigate or challenge them (Galletta and Cross, 2013). Furthermore, documents were analysed that provided context about structures and routines (Bowen, 2009). Sophisticated analysis, guided by established theories, thoroughly explores data to uncover insights about power dynamics, oppression, and resistance (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This meticulous methodology allows us to gain an understanding of the experiences of marginalised individuals within an institution.

In summary, this introduction presents an approach that aims to shed light on the challenges and oppression in an organisational context. By utilising Bourdieu's concepts and analysis, this study has the potential to provide evidence and contribute towards addressing injustices. The knowledge generated from this research may lead to changes in practices within institutions.

3.2 Significance of the research problem

The research problem holds value as it offers a nuanced understanding of how gender and racial biases impact career experiences for women and BAME employees in the London Ambulance Service (Healy et al., 2011; Puwar, 2004). By employing Bourdieu's framework, this research investigates structures, practices, and systems influenced by gender and race that create disadvantages for these groups. The objective is to comprehend how employees navigate these challenges (Bourdieu, 1977; 1989).

Recognising these dynamics is crucial for promoting changes within public service organisations by identifying areas where existing policies and practices unintentionally perpetuate inequality and exclusion (Noon, 2010). Furthermore, this research has the potential to make contributions by developing strategies that challenge existing structures and genuinely appreciate the identities, experiences, and capabilities of individuals beyond token representation (Tatli et al., 2020). Ultimately, the findings may have implications for policies and practices that foster fair and inclusive work environments.

3.3 Significance of the research problem's impact on the research design

The significance of the research problem influenced how this study was designed by highlighting the importance of understanding how gender and race shape meanings and experiences within the London Ambulance Service (Creswell and Poth, 2016). Following the principles of ontology, this approach acknowledges that realities are constructed through shared understandings and social processes rather than existing objectively (Burr, 2015).

Taking this perspective into account, the following aspects were considered in the research design:

Ontological Approach: Embracing social constructionism to delve into the underlying mechanisms and structures that contribute to these phenomena (Burr, 2015).

Research Design: The use of structured interviews will allow participants to express their subjective perspectives and share their experiences with workplace systems in their own words (Warren, 2002).

Participants: The research employed sampling to recruit 20-25 participants across different genders, races, and seniority levels. The aim was to ensure diversity in ethnicity, gender, religion, and disability to examine dynamics (Robinson, 2014).

Data Collection: To delve into experiences and elicit valuable insights guided by Bourdieu's concepts, the research conducted semi-structured interviews lasting around 40-45 minutes to provide participants an opportunity to share their experiences and construct meanings. These interviews were professionally transcribed (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015).

Data Analysis: The research involved analysing the data using codes, which are based on theoretical concepts. This initial coding frame helped identify themes and subthemes that emerged from the data. Special considerations were given to understanding how different identities intersected with experiences (Nowell et al., 2017).

Ethics: Ethical considerations were carefully addressed throughout the research process. Participants provided consent and had the right to withdraw at any point. To maintain anonymity, pseudonyms were used instead of names. Furthermore, all necessary approvals were obtained from ethics committees. The disclosure of participants' identities was handled with sensitivity (Orb, Eisenhauer, and Wynaden, 2001).

Potential Limitations: It is important to acknowledge limitations in this study. The findings relied on self-reported data provided by participants, which means that their insight and honesty played a role in shaping the results. Additionally, due to the sample size, generalising these findings should be done cautiously. Lastly, as a researcher, it was necessary to reflect on my positionality while interpreting and analysing the data (Probst and Berenson, 2014).

By considering these aspects throughout the research design process, the research ensured that the study effectively addresses the significance of the research problem and provides insights into employees' experiences within the London Ambulance Service.

3.4 Research problem from a Social Constructionist perspective

Approached from a social constructionist viewpoint, this research aims to delve into the intricate dynamics between collective perceptions and personal experiences concerning gender and racial biases within the London Ambulance Service. Embracing social constructionism allows for the recognition of these biases as products of cultural discourses, intricately weaving the fabric of shared understandings that inform and shape identity-related meanings (Burr, 2015). This perspective underscores the importance of cultural narratives in constructing the social reality of biases, illuminating how these shared discourses contribute to the perpetuation of gender and racial inequalities within professional environments.

3.4.1 Research questions informed by Social Constructionist ontology.

Guided by a social constructionist ontology, this research delves into the intricate ways employees interpret and engage with their identities and experiences amidst organisational structures and prevailing discourses. It foregrounds the notion that knowledge emerges from subjective interpretations, challenging the premise of objectivity (Burr, 2015). This investigative lens enables a profound exploration of how various factors influence individuals' identity and career trajectories, considering the interplay of agency within predefined limits (Heracleous, 2006):

Dominant Structures in Public Service Workplaces:

This aspect seeks to uncover the structural constraints and resources influencing employees' identity formation within the London Ambulance Service, probing into how these frameworks facilitate or hinder individual growth (Burr, 2015; Heracleous, 2006).

Gendered and Racialised Practices and Systems:

The research aims to identify and analyse the discourses shaping gendered and racialised experiences, questioning how these narratives serve to marginalise specific groups within the London Ambulance Service (Burr, 2015; Foucault, 1991).

Identity Negotiations:

Focusing on the lived experiences of women and BAME employees, this theme explores the strategies employed by these groups to navigate and redefine their identities amidst career challenges within the organisation (Bridge and Watson, 2011).

Employing a social constructionist approach, this study emphasises the critical examination of how structural conditions and individual agency, collective understandings, and personal narratives, as well as dominant discourses and individual interpretations, converge to shape the professional lives of those within the London Ambulance Service (Andrews and Ashworth, 2014). Through this analytical framework, the research aspires to offer insights into the complexities of identity, power, and career development in public service contexts, contributing to a richer understanding of the dynamics at play.

3.4.2 Ontological position: Social Constructionist

Looking through a social constructionist lens, the predominance of male leadership roles is understood not as a given structural reality but as a construct emerging from ongoing social interactions and discourses (Bourdieu, 1989). This approach also reveals that the societal valuation of certain backgrounds is a normative construction rather than a reflection of innate qualities (Puwar, 2004; Savage, 2011). Similarly, the phenomena of discrimination and differential treatment are seen as outcomes of social interpretations and engagements rather than fixed truths (Acker, 2006; Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Mavin et al., 2014). The biases privileging Whiteness and masculinity arise from the fabric of societal conversations and interactions, challenging the notion of their factual basis (Noon, 2010). Practices such as recruitment processes, are often upheld as bastions of objectivity, and are revealed to sustain biases through the collective endorsement of their supposed neutrality (Holvino, 2010; Puwar, 2004).

In essence, social constructionism provides a critical framework for dissecting the mechanisms by which systemic biases and structures of inequality are perpetuated and negotiated within the workplace. Through this lens, the emphasis is placed on the power of social interactions, discourses, and constructed meanings over assumed objective realities. It underscores the value of personal experiences in unravelling the layers of discrimination and inequality within contexts like the London Ambulance Service, advocating for a deeper appreciation of the subjective dimensions that underpin issues of discrimination and inequality.

3.5 Choice of methods for study

Conducting in-depth, semi-structured interviews provides a platform for participants to articulate their perspectives and insights (Warren, 2002). By incorporating open-ended questions, we facilitate a deeper reflection on both discourses and personal narratives (Creswell and Poth, 2016). Utilising purposive sampling, this study aims to embrace the rich diversity of intersecting identities and social standings (Robinson, 2014). Through thematic analysis, we intend to uncover recurring patterns, all the while honouring the unique voices of our participants (Nowell et al., 2017). Document analysis will further shed light on the underlying, often informal, rules and norms that govern behaviour.

This methodology recognises the contextual nature of knowledge, acknowledging its construction through dialogues and exchanges. While the findings might not universally apply, they promise to enrich our understanding of the intricate social dynamics surrounding identity and inequality (Roberts et al., 2020). A critical examination of the researcher's own biases and standpoint through reflexivity is paramount to this process (Probst and Berenson, 2014).

Overall, this approach is designed to delve into the complex interplay between collective discourses, individual perspectives, and lived experiences, thereby unravelling the fabric of identity and inequality within the London Ambulance Service.

3.5.1 Sample population selection methods

Purposive sampling was strategically employed to select participants who met specific criteria directly aligned with the research questions (Bryman, 2016). This method prioritises the recruitment of individuals who are poised to offer rich, detailed insights into the focal issues, moving beyond the aim of statistical representation to uncover the nuances of the subject matter (Palinkas et al., 2015). This technique is particularly apt for our qualitative exploration of the nuanced employee experiences within a distinct organisational setting.

The study's goal was to thoroughly explore the varied experiences of those working at the London Ambulance Service, with a special focus on uncovering any disparities influenced by gender, ethnicity, and occupational role. We aimed for a comprehensive understanding of how these individuals navigate and influence the organisational dynamics (Creswell, 2016). To this end, the participant selection adhered to a purposive sampling strategy, guided by the following criteria:

- Employees of the London Ambulance Service,
- Gender diversity - including men and women,
- Racial/ethnic diversity - including White and BAME individuals,
- Role diversity - including frontline, management, and support functions, and
- Intersectional diversity - seeking variation across identities.

To adequately cover the depth and breadth of experiences within this single-case study, a sample size of around 20-25 participants is deemed ideal (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). This range is thought to facilitate a thorough saturation of themes while remaining feasible for an in-depth qualitative analysis.

3.5.2 Gaining access to the sample

Ethical approval to conduct research within the National Health Service was first obtained from the Health Research Authority in December 2019, followed by approval from the London Ambulance Service Clinical Audit and Research Unit in January 2020 (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). These approvals were crucial for gaining site access but came with certain constraints, such as the prohibition of directly emailing staff and the stipulation that interviews be conducted offsite and outside of work hours (Marshall and Rossman, 2016). See Appendix 1.

Originally, fieldwork was planned for September/October 2019, pending institutional approval. However, discussions with supervisors led to a decision to commence in early 2020, partly due to delays in finalising NHS and ambulance service approvals, which were not granted until December 2019 and January 2020, respectively. Restrictions on advertising also slowed recruitment, further delaying the start (Marshall and Rossman, 2016). This scenario underscores how organisational forces shaped and, to a certain extent, constrained the research project being conducted within this field (Bryman, 2016). See Appendix 2.

Once approval was obtained, the study was advertised in routine bulletins at the site in February 2020. The London Ambulance Service Research Unit agreed to publish an advertisement for the study twice in their routine bulletins to aid recruitment. The investigator also corresponded with the local supervisor via email and phone to identify appropriate participants.

Further hindrances to the fieldwork included delayed approval procedures and recruiting challenges (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). Firstly, accessing the sample involved contacting the London Ambulance Service to obtain formal permission to conduct research and requesting assistance in identifying information-rich participants meeting the purposive sampling criteria (Marshall and Rossman, 2016). Collaboration with HR, and Diversity and Inclusion staff, helped facilitate the identification and recruitment of suitable participants across gender, racial, and role categories (Bryman, 2016). However, restrictions applied, including: (i) only interviewing offsite outside work hours, which shaped and limited the project (Bryman, 2016; Creswell and Creswell, 2017), and (ii) outreach attempts revealed potential participants were unaware of the study, highlighting a reliance on gatekeepers and limited advertisement reach (Marshall and Rossman, 2016).

Ultimately, 23 participants were interviewed offsite. Despite encountering access hurdles, appropriate adjustments facilitated the successful recruitment of an initial sample, garnering invaluable contextual insights to inform the study. Careful recruitment and consent protocols ensured voluntary participation and ethical practice (Israel, 2015). The names of the research participants have been anonymised and replaced with numerical identifiers to protect their identities. A breakdown of the research participants, by attributes and employment category, can be found in Table 3.1.

In summary, gaining access within the London Ambulance Service involved comprehensive procedures to secure approvals, navigate organisational restrictions, and pinpoint information-rich participants. Although challenging, this process yielded essential contextual understanding and enabled the ethical access to the sample.

Table 3: Research participation profile of interview participants

Respondent	Race	Gender	Ethnicity	Role	Length of Service	Location
2016-03-31-230438	White	Male	White European	EAC	10 years	Central London
2016-05-12-001659	Arab	Male	Iraqi	Paramedic	17 years	West London
2016-05-10-191725	Asian	Female	Bangladesh	Head-Corporate role	1 year	Waterloo
2016-04-17-071526	Black	Female	British Black	Corporate role	3 years	Pocock Street
2016-04-03-210348	Asian	Female	British Asian	EAC	2 years	N/A
2016-04-03-201645	Asian	Female	British Asian	Corporate role	11 years	Refused to disclose
2016-05-05-054536	White	Female	White English	Advanced Paramedic	13 years	Brent
2016-05-01-231619	Black	Male	Black African	Corporate role	6 years	New Malden
2016-05-02-004630	Mixed-Asian	Female	British Mixed-Asian	EAC/student paramedic	2 Years	North-West London
2016-04-29-054849	Asian	Female	British Asian	Public education officer and paramedic	10 years	Cody Road
2016-04-27-051427	White	Female	White English	Paramedic	29 years	Croydon
2016-04-12-212635	White	Female	White English	Paramedic	11 years	west London
2016-04-26-053643	Black	Female	British Black	Call - coordinator	N/A	Bromley-by-Bow
2016-04-26- 12345	White	Female	White European (Portugal)	111-senior clinical advisor	6 months	Croydon
2016-04-18-001636	Black	Female	British Black	Corporate role	8 years	Bow
2016-04-03-060935	Black	Male	Black African	EAC	3 years	Westminster
2016-03-24-061751	Black	Female	Black African	Corporate role	2 years	Waterloo
2016-03-23-062054	Black	Female	British Black	Corporate role	3 years	Waterloo
2016-03-10-213551	Asian	Male	Indian Asian	Emergency resources dispatcher	34 years	Waterloo
2016-03-07-053823	Asian	Male	British Asian	N/A	N/A	N/A
2016-03-01-050352	Asian	Male	Pakistan	Emergency resources dispatcher	50 years	Waterloo
2023-09-02-50353	Asian	Female	British Asian	Paramedic	6 years	Croydon

2023-09-02-50354	Black	Female	British Asian	Corporate role	2 Years	Bow
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Source: Author

3.5.3 Semi-structured interview design

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as the method to gather data for this study on the career experiences of women and BAME individuals in the public service. According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2015), these interviews allow for an exploration of people's perspectives, experiences, and motivations related to a phenomenon. Compared to structured interviews, semi-structured interviews offer flexibility by allowing researchers to delve deeper into initial responses and pursue unexpected lines of inquiry (Barriball and While, 1994). They also provide more structure than open interviews by using an interview guide to direct the conversation (Jamshed, 2014).

The interviews used a semi-structured guide aimed at understanding the habits, relationships, and viewpoints of participants regarding their careers in the London Ambulance Service. Refer to Appendix 5. As highlighted by Bourdieu (1989), habitus refers to the ingrained dispositions, norms, and expectations individuals develop based on their environments. The interview questions focused on exploring how structures within the London Ambulance Service influence experiences.

Questions aimed to elicit insights into how the dominant structures of the London Ambulance Service shape individual experiences. Questions included:

Question: Can you describe your career progression?

Aim: Aimed to uncover the reality of career opportunities.

Question: How would you describe the makeup of your colleagues?

Aim: Gathering data on workplace composition.

Question: Does your organisation have policies in place to promote equality?

Aim: Understanding the approaches that support equality (Acker, 2006).

Questions aimed at uncovering gender/race-related challenges, and illuminating systemic biases (Holvino, 2010). Questions included:

Question: Have you personally faced any challenges due to your identity?

Aim: Interested in hearing about experiences of bias.

Question: Can you provide details about those situations?

Aim: Understanding how individuals navigate their careers while facing constraints.

Questions elicited, aligned with research on agency within constraints (Ozbilgin et al., 2011), this section delved into how employees navigate their careers in the context of existing organisational structures. Questions included:

Question: How have these experiences shaped your perspective?

Aim: Exploring how these experiences have influenced your outlook.

Question: What motivated you to share these experiences?

Aim: Understanding participants' agency behind disclosing experiences.

Question: Is there anything you would like to discuss?

Aim: This ending question allows participants to share any additional perspectives.

Before commencing the recordings, informed consent forms were duly signed and collected from all participants. At the start of each session, it was reiterated verbally that their involvement was entirely voluntary, emphasising the freedom to withdraw at any stage without facing any consequences. They were also assured that discussions were confidential, and their comments would not be reported back to colleagues or others. Participants were informed that they would be anonymised during the transcription process and that their names, along with the names of the participating authorities, would not appear in any published writing or documentation relating to the research project. Notably, all participants consented to be recorded, with just a few seeking additional details about the research ahead of their interviews.

The project successfully audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim twenty-three interviews, laying the groundwork for a detailed qualitative analysis, as indicated in Table 3.1 (Saunders et al., 2018). This meticulous process of recording and transcribing furnished a comprehensive dataset of participants' narratives.

To summarise, we conducted well-structured interviews that aimed to gather qualitative data thoroughly, all the while considering the unique experiences of the participants. This approach allowed

us to gain insights into the careers of women and individuals from BAME backgrounds in the public service ambulance sector.

3.6 Bias

In pursuit of methodological rigour, it was important to remain acutely aware of the inherent biases within qualitative research. Among these, hospitality bias posed a particular concern, where the context of interviews might inadvertently pressure participants into giving responses perceived as more favourable (Saunders et al., 2018). To counteract this, participants offered a choice of interview settings, including neutral venues such as cafes, ensuring an environment conducive to genuine discourse. Assurances of confidentiality were paramount, (Refer to Appendix 3 for the Participant Information Sheet).

As a subjective researcher, reflexivity and awareness of biases were crucial (Probst and Berenson, 2014). An open and non-judgmental interview approach encouraged candour from participants. Data were analysed meticulously rather than manipulated to confirm personal views, (Refer to Appendices 7, 8, and 9).

Recognising the limitations of any single data source, triangulation to enhance the validity of findings was employed. However, it is important to note that each source of data may introduce its unique bias, potentially influencing the integrated results (Guion et al., 2011). By juxtaposing interview data with organisational documents, we sought to offer a balanced view, mitigating the impact of subjective biases through the incorporation of diverse perspectives.

3.7 Ethics

Ethical clearance was secured from the University Research Ethics Committees at Newcastle University on 19th September 2019, underpinning the project's commitment to ethical rigour. The ethical application meticulously outlined measures to preserve participant anonymity and safeguard response confidentiality, alongside addressing considerations pertinent to the involvement of staff in the study. Endorsements via letters or emails from the Health Research Authority and the Clinical Audit and Research Unit of the London Ambulance Service underscored their endorsement and satisfaction with the ethical standards upheld by Newcastle University.

Upon the agreement of the Health Research Authority and the Clinical Audit and Research Unit of the London Ambulance Service to support and participate in the research, prompt updates were communicated to the Chair of the ethics committee. This ensured that the ethics application accurately reflected evolving fieldwork constraints. Documentation of the approved ethical application, embodying these collaborative engagements, was duly shared with the involved parties, as detailed in (Refer to Appendix 1).

3.8 Data analysis

This study employed a conceptual analysis approach to examine the data gathered from interviews. Conceptual analysis involves identifying and studying concepts within the text to gain insights into themes and connections between ideas (Palmquist et al., 1997). This approach was chosen because it allows for an analysis of the presence and importance of concepts rather than merely their frequency.

The analysis primarily focused on identifying concepts within the interview transcripts and establishing relationships between them. Traditional content analysis, as noted by Carley (1993), often emphasises similarities between texts while overlooking their underlying meaning. Conceptual analysis overcomes this limitation by going beyond word counts and delving into the nature and connections of concepts.

This analytical journey involved a comparative examination of concepts against existing literature and the integration of participant insights, thereby refining our dataset (Morse and Mitcham, 2002). The evolved analytical strategy illuminated the study's phenomenon by weaving together concepts and offering interpretations grounded in a cohesive framework. This nuanced understanding is underpinned by robust data evidence.

In summary, a concept-focused analysis approach was adopted to distil and develop theories around key ideas and their interrelationships using qualitative interview data. This method was employed to address the objectives of our study.

3.8.1 Introduction to data collection, volume, and analysis

This section offers an overview of the data collection process, the volume of data collected, and the analytical approach utilised in this study. The analysis was anchored in Bourdieu's theoretical

framework, which aimed at contextualising the structures within the London Ambulance Service that influence individual experiences (Bourdieu, 1989). Data analysis began immediately following the transcription of the first interview, employing an iterative approach (Neale, 2016). This methodology allowed the researcher to fluidly navigate between data, theory, and the analytical process (Neale, 2016).

The data analysis entailed a dynamic interchange among reviewing literature, conducting interviews, and planning for subsequent interviews. This iterative cycle facilitated the refinement of interview questions and enabled the integration of literature insights into the interview process (Galletta, 2013). Coding transitioned progressively from initial, loosely defined empirical codes to more refined conceptual ones. This strategy, commencing with open coding and subsequently advancing to conceptual coding, is a foundational technique in qualitative research (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

3.8.2 Coding and categorisation

In this section, we discuss the steps involved in data analysis, from coding to higher-level grouping and synthesis.

Interview transcripts were imported into NVivo 12 for coding purposes. This process facilitated the identification of themes within the data by segmenting the transcripts into labels that reflected participants' perspectives, an approach recommended by Strauss and Corbin (1990). First-order codes were then amalgamated to form second-order conceptual themes, as delineated by Gioia et al. (2013). This step enabled the grouping of lower-level concepts into coherent categories. Refer to Appendices 7, 8, and 9. Second-order themes were further consolidated into third-order dimensions, which represented categories emerging from the open coding process (Gioia et al., 2013). This higher-level categorisation aided in the development of overarching concepts (Refer to Appendices 7, 8, and 9). These analytical elements were then synthesised to furnish insights, with our focus on enhancing understanding rather than on statistical generalisation, in line with Pratt's recommendations (Pratt, 2009) concerning theoretical generalisation.

To summarise, this section elucidates the adopted coding methodology and its conformity with established analytical techniques.

3.9 Limitations

The study faced numerous challenges that significantly influenced the research process and its outcomes. The primary obstacle was the extended approval process required by the Health Research Authority and the Clinical Audit and Research Unit of the London Ambulance Service. The approvals, granted much later than expected on 3 December 2019 and 14 January 2020, greatly delayed the start of fieldwork and data collection, subsequently disrupting the planned research timeline.

Additionally, restrictive measures imposed by the London Ambulance Service, such as banning the distribution of leaflets, the display of posters, and the use of work emails for contacting staff, combined with the stipulation to conduct interviews outside normal working hours and away from Trust premises, severely limited efforts to recruit participants. These restrictions resulted in a smaller than anticipated participant pool, potentially compromising the comprehensiveness and depth of the gathered narratives.

The Research Unit's initial hesitance to approve the study, citing the researcher's status as a non-employee and the lack of a formal request from the London Ambulance Service, added further delays to the start of the fieldwork. Additionally, incorrect contact details in the second advertisement published in the LAS Routine Information Bulletin further diminished participant turnout, an issue only rectified after a participant noticed the error from the first advertisement and notified the researcher. These combined factors underscored the complex barriers to conducting thorough and timely public sector research.

Attempts to engage staff members outside of working hours and off-premises on 22 February 2020 highlighted a significant lack of awareness about the project, underscoring the inadequate support from the London Ambulance Service in fostering active participant engagement. This challenge was further intensified by the reluctance of some participants to provide full personal details, driven by concerns over identification related to their roles and locations within the service, which led to incomplete data on key attributes.

Additionally, the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic introduced further obstacles, particularly for the inclusion of frontline essential workers. The NHS's classification of the coronavirus outbreak as a "level 4 incident" in early March 2020 severely strained the resources and availability of London Ambulance Service staff, effectively preventing their participation in the study.

In conclusion, the study faced significant limitations due to a combination of potential biases in participant selection and the researcher's analytical methods. These factors likely restricted the study's ability to comprehensively capture and depict the experiences of women and BAME staff within the public service sector, suggesting areas for methodological and operational improvements in future research.

3.10 Reflective account

Reflecting on this investigative journey, it becomes clear that bureaucratic structures pose complex barriers, perpetuating marginalisation, yet the resilience shown by the participants is both noteworthy and commendable. The potential biases in participant selection and the analytical methods used by the research may have hindered the study's capacity to fully reflect the experiences of women and BAME staff in the public sector. This highlights the critical need for ongoing refinement and inclusive dialogue in subsequent research efforts.

This analysis reinforces a firm commitment to actively tackle systemic barriers through collaborative means, driven by a unified intent to elevate the voices on the fringes. By pursuing this course with empathy and unwavering determination, the study sought to foster a richer, more inclusive dialogue that acknowledges and values the complex experiences of those frequently overlooked. Although the research encountered numerous challenges, it provided valuable insights into possible alternative strategies, such as engaging proactively with key stakeholders, diversifying recruitment approaches, and highlighting the potential impacts of the study. Reflecting on these approaches not only deepens our understanding but also catalyses refining future research initiatives. This introspective review is crucial for advancing research methodologies and crafting more comprehensive, inclusive strategies that help dismantle the systemic barriers faced by marginalised communities in the public sector.

Reflecting on the study, it is clear that certain strategies could have been more effectively employed to overcome barriers and amplify the research impact. Proactively engaging with essential stakeholders within the London Ambulance Service, specifically the Research Unit, would likely have smoothed the approval process and cultivated a collaborative rapport with the partner organisation. Establishing robust communication early and clearly demonstrating the study's potential benefits could have secured more substantial support and cooperation, significantly curtailing the delays in starting fieldwork and data collection.

Secondly, understanding the recruitment challenges especially those stemming from the London Ambulance Service's restrictions and the difficulties in engaging staff outside of working hours the researcher could have crafted a more robust and varied recruitment plan. This might have included leveraging alternative platforms such as LinkedIn and Facebook, or forging partnerships with staff unions and networks. Such strategies, aligned with strict adherence to ethical standards and confidentiality, would not only diversify recruitment channels but also enhance the study's visibility and participant engagement, effectively counteracting the limited support from the London Ambulance Service in raising awareness and fostering participant involvement.

Thirdly, considering the limitations imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic and the restricted opportunities for face-to-face interactions, the researcher could have revised the data collection techniques, incorporating online focus groups or secure online surveys. This adjustment would have facilitated the participation of frontline essential workers and other individuals hindered by the pandemic's impact on their schedules and responsibilities. Such adaptability and readiness to respond to changing conditions would have allowed for a richer and more varied collection of experiences and viewpoints within the study.

Finally, the potential benefits of the study could have been more effectively articulated to clearly demonstrate how they could drive meaningful changes within the London Ambulance Service. By emphasising the transformative impact of addressing gender and racial disparities, the study might have garnered stronger support and commitment from both management and staff, enhancing its overall efficacy and impact.

In conclusion, although the research process encountered significant challenges and constraints, this reflective account underscores the critical roles of adaptability, collaboration, and strategic foresight in studies addressing systemic injustices within intricate organisational frameworks. Through the insights garnered from this investigation, researchers are encouraged to refine their methodologies and devise more effective engagement strategies with partner organisations, improve participant recruitment processes, and bolster the inclusivity and effectiveness of their projects. This ongoing cycle of reflection, adaptation, and enhancement is essential for progressively dismantling the structural barriers that marginalised communities face, steering efforts towards fostering a more equitable and just societal landscape.

3.11 Chapter summary

The research employed a methodology, guided by the framework of Bourdieu, to gain insights into the experiences of employees within the London Ambulance Service. Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, habitus, and symbolic violence were utilised to explore structures, gendered and racialised practices, and how employees navigate these dynamics. To frame the study within an ontological realism approach, which recognises the nature of social reality and seeks to uncover underlying mechanisms, qualitative methods were chosen as they were best suited for the study. This approach allowed for the appreciation of nuanced experiences and shed light on biases and structures at play.

To effectively examine these dynamics, a purposive sampling strategy was adopted, selecting participants from different genders, races, and roles. Structured interviews were conducted with a purposive sample of 23 employees, including women and individuals from diverse backgrounds, to gather in-depth perspectives. Interview questions delved into topics such as structures, gendered and racialised practices, and how participants navigate their careers. Sadly, throughout the data collection process, there were challenges such as delays in approvals and limited advertising opportunities. These constraints served as reminders of how organisational factors can influence access.

This research was mindful of the limitations imposed by the sample size, the presence of incomplete data, inherent biases, and the challenges encountered while attempting to access comprehensive information. Despite these hurdles, the methodological framework employed allowed for a nuanced application of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts. This approach provided insightful revelations into the employees' perceptions and interactions within the layered complexities of the organisational environment, all viewed through the lens of critical realism. This perspective facilitated a deepened understanding of workplace dynamics and the structural influences on employee experiences, underscoring the value of a critical realist approach in examining intricate organisational contexts.

Chapter Four Findings

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the discoveries that emerged from an investigation into the Gendered and Racialised Practices and Systems within the London Ambulance Service (LAS) will be discussed. Also looked at was the manner in how women and minority employees navigate organisational power dynamics. Utilising concepts like field, capital, habitus, and symbolic violence, the study uncovered gendered and racialised practices deeply embedded in the structures such as, leadership, policies, and social networks (Bourdieu, 1977). Through analysing narratives, the study uncovered insights into how systemic discrimination and inequality persist, but also how they are resisted within specific organisational fields (Bourdieu, 2005). The findings emphasise the need to give voice to marginalised individuals to comprehend how dominant institutions shape growth while simultaneously being influenced by strategies of adaptation, advocacy, and solidarity (Bourdieu, 1984). By examining how organisational dynamics result in violence against minority groups, the study identified implications for critical diversity interventions and reforms (Bourdieu, 1990). This chapter highlights the themes that emerged from interpreting qualitative data through a Bourdieusian lens. The findings provide insight into the relationship between structure and agency, for employees who navigate public service environments characterised by subtle exclusionary practices implemented in everyday procedures and interactions.

4.2 Unveiling dominant structures in the London Ambulance Service

This chapter examines the dominant structures within the London Ambulance Service and how they shape the career experiences of women and BAME employees. Applying Bourdieu's theoretical concepts, it investigates four key dimensions: the public service field, policies and procedures, leadership and management, and social networks. The analysis draws on quotes from respondents to illuminate the manifestations of field, capital, habitus, doxa, and symbolic violence.

4.2.1 The role of field in sustaining demographic imbalances

Through Bourdieu's analytical lens, we can discern how entrenched structures within the London Ambulance Service inherently put women and minority groups at a disadvantage (Bourdieu, 1977). The competitive arenas of public service workplaces are fields where capital in the form of credentials, connections, and competencies plays a critical role in securing advantage (Everett, 2002). Yet, an analysis of the types of capital that are most valued reveals a bias towards the habitus of White males, traditionally occupying leadership echelons (Liff and Wajcman, 1996; Puwar, 2004; Savage, 2011). Notably, attributes such as education, political acumen, and expansive networks, predominantly accessible to White men, are often prerequisites for senior civil service positions (Savage, 2011). This dynamic effectively sidelines women and minorities, who find the "rules of the game" intrinsically discounting their unique capital, networks, and modes of leadership as inferior (Puwar, 2004). Bourdieu's theoretical constructs adeptly highlight the covert, yet systematic, obstacles faced by those outside the dominant group, lacking the conventional capital and habitus (Bourdieu, 1977), thereby shedding light on the complex interplay of power within the London Ambulance Service.

The analysis of interview data sheds light on the profound impact dominant organisational structures has on the lived experiences of women and minorities within the London Ambulance Service. One notable reflection comes from respondent 2016-04-17-071526, a Black female, who notes:

In my department, I would say it's predominantly White, predominantly White English...

Her observation not only maps out the racial and ethnic landscape of her department but also subtly hints at the undercurrents of implicit or explicit biases. This dominance of one group implicitly challenges the diversity and inclusion within the workspace, raising pertinent questions regarding the representation and visibility of minority groups. Such observations are critical in understanding the pervasive White habitus within the organisation, indicating a scenario where certain identities are ascribed higher value, effectively marginalising minorities (Puwar, 2004).

Similarly, Respondent 2016-04-03-060935, a Black male, voiced concerns over the perceived underrepresentation of BAME employees within the London Ambulance Service, noting:

The representation of Black, Asian, and minority ethnic groups within the LAS appears to be quite low...

Though the comment does not delve into the specifics of causality or its broader impacts, it unmistakably highlights issues related to diversity and inclusion within the organisation. This acknowledgment of underrepresentation not only casts a spotlight on the existing lack of diversity but also becomes a reflective aspect of the respondent's habitus. It underscores the systemic challenges present within the organisation that may impede the full participation and advancement of minority groups (Puwar, 2004).

Moreover, Respondent 2016-03-31-230438, an Eastern European White male, brings to light the perceived underrepresentation of BAME employees within LAS, further articulating the impact this has on BAME employees by stating:

The workplace seemed predominantly White and English, presenting limited opportunities for Black and ethnic minority employees...

This observation underscores the prevailing homogeneity within the organisation, shedding light on the systematic advantages ingrained in possessing dominant White capital (Puwar, 2004).

Echoing these sentiments, Respondent 2016-05-02-004630, a female with a mixed-race heritage, points out the conspicuous predominance of White males in leadership roles:

From my observation, the higher echelons of the organisation are largely dominated by White males. While there are instances of women and ethnic minority members holding higher positions, the overwhelming majority, especially among team leaders, tends to be White males...

The statement reveals a perceived lack of diversity in leadership positions within the organisation, specifically highlighting the dominance of White males. While acknowledging some level of diversity, the respondent expresses concern about the lack of proportional representation, potentially raising questions about fairness and inclusion within the organisation's leadership structure. This concentration of power signals exclusion forces (field) (Bourdieu, 1989).

Respondent 2016-04-18-001636, a Black female, also sheds light on the racial composition at different levels of management, observing:

Yes, at the higher tiers of management and upwards, it's predominantly White English individuals. On the ground level and the lower tiers, there's a good mixture of male and female employees from various ethnic backgrounds, as well as a range of ages...

Her observations highlight a significant disparity in ethnic diversity between the higher and lower echelons of the organisation, suggesting the presence of invisible barriers to ethnic minorities' ascension into leadership roles. This not only raises alarm about the potential for ingrained biases but also questions the organisation's commitment to inclusivity and fair representation. Such a dichotomy in representation reflects Bourdieu's notion that misalignment with the leadership capital valued within the field can limit access to elevated positions (Bourdieu, 1986), pointing to a critical need for systemic changes to ensure equitable opportunities for all employees.

Furthermore, observations from multiple respondents highlight a demographic imbalance at senior levels, Furthermore, predominantly featuring White identities (Respondents 2016-03-01-050352, 2016-03-10-213551, 2016-04-26-053643), illustrating how dominant capital perpetuates advantageous dynamics for those fitting the leadership habitus (Puwar, 2004).

In essence, the responses reveal how established structures within public service organisations provide advantages based on esteemed capital and habitus, shaping experiences in ways that systematically disadvantage women and minorities (Puwar, 2004).

4.2.2 Leadership and management inadvertently sustaining inequity

The analysis uncovers the deep-seated issue of inequitable leadership and management practices within the London Ambulance Service, highlighting how these systemic barriers disproportionately affect professionals lacking privileged identities and dominant capital.

Insights from several respondents reveal a pervasive leadership habitus within the organisation that upholds traditional norms, invariably favouring those in dominant groups.

For instance, Respondent 2016-03-01-050352, an Asian male, notes a marked structural preference within management for adhering to traditional practices over embracing innovation that could potentially disrupt the existing, inequitable balance:

Management often preferred to stick to established ways, even if they weren't necessarily the best. They valued tradition over innovation...

This reflection points to an underlying bias within management that inadvertently sidelines certain employee groups. By eschewing innovative approaches that might challenge the prevailing order, the organisation inadvertently erects career progression barriers for employees from underrepresented backgrounds. This critique of a management ethos that favours tradition over progressive change underscores a critical barrier to achieving equity within the organisation, spotlighting the urgent need for a shift towards more inclusive and forward-thinking practices.

Respondent 2016-04-03-210348, an Asian female, articulates her experiences of resistance within the organisation, stating:

But often, there is pushback, and it feels like you're fighting against something...

Her commentary underlines the challenges she encounters, signifying a broader issue of resistance against change within the organisation. This situation underscores deeper concerns regarding workplace culture and its readiness (or lack thereof) to address and dismantle systemic biases, as per Puwar's analysis (2004).

Respondent 2016-05-10-191725, an Asian female from Bangladesh, noted that her suggestions were often dismissed but were taken into account when voiced by a White English person. This suggests she may have experienced racial bias in the workplace:

When I raise a suggestion, it might be shut down... come up with somebody else who happens to be White English, and it's usually taken into account...

This observation suggests there may be unconscious bias against certain groups of people in the workplace and raises serious concerns about potential racial and gender discrimination within the organisation. It also highlights the respondent's feeling of being undervalued. Such dynamics suppress minority capabilities and voices while privileging dominant group behaviours (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Mavin et al., 2014).

Additionally, Respondent 2016-04-18-001636 explains how the rigid NHS rank system enables complicity in overt bullying:

To be more specific, the training department for control services was an environment characterised by bullying and intimidation... Because of the rank system in the NHS, it was easy for them to pull rank and behave badly...

Her statement raises important questions about the potential negative consequences of rigid rank systems in organisations, particularly regarding their impact on workplace culture and employee well-being. Such structural enablement of bias reflects leadership doxa aligned with dominant rather than equitable norms (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Mavin et al., 2014).

In summary, these examples demonstrate how inequitable structures embedding exclusionary habitus, capital, and doxa systematically impose barriers for minorities in the London Ambulance Service. Transforming entrenched inequities requires disrupting the very structures perpetuating marginalisation.

4.2.3 Exclusionary policies and procedures

The insights garnered from the respondents shed light on the dynamics of exclusionary policies and procedures within the organisation. Several narratives underline the disconnect between the theoretical objectives of these policies and their practical enactment. For instance, Respondent 2016-04-03-060935 articulates his observation that, despite the existence of policies aimed at fostering fairness and equality, there appears to be a shortfall in their comprehensive execution:

While there are policies in place to ensure fairness and equality, I feel they aren't fully implemented...

This observation not only questions the actual efficacy of the policies designed to promote fairness and equality but also underscores a significant discrepancy between the formal policies and their tangible implementation. This gap necessitates a deeper inquiry and dialogue to understand the underlying reasons and to address the disparities. The dissonance between the professed fair policies and the experienced biased practices exemplifies symbolic violence, as it unveils the covert ways in

which biases are perpetuated under the guise of equity (Burawoy, 2019; Dixon et al., 2017), highlighting the critical need for a more authentic alignment between policy and practice.

Respondent 2016-04-03-201645, an Asian female, voices her concerns regarding the apparent lack of adherence to established policies within the recruitment department:

Within the recruitment department, I don't see evidence that we're following policies properly...

Her observation signals a pressing issue of potential non-compliance with the organisation's recruitment policies, underscoring an urgent need for a deeper examination and corrective measures to promote fairness and transparency in the hiring process. Such discrepancies in adhering to recruitment policies not only foster hiring biases but also serve as a form of symbolic violence, amplifying the divide between the intended objectives of these policies and their practical execution (Burawoy, 2019; Dixon et al., 2017).

Additionally, Respondent 2016-04-29-054849, an Asian female, draws attention to the discretionary application of organisational policies by managers:

What I've observed is that the application of these policies is quite selective, dependent on the discretion of managers...

This statement implies a potential for bias and inconsistency in policy application based on managerial discretion, prompting further investigation into the organisation's policies, practices, and training to ensure fairness and equal treatment for all employees.

This selective enforcement of policies demonstrates symbolic violence stemming from habitus and doxa, as it reflects the arbitrary application of rules that perpetuate inequalities within the organisational field (Burawoy, 2019; Dixon et al., 2017)

Further instances illustrate symbolic violence manifested through gendered and racialised disparities in management's application of rules. Respondent 2016-04-17-071526, in particular, recounts being subjected to disciplinary actions for behaviours that her male counterparts seemed to either misunderstand or lack empathy towards:

I've been reprimanded for things that my male colleagues may not understand or empathise with, especially related to female issues or problems...

This revelation brings to light the respondent's experience of differential treatment, suggesting a potential gender bias ingrained within the organisation's disciplinary framework.

Respondent 2016-04-27-051427, a White female, brings to light a significant issue facing part-time employees within the ambulance service:

In my experience, you have to work full-time operationally for a while before you can go part-time. So, there aren't many opportunities for part-timers to move within the ambulance service...

This observation underscores a critical challenge for those seeking or needing to work part-time, suggesting a systemic barrier to career progression for part-time employees. Such a policy raises important questions about the organisation's commitment to inclusivity and its ability to accommodate diverse work-life needs. This situation exemplifies symbolic violence, as it imposes constraints on individuals who, due to various reasons, cannot adhere to traditional full-time work schedules, further entrenching the disparities within the organisational field (Burawoy, 2019; Dixon et al., 2017).

Respondent 2016-04-12-212635, a White female, voices a critical concern regarding the organisational culture:

It's a place where it's nearly impossible to fire people, which sadly offers refuge to many of the wrong types of individuals...

This observation raises alarm over a workplace environment where the arduous process of dismissing employees fosters a culture lacking in accountability. This environment inadvertently shelters individuals whose behaviours or performance may not align with the organisation's standards. The perpetuation of such a culture not only undermines professionalism but also protects those less deserving of their roles, illustrating symbolic violence through the preservation of inappropriate behaviours under the guise of job security (Burawoy, 2019; Dixon et al., 2017).

Through the lens of Bourdieu, it becomes evident how established policies and organisational procedures contribute to maintaining demographic imbalances, particularly disadvantaging women, and minorities. This occurs through mechanisms of symbolic violence, manifesting in hiring biases, evolving job requirements, and discrepancies between the intentions of policies and their actual execution.

4.2.4 Exclusionary social networks

Drawing from Bourdieu's theoretical framework, an examination of the London Ambulance Service's social networks reveals how they may inadvertently uphold demographic disparities, privileging dominant groups. Insights from the participants shed light on this complex interplay.

Notably, narratives from several individuals spotlight the exclusionary nature of social interactions, particularly for those not possessing what is termed as dominant capital. A poignant example comes from Respondent 2016-04-29-054849, who shares:

In these situations, it feels like I'm in a boys' club where I'm constantly being challenged on matters that aren't even necessary...

This account brings to the fore issues of social exclusion and the presence of microaggressions, illustrating how the respondent, among others, is ostracised from certain social engagements and subjected to unnecessary scrutiny. This dynamic is indicative of a broader pattern where a dominant male-centric network may impose symbolic violence on women, illustrating the pivotal role of Social Capital and Field in shaping organisational cultures (Savage, 2011). Such insights are critical in understanding the underlying factors that contribute to maintaining a potentially unwelcoming work environment for those without dominant capital.

The data also reveal how social connections can bestow career advantages, anchoring on the concept of dominant capital. Reflecting on this, Respondent 2016-05-12-001659, identifying as an Arab male, comments on the intimate relationships among managers:

They've been together outside of the job; they know each other's families...

Such observations point to the potential issue of social connections among managerial staff engendering a biased playing field for career progression. This scenario suggests a risk where individuals outside the dominant social circle might find themselves at a disadvantage. It highlights the critical necessity for maintaining transparency, fairness, and inclusivity in the organisation's promotional strategies, advocating for equitable career advancement avenues for every employee. Linked to the idea of social capital, this situation underscores the career uplift that well-placed connections can provide, as discussed by Savage (2011). These reflections prompt a broader discussion about the influence of social networks on professional development within the organisation and the potential for workplace social dynamics to marginalise those not adhering to the prevailing norms.

Furthermore, Respondent 2016-04-03-210348 revealed instances where workplace discussions on political subjects, such as opinions on UKIP and Brexit, resulted in feelings of discomfort and alienation for those diverging from prevailing views:

Conversations about UKIP and how Brexit is a fantastic thing make me uncomfortable. I wonder about their real thoughts about people who look like me...

This comment surfaces the challenges posed by intertwining political conversations with social identity in professional settings. It calls attention to the unease, fear of bias, and potential exclusion tied to political stances and their perceived implications on one's identity. Such dynamics underscore the critical need for cultivating a workplace culture that is not only inclusive but also deeply respectful of differing viewpoints. This situation is illustrative of symbolic violence enacted through exclusionary political discourse (Doxa and Symbolic Violence) (Savage, 2011), where seemingly neutral political discourse can engender discomfort and apprehension in individuals diverging from the dominant narrative, potentially fostering symbolic violence and a doxa of exclusion.

Respondent 2016-03-23-062054, identifying as a Black woman, sheds light on behaviours indicative of exclusivity within closed-door meetings:

The in-group's behaviour was often perceived as exclusive and cliquish. They would frequently hold closed-door meetings, which was in stark contrast to the open-door policy observed with other team members...

This reflection brings to the fore a troubling pattern of behaviour that seems to diverge from the organisation's proclaimed values of openness and inclusivity. By highlighting the stark difference in the approach to meetings between certain groups and the wider team, it raises alarm over possible discriminatory practices. Such conduct calls for a detailed investigation and the implementation of corrective measures to guarantee fairness and equal treatment across all levels of the organisation. This scenario, exemplifying exclusionary social capital, manifests as symbolic violence towards those not included within these circles (Savage, 2011).

To encapsulate, through the lens of Bourdieu, it becomes evident that social networks within public services can subtly empower dominant groups while sidelining others. Identifying and understanding these exclusionary practices are fundamental steps towards crafting strategies that promote a more inclusive and equitable workplace environment, advocating for a shift towards more open and connective organisational behaviours.

4.2.5 Intersectionality considerations: compounded inequality dynamics

This section delves into the dynamics of intersectionality and compounded inequality within the London Ambulance Service, leveraging qualitative data from interviews with employees. Through a Bourdieusian lens, it examines how the interplay of gender and racial identities creates distinct experiences for White women and women from Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) backgrounds (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986, 1989). The findings highlight how exclusionary organisational fields, leadership practices, policies, procedures, and social networks establish systemic barriers that uniquely affect BAME women (Burawoy, 2019; Dixon et al., 2017; Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Mavin et al., 2014; Puwar, 2004). By gathering and analysing diverse viewpoints, a more nuanced understanding of how prevailing structures inadvertently perpetuate demographic disparities in public services emerges (Savage, 2011).

While White women acknowledged general imbalances, BAME women pointed out stark asymmetries reflecting exclusionary fields. Respondent 2016-04-17-071526 a Black woman describes her department as "*predominantly White, predominantly White English,*" indicating a lack of diversity and potential barriers for BAME individuals, particularly Black women, to be included and represented within that specific department. This observation of racial and ethnic homogeneity within her department underscores the concept of racialised habitus concentration (Bourdieu, 1986). The statement suggests that Black women, due to their intersecting identities and experiences, possess a

heightened awareness of how their field excludes or marginalises them based on race and ethnicity (Davis Tribble et al., 2019). This awareness extends beyond the general imbalances noted by White women and underscores the urgency of addressing systemic issues within the field.

Furthermore, Respondent 2016-05-02-004630 expressed concerns over the lack of diversity in leadership positions within the organisation, highlighting the disproportionate representation of White males in these roles. This observation, made from the standpoint of someone with intersecting identities (mixed-race and female), is informed by their personal experiences and insights into how race and gender intersect to influence power dynamics and the concentration of racialised and gendered capital within organisations (Bourdieu, 1989; McDonald and Day, 2010).

In summary, BAME women identified stark demographic imbalances, reflecting dominated fields and asymmetrical capital recognition rooted in race and gender, revealing dynamics less visible to White women (Bourdieu, 1986).

The data unveils divergent perspectives between White women and women from BAME backgrounds regarding leadership and management inadvertently sustaining inequity within the London Ambulance Service. Several White female respondents did not emphasise the predominance of White men in senior leadership roles or perceive it as adversely impacting their own experiences. For instance, Respondent 2016-05-05-054536, a White female, observed:

The majority of our staff are White British and male...

This indicates that some White women recognise significant gender barriers emanating from male-dominated leadership based on their experiences.

In stark contrast, BAME women faced compounded barriers that intersect gender and racial lines. Respondent 2016-04-18-001636 a Black female lamented the glaring absence of ethnic diversity in upper management, pointing out the overwhelming presence of White English individuals in these roles. Her experiences, shaped by the intersectionality of race and gender, likely exacerbate the hurdles in climbing the organisational ladder. This scenario vividly illustrates compounded inequality dynamics, where intersecting forms of discrimination cumulatively exert a more significant effect than each would individually. This entrenched concentration of White identities in positions of power

effectively consolidates advantages for those aligned with the dominant racial and gender capital norms, systematically sidelining BAME women (Puwar, 2004).

Several BAME women have highlighted experiences of differential treatment at the crossroads of gender and race. For instance, Respondent 2016-04-17-071526 shared instances of being unfairly reprimanded for concerns her male colleagues seemed unable to grasp, especially those termed as "*female issues or problems*." Such incidents suggest an unfair bias, possibly rooted in the misunderstanding of her experiences as a Black woman, demonstrating the gendered and racialised double standards set by authority figures (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Mavin et al., 2014).

Furthermore, Respondent 2016-05-10-191725 observed that her ideas were often overlooked unless reiterated by a White colleague. She noted a particular change in reception when "*someone White English*" made a similar proposal, indicating a clear racial and ethnic bias in the acceptance of ideas. This practice of symbolic violence not only sidelines minority voices but also elevates those of the dominant group (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Mavin et al., 2014).

While White women encounter certain gender-related obstacles, BAME women face amplified challenges at the nexus of race and gender, perpetuated by prevailing leadership norms and practices. Addressing these entrenched biases demands a thorough re-evaluation and disruption of systemic policies and actions that marginalise diverse identities.

Observations from some White women have highlighted significant discrepancies between the intended objectives of organisational policies and their actual execution, affecting the workforce universally. For instance, Respondent 2016-04-12-212635 shed light on the issue of flawed accountability, triggered by job security policies. This scenario illustrates symbolic violence, as it shelters inappropriate conduct under the guise of misaligned policies, mirroring the entrenched doxa of job security as discussed by Bourdieu (1977). In a stark contrast, BAME women encounter further hindrances stemming from the intersection of race and gender. Notably, Respondent 2016-04-03-060935 shared:

While policies exist ostensibly to promote fairness and equality, my experience suggests they are not thoroughly actioned...

This situation underscores the presence of symbolic violence, where the gap between seemingly equitable policies and their biased execution perpetuates discrimination against minority groups. This disparity is a product of an exclusionary leadership habitus, highlighting systemic issues within organisational cultures (Bourdieu, 1977; Burawoy, 2019; Dixon et al., 2017). This nuanced understanding points to the necessity for a more rigorous implementation of policies and a transformative approach towards leadership and organisational culture to genuinely uphold principles of fairness and equality.

Moreover, Respondent 2016-04-29-054849 earlier highlighted the selective enforcement of policies, underscoring the differential application based on an alignment with the prevailing leadership habitus and capital. This scenario systematically places individuals without dominant identities at a disadvantage (Bourdieu, 1986).

To summarise, systemic barriers faced by BAME women, rooted in exclusionary policies and procedures, are perpetuated through symbolic violence, stemming from entrenched doxa and discriminatory leadership practices. Addressing these deep-seated inequities necessitates a fundamental overhaul of the structures fostering marginalisation.

The collected data unveils a stark contrast in experiences concerning exclusionary social networks within the London Ambulance Service, as shared by White women and BAME women.

White women have not indicated any direct experiences of exclusion or barriers within workplace social networks.

Conversely, BAME women have articulated encounters with additional obstacles within exclusionary networks delineated by racial lines. For instance, Respondent 2016-04-29-054849 felt as though she was navigating a "*boys' club*" facing unwarranted challenges consistently. This scenario epitomises the symbolic violence meted out against women who diverge from the dominant male habitus (Bourdieu, 1977).

Moreover, Respondent 2016-04-03-210348 shared her unease with political discussions that favoured Brexit and UKIP, voicing concerns over perceived attitudes towards individuals resembling her. This experience underscores the concept of intersectionality, highlighting the compounded impact of

intersecting forms of discrimination. Such exclusionary dialogues serve as instances of symbolic violence, clashing with the dominant political doxa (Bourdieu, 1977).

In essence, although some White women acknowledged the presence of general exclusionary networks, BAME women reported facing intensified barriers due to racial exclusion. To rectify these systemic disparities, it is imperative to dismantle the exclusionary social frameworks that disproportionately favour dominant groups.

4.2.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study illuminates the significant barriers erected by dominant structures within the London Ambulance Service, particularly impacting women and BAME employees. These barriers, deeply rooted in exclusionary dynamics, resonate with Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, encompassing field, capital, habitus, doxa, and symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1977).

Our analysis reveals that the service's cultural and demographic landscape predominantly benefits the habitus of White males, who are often in possession of highly esteemed capital such as credentials, connections, and specific leadership styles (Bourdieu, 1986; Puwar, 2004). Consequently, women and BAME employees face notable challenges, navigating an environment that systematically undervalues their inherent attributes and contributions, a clear manifestation of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1977).

Moreover, entrenched leadership practices appear to fortify existing norms, staunchly opposing any shifts towards a more inclusive habitus (Puwar, 2004). A pronounced discrepancy between the aspirations of diversity policies and their actual realisation is observed, notably in recruitment processes and the selective enactment of policies. Such discrepancies underscore the pervasive influence of doxa and symbolic violence, creating formidable obstacles that sustain systemic inequities (Bourdieu, 1977; Burawoy, 2019; Dixon et al., 2017).

Moreover, exclusionary social networks serve to concentrate capital within dominant in-groups, aligning closely with shared normative values, thereby marginalising minorities through interactions marked by symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1986; Puwar, 2004).

To address and ultimately transform these deep-rooted systemic inequities, it is essential to challenge and disrupt the existing structures and doxa that perpetuate imbalance (Bourdieu, 1977). Embracing a

diversity of capital, cultivating inclusive networks, ensuring leadership embodies principles of equity, and effectively bridging the gap between policy aspirations and their practical implementation are pivotal steps. Such strategic actions promise to alter field dynamics significantly, paving the way for public service organisations that truly reflect the diversity of the communities they serve (Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Mavin et al., 2014).

This analysis also demonstrates how specific forms of capital, habitus, and doxa systemically disadvantage BAME women more so than their counterparts. The perpetuation of these disadvantages through symbolic violence underscores the urgent need for targeted research across different contexts. Such investigations can uncover the nuanced systemic biases that operate beneath the surface, providing critical insights that inform the development of more equitable organisational fields (Burawoy, 2019; Dixon et al., 2017; Puwar, 2004). In essence, the application of Bourdieu's theoretical framework offers a profound understanding of the mechanisms disadvantaging women and BAME employees within organisations. Armed with this understanding, deliberate and informed changes can be implemented to enhance equity and foster greater representation (Bourdieu, 1977).

4.3 Unveiling gendered and racialised practices and systems in the London Ambulance Service

This section delves into Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical exploration of societal structures, particularly focusing on how these frameworks can illuminate the underlying inequalities and exclusions prevalent within the London Ambulance Service (LAS) (Bourdieu, 1986; 1989). Drawing from rich interview data, we gain empirical insights that uncover the intricate ways in which gender, racial, and various other biases are intricately embedded within the organisational fabric, influencing logics and practices at a fundamental level.

The integration of Bourdieu's concepts offers a nuanced lens through which we can dissect and understand the complex dynamics of systemic bias within LAS. This analysis not only highlights the prevalence of these biases but also prompts a critical examination of the organisational structures that perpetuate inequality, guiding us towards potential pathways for fostering a more inclusive and equitable workplace environment.

4.3.1 Gendered and racialised recruitment and selection practices

In the field of recruitment, operations are subtly governed by symbolic violence, privileging individuals with dominant cultural capital, while a gendered and racialised habitus imposes structural limitations and leads to the misrecognition of minority candidates (Bourdieu, 1986).

For instance, Respondent 2016-04-26-053643, a Black woman, recounted how an unnecessary skills assessment cast doubts on her capabilities:

The questions they asked during the interviews and the delay in their response time further complicated the process. They promised to get back on a specific day, but they didn't respond until four days later. This left me in a state of uncertainty, wondering whether I got the job or not. And when I requested feedback, they didn't bother to reply...The inclusion of a typing test felt unnecessary, considering that typing is part of my daily job and I have been doing it for five years...

This incident illustrates the way evaluative practices (field) inflict symbolic violence, endorsing specific cultural capitals while sidelining those of minorities (Bourdieu, 1986).

Respondent 2016-04-26-053643 also advocated for greater transparency within recruitment processes, remarking:

I felt they should have been more transparent from the beginning. It's unjust to let someone go through the whole application process...

This stance challenges the entrenched obfuscation within institutional processes, reflecting an assertive habitus (Bourdieu, 1984).

Furthermore, Respondent 2016-05-12-001659 shared his experience of having his grievance overlooked following an altercation with a manager:

I had a run-in with a manager a few years ago, and he pulled my application just before the interview. I put in a grievance, but it wasn't upheld, not even on appeal...

This narrative underscores how the recruitment habitus continues to enforce symbolic violence, quelling minority voices through the maintenance of unchallenged orthodoxies (doxa) (Bourdieu, 1977), highlighting the systemic barriers that need dismantling to achieve equitable recruitment practices.

Furthermore, Respondent 2016-05-10-191725 commended the organisation's attempts at fostering diversity in recruitment, highlighting measures to prevent discrimination during the interview or selection phases and the successful inclusion of individuals from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Yet, the observation that the workforce predominantly consists of White males raises questions about the full efficacy of these diversity efforts:

They've made sure that individuals don't get discriminated against during the interview or selection process. They've managed to bring in people from other races and ethnicities. Overall, it's pretty White and male, but compared to many organisations, it's really good...

This implies that despite the organisation's commendable intentions and the adoption of fair and inclusive recruitment measures, the outcome remains a workforce not fully reflective of society's diversity. This scenario suggests that the recruitment practices (field) may subtly contribute to maintaining demographic uniformity (Bourdieu, 1989).

Similarly, Respondent 2016-04-03-210348 painted a picture of a workplace that is overwhelmingly White:

I would say generally, in my department, it's females, working-class Whites. The split between men and women is pretty even, maybe slightly more women. But with regards to ethnicity, it is mainly Caucasian...

This commentary points to potential biases in recruitment and selection that favour White candidates, hinting at racial disparities within the organisation's hiring practices. This phenomenon mirrors the ingrained expectation of racial uniformity (Habitus of working-class Whites) (Bourdieu, 1977).

Collectively, these insights reveal how recruitment practices can inadvertently favour dominant groups by entrenching biases in evaluative norms, communication styles, and the understanding of what constitutes valuable capital (Bourdieu, 1986). These practices not only highlight the challenge of

achieving true diversity but also underscore the need for a deeper examination and revision of recruitment strategies to counteract these entrenched biases.

4.3.2 Gendered and racialised implementation of career development

In the London Ambulance Service, career development trajectories reveal patterns of stagnation, influenced by homosocial reproduction dynamics. These dynamics notably restrict access for individuals who lack the requisite capital and networks predominantly held by dominant groups (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1996).

Discussions around career advancement, coupled with stories of limited mobility for minority groups, underscore the structural barriers rooted in undervalued capital. Reflecting on this, Respondent 2016-05-01-231619, a Black male, highlighted:

However, the situation is different for support staff, those working in the office. The career progression opportunities for this group, particularly those from BME backgrounds, remain limited, especially when you consider the diverse population we serve across London...

This observation underscores the underrepresentation and barriers faced (Field and Capitals), evidencing how entrenched structures sideline minorities from accessing privileged capital (Everett, 2002).

Respondent 2016-05-10-191725 shared their experience of being immobilised in a singular role for years:

Before, I was stuck in one position for six or seven years... Now, looking back, I know I could have done a lot better if I had wanted to progress. But I feel that in the London Ambulance Service, things are different...

This scenario is indicative of the system's failure to recognise the value of minority capital (field) (Bourdieu, 1986).

Furthermore, Respondent 2016-04-26-053643 expressed frustration over being overlooked for training roles despite significant tenure:

Moreover, I found the training opportunities to be unfairly distributed. Despite my five years of service, they have never chosen me to train someone new. On the other hand, individuals who have been there for only three months have received this opportunity. When I questioned my manager about this, the reason given was that I have my own work schedule. I work from seven to five, while others work from seven to seven. Because of this two-hour difference, they chose not to allow me to train someone...

Such practices underscore the ecosystem's (field) limitation of access based on identity (Bourdieu, 1989).

Additionally, Respondent 2016-05-12-001659 discussed the challenge of overcoming stereotypical perceptions during mentoring:

Unless you work closely with me, you don't really get what I'm doing. I'm just a name on paper, and people don't see my contribution to something positive and innovative. I feel pigeonholed by how people see me at first glance, rather than understanding my reputation and abilities...

This pattern of conformity signifies symbolic violence, negating the value of diverse experiences (habitus) (Bourdieu, 1977).

Lastly, Respondent 2016-03-24-061751, a Black female, remarked on the ethnic uniformity within her department:

Regarding gender distribution, there are more women in the department, but they were predominantly Caucasian...

This reflects the career pipelines' (field) role in perpetuating homogeneity (Bourdieu, 1989).

Collectively, these narratives articulate how the London Ambulance Service's career development pathways are systematically aligned to favour those who fit the conventional leadership archetype, thereby marginalising those who do not.

4.3.3 Gendered and racialised implementation of career promotion

The promotional landscape within the London Ambulance Service reveals patterns of advancement that are markedly slow for individuals associated with minority identities and the female gender. These patterns reflect a systemic devaluation of their capital, with promotion criteria imposing traditional and dominant notions of what constitutes leadership (Bourdieu, 1986).

Respondent 2016-04-18-001636 highlighted the notable absence of Black women in senior management roles, pointing out how this scarcity might serve as a discouragement to younger Black women who lack role models in leadership positions:

At the higher management level, you won't see many Black women. The few that are there are indeed rare. Younger women look up and, not seeing anyone who resembles them, might assume that these positions are reserved for White men...

This situation highlights the systemic undervaluing of minority leadership capital, posing a significant hurdle for Black women in pursuit of promotional opportunities (Bourdieu, 1989).

Furthermore, Respondent 2016-04-29-054849 spoke of the formidable obstacles encountered in seeking career advancement, despite a decade of dedicated service:

Over the course of my 10-year tenure as a paramedic and Public Education Officer, I've reached a point where I want to progress. However, this has proved to be a significant struggle, especially in trying to ascend to a management level. The process isn't very straightforward...

This narrative underscores the obstructions faced by individuals lacking the traditionally valued forms of capital within this Field (Bourdieu, 1986).

Additionally, Respondent 2016-05-01-231619 raised concerns over a systemic bias within HR practices, favouring external recruitment over the internal development of minority staff:

I think there's a structural issue within the HR department itself. There seems to be a preference for bringing in new people instead of nurturing and supporting in-house talent for career progression. This is not necessarily a racial issue but rather a systemic one...

This points to a habitus of a broader issue of systemic neglect for minority leadership capital within the HR framework (Bourdieu, 1977).

Moreover, the perception of predetermination in internal recruitment processes was shared by Respondent 2016-03-23-062054, indicating a lack of transparency and fairness:

When internal recruitment opportunities arose, many team members were hesitant to apply. They believed that the outcomes had already been predetermined by the in-group...

This perception of opaque internal processes doxa acts as a barrier to minority progression (Bourdieu, 1977).

Similarly, Respondent 2016-05-02-004630 underscored the existence of gender and racial disparities in promotional practices, suggesting institutional barriers against the elevation of women and ethnic minorities to leadership roles, which exemplifies the structural exclusion within the promotion field (Bourdieu, 1989).

Collectively, these insights illuminate the complex barriers within the promotion system of the London Ambulance Service, highlighting the need for a concerted effort to recognise and valorise the diverse competencies and experiences of all employees, thereby fostering a more inclusive and equitable advancement landscape.

4.3.3 Gendered and racialised disciplinary practices and daily interactions

The fields of discipline and daily interactions manifest symbolic violence through heightened scrutiny, racist assumptions, and demeaning representations that subjugate minority experiences (Bourdieu, 1986), for instance, Respondent 2016-04-03-060935, identifying as a Black male, shared instances of being disproportionately questioned on his patient care choices, a scrutiny not levied upon his White counterparts:

Whenever I tried to uphold the standard of care, I believed my patients deserved, I was frequently questioned. This was in stark contrast to the experiences of my White colleagues...

This disparity in treatment underlines the racialised oversight (symbolic violence) imposed on minorities, restricting their professional autonomy (Bourdieu, 1989).

Further, Respondent 2016-05-12-001659 brought to light instances of prejudicial profiling post the London bombings, where seemingly innocuous comments carried loaded insinuations of being a security threat:

I had great ambition when I joined the job, but things changed after the bombings in London. I used to get remarks like, 'Please take your boots off before coming into the mess room,' or 'Can you leave your rucksack outside?' insinuating I was carrying a bomb...

These incidents reveal how entrenched cultural orthodoxies (doxa) are perpetuated through unexamined biases, embedding problematic assumptions into everyday interactions (Bourdieu, 1977).

Additionally, Respondent 2016-04-26-053643 recounted coercive pressures to conform by shedding culturally significant attire, reflecting a disregard for individual and cultural identity:

Well, there are other Black girls here who have hair like this. They don't complain like you, so why can't you take off your scarf...

This coercion serves as a stark illustration of symbolic violence, whereby societal power dynamics exert control over minority identities, enforcing assimilation to dominant cultural expectations (Bourdieu, 1986).

Respondent 2016-04-03-060935 experienced detrimental labelling through racialised stereotypes shortly after joining the organisation:

Being new to the job and fresh out of training, many didn't know me personally. I was simply labelled as 'that Black trainee, which quickly cast me in an unfavourable light among my peers...

This act of labelling serves as a mechanism of social marginalisation, embodying symbolic violence by isolating and devaluing individuals based on race (Bourdieu, 1989).

Similarly, Respondent 2016-05-01-231619, deeply involved in disciplinary proceedings, highlighted a discernible bias in how disciplinary actions are meted out:

I often get involved in disciplinary procedures. I've raised numerous concerns about how quickly we suspend employees from these backgrounds without considering their circumstances...

This pattern of conduct reveals a habitus where disciplinary practices are imbued with systemic double standards, disproportionately affecting BAME employees with stricter punitive measures (Bourdieu, 1977).

Collectively, these instances underscore how disciplinary frameworks and routine interactions within the organisation inadvertently perpetuate symbolic violence. Implicit biases and prejudiced norms, deeply ingrained in the organisational culture, contribute to the ongoing marginalisation of minority groups. Recognising and addressing these embedded biases is crucial for dismantling the structures of symbolic violence and fostering an inclusive, equitable workplace environment.

4.3.4 Gendered and racialised wellbeing practices and procedures

The field of well-being highlights the gendered barriers, societal stigma, and punitive measures faced by individuals who engage in feminine-coded self-care and exhibit a family-first orientation, diverging from the prevailing norms of the ideal worker (Bourdieu, 1986).

For example, Respondent 2016-04-27-051427 shared the challenges encountered post-motherhood affecting her career trajectory:

However, my career progression has been somewhat limited. After I got married and had children, I had to switch to part-time work. I was one of the first people in the ambulance service to do so. Before that, anyone who had a baby had to either return to work full-time or leave the service entirely...

This scenario reveals the deep-rooted gender biases that influence career development opportunities and the acceptance of flexible working arrangements (field) (Bourdieu, 1989).

Additionally, Respondent 2016-04-26-053643 relayed her manager's indifference towards her health, emphasising a return to work above all:

They didn't care if you were sick; they just wanted to know when you were coming back. They just want bums on seats...

This attitude underscores a broader cultural disregard for individual health and well-being within the workplace, mirroring a habitus where employee welfare is systematically undervalued (Bourdieu, 1977).

Moreover, Respondent 2016-05-05-054536 detailed encountering regular sexist comments:

Yes, I do face obstacles. In a professional context, I encounter obstacles quite regularly, about three or four times a week. However, I don't see these as insurmountable barriers; rather, I choose not to let them get me down. Often, these obstacles occur because people know about my interest in this area. For instance, they might throw a comment like 'Oh, those women drivers!' my way, but they do so mostly to get a reaction from me...

This scenario underscores the symbolic violence faced for deviating from gendered norms and expectations (doxa) (Bourdieu, 1977).

Additionally, Respondent 2016-05-05-054536 shared her struggles with internalised frustration and self-doubt stemming from discriminatory encounters:

Yes, I do face obstacles. Sometimes, these encounters leave me frustrated, questioning my own perceptions. For instance, I wonder if I misinterpreted a situation or if an individual was actually being rude or offensive...

This reflects the deep psychological impact of navigating gender bias (symbolic violence) (Bourdieu, 1989).

Furthermore, Respondent 2016-04-12-212635 highlighted the lack of support experienced during her pregnancy:

When I was pregnant, it was like I was the first woman to ever be pregnant at work. They didn't know what to do with a pregnant woman. I had to go to the office for every little issue or if I needed a day off...

This points to a systemic failure to adequately support women in their unique needs (field) (Bourdieu, 1989).

Collectively, these accounts reveal how policies on well-being and flexibility are imbued with gendered biases that unfairly disadvantage those exhibiting feminine-coded behaviours and choices.

In sum, leveraging Bourdieu's frameworks to dissect interview insights from the LAS reveals the intricate fabric of discrimination and exclusion embedded within the organisation's ethos, structures, and practices (Bourdieu, 1986; 1989). Addressing these deeply ingrained issues necessitates a critical examination and overhaul of the underlying logics, standards, and presuppositions that sustain systemic inequities.

4.3.5 Intersectionality considerations: compounded inequality dynamics

Intersectionality scholarship unveils the compounded barriers and exclusions encountered by individuals with multiple marginalised identities, set against a backdrop of interlocking systems of oppression (Crenshaw, 1989). Delving into the London Ambulance Service data through an intersectional perspective illuminate how Bourdieu's theoretical frameworks shed light on the intricate layers of symbolic violence at the crossroads of gender, race, class, and additional attributes (Bourdieu, 1986).

While White women recounted experiences of general hiring biases, BAME women encountered pronounced scepticism concerning their qualifications, underscoring a misrecognition of their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Respondent 2016-04-29-054849 highlighted the covert allocation of opportunities through the social capital amassed within dominant circles:

In one instance, she was offered a managerial position that wasn't advertised or communicated to others. It was kept under the radar...

This instance of exclusion, dictated by her intersecting identities, epitomises symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1989).

Also, Respondent 2016-04-26-053643 previously referred to called for greater transparency in the recruitment process. This stance reflects a determined habitus challenging the norm of institutional obfuscation (Bourdieu, 1984).

While White women noted some degree of mobility restrictions, BAME women detailed experiences of stagnation and denied progression, indicative of the broader field's constraints (Bourdieu, 1977). For instance, Respondent 2016-04-26-053643 recounted being overlooked for mentorship roles despite her longstanding service.

This omission, likely influenced by her layered identities, symbolises the enactment of symbolic violence through denied advancement opportunities (Bourdieu, 1989).

White women noted general leadership hurdles, while BAME women highlighted consistent obstruction across the organisational hierarchy, reflecting dominated fields (Bourdieu, 1989). As Respondent 2016-04-18-001636 described:

I was often deterred and wouldn't apply because I would know, or I would assume, that the role had been earmarked for someone specific...

Her intersecting identities elicited unambiguous leadership barriers through implicit biases embedded in promotion habitus (Bourdieu, 1977).

White women experienced occasional insensitivity, while BAME women endured pervasive demands for assimilation, reflecting symbolic violence through dominant habitus (Bourdieu, 1989). As Respondent 2016-04-26-053643 recalled:

Why does it have to be a religious reason for me to wear a scarf...

Her intersecting identities elicited erasure of cultural capital through coercive pressures (Bourdieu, 1986).

White women noted insufficient support, while BAME women described comprehensively unsupportive systems amplified by race, reflecting symbolic violence through habitus within their work field (Bourdieu, 1989). As Respondent 2016-04-26-053643, who had recently given birth, felt that she was neglected by her team and manager, who did not even offer her a simple congratulations on the birth of her child:

Not even my own team, not even my manager, could spare a moment for a simple gesture of congratulations...

Her intersecting identities led to a sense of feeling neglected by her manager, despite her cultural capital and social needs, which made her feel unappreciated (Bourdieu, 1986).

In summary, BAME women endured multilayered symbolic violence, facing stark barriers absent for White women due to interlocking race and gender biases embedded within organisational logic (Bourdieu, 1989; Crenshaw, 1989).

Leveraging Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical insights alongside an intersectional framework to dissect extensive interview data from the London Ambulance Service (LAS) unveils the intricate and multi-faceted nature of inequality and exclusion embedded within organisational frameworks, behaviours, and norms (Bourdieu, 1986, 1989; Crenshaw, 1989). This thorough examination highlights the intensified systemic exclusion faced by individuals with intersecting marginalised identities.

To foster a transformative shift in organisational culture, it is imperative to critically examine and reform the entrenched logics, standards, and presuppositions that foster disparities. This involves a deep dive into the intricate relationship between identity, capital, and field that exacerbates inequalities (Bourdieu, 1977; Puwar, 2004). Adopting this critical lens calls for an intersectional perspective that transcends simple diversity efforts, advocating instead for comprehensive structural reforms and cultural shifts. These changes aim to disentangle the sophisticated tapestry of biases permeating organisational structures (Burawoy, 2019; Dixon et al., 2017; Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Mavin et al., 2014).

At its core, the application of Bourdieu's frameworks sheds light on the nuanced patterns of inequality and exclusion that are intricately knitted into the fabric of organisational practices and norms (Bourdieu, 1986, 1989). Yet, the journey towards genuine cultural transformation demands a critical interrogation of the underlying mechanisms that maintain systemic disadvantages, with particular attention to those bearing intersecting marginalised identities (Crenshaw, 1989; Puwar, 2004). This necessitates a comprehensive, intersectional strategy aimed at implementing reforms that confront the foundational causes of disparity, eschewing superficial solutions like isolated diversity programmes in favour of more substantive, lasting change (Bourdieu, 1977; Burawoy, 2019; Dixon et al., 2017; Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Mavin et al., 2014).

4.3.6 Conclusion

The in-depth analysis of interviews from the London Ambulance Service illuminates the application of Bourdieu's theories field, capital, habitus, and symbolic violence to decode the complex mechanisms of inequality and exclusion embedded within organisational contexts (Bourdieu, 1986; 1989). The instances highlighted throughout the study underscore the entrenched systemic barriers that not only privilege specific groups but also significantly restrict the advancement of women and BAME individuals (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1996; Heilman and Okimoto, 2007; Mavin et al., 2014).

In the processes of recruitment and selection, it becomes apparent that there is a preference for certain types of cultural capital, largely inaccessible to BAME staff, thereby rendering their own capital undervalued and subjected to symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1986). Career progression trajectories for these groups often encounter obstacles, rooted in the systemic misrecognition and devaluation of their unique capital, indicative of broader issues of marginalisation (Bourdieu, 1977). Furthermore, the criteria for promotions exacerbate this issue, as they overlook the valuable experiences and leadership capabilities of women and BAME employees, deepening the cycle of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1989). Racialised scrutiny and biases necessitating assimilation from BAME individuals further entrench symbolic violence within disciplinary actions and daily organisational interactions (Bourdieu, 1977). Additionally, the organisation's well-being policies, underpinned by gendered assumptions, penalise practices associated with self-care, reflecting a nuanced form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1986).

The examination of data underscores the intensification of symbolic violence at the juncture of multiple marginalised identities, leading to a deeper level of inequality (Crenshaw, 1989). Specifically, women from BAME backgrounds encounter significant scepticism during hiring processes, face barriers to career progression, and consistently experience promotion hurdles not shared by their White counterparts (Bourdieu, 1989). This intersectional challenge underscores the critical need to shift focus from surface-level solutions to probing and amending the foundational biases and structures that perpetuate these disparities (Burawoy, 2019; Dixon et al., 2017; Puwar, 2004).

In essence, the application of Bourdieu's theoretical frameworks offers profound insights into the embedded nature of inequality and exclusion within organisational settings (Bourdieu, 1986; 1989). Nevertheless, truly addressing and rectifying these deep-seated issues demands a move away from simplistic diversity initiatives towards comprehensive, root cause focused reforms. An intersectional perspective is crucial in this endeavour, guiding the critical analysis and transformation of the interplay among identity, resources, and professional domains that maintain inequities within prevailing norms, standards, and beliefs (Bourdieu, 1977; Burawoy, 2019; Dixon et al., 2017).

4.4 Navigating careers amidst dominant structures and gendered and racialised practices and systems in The London Ambulance Service

This section delves deeper into the exploration of how women and minority employees navigate the intricate power dynamics present within the public service workplace. Utilising Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, we dissect the experiences of women and BAME employees in the London Ambulance Service, who face entrenched structures that are both gendered and racialised. These barriers not only stifle their professional growth but also manifest as distinct forms of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1977).

This study meticulously reveals how organisational constructs, leadership hierarchies, bureaucratic policies, industry standards, and social networks collectively restrict the empowerment and resource accumulation critical for the career progression of women and BAME employees in longstanding institutions (Bourdieu, 1996). Through an analysis anchored in narratives and qualitative insights, the study aims to illuminate the intricate ways systemic discrimination and inequality are either perpetuated or confronted within specific organisational realms (Bourdieu, 2005).

Utilising this methodology unveils significant insights into the nuanced strategies that marginalised employees leverage to navigate the complexities of public service roles. Rooted deeply within their habitus and capital negotiations, these strategies showcase a vibrant mix of resilience and adaptability (Bourdieu, 1990). This exploration enriches Bourdieu's discussion on the intrinsic ability of bureaucratic environments to reinforce social inequities, offering a deeper comprehension of the obstacles faced by women and BAME personnel (Bourdieu, 1994).

This analysis sheds light on the manner in which various fields mould the attitudes and behaviours of individuals and the unique ways minority groups adapt, resist, forge alliances, and advocate for change (Bourdieu, 1984). It provides a layered understanding of the conditioning effect of fields on individual dispositions and the reactive strategies of adaptation, resistance, unity, and transformation employed by minority subjects (Bourdieu, 1984). The lived experiences of women and BAME employees within the London Ambulance Service vividly demonstrate the dynamics of power systems and the strategies individuals deploy to manage their interactions within these frameworks (Bourdieu, 1989). This exploration not only amplifies the voices of those traditionally marginalised but also underscores the critical need for systemic reform to dismantle enduring barriers to equity and inclusion.

4.5 Navigating challenges within dominant structure of London Ambulance Service

Public service organisations, as a distinct field, present specific challenges for women and minorities (Bourdieu, 2005). An Asian male, Respondent 2016-03-07-053823, highlighted discriminatory practices within his organisation exemplifying a proactive habitus focused on addressing overlooked concerns (Bourdieu, 1984), remarking:

I've witnessed discrimination in the way certain community groups are treated. Management seems oblivious unless someone formally raises the issue...

Further, Respondent 2016-03-24-061751 emphasised the importance of diverse leadership in reflecting a positive workplace culture, noting:

The office, based in Waterloo, boasted diversity in its leadership. There were BAME members in significant positions, including the office manager and other senior roles. This representation was encouraging...

This perspective illustrates a habitus sensitive to the importance of diversity in leadership structures (Bourdieu, 1984), offering insights into how organisational conditions influence minority experiences.

Moreover, Respondent 2016-05-12-001659 shared his evolving feelings of disillusionment over a 17-year career, stating:

In the 17 years I've been in the job, the culture's the same. My first few years, I was super keen and excited. Now it's nothing short of resentment. It was a career before, now it's a job. It pays my mortgage, and that's all I want from it...

This sentiment portrays a resigned habitus, a reflection of enduring disengagement in a stagnant field (Bourdieu, 1990), illustrating how prolonged exposure to unchanging, uninspiring conditions can fundamentally alter one's engagement and perception of their work.

4.5.1 Navigating challenges of dominant leadership and management structures

Women and BAME employees are tasked with the delicate challenge of manoeuvring through the leadership dynamics and organisational hierarchies, finding themselves as subordinate figures within predominant structures (Bourdieu, 2005). Take, for example, Respondent 2016-04-26-053643, who confronted management's decisions by inquiring:

When I questioned my manager about this, the reason given was that I have my own work schedule...

This demonstrates an assertive habitus against structural inequities (Bourdieu, 1984).

Similarly, Respondent 2016-04-12-212635 exhibits an assertive habitus against gendered roles (Bourdieu, 2005), where she challenged a decision and advocated for herself, stating:

I pushed back, stating that there was no justification for such a move. Mark claimed that my current schedule couldn't be accommodated. I responded by suggesting a shift in my role that would allow for more flexibility...

Moreover, Respondent 2016-03-10-213551, an Asian male, highlighted a lapse in equality and diversity efforts, noting:

About four years ago, there were initiatives working towards equality and diversity. Yet, I noticed that in the past year and a half, there haven't been any meetings focused on these topics, including support forums for disabilities...

This reveals a habitus of watchful advocacy (Bourdieu, 1977). These cases reveal the nuances of navigating leadership fields for minority employees.

Additionally, Respondent 2016-05-12-001659 shared an insight into the tactics employed by management to provoke him, sharing:

I spoke to a colleague, a manager I respect, and he told me they were just trying to get a reaction from me...

This strategy embodies a habitus designed to navigate provocations strategically (Bourdieu, 1990), shedding light on the complexity of interactions minority employees must navigate within their professional environments.

4.5.2 Navigating challenges of dominant policies and procedures structures

Organisational policies and procedures pose unique challenges for women and minority employees as they navigate bureaucratic fields (Bourdieu, 1996).

For instance, Respondent 2016-04-12-212635 created her own scheduling solutions demonstrating a habitus of self-reliance (Bourdieu, 2005), explaining:

I go to work following a rota I've written, which aligns with my husband's schedule ...

Meanwhile, Respondent 2016-03-07-053823 offered a critique of leadership's delayed responsiveness, remarking:

It felt like a reactive measure due to media attention rather than a proactive step taken at the pandemic's onset...

This signals a sceptical habitus towards institutional responses (Bourdieu, 1977), highlighting concerns over the genuine commitment to change. Such narratives underscore the intricate dance of compliance and adaptation minority employees engage in within policy frameworks. Furthermore, Respondent 2016-04-17-071526 pursued essential workplace adjustments amidst discrimination demonstrating the habitus of proactivity against symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1977), sharing:

If I raise issues about needing counselling or changes to my workstation, I feel that my needs are not dealt with as promptly as they would be for other staff. As someone from a BME background, I'm constantly having to chase up my manager or requests...

Moreover, Respondent 2016-05-12-001659, illustrating a resilient habitus in the face of constrained capital (Bourdieu, 1984), navigated biased management controlling his shifts, explaining:

These station managers controlled everything, my shifts, my annual leave. Three of them resigned in the end, and the one that remained hindered my interview years later...

Demonstrating strategic habitus in navigating the policy field (Bourdieu, 1996), his attempts at negotiating leave arrangements were outright ignored, highlighting:

For example, when I needed a day off for a funeral, I gave a list of dates to swap, but I was completely dismissed...

Additionally, Respondent 2016-03-31-230438 filed complaints against discrimination but faced inaction demonstrating the habitus of persistence within a bureaucratic field (Bourdieu, 2005), stating:

The situation escalated to the point where I had to file complaints against some staff members, but the investigation was slow, and nothing significant was done...

Lastly, Respondent 2016-04-03-210348 expressed scepticism about the organisation's commitment to equality and diversity initiatives demonstrating a critical habitus questioning tokenistic initiatives (Bourdieu, 1984), stating:

I often question if it's a tick box exercise or a genuine effort to improve equality and diversity...

4.5.3 Utilisation of social networks to navigate the challenges posed by dominant structures

This section illuminates the strategic ways in which women and BAME employees engage with their social and professional spheres to surmount obstacles and barriers.

Respondent 2016-05-12-001659, previously mentioned, sought career guidance from a respected manager, embodying a strategic networking habitus that individuals leverage during interactions (Bourdieu, 1986). Moreover, Respondent 2016-03-31-230438 expressed a deep value for learning and the enriching opportunities arising from interactions with diverse patients, reflecting a deep appreciation for the rich tapestry of diverse capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

sharing:

Despite the challenges, I continue to find joy in my work and value the learning experiences I gain from my diverse patients...

Additionally, Respondent 2016-05-02-004630 highlighted the benefits of positive peer interactions, noting:

For me personally, I've had a really positive experience with the London Ambulance Service. In my interactions with my peers, I've largely encountered respect and acceptance...

This attitude exemplifies a gratitude habitus towards peer respect, acknowledging the warmth and acceptance within the workforce (Bourdieu, 1990).

Respondent 2016-05-10-191725 shared insights on communal experiences among BAME colleagues, noting:

I've asked a couple of other people who happen to be of BAME backgrounds, and usually, we have similar experiences...

This observation underscores the solidarity and mutual support among minority groups, facilitating a collective navigation through organisational landscapes.

To sum up, this analysis underscores the proactive engagement of women and BAME employees within the London Ambulance Service, as they manoeuvre through the intricate webs of leadership structures, policy frameworks, sectoral limitations, and the complexities of social networks. It highlights how gendered and racialised practices serve as formidable barriers to advancement within the service, embodying a form of symbolic violence that hinders professional growth in public service sectors (Bourdieu, 1977). This exploration affirms the critical importance of Bourdieu's theoretical constructs in understanding the nuances of inequality and the power of individual agency (Bourdieu, 2005). Expanding this investigation into broader fields could further enrich our understanding of these dynamic interplays.

4.5.4 Intersectionality considerations: compounded inequality dynamics

The narratives shared by women and BAME employees within the London Ambulance Service underscore the importance of considering intersectionality when examining inequality dynamics (Collins, 2015; Crenshaw, 1989). The accounts of women and BAME employees within the London Ambulance Service highlight the nuanced strategies employed by BAME women to navigate and counteract challenges posed by dominant structures (Collins, 2015; Crenshaw, 1989). For example, Respondent 2016-05-02-004630 a woman from a BAME background highlighted the benefits of positive peer interactions to navigating challenges posed by dominant structures.

By applying an intersectional lens to the experiences of women and BAME employees within the London Ambulance Service, this study highlights the importance of considering the compounded nature of inequality in professional contexts (Collins, 2015; Collins and Bilge, 2016; Crenshaw, 1989). This intersectional approach reveals the complex interplay of gender, race, and professional identity in shaping the challenges and barriers faced by these individuals, underscoring the need for targeted interventions that address the multiple, overlapping dimensions of inequality (Cho et al., 2013; Collins, 2019).

4.5.5 Conclusion

The narratives shared by women and BAME employees within the London Ambulance Service provide a compelling insight into the intricate interplay between individual agency and the dominant structures that shape their professional experiences (Bourdieu, 1977; 2005). Bourdieu's theoretical framework proves indispensable in understanding how these individuals navigate the challenges posed by leadership hierarchies, policy frameworks, and social networks (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; 1990).

The accounts reveal a rich tapestry of proactive, assertive, and strategic habitus employed by women and BAME staff to counter discriminatory practices, advocate for their needs, and forge meaningful connections within their professional spheres (Bourdieu, 1977; 1984; 2005). These individuals exhibit remarkable resilience, persistence, and creativity in the face of symbolic violence embedded within organisational structures (Bourdieu, 1977; 1996). However, the analysis also underscores the pervasive nature of gendered and racialised barriers within the public service sector (Bourdieu, 2005). Despite individual efforts to navigate and challenge these obstacles, the experiences shared by respondents

suggest that progress towards authentic equality and diversity remains sluggish and often tokenistic (Bourdieu, 1984; 1990).

Also, an intersectional analysis of the experiences of women and BAME employees within the London Ambulance Service provides a more nuanced understanding of the compounded inequality dynamics that shape their professional lives (Collins, 2015; Collins and Bilge, 2016; Crenshaw, 1989). By recognising the intersecting nature of gender, race, and professional identity, as evidenced by the examples provided this study highlights the importance of developing intersectional approaches to addressing inequality in the workplace and calls for further research that examines the intersectional experiences of marginalised groups across a range of professional contexts (Cho et al., 2013; Collins, 2019).

This study affirms the pivotal importance of applying Bourdieu's concepts to the lived experiences of marginalised groups within professional contexts (Bourdieu, 1977; 1984; 1986; 1990; 1996; 2005). By understanding how habitus, capital, and field intersect to shape individual trajectories, we gain valuable insights into the subtle yet powerful ways in which inequality is perpetuated and resisted (Bourdieu, 1977; 1984; 1986; 1990; 1996; 2005). Ultimately, this study serves as a clarion call for organisations like the London Ambulance Service to move beyond mere rhetoric and implement substantive changes that dismantle the barriers faced by women and BAME employees (Bourdieu, 1977; 1984; 1986; 1990; 1996; 2005).

4.6 Navigating challenges posed by gendered and racialised practices and systems

This analysis explores the ways in which gender and racial biases subtly manifest as symbolic violence within the organisational structures and systems of the London Ambulance Service. By examining real-life experiences shared by women and BAME employees, this study uncovers mechanisms of inequality that hinder growth, such as disciplinary processes, limited career opportunities, promotion barriers, biased recruitment practices, and constraints related to health and flexibility (Bourdieu, 1977). Through an approach that focuses on perspectives and experiences, this research highlights how women and BAME employees navigate these biased practices using strategies of resistance, resilience, opportunism, and advocacy (Bourdieu, 2005). Despite rhetoric promoting equality and inclusion, there is a disconnect between policy and practice. This suggests that subtle forms of discrimination persist in work environments in ways that disadvantage groups. By identifying how specific dynamics within organisations contribute to symbolic violence against women and BAME employees, this study offers

insights for targeted diversity interventions and reforms (Bourdieu, 1984). Ultimately, it exposes the influence of socio-historical systems of dominance in bureaucratic fields by revealing nuanced manifestations of gender and racial bias beneath a façade of meritocracy and transparency.

4.6.1 Navigating challenging disciplinary practices and daily interactions

While navigating workplace dynamics and disciplinary frameworks, women and BAME employees encounter gendered and racialised practices embedded within organisational cultures.

Respondent 2016-05-12-001659 confronted prejudicial remarks from colleagues, which remained unresolved due to a managerial departure before the scheduled grievance hearing. He shared:

I used to get remarks like, 'Please take your boots off before coming into the mess room,' or 'Can you leave your rucksack outside?' insinuating I was carrying a bomb. I got called 'ethnic.' I had to pull a grievance, but it didn't hit because the manager resigned before the hearing...

This incident underscores an enduring habitus of determination in the face of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1984).

Respondent 2016-04-03-201645 sought support mechanisms within the organisation when experiencing discomfort recounted:

I went to our 'Speak Up' guardian, who was a lady, and told her about my discomfort...

Her actions exemplify a proactive habitus towards addressing discomfort within disciplinary channels (Bourdieu, 2005).

Respondent 2016-05-05-054536 recalls an incident where her assertiveness was unjustly characterised as aggression, stating:

I recall an instance when I was working with two other professional staff members. I was being assertive on a job, but not rude or aggressive. However, in a debrief that followed, a male colleague who was about to retire referred to me as aggressive...

This narrative reveals a habitus of assertiveness, challenging gendered misconceptions (Bourdieu, 1990).

Respondent 2016-05-10-191725 maintained professionalism during conflicts, describing:

Sometimes things can go out of control, but I try to keep calm and stay professional. If things get stuck, I'll say that I need to think about it, and I'll come back to you...

This example showcases a composed habitus in emotionally charged situations (Bourdieu, 1977).

Respondent 2016-04-03-201645 mentioned her approach to creating safe spaces for open dialogue, stating:

I try to create a safe environment for others to share their experiences within the context of a meeting...

This demonstrates empathetic habitus fostering emotional safety (Bourdieu, 1984).

4.6.2 Navigating challenging career development

Navigating limited career development opportunities poses ongoing challenges for women and BAME employees seeking to progress professionally.

Respondent 2016-05-10-191725 leveraged coaching and mentoring to improve her effectiveness after initial difficulties in providing feedback, explaining:

Because of the way my role works, I've gone to coaching and mentoring to improve my effectiveness in providing feedback. I follow a proper feedback template, so it doesn't go beyond my control...

This reveals a habitus of continuous learning (Bourdieu, 2005). This example illustrates the habitus of continuous learning, which is the tendency to constantly acquire new and additional cultural capital, namely knowledge and skills (Bourdieu, 1984).

Respondent 2016-04-29-054849 fought persistently for access to professional development opportunities, stating:

I attended an 'Engaging Leader' course, a course I had to fight to attend, while my job-sharing colleague was simply handed the opportunity...

This exhibits a habitus of persistence against unequal access (Bourdieu, 1984).

Respondent 2016-04-03-210348 leveraged supportive leadership for career growth opportunities, stating:

We have a really good team lead, and she's very supportive of me. She has reached out to me and got me involved in a lot of things, like the recent conference and the buyer forum...

This highlights the positive impact of supportive leadership on career growth opportunities. This demonstrates an opportunistic habitus benefiting from leadership support (Bourdieu, 1990)

Respondent 2016-05-01-231619 highlighted a significant obstacle in internal career progression, noting:

A couple of my colleagues had to leave to further their careers because internally there weren't advertised courses to help those in specific fields...

This scenario unveils a keen awareness of the institutional barriers that curtail career advancement, epitomising an observant habitus towards organisational constraints (Bourdieu, 1996).

On the other hand, Respondent 2016-05-05-054536 showcased a proactive approach to her career development through continuous academic pursuit, explaining:

I've always strived to stay one step ahead in terms of qualifications. For instance, to become an advanced paramedic, I obtained a master's degree. Now, I'm contemplating pursuing a PhD.

This narrative represents an ambitious habitus, adept at leveraging educational achievements for career advancement, showcasing a strategic conversion of cultural capital into professional opportunities (Bourdieu, 1986).

4.6.3 Navigating challenging career promotion

Systemic organisational barriers often impede the career progression of women and BAME employees.

Respondent 2016-04-17-071526 took proactive steps in managing her career due to limited opportunities, sharing:

I had to actively take control of my career progression. I had to navigate and steer my boat in terms of progressing...

This attitude illustrates a proactive habitus in confronting and overcoming structural hurdles (Bourdieu, 2005).

The same respondent adapted herself when workplaces failed to provide career advancement, explaining:

I've realised that not every place is going to be for me, so I have to move on to progress...

This mindset highlights an adaptive habitus in response to the uneven distribution of opportunities (Bourdieu, 1990).

Respondent 2016-05-12-001659 encountered discriminatory practices during the selection process, as evidenced when a manager prematurely withdrew his job application, displaying a habitus of contestation against unfair promotion practices (Bourdieu, 1984).

Respondent 2016-05-10-191725 reflected on spending six to seven years in the same role due to a sense of complacency, despite aspirations for advancement:

Before, I was stuck in one position for six or seven years, not because I didn't want to progress, but because I thought that's what I loved...

This narrative underscores the influence of habitus, where personal dispositions and external social structures interact to influence career pathways (Bourdieu, 1977).

Respondent 2016-05-12-001659 was determined to continue fighting for justice and inclusivity after facing workplace hostility, asserting:

The struggle continues, but I'm determined to fight for justice and continue working towards a more inclusive and understanding environment...

This determination showcases a resistant habitus, actively challenging workplace hostility (Bourdieu, 1984).

4.6.4 Navigating challenging recruitment and selection practices, well-being and flexible working arrangements

Recruitment and selection processes within organisations frequently present systemic obstacles for minority candidates.

One respondent, identified as 2016-05-12-001659, who previously recounted filing a grievance due to the premature withdrawal of his job application, showcases a determined habitus of resistance against biased recruitment protocols (Bourdieu, 1984).

The challenge of balancing health, wellbeing, and work flexibility emerges as particularly strenuous for women and BAME employees within rigid work settings.

The same respondent detailed the necessity of taking prolonged medical leave following unresolved workplace stress, expressing:

It was tough, and I was quite resilient, but after a certain incident, I was signed off with stress, depression, anxiety for about five months...

This reveals a habitus of endurance before resigning to health-necessitated leave (Bourdieu, 1984).

Another respondent, 2016-04-29-054849, described seeking internal job transfers as a strategy for coping, stating:

My current coping strategy is to look for a job change within the service to a fresh team, in a fresh part of the service that I've not worked in before...

This action represents a habitus of adaptation in response to workplace limitations (Bourdieu, 1990).

Additionally, Respondent 2016-04-03-201645, who had previously spoken about efforts to establish safe emotional environments during meetings, exemplifies an empathetic habitus that nurtures emotional security (Bourdieu, 1984).

To conclude, these narratives underline the persistent negotiation women and BAME employees undertake against ingrained gendered and racialised norms within organisational practices, ranging from disciplinary actions to career progression hurdles, biased recruitment, and constraints on health and flexibility. Their stories shed light on the nuanced forms of symbolic violence embedded in the fabric of organisational culture and practices.

4.6.5 Intersectionality considerations: compounded inequality dynamics

The research findings illuminate the nuanced strategies employed by BAME women to navigate and counteract symbolic violence and exclusion within the London Ambulance Service, contrasting significantly with the experiences of their White counterparts (Crenshaw, 1989). Through qualitative narratives, it becomes evident how BAME women adeptly tackle the dual barriers of gender bias and racial prejudices entrenched in the organisation's practices (Bourdieu, 1989).

In the realm of recruitment, while White women reported encountering challenges, BAME women faced additional scrutiny over their qualifications. They responded by leveraging their cultural capital, accentuating their cultural insights, and advocating for transparency in the hiring processes, as underscored by Respondent 2016-04-26-053643.

Concerning career development, White women recognised potential pathways, whereas BAME women proactively orchestrated their career advancement, persistently seeking opportunities to

progress despite systemic biases that limit their professional growth (Bourdieu, 1977), as noted by Respondent 2016-04-17-071526.

When approaching promotion opportunities, White women identified broad leadership hurdles, whereas BAME women persistently pursued advancement, confronting and overcoming hierarchical barriers entrenched by the prevailing dominance of certain groups (Bourdieu, 1989), with Respondent 2016-04-18-001636 elaborating on their efforts to dispel the notion of predestined roles.

In disciplinary interactions, White women recounted instances of insensitivity, in contrast, BAME women staunchly defended their cultural identity, fostering environments conducive to dialogue and resistance against assimilation pressures and symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1989), as shared by Respondent 2016-04-26-053643.

While White women highlighted the absence of support for well-being issues, BAME women, facing compounded race-based challenges, actively sought counselling, and advocated for workplace adjustments, challenging the system's neglect (Bourdieu, 1989), as depicted by Respondent 2016-04-17-071526.

Collectively, these findings underscore the intricate and multilayered exclusions navigated by BAME women, absent in the experiences of their White colleagues, spotlighting the critical interplay of race and gender biases (Bourdieu, 1989; Crenshaw, 1989). This intersectional analysis reveals how BAME women challenge compounded barriers and symbolic violence across multiple domains.

4.6.6 Conclusion

This analysis delves into the complex dynamics faced by women and BAME employees at the London Ambulance Service, navigating racialised practices, career constraints, promotion hurdles, recruitment biases, and challenges related to health and flexibility (Bourdieu, 1977; 1989). Their experiences unveil the symbolic violence embedded within the organisation's structure, often clashing with official equality policies.

The study shows the array of strategies, resistance, resilience, opportunism, and advocacy, that women and BAME employees wield to tackle these obstacles (Bourdieu, 1984; 2005). Despite the

organisation's verbal commitment to inclusivity, minority groups encounter discrimination that positions them at a notable disadvantage.

An intersectional analysis further illuminates the compounded barriers BAME women face, stemming from both gender and racial prejudices integrated into the organisational logic and practices (Crenshaw, 1989). BAME women, in comparison to their White counterparts, navigate through additional layers of exclusion in recruitment, career progression, promotional opportunities, disciplinary procedures, and support systems. They confront these challenges by harnessing their resources, advocating for transparency, carving out niches for empowerment, and driving their own career paths (Bourdieu, 1989).

At its core, this analysis lays bare the inequalities masked by the pretence of meritocracy, highlighting how entrenched socio-historical dominance patterns persist in shaping power dynamics (Bourdieu, 1977). This investigation offers valuable insights for crafting effective interventions that address the root causes of these disparities, moving beyond mere equality platitudes. Engaging in further research inspired by Bourdieu (1984; 2005) promises to enrich our understanding and approach to tackling these profound issues.

4.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter unfolds an insightful analysis of the experiences of women and minority employees within the power dynamics of the London Ambulance Service. Utilising Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical concepts, the investigation illuminates the deep-rooted mechanisms of systemic discrimination and inequality pervasive within this organisation (Bourdieu, 2005). It brings to light how exclusionary structures, leadership practices, prevailing policies, sectoral norms, and the intricacies of social networks significantly hinder the empowerment and resource acquisition of women and BAME employees aspiring for career advancement (Bourdieu, 1996). Moreover, the analysis exposes the cultivation of strategies aimed at adaptation, resistance, and fostering solidarity, confronting the gender and racialised symbolic violence that is entrenched in the fabric of organisational life (Bourdieu, 1984).

Through thematic analysis, several key dynamics emerge. First, the operation of the public service field is characterised by the delineation of valued capital and habitus, which inherently favours dominant groups and imposes restrictions on minorities through symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1977). Second, entrenched leadership practices often reinforce traditional norms that are antagonistic to

equity-driven changes, thereby perpetuating a dominant habitus (Bourdieu, 2005). Third, the disparity between the espoused diversity policies and their actual implementation acts as a form of symbolic violence against minority employees, undermining their inclusion (Bourdieu, 1984). Lastly, the presence of exclusionary social networks serves to amplify the advantages of dominant in-groups, effectively marginalising and alienating those considered outsiders through acts of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1986).

Furthermore, the findings cast a spotlight on how exclusion operates through nuanced mechanisms that obstruct professional progression for individuals deemed to lack the revered capital and qualities of the idealised worker. This revelation calls for a shift towards more incisive strategies, moving past mere individual diversity efforts to a more profound scrutiny of the underlying logics that perpetuate demographic imbalances within the fabric of organisational structures. By centring marginalised voices and harnessing Bourdieusian insights, this study peels back the layers of inequality, laying the groundwork for substantive cultural transformation.

The analysis brings to the fore the relentless challenges confronted by women and BAME employees in navigating the entrenched exclusionary frameworks of leadership practices, policies, sectoral norms, and intricate social networks, alongside entrenched gendered and racialised practices within disciplinary actions, career advancement hurdles, promotional barriers, recruitment biases, and issues surrounding health and work-life balance (McGregor Smith, 2017). Their experiences serve as a testament to the pervasive symbolic violence that operates within and through organisational infrastructures (Harrington, Warren, and Rayner, 2015). Distinctly, BAME women encounter compounded exclusions, uniquely exacerbated by the interplay of racial and gender biases, which are absent for their White counterparts (Bourdieu, 1989; Crenshaw, 1989). Through an intersectional lens, the study exposes the intensified obstacles and instances of symbolic violence faced by BAME women, offering a critical perspective on the barriers pervading multiple dimensions of organisational life (Alinia, 2015; Etherington et al., 2020).

Chapter 5 Discussion and Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

This final chapter offers a comprehensive synthesis of the study's findings, revisiting the complex landscape of inequality regimes unearthed within the London Ambulance Service. By deploying a Bourdieusian lens, it has laid bare the intricate web of exclusionary structures, behaviours, and logics that systematically favour dominant groups, illuminating the nuanced dynamics at play (Bourdieu, 1977). This analysis has contrasted with and extended existing diversity literature by shedding light on specific discriminatory practices, the disconnection between inclusion rhetoric and reality, and insights into the interplay between structure and agency, thereby deepening the dialogue around strategies for navigating and negotiating change within inherently biased environments (Dobbin and Kalev, 2016; Puwar, 2004; Tatli et al., 2020).

The discourse advances to outline a series of targeted recommendations and policy reforms, meticulously crafted based on the insights gleaned from this investigation. These suggestions advocate for a deliberate focus on addressing root causes rather than opting for superficial, quick-fix solutions, as a response to the historical ineffectiveness of nominal diversity programmes that fail to tackle the entrenched logics, cultural norms, and systemic privileges that continue to marginalise non-dominant groups (Noon, 2018).

Acknowledging its limitations, the chapter highlights the constraints posed by the sample size, potential biases in data interpretation, and challenges in accessing institutional data. It then maps out a vision for future research that includes a call for more robust methodologies, an intersectional approach, and comparative studies designed to uncover deeper insights into the persistent inequities across different identities and organisational settings, urging a significant rethinking and rejuvenation of strategies to address these deep-seated injustices (Crenshaw, 1989; Saunders et al., 2018).

In closing, the chapter recapitulates the pivotal empirical and theoretical contributions of this thesis, celebrating its unique application of Bourdieu's framework to dissect and understand the entrenched inequality regimes within a vital, yet often overlooked, segment of the public service sector. Through this diligent Bourdieusian analysis, the study not only enhances our comprehension of these complex issues but also charts a path forward for actionable change.

5.2 Summary of Thesis

Chapter one sets the stage for this investigation by detailing the research background, its core objectives, and the pressing need to delve into workplace inequalities persisting despite legal frameworks such as the Equality Act 2010. It specifically underscores the challenges encountered by women and BAME groups, pointing out the scant exploration of their intersectional experiences within inequality regimes (Hussain et al., 2022; Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012). The chapter posits Bourdieu's notions of field, capital, habitus, and symbolic violence as a robust analytical framework to dissect systemic discrimination (Tatli et al., 2015).

In Chapter two, a comprehensive literature review elucidates the utility of Bourdieu's paradigm in juxtaposition with Critical Race Theory, Social Identity Theory, Feminist Theory, Actor–Network Theory, Assemblage Theory and Intersectionality to dissect and understand the fabric of bias and exclusion within organisational settings (Tomlinson et al., 2013). It critiques prior applications of Bourdieu, demonstrating how prevailing field logics privilege dominant capital and perpetuate minority oppression through symbolic violence, advocating for a deeper, intersectional analytical lens to challenge and rethink diversity initiatives (Ashley and Empson, 2013; Dobbin and Kalev, 2016).

Chapter three describes the qualitative methodology underpinning this study, leveraging semi-structured interviews and thematic analysis within the Bourdieusian framework to probe the intricacies of the London Ambulance Service. It meticulously outlines the methodological approach, including sampling, data collection, analytical strategies, ethical considerations, and the inherent limitations of the study (Creswell and Poth, 2016; Malterud, 2001).

Chapter four unveils the study's pivotal findings, highlighting how exclusionary capital and entrenched network dynamics systematically marginalise women and minorities through acts of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1977). It exposes the gendered and racialised undertones of recruitment, promotion, and disciplinary practices as mechanisms reinforcing barriers, rooted in the nuanced interplay of field logics (Acker, 2006). Furthermore, it explores the complex adaptive strategies employed by individuals to navigate these constraints, accruing capital, and contesting identity diminution, while acknowledging the emotional and psychological toll of such efforts (Bourdieu, 1984).

5.3 Summary of key findings

Through the strategic application of Bourdieu's comprehensive theoretical framework, which includes concepts of field, capital, habitus, and symbolic violence, this study has laid bare the nuanced perpetuation of disadvantage within the London Ambulance Service. It reveals how structures, policies, norms, and practices discreetly favour leadership profiles anchored in White, middle-class masculinity, perpetuating inequality via systemic misrecognition, social closure, and the demands for assimilation from those who diverge from these dominant paradigms (Bourdieu, 1991; Puwar, 2004).

Detailed accounts from qualitative interviews illustrate the persistence of leadership ideals that valorise demonstrative masculinity over genuinely inclusive qualities. Such biases pigeonhole female paramedics into caregiving roles, marginalising them to merely executing directives, and underscore the disparities entrenched within the system (Alobaid et al., 2020). Similarly, the expectation for Muslim employees to minimise visible religious expressions despite a professed commitment to diversity underscores the omnipresent influence of 'Whiteness' as the tacit norm (Kamenou and Fearfull, 2006). An illustrative case involves a respondent who recounted managerial scrutiny over her choice to wear a headscarf, encapsulating the symbolic violence exerted by forcing minority identities to align with the implicitly racialised standards of the organisational habitus (Bourdieu, 1991).

Furthermore, this research uncovers the strategic attempts by individuals and groups to navigate systemic barriers, striving to carve out advancement opportunities in an environment where valuable sponsorships, developmental opportunities, and critical information predominantly circulate within privileged echelons of White leadership. These findings highlight the limited agency of marginalised employees in challenging and dismantling the subtle yet profound structures and norms safeguarding privileged positions (Rollock et al., 2015). For example, Respondent 2016-04-29-054849 shared her experience of proactively seeking additional training opportunities after being confronted with a barrier to professional advancement. She recounted:

I attended an 'Engaging Leader' course...while my job-sharing colleague was simply handed the opportunity...

This narrative vividly illustrates the ongoing battles faced by individuals who do not possess the privileged identities or capital, as they endeavour to carve out their path in a landscape where opportunities are systemically curtailed (Bourdieu, 1984). The aggregation of such exclusionary

experiences, structural barriers, and individual responses sheds light on the intricate relationship between the overarching tendencies of the field that consolidate advantage, and the complex negotiations for advancement undertaken by employees who find themselves at a systemic disadvantage, yet remain determined and resourceful (Tatli et al., 2020).

Through these real-world examples, it becomes evident how the existing dominant paradigms, deeply rooted in the legacy of Whiteness and elite privilege within leadership models, continue to subtly circulate disadvantages, disproportionately impacting those ambulance service employees who fall outside the conventional norms of leadership ideals.

5.4 Discussion in relation to literature and novel contributions

This study contributes four significant insights to the body of knowledge on inequality and diversity in the workplace, with a specific focus on the London Ambulance Service.

Firstly, it builds on existing research into the experiences of minority employees (Acker, 2006; Crenshaw, 1989; Puwar, 2004) which has illustrated how systemic workplace inequality disproportionately benefits certain groups along gendered and racialised lines. This study enhances these findings by adding precise behavioural detail, uncovering specific exclusionary behaviours, comments, assessments, norms, and practices within the London Ambulance Service. By converting theoretical critiques into practical, tailored interventions, this research significantly furthers the development of equity-focused initiatives within the organisation, offering robust strategies that can be implemented to address and mitigate these deep-rooted disparities.

Secondly, prior research has delved into the structural constraints encountered by disadvantaged groups in the workplace (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1991, 2005; Savage, 2011). This thesis deepens our understanding of inequality regimes by revealing how individuals and groups strategically negotiate for advancement, clearly linking the dynamics of field logics that favour dominant identities with the responses of marginalised individuals. This research provides a more detailed and equitable analysis of the intricate relationship between structural constraints and individual agency in influencing experiences and outcomes within the London Ambulance Service.

Thirdly, while existing diversity scholarship has broadly tackled issues of inequality (Tatli et al., 2020), this study enhances the discourse by adopting an intersectional perspective. This methodology

particularly accentuates the distinct challenges faced by BAME women, who confront compounded obstacles that their White peers do not face, highlighting the intricate interplay of privilege and disadvantage that affects individuals with multiple marginalised identities. This intersectional approach not only enriches the understanding of inequality within the organisation but also emphasises the need for specifically targeted interventions.

Fourthly, this research critically challenges the widespread assumption that significant workplace inequities are only found in high-profile sectors by thoroughly investigating systemic practices within the rarely scrutinised ambulance service (Wankhade, 2016). This study highlights the essential need for equity-focused initiatives across public service domains (Ricucci, 2009; Wooten & James, 2008), stressing the importance of consistently addressing bias and discrimination across all sectors and hierarchical levels of the organisation, regardless of their public exposure or assumed significance (Acker, 2006; Joshi et al., 2015). This approach advocates for a comprehensive commitment to eradicating disparities, ensuring a fair and inclusive environment throughout the public service landscape.

These novel contributions collectively establish a comprehensive and intricate understanding of the patterns of exclusion operating within the London Ambulance Service. Through a focus on the necessity for behavioural specificity, acknowledgment of the dynamics between structural constraints and individual agency, adoption of an intersectional perspective, and emphasis on the importance of equity within public services, this thesis advocates for profound reform and promotes a more inclusive workplace culture. The insights gained from this research provide a solid foundation for well-informed practical and policy recommendations, set to drive organisational and institutional actions aimed at eradicating the identified biases and preventing their perpetuation.

5.5 Practical and policy recommendations

Firstly, the introduction of empathetic leadership training is proposed to better support family responsibilities and address the unique pressures faced by minorities, particularly issues around identity surveillance and the pressure to assimilate (Acker, 2006; Chung-Herrera and Lankau, 2005). This training aims to heighten leaders' awareness of the challenges encountered by marginalised groups within the organisation, thereby fostering a more inclusive and supportive work environment (Gotsis and Grimani, 2016; Guillaume et al., 2017). By providing leaders with the necessary tools to understand and meet the specific needs of their diverse team members, this initiative could

significantly enhance job satisfaction, employee retention, and overall organisational effectiveness (Randel et al., 2018; Shore et al., 2018). Furthermore, such training would address and seek to reduce the negative impacts of discrimination and marginalisation experienced by minority staff, as highlighted in research findings (Acker, 2006; Chung-Herrera and Lankau, 2005). Ultimately, empathetic leadership training could cultivate a more inclusive and equitable workplace culture, where the distinct challenges and contributions of all employees are recognised and valued (Gotsis and Grimani, 2016; Guillaume et al., 2017).

A critical review of job specifications, competency frameworks, and promotional criteria, viewed through an inclusivity lens, challenges the implicit biases favouring masculine-coded dominance. This advocates for a broader recognition of cooperative skills, which are often overshadowed by gendered assumptions (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1996; Liff and Wajcman, 1996; Puwar, 2004; Savage, 2011). Such a review would entail a thorough assessment of existing policies and practices that may unintentionally sustain gender and racial disparities within the organisation (Castilla, 2008; Kalev et al., 2006). By identifying and correcting these biases, the London Ambulance Service can establish a fairer and merit-based system for career progression, ensuring that the skills and contributions of all staff members are appropriately valued and recognised (Joshi et al., 2015; Roberson, 2019). This critical review aligns directly with research findings that expose the prevalence of biased promotional practices and the systemic undervaluation of skills linked to marginalised groups (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1996; Liff and Wajcman, 1996; Puwar, 2004; Savage, 2011). Through these reforms, the London Ambulance Service can cultivate a more inclusive and equitable workplace, thereby guaranteeing that all employees have equal opportunities for career advancement and acknowledgement (Castilla, 2008; Kalev et al., 2006).

It is also proposed that mandatory inequality impact audits be implemented across all public services, backed by stronger enforcement mechanisms to ensure thorough accountability (Gifford et al., 2019). These audits would offer a detailed review of the existing state of inequality within the organisation, pinpointing areas where disparities continue and underscoring the necessity for precise corrective measures (Noon, 2018; Priest et al., 2015). Additionally, the establishment of specialised funding pools is recommended to combat the foundational causes of racialised, gendered, and class-based harassment and biased behaviours within the ambulance services (Bhopal, 2018; Priest et al., 2015). Such funds would support the crafting and execution of evidence-based initiatives specifically designed to address the distinct factors contributing to inequality within the organisation (Gifford et al., 2019; Priest et al., 2015). Moreover, incorporating mandatory Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion assessments into both

internal and external policymaking procedures within ambulance services is essential to promote substantive cultural transformation rather than superficial compliance (Gifford et al., 2019; Noon, 2018)

These strategic proposals highlight the crucial need to address the root causes of systemic inequality directly, moving beyond merely superficial diversity efforts that do not confront the underlying structures of privilege and bias (Dobbin and Kalev, 2016; Holvino, 2010). This approach is essential for breaking down the entrenched dynamics of dominance that sustain disparities across intersecting dimensions of race, gender, and class. It focuses on cultivating equitable environments that genuinely recognise and appreciate the diverse traits and skills of all individuals (Dobbin and Kalev, 2016; Holvino, 2010). By adopting these recommendations, the London Ambulance Service can affirm its dedication to creating a truly inclusive and equitable workplace where every staff member is valued, supported, and empowered to achieve their fullest potential (Dobbin and Kalev, 2016; Holvino, 2010). Additionally, these initiatives could set a precedent for other public sector organisations, encouraging the widespread adoption of evidence-based practices that place equity and inclusion at the heart of organisational values (Dobbin and Kalev, 2016; Holvino, 2010).

5.6 Limitations and future inquiry

This study marks a significant stride in empirical and conceptual terrain, yet it's imperative to recognise the inherent limitations that pave the way for future research avenues. The methodological reliance on qualitative insights, while offering deep dives into the social intricacies, raises concerns over the generalisability of findings due to the limited sample size. This underscores the imperative for broader, large-scale studies that span multiple sites to track inequality patterns with greater statistical breadth (Malterud, 2001). Furthermore, the challenge of relying solely on self-reported data calls for integrating direct observational methodologies, such as ethnography, to capture the nuanced, real-time dynamics of exclusionary practices within workplace environments (Saunders et al., 2018). The difficulty in penetrating institutional barriers accentuates the need for innovative, participatory research approaches that leverage inside perspectives to illuminate the organisational culture from within (Marshall and Rossman, 2016).

On a conceptual level, while Bourdieu's theoretical constructs provide a robust framework for dissecting inequality, the study's cross-sectional nature hints at the potential enrichment offered by longitudinal research. Such studies could trace the evolution of career pathways and the accumulation

of disadvantages over time, offering a dynamic perspective on inequality (Savage, 2011). Moreover, the call for a more intersectional approach is clear, necessitating research that explores how various identity dimensions intersect to compound experiences of inequality, thus moving beyond analyses that focus on singular identity aspects (Crenshaw, 1989). Lastly, the study's concentration on a single organisation invites further exploration across different contexts and national backgrounds to identify universal versus context-specific drivers of inequality (Ashley and Empson, 2013).

Acknowledging these limitations not only underscores the depth and breadth of the study's contributions but also highlights critical paths for extending the research. Future endeavours should aim to broaden the methodological scope through diversified approaches and deepen the conceptual framework by embracing intersectionality and comparative analysis. Such directions promise to enrich our understanding of the multifaceted and dynamic processes through which inequalities are negotiated and perpetuated within public services and beyond.

5.7 Chapter summary

This chapter synthesises the intricate web of subtle systemic inequalities unearthed within the London Ambulance Service, showcasing how advantage is systematically conferred along gendered and racialised dimensions within London Ambulance Service structures, policies, assessments, and norms to the cumulative disadvantage of women and minorities. This disadvantage is manifested through exclusionary incidents and logics woven into everyday behaviours, evaluations, relationships, and interactions (Bourdieu, 1977; Crenshaw, 1989). This analysis aligns with and diverges from traditional critiques of inequality regimes, critically assessing the shortcomings of diversity initiatives that fail to tackle the foundational causes of disparity. It brings to light the thesis's unique contributions, including detailed insights into the specific dynamics of inequality within an overlooked public service setting, thereby facilitating targeted efforts towards disruption; a nuanced exploration of the interplay between structural constraints and individual agency in perpetuating inequality; a focus on the compounded challenges minority women face; and an expansion of the discourse to include public sector contexts traditionally underestimated in inequality research (Ashley and Empson, 2013; Dobbin and Kalev, 2016; Puwar, 2004; Tatli et al., 2020).

Recommended interventions include measures to enhance recruitment process transparency, cultivate empathetic leadership, reevaluate competency frameworks to celebrate cooperative skills, and implement rigorous inequality impact assessments alongside dedicated funding for intersectional

research. These recommendations aim to address the root causes of marginalisation rather than resorting to ineffective, broad-stroke diversity strategies (Kwhali et al., 2022; Liff and Wajcman, 1996).

Moving forward, the identified limitations pave the way for further research endeavours, suggesting the incorporation of longitudinal, ethnographic studies and a more pluralistic conceptual approach to unpack the complexities of enduring inequalities. Such comprehensive efforts are essential for initiating systemic changes within the ambulance service, fostering an environment where all employees are valued and empowered to contribute to a service that genuinely reflects and serves the diversity of the community (Crenshaw, 1989; Pendleton and King, 2022).

Ultimately, this thesis provides groundbreaking perspectives on the pervasive exclusionary practices within the London Ambulance Service, calling for immediate and decisive actions to foster a more inclusive and equitable workplace.

Appendices

Appendix 1: HRA and Health and Care Research Wales (HCRW) Approval Letter and documents



Mr Adebayo Tijani Newcastle
University London 102
Middlesex Street London
E1 7EZ

Email:
hra.approval@nhs.net
HCRW.approvals@wales.
nhs.uk

03 December 2019 Dear Mr Tijani

**HRA and Health and Care
Research Wales (HCRW)
Approval Letter**

Study title: PUBLIC SERVICE ORGANIZING: EXPLORING THE CAREER EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN AND BAME STAFF IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

IRAS project ID: 271335

Protocol number: 8306F PHD NUBS LONDON F

I am pleased to confirm that HRA and Health and Care Research Wales (HCRW) Approval has been given for the above referenced study, on the basis described in the application form, protocol, supporting documentation and any clarifications received. You should not expect to receive anything further relating to this application.

Please now work with participating NHS organisations to confirm capacity and capability, in line with the instructions provided in the “Information to support study set up” section towards the end of this letter.

How should I work with participating NHS/HSC organisations in Northern Ireland and Scotland?

HRA and HCRW Approval does not apply to NHS/HSC organisations within Northern Ireland and Scotland.

If you indicated in your IRAS form that you do have participating organisations in either of these devolved administrations, the final document set and the study wide governance report (including this letter) have been sent to the coordinating centre of each participating nation.

The relevant national coordinating function/s will contact you as appropriate.

Please see IRAS Help for information on working with NHS/HSC organisations in Northern Ireland and Scotland.

How should I work with participating non-NHS organisations?

HRA and HCRW Approval does not apply to non-NHS organisations. You should work with your non-NHS organisations to obtain local agreement in accordance with their procedures.

What are my notification responsibilities during the study?

The “After HRA Approval – guidance for sponsors and investigators” document on the HRA website gives detailed guidance on reporting expectations for studies with HRA and HCRW Approval, including:

Registration of Research

Notifying amendments

Notifying the end of the study

The HRA website also provides guidance on these topics and is updated in the light of changes in reporting expectations or procedures.

Who should I contact for further information?

Please do not hesitate to contact me for assistance with this application. My contact details are below.

Your IRAS project ID is 271335. Please quote this on all correspondence. Yours sincerely,

Kevin Ahmed Approvals Manager

Email: hra.approval@nhs.net

Table of documents assessed and approved by HRA and HCRW.

Document	Version	Date
Evidence of Sponsor insurance or indemnity (non-NHS Sponsors only)		24 October 2019
IRAS Application Form [IRAS_Form_25102019]		25 October 2019
Letter from funder [Letter from Funder]	1	12 August 2019
Organisation Information Document [Organisation Information Document]	1.2	02 July 2019
Participant consent form [Consent forms]	1.0	07 September 2019
Participant information sheet (PIS)	1.0	24 October 2019
Research protocol or project proposal [Project proposal]	1	07 September 2019
Summary CV for Chief Investigator (CI)		24 October 2019
Summary CV for student		12 September 2019

	271335
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Appendix 2: London Ambulance Service Research Approval Letter



NHS

London Ambulance Service

NHS Trust

Clinical Audit and Research Unit

Headquarters Annexe
Ground Floor, 8-20 Pocock Street
London SE1 0BW

Tel: 020 7783 2504

ResearchApprovals@londonambulance.nhs.uk

14th January 2020

Dear Adebayo,

I am pleased to inform you that your proposed research project, 'Public service organizing: Exploring the career experiences of women and BAME staff in the public service' has been granted Trust Research Approval to be carried out in the London ambulance Service NHS Trust (LAS).

Local approvals

Trust Research Approval for your project is subject to your LAS Supervisor's support remaining in place for the entire duration of the project.

Legislation

RL6S Trust Research Approval

Student Projects

v1.3 October 2019

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You must adhere at all times to the principles and standards of the Department of Health's UK Policy Framework for Health and Social Care Research (2018). You are also reminded of your obligation to collect, use, store and protect all research data in accordance with the Data Protection Act 2018, the EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) 2016, the Human Rights Act 1998 and all other legislation that applies to your project.

Circumstances to notify to the Research and Development (R and D) Co-ordinator

During the course of the project you must inform the R and D Co-ordinator immediately:

If your research deviates from that laid out in the approved proposal, for any reason, at any time.

If you encounter any problems that will impact the project delivery or unexpected delays.

Of any adverse incidents or near misses arising from the project. These will be dealt with according to current LAS policy, HS011, Incident Reporting Procedure

You must also comply with the rules on adverse event reporting as published by the Health Research Authority.

Amendments

If you wish to make an amendment to your project, for example to recruit at new LAS sites or change the protocol in any way, please contact the R and D Co-ordinator prior to implementing the amendment to arrange for Trust Research Approval to be issued. You may also need to submit an amendment to the Research Ethics Committee that approved your project (if applicable).



Monitoring and auditing

All research undertaken in the LAS is subject to monitoring for research governance purposes.

Any project running within the Trust can be selected for a Research Monitoring or Audit, as outlined in the Appendix of this letter. Failure to respond to correspondence regarding monitoring or auditing will result in LAS permission and support for your research to be undertaken being withdrawn.

Supervision

Your LAS Supervisor is Zafar Sardar and the Academic Supervisor for the project is Dr Andrew Lindridge. They are responsible for the day to day supervision of the research and should be contacted in the first instance should you require any advice or assistance.

Final report and publications procedure

Finally, you are reminded of the procedure for the review of final reports and of publications arising from the project. Adherence to this procedure is a condition of the LAS giving permission for you to proceed with your project.

The final report must be forwarded to me as soon as it is completed. You must not publish or disseminate your final report until we have given approval to do so. Similarly, all papers, articles or presentations arising from the research must be forwarded to me prior to submission so we can arrange review.

I wish you every success in your project. Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'R Fothergill', written over a horizontal line.

Professor Rachael Fothergill



Head of Clinical audit and research



London Ambulance Service
NHS Trust



Please be aware of the following conditions which will apply now your project has been approved:

Project registration

Information on all research projects approved to be undertaken in the LAS will be registered on a confidential database which will be used for research management purposes. We are required to do this by law.

Amendments

Once your project is underway you must conduct it exactly as per the approved proposal. If you wish to make any changes, you must obtain prior approval from the LAS (via the R and D Co-ordinator) and the Research Ethics Committee (if applicable), except where the change is in response to an immediate threat to the safety of a participant / participants. Information on how and when to notify R and D departments, the ethics committee and regulative bodies to a change in your research project can be found here:

<http://www.hra.nhs.uk/research-community/during-your-research-project/amendments/which-review-bodies-need-to-approve-or-be-notified-of-which-types-of-amendments/>.

Safety reporting / adverse event reporting

Should any adverse events occur during your project you must inform the LAS by contacting the R and D Co-ordinator. You must do this as soon as possible after the incident has occurred. LAS investigators will be required to complete and submit Datix Report within 7 days of the event.

There are specific rules for reporting incidents to ethics committees. Details are available on the HRA's website at <https://www.hra.nhs.uk/approvals-amendments/managing-your-approval/safety-reporting/>

Monitoring / progress reporting

The progress of all projects taking place at the LAS will be monitored at regular intervals by the R and D Co-ordinator. If your project involves recruiting LAS patients or staff, the R and D Co-ordinator will contact you on a monthly basis to obtain recruitment figures. You will also receive a Progress Report Form quarterly for the duration of your project (for



projects of more than three months duration). Completion of the progress report forms is a condition of your research being authorised.

Trust R and D Audit

A random selection of ongoing projects are subject to an R and D Audit each year. The R and D Audit involves a site visit and spot check of the project, including study documentation, data protection and storage and a count of consent forms against data. If your project is selected for audit you will be advised by the R and D Co-ordinator.

Appendix 3: Participant Information Sheet

Research on PUBLIC SERVICE ORGANIZING: EXPLORING THE CAREER EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN AND BAME STAFF IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Participant Information Sheet – NHS Staff

What is this sheet about?

This sheet provides you with some information about a research project titled public service organising exploring the career experiences of women and BAME staff in the public service that is being carried out. This study aims to explore in depth of the career trajectories of White Women and ethnic minority (BAME) employees in the NHS.

This research is being carried out by Adebayo Tijani, a PhD student at Newcastle University as part of his studies. The public service of focus will be the NHS. The research project should be completed by October 2021. The project has been given ethical approval by the NHS.

The research has two main aims:

To gain insights into how Women and BAME employees experience/ make sense of and negotiate their career this will enable the research to understand the structural and cultural constraints they experience in developing their careers within the public service.

To gain insights into how does the public service address culture and policies and practices that shape the careers of Women and BAME employees in order to see if the public service is identifying and removing barriers to access and progression for both Women and ethnic minority groups.

Why have I been given this sheet?

You have been approached to help with this project because your experience in the NHS is relevant to the research project. As part of this project, I would like to interview and observe members of NHS staff. Participation in this project is completely voluntary, with participants offered confidentiality through anonymity, non-disclosure of any information likely to compromise your identity, job and involvement in this project and full compliance with the Data Protection Act (2018).

If you agree to take part, I will ask you to sign a consent form. If you participate in this research, you still have the right to withdrawal at any point during the research without any penalty or justification. You do not have to take part in this project.

I would also like to have group discussions with more than one person regarding:

What does the public service look like?

What are the arguments of choosing a career in the public service?

What do we know about the careers of Women and BAME in the public service?

How the public service differs in equality and diversity issues and implementing its policies?

What do we know so far about the career challenges Women and BAME face in public service organisations?

How gendered structures are apparent in the way public service careers are constructed in terms of problems and issues that still need to be solved?

In what ways are Ethnic identity experienced in public service careers?

What do we know regarding the various ways in which Women and BAME construct their careers in the public service?

I would also like to ‘shadow’ Staff members and observe members of staff interactions to understand behavioural interactions in your respective NHS Trust location in order to validate answers given in the interview sessions.

Additional personal though anonymous information such as age, gender and race/ethnicity may be required for the purpose of demographic analysis of subject matters mentioned above. With your permission, I would like to record interview sessions which will be confidential. This will be offered through anonymity, false names, non-disclosure of any compromising material. However, please note that I will not be able to guarantee that other people also taking part in the interviews members will not disclose what you say to others, although confidentiality will be a ground rule I will state.

If I do take part, what will happen to the information I provide?

The information and any notes collected will be used for the PhD and associated work. This means that it might be used in academic writing such as for book chapters and articles in journals. All writing will be written in such a way that it will not be possible to identify any participants. Names of informants and different local authorities will be anonymised ensuring anonymity.

Information and data collected will be stored safely according to Newcastle University’s Research Code of Ethics. For example, wherever possible and appropriate, data will be anonymised ensuring informants cannot be identified and stored in digital format using approved storage systems. Electronic copies of the information will be password protected. Data will be stored in a secure location at Newcastle University, in a robust format, backed up regularly and access to data will be controlled to protect against theft, misuse, damage or loss. Data will be stored according to best practice in the relevant field of research. The responsibility for the archiving of the data will sit with the myself and where there are numerous national and data specific repositories, I will check the sharing of the data is permissible and appropriate in light of confidentiality, ethical and legal concerns before depositing any data into a repository and making the data openly available. I will be storing securely recordings and personal information such as, consent forms which will have personal information (though this will not be used) and I would like to keep the information that is collected for three years after the PhD is finished. This would potentially allow me to use the information in the future for more research. If I do this, the same safeguards will apply to future use. After this point the data will be reviewed and either retained or destroyed. Any destruction will be in accordance with legal and funder requirements.

The only time I may compromise informant confidentiality is if your wellbeing or the wellbeing of someone else is at risk. If this happens, I will have to seek advice and speak to

another employee of (insert local authority here). If this is a concern for you, please do not volunteer to take part.

Research Outcomes

I hope that by understanding female and BAME NHS employees' experiences will help to improve NHS services patient delivery and employees' experiences, although there is no guarantee that any findings from the research will be taken up by any of the public service organisation involved in the research. I do not expect there to be any risks to people who take part in the research.

What should I do next?

Please have a think about what you have read and whether you would like to take part in the research. I will ask you for an answer around a week after you have received this sheet so that you hopefully don't feel rushed into giving an answer.

What if I have any questions?

If you have any questions about the research, please contact either.

Adebayo Tijani

PhD student

07474197396

a.tijani2@newcastle.ac.uk

or

Dr Andrew Lindridge

Research supervisor

+44(0)203 752 2313

andrew.lindridge@newcastle.ac.uk

If you would like to speak to someone at (insert public service (NHS) here) about the research please

contact (insert public service (NHS) contacts here)

Appendix 4: Consent Form

IRAS number: 271335

Protocol date of issue: 22/06/2019

Protocol version number: 1.0

Location/Station Number:

Student No: 180559709

LAS Staff Identification Number:

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: PUBLIC SERVICE ORGANIZING: EXPLORING THE CAREER EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN AND BAME STAFF IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Name of Researcher: ADEBAYO OLATUBOSUN TIJANI

Program: 8306F PHD NUBS LONDON FT

Please initial all boxes

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 22/06/2019 (version 1.0) for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my medical care or legal rights being affected.

I understand that relevant sections of my data collected during the study, may be looked at by individuals from Newcastle University, from regulatory authorities or from the NHS Trust, where it is relevant to my taking part in this research. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my records.

I understand that there will be use of audio/video-taping, with possible use of verbatim quotation or use of photographs.

I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Person
taking consent.

Date

Signature

Appendix 5: Semi-Structured Interview Design

Methodological Reflexivity in Interview Design					
Qu No	Reflexive Clarification	Interview Questions	Aims of Semi-structured interview	Type of data	Method
1	What does the public service look like?	<p>Tell me about yourself and your about personal or professional life before working for the Ambulance Service.</p> <p>Tell me about your upbringing?</p>	<p>To Identify the setting in which agents and their social positions are located.</p> <p>To understand previous life and career trajectories, including natal background, education, family life and employment transitions are important. To enable the operationalisation of Bourdieu’s notion of capitals.</p> <p>To Identify the position of each particular agent in the field to understand the resulting interactions between the specific rules of the field, agent's habitus and agent's capital.</p>	Qualitative	Semi-structured Interview

2	What are the arguments of choosing a career in the public service?	Tell me about your work history within the Ambulance Service; have you always worked at the same site location, tell me about it. Work motivation, career progression, aspiration and peer / patients/users' interactions?	To understand the Habitus within the field, gaining insight into the agent's dispositions of the field. Identify the agent's preparedness for the field	Qualitative	Semi-structured Interview
3	What do we know about the careers of Women and BAME in the public service?	Now tell me how your experience has been working for the Ambulance Service? how would they describe colleagues? Are they mostly same gender and race as you? Now how do you think your upbringing compares with colleagues in your site location?	Identify forms of capital that dictated agents' position within the field	Qualitative	Semi-structured Interview

4	How the public service differs in equality and diversity issues and implementing its policies?	<p>Does your organisation support equality considerations both within your organisation and in the service you provide?</p> <p>Do you think there has been any difficulty implementing equality and diversity policies across your organisation? Please provide examples.</p> <p>How do feel about that?</p>	Explore specific rules of the field, agent's habitus and agent's capital	Qualitative	Semi-structured Interview
5	What do we know so far about the career's challenges Women and BAME face in public service organisations?	<p>Where there any obstacles that you face/faced in your site location, both professionally and socially?</p> <p>If there were/are obstacles what do think they were/are related to?</p>	Understand the (Habitus in relation to capital) dispositions of agents in response to the objective conditions it encounters within the field	Qualitative	Semi-structured Interview
6	How gendered structures are apparent is the way public service careers are constructed in terms of problems	Were/are there other characteristics about you which you think had an impact on your working experiences in your site location?	Understand the (Habitus in relation to capital) dispositions of agents in response to the objective conditions it encounters within the field.	Qualitative	Semi-structured Interview

7	<p>and issues that still need to be solved?</p> <p>In what ways are Ethnic identity experienced in public service careers?</p> <p>What do we know regarding the various</p>	<p>Again, think of your race, gender, religion, ethnicity, etc.</p> <p>If so, could you please describe those instances for me?</p> <p>Why did you choose to share? Or, why did you choose not to share?</p> <p>How has this experience impacted you?</p> <p>Is there anything else that you would like to share or that you wished I would have asked you?</p>			
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8	ways in which Women and BAME construct their careers in the public service?				
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Appendix 6: Demographic Survey

Personal details

Gender: _____

Race- Ethnicity _____

Age

20- 30 31- 40 41-50 51 – 60 61+

Education. _____

Personal situation: _____

Children

Yes No

If yes how many _____

Current Work details:

Work sector: _____

Length of operation: _____

Number of employees: _____

Location _____

Average weekly hours spent: _____

Appendix 7: Data Structure for Dominant Structures in the London Ambulance Service

First Order Concepts	Second Order Themes	Aggregated Dimension Categories (Bourdieu's Concepts)
Change in work dynamics	LAS as a public service	Evolution of the field (Field)
Experience of hostility and doubt	Leadership and Management	Cultural and professional devaluation (Symbolic Violence and Habitus)
Filing complaints; lack of proper resolution	Policies and Procedures	Challenges in navigating workplace procedures (Field and Doxa)
Observing racial homogeneity	LAS as a public service	Limited diverse capital recognition (Field and Cultural Capital)
Feeling of systemic bias	Leadership and Management	Dominant habitus marginalising others (Habitus and Symbolic Violence)
Lack of support and oversight	Policies and Procedures	Inadequate policies and care (Doxa and Symbolic Violence)
Engaging in legal battles	LAS as a public service	Resistance against the dominant field (Field and Capitals)
Reflection on personal identity	Social Networks	Personal habitus in relation to dominant field (Habitus)

Professional journey and role	LAS as a public service	Field evolution and acquisition of capitals (Field and Capitals)
Observations on gender and ethnic representation	Leadership and Management	Dominant habitus and lack of diversity (Habitus)
Current minority representation	LAS as a public service	Measurement of diverse capitals (Cultural Capital)
Entry requirements and class representation	Policies and Procedures	Changing field and increasing barriers (Field and Capitals)
Management's class and racial representation	Leadership and Management	Dominant habitus in leadership (Habitus)
Challenges in advancing to management	Leadership and Management	Barriers in the field and symbolic violence (Field and Symbolic Violence)
Conflicts with management and application obstructions	Policies and Procedures	Experiencing systemic barriers and changing habitus perception (Habitus and Symbolic Violence)
Lack of tailored support and mentorship	Policies and Procedures	Systemic doxa and symbolic violence (Doxa and Symbolic Violence)
Observations of colleagues' experiences and departure	LAS as a public service	Field dynamics and barriers pushing minorities out (Field and Capitals)
Observations of differential treatment	Social Networks	Inequitable distribution of social capital and opportunities (Social Capital)
Perception of biased 'rules of the game'	LAS as a public service	Inconsistent application of doxa in the field (Doxa and Field)
Emotional impact and feeling of nuisance	Leadership and Management	Symbolic violence and impact on habitus (Symbolic Violence and Habitus)

Seeking work-life balance	LAS as a public service	Field dynamics and capitals (Field and Capitals)
Diverse roles in public service	LAS as a public service	Accumulation of varied capitals (Capitals)
Work-life balance for family needs	LAS as a public service	Family as a form of habitus and capitals (Habitus and Capitals)
Prioritising work-life balance	LAS as a public service	Field adaptation based on habitus (Field and Habitus)
Recognising different organisational dynamics	LAS as a public service	Field dynamics and recognition of capitals (Field and Capitals)
Lack of diversity in previous organisation	Leadership and Management	Dominant doxa and symbolic violence (Doxa and Symbolic Violence)
Positive experience in a diverse organisation	LAS as a public service	Field dynamics and diverse capitals (Field and Capitals)
Positive work environment in a diverse setting	LAS as a public service	Field adaptation and diverse habitus (Field and Habitus)
Stagnation in one position	LAS as a public service	Dominant habitus and doxa leading to a lack of desire for change (Habitus and Doxa)
Observation of women in senior roles	Leadership and Management	Capitals and habitus in a specific context (Capitals and Habitus)
Realisation of potential	LAS as a public service	Field dynamics and recognition of own capitals (Field and Capitals)

Positive changes towards diversity	Policies and Procedures	Evolving field rules and doxa in favor of diversity (Field and Doxa)
Uncertainty about fairness of recruitment	Policies and Procedures	Doxa and implicit trust in the recruitment system (Doxa)
Variation in departmental conditions	LAS as a public service	Field-specific dynamics and the capital of family status (Field and Capitals)
Variation in policy enforcement	Policies and Procedures	Selective enforcement and doxa in departmental policies (Doxa and Field)
Rigidity in corporate department	Leadership and Management	Field-specific challenges and symbolic violence (Field and Symbolic Violence)
Perception of bias against BME staff	LAS as a public service	Field dynamics and systemic symbolic violence against BME staff (Field and Symbolic Violence)
Discrimination based on ethnicity and gender	Leadership and Management	Intersectional symbolic violence (Symbolic Violence and Habitus)
Validation of experiences by colleagues	Social Networks	Dominant habitus recognizing systemic biases (Habitus and Doxa)
Differential treatment in management based on department	Leadership and Management	Departmental habitus and systemic barriers (Habitus and Field)
Lack of empathy from male colleagues	Leadership and Management	Symbolic violence and gendered habitus (Symbolic Violence and Habitus)
Harsher treatment in some departments due to health issues	Policies and Procedures	Departmental habitus and systemic health biases (Habitus and Field)
Delay in addressing specific needs	Leadership and Management	Doxa of prioritization and symbolic violence (Doxa and Symbolic Violence)

Constant follow-ups required for BME staff	Leadership and Management	Field dynamics and the undervaluation of BME capital (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)

Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Diverse interactions; Range of roles in the organisation	LAS as a public service	Navigating and understanding power dynamics in the field (Field and Capitals)
Limited career progression for support staff; Disproportionate impact on BME backgrounds	LAS as a public service	Underrepresentation and systemic barriers (Field and Capitals)
Preference for maintaining the status quo	Leadership and Management	Resistance to change and adherence to dominant norms (Doxa and Field)
Challenges in attracting and retaining BME staff	Policies and Procedures	Evaluating efforts to improve diversity (Capitals and Field)
Dropout rate of BME employees at different career stages; Need for support	Leadership and Management	Navigating career pathways and addressing implicit biases (Habitus and Symbolic Violence)
Higher dropout rate of BME recruits in training groups	Leadership and Management	Identification of disparities in training outcomes (Field and Symbolic Violence)
Personal experience of unhindered career progression	LAS as a public service	Individual capitals and habitus influencing career trajectories (Capitals and Habitus)
Organisational preference for external hires over internal talent development	Leadership and Management	Systemic challenges in talent development and retention (Doxa and Field)

Revamped learning and development department; New courses on career development	LAS as a public service	Efforts to improve organisational field and increase capitals (Field and Capitals)
Necessity for HR staff to seek external courses for career advancement	Policies and Procedures	External validation and external accumulation of capitals (Capitals)
Consideration to bring external courses in-house	Leadership and Management	Internalization and validation of external capitals (Capitals)
Absence of initiatives supporting career progression	Leadership and Management	Systemic barriers and lack of organisational support (Field and Doxa)
Resignations due to lack of career progression opportunities	Leadership and Management	Perceived lack of capitals and barriers in the field (Capitals and Field)
Non-materialised organisational restructure	Leadership and Management	Resistance to change and adherence to dominant norms (Doxa and Field)
Poor management and disregard for retention	Leadership and Management	Misalignment of habitus and field; lack of valued capitals (Habitus and Capitals)

Appendix 8: Data Structure for Gendered and Racialised Practices and Systems in the London Ambulance

First Order Concepts	Second Order Themes	Aggregated Dimension Categories (Bourdieu's Concepts)
Increase in hostility and offensive behaviour towards an individual's accent and professional expertise.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Workplace environment; Symbolic Violence: Offensive comments and questioning of competence; Habitus: Cultural norms that devalue accents and diverse backgrounds. (Field and Symbolic Violence)
Perception of racial bias and limited opportunities for minorities in the workplace.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Workplace culture; Habitus: White, English-dominant norms; Symbolic Violence: Exclusion and limited opportunities for minorities. (Field, Habitus and Symbolic Violence)
Ineffectiveness of the disciplinary process and slow handling of complaints against staff members.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Workplace disciplinary process; Symbolic Violence: Inaction on complaints; Doxa: Slow and ineffective investigation norms. (Field and Symbolic Violence)
Engaging in a legal battle against the employer, reflecting struggles in professional growth and development.	Career Development	Field: Legal and professional environment; Capital: Legal resources and resilience; Habitus: Struggle for justice and professional growth. (Field, Capital and Symbolic Violence)
Conflict with a manager leading to application withdrawal; the grievance process was not upheld.	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Manager-employee relationship; Habitus: Conflict resolution norms; Symbolic Violence: Injustice in handling grievances. (Field, Habitus and Symbolic Violence)

Struggle to pursue a specific role; lack of mentorship and support; perceived bias.	Career Development	Field: Career development; Habitus: Expectations of conformity to dominant norms; Symbolic Violence: Lack of support and recognition of diversity. (Field, Habitus and Symbolic Violence)
Different treatment and opportunities given to others; feeling of inequality.	Career Promotion	Field: Training and promotion; Habitus: Favoritism; Symbolic Violence: Inequity in opportunities; Capital: Support from senior management. (Field, Habitus and Symbolic Violence)
Experience of false promises; unfair interview practices.	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Promotion and selection; Habitus: Unethical practices; Symbolic Violence: Deception and unfair advantage. (Field, Habitus and Symbolic Violence)
Unreasonable work demands after surgery; feeling disregarded and neglected.	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field: Work assignments; Habitus: Unfair treatment; Symbolic Violence: Neglect and isolation; Capital: Lack of support and consideration for well-being. (Field, Habitus and Symbolic Violence)
Racial and religious insinuations; loss of ambition.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Workplace culture; Habitus: Discrimination based on appearance and religion; Symbolic Violence: Racial profiling and stereotyping; Doxa: Acceptance of discriminatory comments. (Field, Habitus, Symbolic Violence and Doxa)
Racial and religious discrimination; failed grievance process.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Workplace interactions; Habitus: Racial and religious bias; Symbolic Violence: Discrimination and failure of grievance process; Capital: Lack of protection and justice. (Field, Habitus, Capital and Symbolic Violence)
Long-term dissatisfaction; Shift from passion to resentment; Lack of career development.	Career Development	Field: Long-term career trajectory; Habitus: Stagnation and lack of growth; Symbolic Violence: Transformation of passion into resentment; Capital: Lack of opportunities for career development; Doxa: Acceptance of the job as a mere means to an end rather than a fulfilling career. (Field, Habitus, Capital, Symbolic Violence and Doxa)
Struggle for career progression; racial discrimination	Career Development	Field, Capitals (skills, attributes), Habitus (Field, Habitus and Capital)

Anticipation of retaliation, scrutiny	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	(Field and Symbolic Violence)
Importance of work-life balance; progression with family responsibilities	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Capitals (social, cultural), Habitus (Habitus and Capital)
Positive experience in diverse and welcoming environment	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field, Capitals (social, cultural), Habitus (Field, Habitus and Capital)
Increasingly middle-class representation among senior people, with an overall mix.	Career Promotion	Field's subtle preference for middle-class cultural capital in senior roles, reflecting habitus. (Field, Habitus and Capital)
Perception of opinions being weighed less, possibly due to gender, race, or ethnicity.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic violence where the individual's capital is devalued in the field; habitus reflecting dominant norms. (Field, Habitus, Symbolic violence and Capital)
Acknowledgment of diversity within the organisation but an unconfirmed feeling of being undervalued.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Organisational habitus that recognizes diversity but may still reflect subtle symbolic violence. (Habitus and Symbolic violence)

Feeling of difficulty fitting into a predominantly male workforce.	Career Development	Field's gendered habitus that may marginalise non-male perspectives; doxa reflecting male dominance. (Field, Habitus and Doxa)
Perception of resistance to advice or correction; questioning what has changed.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus and symbolic violence where advice is resisted possibly due to identity; field dynamics that may marginalise non-dominant voices. (Field, Habitus and Sybolic Violence)
Contemplation of personal attributes affecting receptiveness to advice.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Exploration of habitus and capital; consideration of how personal attributes may be perceived and valued within the field.
Reflection on past experiences in less diverse organisations.	Career Development	Comparison of organisational fields and habitus; contrasting diversity and inclusiveness.
Perception of indifference and lack of value towards opinions or suggestions.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic violence through indifference; habitus reflecting differential treatment.
Recognition of different communication styles; personal reflection on need to explore.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus reflecting different communication approaches; doxa revealing unexplored gender dynamics.
Resistance to feedback; assertion of expertise and experience.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus reflecting entrenched practices; symbolic violence through defensiveness.

Defensiveness; racial and age identity tied to professional competence.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field dynamics shaped by race and age; doxa reflecting power relations.
Positive perception by women; situational response.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Gendered habitus; field dynamics in decision-making.
Personal development; adherence to feedback structure.	Career Development	Capital in terms of skills; habitus in maintaining control.
Feeling of not fitting in; background influence.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field exclusion due to identity; symbolic violence through marginalization.
Active career control; self-driven progression.	Career Promotion	Capital in terms of ambition; habitus of self-reliance.
Role-based interactions; limited to staff or patients.	Career Development	Field constraints; capital in communication skills.
Gender dynamics in the department.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Gendered field; possible habitus reflecting a female-majority environment.
Racial dynamics in the department.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions	Racialized field; possible symbolic violence through racial homogeneity.

	in the workplace	
Awareness of policies; lack of emphasis on them.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Organisational doxa; symbolic violence through lack of promotion of policies.
Uncertainty about recruitment fairness.	Recruitment and Selection	Field's opacity; lack of direct experience with recruitment.
Perception of differential treatment for BME staff.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic violence; racialized field and habitus.
Gender-related reprimands; lack of male colleagues' empathy.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Gendered field; symbolic violence through gendered assumptions.
Recognition for BME staff but a need for more action.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Capital in recognition; doxa of insufficiency; field awareness.
Predominance of White staff; Lack of diversity.	Recruitment and Selection	Field dynamics reflecting racial homogeneity; Lack of cultural capitals.
Perception of physical demands; Assumed unsuitability for diverse candidates.	Recruitment and Selection	Doxa perpetuating stereotypes; Symbolic violence excluding diverse backgrounds; Habitus of a physical profession.

Discomfort with being tokenised; Awareness of standing out due to skin color.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic violence through tokenism; Racialized habitus creating discomfort; Capital devaluation due to color.
Sensation of being pre-judged; Uncertainty about the cause; Feeling of opposition.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic violence through pre-judgment; Habitus reflecting tension; Doxa of personal conflict.
Discomfort with political conversations; Association with racial identity; Feeling on edge.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic violence through political discourse; Racialized doxa; Field reflecting dominant political views.
Personal choice in appearance, Support from workplace, Non-religious head coverings	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field: Workplace culture, Habitus: Personal autonomy in appearance, Capital: Supportive relationships
Observation of ethnic representation, Perceived barriers in attracting diverse ethnicities	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Ambulance work, Doxa: Traditional barriers to ethnic diversity, Capital: Cultural recognition
Sense of belonging, Emphasizing importance of diverse voices	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Organisational inclusion, Habitus: Sense of belonging despite lack of representation, Capital: Collective identity

Cultural influence on work, Positive and negative impacts of cultural background	Career Development	Field: Cultural diversity in workplace, Habitus: Integration of cultural background in professional life, Capital: Cultural understanding, Symbolic Violence: Cultural biases
Patient interaction experiences, Occasional tension based on appearance	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Patient interaction, Habitus: Professionalism in tense situations, Capital: Trust and acceptance from patients, Symbolic Violence: Momentary judgment based on appearance
Late recognition, Influence of gender and race on recognition	Career Promotion	Field: Career advancement, Capital: Abilities and influence, Doxa: Gender and race influencing recognition, Symbolic Violence: Delayed recognition due to gender and race
Struggle with fairness, Need for conversation, Seeking understanding	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Organisational culture, Habitus: Eagerness to discuss issues, Capital: Dialogue and understanding, Symbolic Violence: Perceived inequity in treatment
Professional relationships, Positive organisational history, Desire to rebuild	Career Development	Field: Corporate environment, Habitus: Commitment to organisation, Capital: Collaborative relationships and shared history, Doxa: Collective desire to improve the organisation
Career stalling, Influence of gender and earnings, Perception of late promotion	Career Promotion	Field: Management hierarchy, Capital: Level of management and earnings, Habitus: Professional development, Doxa: Gendered perception of career advancement, Symbolic Violence: Career stalling due to gender and earnings
Cultural upbringing, Feeling of inferiority, Gender and racial identity	Career Development	Field: Educational system, Capital: Cultural upbringing, Habitus: Reliance on early teachings, Doxa: Perception of inferiority based on gender and race, Symbolic Violence: Subconscious ingrained bias towards women and non-White individuals
Lack of understanding, Feeling pigeonholed, Reputation and abilities	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Workplace collaboration, Capital: Reputation and abilities, Habitus: Need for close interaction, Doxa: Superficial judgment based on appearance, Symbolic Violence: Being pigeonholed without regard to abilities and contributions

Seeking visibility, Encouragement from colleagues	Career Promotion	Field: Professional recognition, Capital: Visibility and encouragement, Habitus: Pursuit of greater visibility, Doxa: Need for tests or trials to gain visibility, Symbolic Violence: Need to prove oneself through tests for recognition
Non-traditional name, Interest in diversity, Uncomfortable behaviour	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Departmental leadership, Capital: Non-traditional identity, Habitus: Openness to diversity, Doxa: Excitement towards non-traditional attributes, Symbolic Violence: Uncomfortable behaviour reflecting insensitivity to race or gender
Trust violation, Utilisation of personal information, Racial considerations in termination.	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence, Field.
Role Evolution, Career Development, Preference for Clinical Practice	Career Development	Field (development of new roles), Capital (skills in clinical practice), Habitus (preference for hands-on practice over management)
Continuous Learning, Ambitious Goals, Pursuit of Higher Education	Career Development	Field (educational advancement in medical field), Capital (educational qualifications), Habitus (continuous self-improvement)
Age-based discrimination, Confidence shaken	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus (age and experience norms), Symbolic Violence (undermining)
Quick career progression, Age and experience	Career Development	Field (professional norms), Capitals (youth as a barrier)
Insecurity, Peer judgment	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Doxa (unspoken rules), Symbolic Violence (judgment)

Age, Experience, Professional norms	Career Promotion	Field (medical profession), Habitus (age and experience norms)
Gender, Race, Age	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus (dominant group norms), Symbolic Violence (questioning)
Unfair recruitment, Diversity issues	Recruitment and Selection	Doxa (implicit norms), Field (recruitment practices)
Resistance to diversity initiatives, Racism	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence (discrimination), Habitus (racial norms)
Demographic makeup, Religion, Ethnicity	Recruitment and Selection	Field (organisational diversity), Capitals (cultural identities)
Predominant demographic, Gender imbalance	Recruitment and Selection	Habitus (dominant gender norms), Symbolic Violence (exclusion)
Racial disparity, Contractor status	Recruitment and Selection	Field (work roles), Capitals (racial background)
Gender stereotyping, Frequent bias	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Workplace environment; Habitus: Gender norms; Symbolic Violence: Gender-based stereotyping and comments
Gender-based misrecognition, Unconscious bias	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Professional interaction; Habitus: Preference for male authority; Symbolic Violence: Ignoring female professional role

Emotional impact of bias, Self-questioning	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field: Emotional response to workplace incidents; Capital: Self-awareness; Habitus: Reaction to gender bias; Symbolic Violence: Emotional toll of discrimination
Gender-based disrespect, Age-related bias	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Professional medical scenario; Habitus: Gendered expectations in professional roles; Symbolic Violence: Dismissal of authority based on gender; Capital: Professional expertise challenged by gendered stereotypes
Lack of diversity, Desire for change	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Organisational culture; Habitus: Predominantly male-dominated field; Doxa: Acceptance of lack of diversity; Capital: Desire for change and diversity in the organisation
Social Class, Geographical Mobility	Career Development	Capital: Social Status, Geographical Mobility; Habitus: Adaptability to Different Locations
Motivation, Community Engagement	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Emergency Services; Capital: Personal Experience, Community Engagement; Habitus: Desire to Contribute and Support Others
HR Experience, Interactions with Different Levels, Respectful Work Environment	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field: HR and Organisational Interaction; Capital: Social Skills, Professional Approach; Habitus: Value of Respect and Sensitivity; Doxa: Perception of HR as Behind the Scenes
Valuing appearance and knowledge; Misjudgment of qualifications	Recruitment and Selection	Habitus and Capital; Misrecognition of individual's value
Managing challenging characters; Need for understanding in HR decisions	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field dynamics; Power relations in habitus

Bias in disciplinary actions; Lack of consideration for circumstances	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence; Racialized doxa
Unfair treatment; Defensive reactions to challenging bias	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Misrecognition; Defensive habitus
Attempt at inclusion; Ineffectiveness in representation	Career Development	Capital and Field; Incomplete transformation of habitus
Recruitment efforts for diversity; Sponsorships for qualifications; Targeted campaigns	Recruitment and Selection	Field (recruitment process); Capital (sponsorships); Habitus (aiming for diversity)
Limited career progression for support staff; Disparity for BME employees	Career Development	Field (career development structure); Symbolic Violence (limited opportunities for BME)
Resistance to change; Concerns about attraction and retention of BME staff	Recruitment and Selection	Field (organisational culture); Doxa (preference for status quo); Capital (lacking efforts to retain BME staff)
Need for analysis of dropout reasons; Lack of support implementation	Career Development	Field (career support system); Habitus (lack of analysis); Symbolic Violence (lack of support)
Observation of higher BME dropout rate; Need for data analysis	Recruitment and Selection	Field (training environment); Capital (statistical data); Symbolic Violence (higher dropout among BME recruits)
Personal experience unhampered by ethnicity;	Career Promotion	Field (HR department); Habitus (preference for new hires); Symbolic Violence (lack of support for in-house talent)

Structural issue in HR department; Preference for new hires over in-house talent		
Recognition of systemic issue, not solely racial	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field (systemic organisational structure); Doxa (underlying systemic issue)
Effort to provide career growth, PDPs	Career Development	Field: Organisational development
Gap in skill development, reliance on external sources	Career Development	Capitals: Lack of internal resources, External dependency
Limited internal opportunities, need for external growth	Career Promotion	Habitus: Culture of seeking outside for growth
Poor management, stagnation	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in workplace	Symbolic Violence: Failure to deliver promises
Broad impact, lack of focus on retention	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Organisational policy, Capitals: Human capital
Self-development, lack of organisational support	Career Development	Field: Individual responsibility, Capitals: Personal growth, Habitus: Self-driven growth
Ambiguity about career, lack of clarity	Career Development	Symbolic Violence: Negation of career, Habitus: Unclear career path
Career inspiration, job application, desire for practical training, financial considerations	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Medical profession, Capitals: Clinical skills and education, Habitus: Career-driven with practical focus
Career progression, continuous learning, aspiration to become a paramedic	Career Development	Field: Emergency services, Capitals: Professional development and education, Habitus: Ambitious and forward-thinking

Positive work experience, respect, and acceptance among peers	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Workplace culture, Capitals: Social acceptance, Habitus: Positive engagement, Symbolic Violence: Absence of negative experiences in current role
Ethnic background, stories of discrimination, family experience with racial bias	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Racial and ethnic background, Symbolic Violence: Discrimination, Doxa: Stereotypes affecting recruitment
Embracing ethnic identity, viewing diversity as an asset, cultural understanding	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Cultural diversity in recruitment, Capitals: Cultural understanding and ethnic identity, Habitus: Embracing diversity, Symbolic Violence: Counteracting bias
Observation of ethnic majority in the workplace	Recruitment and Selection	Dominant habitus; Marginalised identities and capitals
Concern about representation	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Lack of diversity reflecting dominant norms
Awareness of equality policies	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field; Doxa; Formal commitments to inclusion
Lack of personal experience with discrimination	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence; Absence of overt discrimination does not rule out subtle biases
No personal feeling of hindrance in career due to ethnicity; acknowledgment of others' experiences	Career Development	Field; Habitus; Individual experience may not reflect systemic biases
Satisfaction with career progression	Career Development	Capitals; Individual capital accumulation; Alignment with dominant norms

Observation of dominance of White males in higher positions	Career Promotion	Field; Habitus; Dominant norms shaping leadership roles
Observation of younger White males advancing	Career Promotion	Capitals; Systematic privileging of certain identities and backgrounds
Time in service; Hope for change	Career Development	Field; Temporal aspect of habitus
Acknowledgment of different experiences; Awareness of challenges faced by others	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus; Recognition of diversity in experiences
Agreement on lack of diversity in higher ranks	Career Promotion	Field; Dominant norms; Lack of change in leadership habitus
Perception of tokenism in diversity; Critique of representation	Recruitment and Selection	Doxa; Symbolic Violence; Appearance of diversity without true inclusion
Concern for future opportunities; Gratitude for current opportunities	Career Development	Field; Capitals; Balance of opportunity and concern
Perception of challenge in progression; Emphasis on connections over merit	Career Promotion	Field; Capitals (social vs. cultural); Habitus of hierarchical progression
Contentment with current progress; Focus on self-development	Career Development	Habitus; Focus on personal capital accumulation
Appreciation for appraisal process; Facilitation of communication and goal realization	Career Development	Field; Capital (communication and goal setting); Positive habitus within organisational structure

Lack of clear guidance for career progression; Importance of connections	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Lack of capitals (information and guidance); Doxa of unclear career pathways
Acknowledgment of White privilege; Underrepresentation of women and minorities; Need for equality	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field; Symbolic Violence; Habitus reflecting societal norms; Doxa of incomplete progress towards equality
Individual choice in career path; Lack of desire for management role; Emphasis on personal aspirations	Career Development	Habitus (individual career preferences); Capital (aspirations); Field (management roles)
Observation of dominance by White men in management; Indication of underrepresentation	Career Promotion	Field (management); Symbolic Violence (dominance of specific group); Doxa (accepted underrepresentation)
Desire for career progression; Struggle to ascend to management; Complexity of the process	Career Development	Field (management level); Habitus (career progression aspirations); Capital (experience)
Definition of management roles	Career Promotion	Capital (knowledge of management roles); Field (management roles)
Class classification of workforce	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Capital (social class); Habitus (class identity); Field (workforce)
Lack of faith in policies; Ineffective implementation; Lack of information dissemination	Well-Being and Flexibility in	Capital (knowledge of policies); Doxa (ineffective policies); Field (organisational policies)

	working arrangements	
Selective application of policies; Manager's discretion; Cultural unawareness	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (managerial decisions); Capital (cultural knowledge); Doxa (selective application)
Lack of policy adherence; Managers' unfamiliarity with policies	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Habitus (managerial practice); Capital (policy knowledge); Symbolic Violence (ignorance)
Lack of accountability; Fear among staff; Ignorance among managers	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (organisational accountability); Habitus (fear); Doxa (ignorance as norm)
Ignorance in recruitment policies; Accusation based on race; Preference for ignorance over understanding	Recruitment and Selection	Field (recruitment); Capital (awareness of policies); Habitus (ignorance); Symbolic Violence (racial accusations)
Discrimination in role; Disparity in opportunities; Hidden managerial position	Career Promotion	Field (job role); Capital (opportunities); Habitus (discrimination); Symbolic Violence (hidden opportunities)
Dismissal of concerns; Lack of explanation; Discouragement from inquiry	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (communication); Capital (information); Habitus (dismissal); Symbolic Violence (discouragement)

Marginalisation in meetings; Dismissal of contributions; Gender-based discrimination	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (meetings); Capital (expertise); Habitus (marginalization); Symbolic Violence (gender-based discrimination)
Microaggressions	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence; Habitus
Stereotyping	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Exclusion; Challenge	Career Development	Field; Capital; Habitus
Political Influence; Alienation	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Isolation; Alienation	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field; Habitus; Symbolic Violence
Cultural Shift; Insecurity	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions	Field; Doxa; Habitus

	in the workplace	
Consideration of Resignation	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Capital; Symbolic Violence
Exhaustion; Isolation; Lack of Understanding	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field; Habitus; Symbolic Violence
Denial of Opportunities; Inconsistent Management	Career Promotion	Capital; Doxa; Field
Bias Against Accent; Lack of Respect	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field; Habitus; Symbolic Violence
Coping Strategies; Rationalisation	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field; Doxa; Habitus
Not Coping; Seeking Change; Toxic Environment	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field; Habitus; Symbolic Violence

Desire for Research; Desire to be Heard; Labeling as Troublemakers	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field; Habitus; Symbolic Violence
Lack of Diversity; Underrepresentation; Bias in Process; Lack of Support for Communities	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Capital; Habitus; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Support for BME Staff; Lack of Support in Ambulance Service; Pre-employment Struggle	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Capital; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Need to Work Harder; Language Barriers; Ignorant Comments	Career Promotion	Field; Capital; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Lack of Trust; Unfair Platform to Voice Concerns; Conflict of Interest with Senior Leadership	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field; Habitus; Symbolic Violence; Doxa
Biased Recruitment; Loopholes in System; Discrimination; Preferred Candidate Selection	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Capital; Habitus; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Fear of Speaking Up; Minority Status; Feeling Silenced	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus; Symbolic Violence; Doxa
Stagnation in Career; Lack of Progression; Systemic Issues	Career Development	Field; Capital; Habitus; Symbolic Violence

Lack of Meritocracy; Compromising Principles for Advancement; Acceptance of Limited Progression	Career Promotion	Field; Capital; Habitus; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Personal Circumstances Keeping in Job; Desire to Leave; Feeling Stuck	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Habitus; Field; Symbolic Violence
Career Aspirations; Age Barriers	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Doxa; Capital
Gaining Practical Experience; Career Pathways	Career Development	Field; Capital; Habitus
Opportunity Recognition; Immediate Application; Desire to Help	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Capital
Career Longevity; Skill Development; Adaptation; Problem-solving	Career Development	Field; Capital; Habitus
Challenges and adaptation in part-time work	Career Development	Field (constraints of part-time work), Habitus (adaptation to overcome challenges), Symbolic Violence (penalization for part-time status)
Limited opportunities for part- time work, Requirement of full- time experience	Recruitment and Selection	Field (constraints in career mobility for part-timers), Capitals (experience capital), Symbolic Violence (lack of opportunities for part-timers)
Differential treatment of part- time roles in corporate vs operational roles	Recruitment and Selection	Field (different norms for corporate vs operational roles), Habitus (negotiation skills for part-time work), Doxa (rare advertisement of part-time positions)
Feeling of being left behind, Comparison with younger women, Perception of stagnation	Career Development	Field (competitive work environment), Capitals (lack of opportunities to improve skills), Habitus (sense of resignation), Symbolic Violence (feeling of exclusion)

Operational accommodation, Childcare needs, Challenges in changing departments, Feeling stuck among part-time women	Career Development	Field (operational constraints), Capitals (limited mobility and opportunities), Habitus (collective sentiment of being stuck), Symbolic Violence (limited access)
Lack of advertising for part-time roles, Informal arrangements, Limited opportunities for part-time positions	Recruitment and Selection	Field (formal and informal recruitment), Capitals (knowledge and connections), Habitus (informal culture), Doxa (norms around part-time roles), Symbolic Violence (hidden opportunities)
Experience in temporary full-time role, Desire for part-time, Lack of part-time opening, Limited job options for part-time work	Career Promotion	Field (job structure and flexibility), Capitals (skills and willingness to adapt), Habitus (personal preferences), Doxa (full-time as standard), Symbolic Violence (limitation in opportunities)
Effort to stay updated, Reliance on colleagues by some part-time staff, feeling of working harder to keep up	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (knowledge and protocols), Capitals (individual effort and reliance on others), Habitus (sense of responsibility), Doxa (expectations of part-time staff), Symbolic Violence (additional burden to maintain competence)
Change in work dynamics due to part-time work; Impact of family responsibilities on career	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Habitus; Field; Capital (Time management and productivity in the professional field)
Perception of part-time workers; Productivity; Work ethics	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Habitus; Field; Doxa (Cultural beliefs about part-time work)

Issues related to personality and job performance; Non-discrimination	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field; Habitus (Workplace culture and individual's adaptation)
Experience of bias outside the workplace; Surprise at discrimination	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Doxa; Symbolic Violence (Social norms and subtle biases)
Encouragement for authenticity; Importance of being oneself at work	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field; Habitus (Organisational culture promoting authenticity)
Emphasis on equality; Improvement in treatment; Addressing inappropriate behaviour	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field; Capital (Social change and individual empowerment); Symbolic Violence (Past biases and behaviour)
Positive change in treatment; Evolution in workplace culture across services	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field; Habitus (Transformation in organisational culture and practices)
Flexibility in work arrangements; Problem-solving approach	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Capital; Habitus (Individual's adaptation and negotiation with organisational norms)

Successful negotiation for shift share; Adoption of new practices	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Capital; Field; Doxa (Transformation in accepted norms and practices)
Persistence in job application; Value of connections	Recruitment and Selection	Capital (Social capital through connections and persistence)
Lack of career progression for part-time workers	Career Development	Doxa (norms against part-time advancement), Symbolic Violence (disadvantage in career growth)
Increase in part-time roles, need for career progression pathways	Career Promotion	Field (changing work landscape), Habitus (attitudes towards part-time roles)
Consideration for part-time leadership roles	Career Promotion	Capital (leadership role), Habitus (perception of part-time leadership)
Positive experience with diversity and inclusion	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (inclusive work environment), Capital (diversity)
Description of role and responsibilities, emphasis on physical competency	Recruitment and Selection	Field (specialized environment), Capital (skills and training), Habitus (adaptation to challenging conditions)
Career progression and experience	Career Development	Field (career trajectory), Capital (experience), Habitus (adaptation to different environments)
Transition from retail to paramedic, leadership experience	Career Promotion	Field (career change), Capital (leadership and success), Habitus (desire for change), Doxa (norms around career satisfaction)
Influence of family and friends, successful application process	Recruitment and Selection	Field (ambulance service), Capital (connections, encouragement), Habitus (response to encouragement)
Career progression, experience with violence	Career Development	Field (varied roles), Capital (experience, skills), Habitus (adaptation to different environments)

Observations of demographic changes, gender issues	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (unit dynamics), Capital (awareness of changes), Habitus (adaptation), Doxa (outdated beliefs), Symbolic Violence (gender exclusion)
Change in team dynamics and focus	Career Promotion	Field (HART), Capital (technical skills, enthusiasm), Habitus (changing attitudes), Doxa (shifting norms)
Need for religious accommodation; Incomplete inclusivity	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field (Workplace facilities); Capitals (Religious practices); Doxa (Implicit norms around religious accommodation); Symbolic Violence (Lack of proper facilities)
Insensitivity, Focus on Hot Topics	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Doxa (prevailing beliefs), Symbolic Violence (imposing stereotypes)
Need for Understanding and Inclusivity	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus (norms and practices to promote inclusivity)
Understanding of Policies, Challenging Situations	Career Development	Field (organisational structure), Capital (knowledge of policies)
Frustration, Lack of Accountability	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus (work culture), Doxa (unspoken norms), Symbolic Violence (toxic environment)
Encouragement for Women, Implied Doubts	Recruitment and Selection	Field (organisational approach), Capitals (gender as capital), Doxa (implicit gender bias)

Age and Maternal Dynamics, Inappropriate Comments	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Symbolic Violence (derogatory comments), Habitus (gendered norms)
Objectification and Inappropriate Behaviour	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Symbolic Violence (objectification), Doxa (normalized misbehavior)
Incident and Investigation of Sexual Harassment	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (organisational response), Symbolic Violence (harassment)
Harassment, Justification, Objectification	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Symbolic Violence (harassment), Doxa (justification)
Relocation Decision, Lack of Consent	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Doxa: Hierarchical decision-making; Symbolic Violence: Imposing decisions without consent; Field: Managerial authority
Acknowledgment of Competence	Career Promotion	Capital: Recognition of work ethic and technical skills; Field: Manager-employee interaction; Doxa: Disconnect between competence and scheduling needs
Challenge, Single Mother Discrimination	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions	Symbolic Violence: Discrimination based on personal status; Field: Hierarchical power relations; Habitus: Willingness to challenge unfair practices

	in the workplace	
Request for flexibility; Management's unsure response	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field (workplace dynamics); Capital (negotiation for flexibility); Habitus (social roles)
Mental health struggles; Overwhelmed by circumstances	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field (work-life balance); Symbolic Violence (mental health neglect)
Confrontation with colleagues; Gender dynamics	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (workplace interaction); Habitus (gender roles); Symbolic Violence (aggression)
Investigation; Accusation of unprofessional behaviour	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (disciplinary process); Doxa (accepted norms); Symbolic Violence (accusation)
Ignored by HR; Lack of support for single mothers; Financial instability	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Organisational bureaucracy and lack of responsiveness; Habitus: Employee's expectation of support and understanding from HR; Symbolic Violence: Institutional neglect and marginalization of personal and familial needs; Doxa: Unquestioned belief in organisational support systems that fail to respond
Public callout on social media; Immediate reaction from management; Lack of	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions	Field: Organisational power structures and communication channels; Capitals: Use of social media as a form of social capital to gain attention; Habitus: Norms of communication within the organisation; Symbolic Violence: Enforcement of organisational power and control in response to public naming; Doxa: The taken-

alternative communication channels	in the workplace	for-granted way of dealing with HR issues, leading to a desperate act to attract attention
Delay and lack of responsiveness; Promise and lack of action	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Doxa (acceptance of delays); Symbolic Violence (inaction)
Pleasure turned frustration; Seeking action; Pleading	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (workplace dynamics); Habitus (pleading for rights)
Declaration of intention; Following through	Career Development	Capitals (personal power and assertiveness); Doxa (work ethics)
Completion of course; Return to workplace; Lack of support	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field (organisational structure); Symbolic Violence (lack of support)
Willingness, Location constraints, Role preference	Recruitment and Selection	Field (workplace dynamics), Capitals (professional skills), Doxa (unspoken rules)
Staffing issues, Skill mismatch, Inefficiency	Career Development	Field (organisational structure), Capitals (professional skills), Symbolic Violence (misrecognition of skills)
Expectation of change; Hope for a female leader	Career Development	Field (workplace); Habitus (gender dynamics)
Struggle to fit into traditional work structure; Needs of a single mother	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Habitus (family needs); Symbolic Violence (workplace discrimination)

Observing favoritism; Management's care for certain individuals	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (workplace culture); Capitals (social influence)
Perception of gender bias; 'Boys club' mentality	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus (gendered norms); Symbolic Violence (exclusionary practices)
Direct gender discrimination; Seeking intervention	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Doxa (accepted norms); Symbolic Violence (verbal harassment)
Feeling of being molded; Perceived threat of an independent woman	Career Promotion	Habitus (gender expectations); Symbolic Violence (pressure to conform)
Exhaustion, Desire for Equality, Persistence, Challenge to Gender Injustice	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Habitus (Challenging gender norms), Field (Workplace dynamics), Symbolic Violence (Perception of women as a threat)
Fighting Sexism, Labeling, Awareness of Harassment, Feminism	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Doxa (Casual sexism), Habitus (Feminism as a stance), Symbolic Violence (Labeling as 'militant')
Challenging Objectification, Protecting Newcomers, Questioning Behaviour	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions	Field (Workplace behaviour), Capitals (Moral stance), Symbolic Violence (Objectification of women)

	in the workplace	
Casual Sexism, Social Acceptance, Sensitivity	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Doxa (Normalization of sexism), Symbolic Violence (Perception of sensitivity)
Recognition of Minority Struggles, Lack of Planning, Public Perception	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field (Workplace struggles), Capitals (Recognition of minority issues), Doxa (Lack of preparation)
Desire for inclusivity; Persistence of outdated attitudes	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (organisational culture); Doxa (taken-for-granted beliefs)
Experienced management; Disappointment in colleagues' abilities	Career Development	Field (management expectations); Capital (experience)
Ineffective personal development plans	Career Development	Habitus (approach to development); Symbolic Violence (lack of personal growth)
Labeling as a feminist; Dismissal of concerns	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence; Doxa (stereotypes about feminists)
Personal respect vs. professional incompetence	Career Development	Field (managerial competency); Habitus (management style)
Inadequate support for pregnancy; Lack of flexibility	Well-Being and	Field (organisational policy); Symbolic Violence (inadequate support)

	Flexibility in working arrangements	
Ineffectual leadership; Protecting wrong individuals; Overlooking right talent	Recruitment and Selection	Field (Organisational culture); Habitus (Leadership style); Symbolic Violence (Overlooking talent)
Lack of empowerment; Management by fear; Ineffective motivation	Career Development	Habitus (Management style); Capitals (Financial incentives); Symbolic Violence (Lack of empowerment)
Lack of flexibility; Mismanagement of work schedules	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Habitus (Work schedules); Capitals (Time management); Symbolic Violence (Lack of consideration for personal needs)
Enjoyment of camaraderie; Appreciation for diversity	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field (Workplace culture); Capitals (Social relationships); Habitus (Enjoyment of diversity)
Ineffectual leadership; Lack of appreciation for talent; Appeasing troublemakers	Career Promotion	Field (Leadership ineffectiveness); Habitus (Management focus); Symbolic Violence (Lack of appreciation)
Institutionalized gender expectation, Lack of support for female workers, Reactive management	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field, Habitus, Doxa
Personal commitment to the profession	Career Development	Habitus, Capitals (Cultural Capital)

Current position and location	Career Development	Field, Capitals (Professional Capital)
Education, Career change due to personal circumstances	Career Development	Field, Habitus, Capitals (Cultural Capital)
Family relocation for safety, Family members in healthcare	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field, Habitus, Doxa
Joining date, Challenge in progression, Interview process	Career Promotion	Field, Capitals (Professional Capital), Symbolic Violence (Challenging Process)
Typing test, Experience with typing	Recruitment and Selection	Field, Capitals (Skills Capital), Symbolic Violence (Unnecessary Test)
Interview questions, Delay in response, Lack of feedback	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field, Doxa (Unresponsive Behavior), Symbolic Violence (Lack of Transparency)
Lack of clear requirements, Unfairness	Recruitment and Selection	Field, Doxa (Lack of Transparency), Symbolic Violence (Arbitrary Process)
Realization of wrongdoing, Unfair treatment, Schedule adjustment	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field, Habitus (Work Schedule), Symbolic Violence (Exclusion and Unfairness)
Manager's lack of cultural understanding, comparison to others, imposition of rules without context	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (workplace dynamics), Symbolic Violence (imposing norms), Doxa (taken-for-granted beliefs)

Need for personal expression, cultural importance of hair, lack of accommodation	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Habitus (individual's dispositions), Capitals (cultural understanding)
Generalization of Black people, denial of individuality, lack of empathy	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence (generalization), Field (workplace norms)
Assertion of cultural identity, challenge to stereotypes, demand for respect	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus (cultural identity), Symbolic Violence (comparison)
Cultural accommodation, workplace policy reflection	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (workplace policies), Capitals (cultural awareness)
Unfair practices, lack of transparency, favoritism	Recruitment and Selection	Symbolic Violence (unfair treatment), Doxa (accepted unfair practices)
Lack of transparency, injustice, disillusionment	Recruitment and Selection	Symbolic Violence (injustice), Field (recruitment process)
Racial disparity, unequal treatment during pregnancy	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Symbolic Violence (racial bias), Capitals (racial privilege)
Discrimination, preferential treatment, racial bias	Well-Being and	Symbolic Violence (discrimination), Habitus (organisational behavior), Doxa (norm)

	Flexibility in working arrangements	
Noticeable difference in treatment, Lack of recognition, Unfairness	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Symbolic Violence (unfair treatment), Field (organisational practice)
Disparity in treatment, Lack of recognition, Possible discrimination	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence (discrimination), Capitals (racial privilege), Habitus (organisational behavior)
Racial disparity, Difference in experience, Lack of celebration	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence (racial bias), Doxa (accepted disparities)
Unusual treatment, Lack of simple gesture, Absence of team support	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence (exclusion), Field (team dynamics)
Confrontation, Selective support, Inconsistent policies	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Doxa (accepted inconsistencies), Habitus (selective practices), Field (managerial roles)
Feeling slighted, Lack of simple gesture, Team celebration for others	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions	Symbolic Violence (exclusion), Capitals (racial privilege), Habitus (team behavior)

	in the workplace	
Lack of support upon return; Rapid change expectation	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field and Doxa (expectation to conform); Symbolic Violence (imposition of dominant norms)
Lack of consideration and empathy; Unrealistic expectations	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus (organisational culture); Symbolic Violence (marginalizing non-dominant experience)
Seeking accountability; Concern for safety and fairness	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field (workplace environment); Capital (employee's demand for recognition)
Perceived inequality in treatment; Questioning unfair privilege	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Doxa (unquestioned beliefs); Symbolic Violence (imposition of dominant norms)
Frustration over illogical decision; Feeling devalued	Career Development	Habitus (organisational culture); Capital (employee's experience and value)
Unfair expectations; Lack of regard for personal time	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field (workplace norms); Symbolic Violence (imposition of dominant standards)

Lack of career progression; Frustration with limited opportunities	Career Development	Habitus (organisational culture); Capital (lack of opportunities)
Disregard for well-being; Focus on productivity over health	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field and Doxa (emphasis on productivity); Symbolic Violence (neglect of well-being)
Discrepancy between image and practice; Failure to uphold diversity values	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus (discrepancy between image and reality); Doxa (superficial commitment to diversity)
Lack of trust in support services; Doubt about confidentiality	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field (workplace environment); Symbolic Violence (lack of genuine support)
Call for change; Inequality based on race, gender; Pressure to conform	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Capital (demand for change); Habitus (pressure to conform); Symbolic Violence (inequality)
Emotional distress; Dissatisfaction with the current state	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Field (emotional response to workplace norms); Capital (expression of dissatisfaction)
Lack of international staff; Predominance of White British	Recruitment and Selection	Field (organisational setting), Capitals (cultural/ethnic)

Working-class background of colleagues	Career Development	Capitals (social/economic), Habitus (class-based dispositions)
Discrimination; Age and foreign background	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence (discrimination), Doxa (unquestioned beliefs about age/ethnicity)
Easier integration for male colleagues	Career Promotion	Field (gender dynamics), Habitus (gender-based dispositions)
Supportive work environment	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Capitals (social/relationship), Field (organisational culture)
Pressure to work on weekends	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Symbolic Violence (coercion), Capitals (economic, time)
Weekend work; Staff shortage	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Capitals (economic/time), Field (organisational needs)
Sharing experience of discrimination	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence (discrimination), Doxa (sharing experiences for change)
Diversity efforts; Inclusive environment	Recruitment and Selection	Field (diversity efforts), Capitals (social/cultural)

Transition to a better situation	Career Development	Capitals (social/psychological), Habitus (personal growth)
Reflection and sharing for positive change	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (sharing experiences), Habitus (personal reflection)
Job mobility; Length of service; Diverse roles	Career Development	Field (ambulance service), Capitals (experience), Habitus (preference for change)
Job retention; Comfort; Opportunity for exploration	Recruitment and Selection	Field (service), Capitals (comfort), Habitus (exploration within the field)
Job vs. career; Lifestyle choice	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Habitus (personal values), Doxa (viewing job as lifestyle sustainer rather than career)
Single motherhood; Flexibility; Shift work	Well-Being and Flexibility in working arrangements	Capitals (flexibility), Habitus (balance between work and motherhood)
Career movement, Training, Responsibility	Career Development	Field (Training Department), Capitals (Skills in training)
Workplace environment, Difficult personalities	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus (Negative working culture), Symbolic Violence (Hostile environment)
Open bullying, Aggressive behaviour	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions	Doxa (Accepted practice of bullying), Symbolic Violence (Physical and emotional abuse)

	in the workplace	
Bullying, No discrimination based on gender or ethnicity	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (Hierarchy), Habitus (Bullying culture), Capitals (Rank and Power)
Predominantly White, Participation in bullying	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (Ethnicity), Symbolic Violence (Ethnic dominance)
Leadership, Alpha figure, White English woman	Career Promotion	Field (Leadership), Capitals (Authority), Symbolic Violence (Dominance)
Severe bullying, Participation in bullying	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus (Bullying culture), Symbolic Violence (Coercion into participating)
Formal complaints, Bad situation	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (Complaint process), Capitals (Rights to complain), Habitus (Culture of speaking out)
Alpha figure, Power dynamics, Bullying, Cliques	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (Social hierarchy), Habitus (Bullying culture), Symbolic Violence (Power abuse)

Bullying, Lack of discrimination based on ethnicity or sex	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field (Work environment), Habitus (Bullying culture), Symbolic Violence (General targeting)
Unfair and targeted recruitment process; Lack of transparency; Tailoring roles	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Organisational practices that favor specific groups; Capital: Emphasis on specific qualifications that suit dominant individuals; Doxa: Acceptance of unfair practices as normal within the organisation.
Prediction of outcome; Exclusion of others	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Organisational culture that anticipates outcomes; Capital: Emphasis on specific experience; Symbolic Violence: Implicit exclusion of those who don't fit the specific criteria.
Demographic patterns in promotions; Cynicism	Career Promotion	Field: Dominance of White middle-class males; Capital: Emphasis on social identity over skills; Habitus: Collective cynicism and resignation; Symbolic Violence: Imposition of a narrow identity as the standard for promotion.
Unfair and targeted recruitment process; Lack of transparency; Tailoring roles	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Organisational practices that favor specific groups; Capital: Emphasis on specific qualifications that suit dominant individuals; Doxa: Acceptance of unfair practices as normal within the organisation.
Prediction of outcome; Exclusion of others	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Organisational culture that anticipates outcomes; Capital: Emphasis on specific experience; Symbolic Violence: Implicit exclusion of those who don't fit the specific criteria.
Demographic patterns in promotions; Cynicism	Career Promotion	Field: Dominance of White middle-class males; Capital: Emphasis on social identity over skills; Habitus: Collective cynicism and resignation; Symbolic Violence: Imposition of a narrow identity as the standard for promotion.
Lack of diversity in senior/middle management; Significant disparity	Career Promotion	Field: Underrepresentation of BAME in management roles; Doxa: Accepted norm of lack of diversity; Symbolic Violence: Implicit exclusion of BAME individuals from leadership positions.
Implementation of equal opportunity policies; Personal observation	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Organisational commitment to diversity; Capital: Utilization of policies to promote inclusion; Habitus: Perception of equal opportunities within the organisation.

Lack of BAME applicants; Challenge in implementing diversity	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Limited access to opportunities for BAME individuals; Capital: Lack of BAME presence in the applicant pool; Habitus: Reluctance to apply; Symbolic Violence: Implicit barriers to entry for BAME applicants.
Lack of BAME applications; Front-end problem	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Organisational recruitment challenges; Capital: Lack of outreach to BAME communities; Habitus: Hesitation among BAME individuals to apply; Doxa: Accepted norm of underrepresentation in applications; Symbolic Violence: Lack of encouragement for BAME applications.
Changes in job advertisements; Increased awareness; Improvement in fairness	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Shift in organisational approach to recruitment; Capital: Broadening of recruitment criteria; Habitus: Growing consciousness about fairness; Doxa: Changing norms around job advertisements.
Assumptions about favouritism; Doubts about legitimacy	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Doxa (unquestioned beliefs); Symbolic Violence (imposition of stereotypes)
Perceptions of inaccessibility; Lack of self-belief	Recruitment and Selection	Field (social structures); Habitus (dispositions)
Stereotypes; Assumptions about inappropriate relationships	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence (imposition of stereotypes); Capitals (social capital)
Hesitation to apply; Persistent mindset	Career Development	Habitus (dispositions); Doxa (unquestioned beliefs)
Lack of representation; Assumptions about positions being exclusive	Career Promotion	Field (social structures); Symbolic Violence (imposition of dominance)
Personal perseverance; Desire to break barriers	Career Development	Capitals (cultural capital); Habitus (individual disposition)
Desire for feedback; Willingness to address issues	Career Promotion	Field (organisational structure); Capitals (self-awareness and determination)

Awareness of racial and gender stereotypes; Impact of socioeconomic background	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus, Symbolic Violence (Low expectations and stereotypes)
Personal determination and self-belief	Career Development	Field, Habitus (Self-confidence and resistance to societal expectations)
Gender and racial composition of the team	Recruitment and Selection	Capitals (Social and Cultural: Diversity within the team)
Gender, class, and racial dynamics in management	Career Promotion	Field, Capitals, Doxa (Inequality in management representation)
Observation of lack of diversity in upper management	Career Promotion	Field, Capitals (Lack of representation)
Personal contentment with job, not seeking progression	Career Development	Habitus (Contentment with status quo)
Awareness of lack of diversity but personal disinterest in pursuing higher roles	Recruitment and Selection	Field, Habitus (Awareness but no ambition)
Questioning the lack of BAME women in management, despite qualifications	Career Promotion	Field, Doxa, Symbolic Violence (Systemic barriers)
Desire for more BAME women in management but emphasis on excellence	Career Promotion	Field, Capitals (Need for excellence)
Concern about the reflection of performance on all BAME women, demand for excellence	Career Promotion	Doxa, Symbolic Violence (Pressure to perform)
Concern about sustainability of position due to racial bias	Career Promotion	Field, Symbolic Violence, Habitus
Racial disparities in disciplinary procedures	Disciplinary and Daily	Field, Symbolic Violence, Doxa

	Interactions in the workplace	
Rapid escalation to formal disciplinary actions for BAME staff	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field, Symbolic Violence
Frequent disciplinary actions; challenges in interaction between White male management and BAME women	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field, Habitus, Symbolic Violence
Expectation of differential treatment in disciplinary situations	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field, Habitus, Doxa
Biases and preconceptions about behaviour of Black women	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus, Symbolic Violence
Personal stance on career development, recognition of obstacles and unfair treatment, call for self-responsibility	Career Development	Field, Habitus, Capitals, Doxa
Initial enthusiasm and motivation; Connection between past experience and current job	Recruitment and Selection	Capital (Cultural and Social); Field

Career advancement; Management support	Career Development	Field; Capital (Cultural and Social)
Discrimination during training; Ethical dilemma	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence; Doxa; Habitus
Discrimination in patient care; Differential treatment	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence; Doxa; Habitus
Patient's background; On-site assessment	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Capital (Cultural)
Disagreement on patient care; Time-sensitive decision	Career Development	Field; Habitus; Symbolic Violence
Professional background; Training	Recruitment and Selection	Capital (Cultural and Social); Field
Professionalism; Patient focus despite disagreements	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Habitus; Capital (Cultural)
Negative narratives; Reputation damage	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence; Doxa
Unusual assignment; Westminster group affiliation	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Capital (Social)

Confusion at new station; Communication with EOC	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Habitus; Capital (Social)
Punitive action; Extra responsibilities	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence; Doxa
Pride in education and responsibilities	Career Development	Capital (Cultural and Social); Habitus
Threat of reporting; Manager involvement	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field; Symbolic Violence
Perceived bias; Favoritism by management	Career Promotion	Doxa; Capital (Social)
Constant interruptions; Hindered performance	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Symbolic Violence; Habitus
Impeding medical treatment	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangement s	Field; Symbolic Violence

Unnecessary delays; Patient's health at risk	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Symbolic Violence; Field
Targeted due to race; Not isolated behavior	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Symbolic Violence; Doxa; Capital (Social)
Intimidation; Bullying	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Symbolic Violence; Habitus
Differential treatment; Self-declared superiority	Career Promotion	Symbolic Violence; Field; Capital (Social)
Poor treatment linked to patient care; Differential treatment	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Symbolic Violence; Doxa
Disagreement on patient care; Risk to patient health	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field; Capital (Cultural)

Medical guidelines; Reluctance to follow protocol; Patient care concerns	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field; Capital (Cultural, Medical Knowledge)
Disagreement on medical data; Patient risk	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field; Symbolic Violence; Capital (Cultural, Medical Knowledge)
Documentation; Confrontation; Emotional response	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field; Habitus; Capital (Social, Cultural)
Scepticism towards apology	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Racial visibility; Targeting based on race	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Doxa; Symbolic Violence; Capital (Social)
Ethnic underrepresentation	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Doxa; Capital (Social)
Gender distribution	Career Development	Field; Capital (Social); Habitus

Policy-Practice gap	Career Promotion	Field; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Lack of diversity in key roles	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Capital (Social); Symbolic Violence
Ethnic stereotyping in patient care	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Doxa; Symbolic Violence; Capital (Cultural)
Challenges faced by ethnic minority patients	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Symbolic Violence; Capital (Cultural)
Commitment and moral standards	Career Development	Field; Capital (Cultural, Social); Habitus
Ethnicity affecting peer treatment	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Symbolic Violence; Doxa
Feeling sidelined despite teamwork policy	Career Development	Field; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Hierarchical dynamic, undervalued opinions	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Capital (Cultural, Social); Symbolic Violence
Professional disappointment	Career Development	Field; Habitus; Symbolic Violence

Lack of accountability for clinical errors	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Mental health impact	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field; Habitus; Symbolic Violence
Management's negative role, questioning qualifications	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field; Doxa; Capital (Cultural); Symbolic Violence
Self-funding education to avoid internal bias	Career Development	Field; Capital (Cultural); Habitus
Managerial support for bullying	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Reservations about Academy, Eligibility	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Doxa; Capital (Cultural)
Master's Degree as Opportunity	Career Development	Field; Capital (Cultural)
Degree for Career Advancement	Career Promotion	Field; Capital (Cultural); Habitus
Distrust in Service and Management	Disciplinary and Daily	Field; Doxa; Symbolic Violence

	Interactions in the workplace	
Concern for Future Generations	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Habitus; Symbolic Violence
Career Flexibility, Achievements	Career Development	Field; Capital (Cultural, Social); Habitus
Sharing Story for Change	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field; Habitus; Doxa
Resilience from Cultural Background	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field; Habitus; Capital (Cultural)
Racial Discrimination Impact	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Temporary Role, Opportunity for Diverse Experience	Career Development	Field; Capital (Cultural)
Inclusion Initiatives, Personal Contribution	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Capital (Social, Cultural)

Role Complexity and Challenges	Career Development	Field; Habitus
Team Support	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Social Capital; Field
Recruitment Process	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Doxa
Team Commitment	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Social Capital
Diversity in Leadership	Career Promotion	Field; Capital (Cultural, Social)
Community and Committee Meetings	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Capital (Social); Habitus
Group Success and Precedent Pressure	Career Promotion	Field; Capital (Social, Cultural)
Gender and Racial Distribution	Career Promotion	Field; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Temporary Role, Lack of Compensation Flexibility	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field; Capital (Economic); Doxa

Pregnancy, Maternity Benefits due to Prior Role	Recruitment and Selection	Capital (Social, Cultural); Field
Maternity Leave, Contract Extension	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field; Capital (Social, Economic); Doxa
Maternity Leave, Career Transition Options	Career Development	Field; Capital (Social, Cultural)
Role Flexibility, Pregnancy Appointments	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field; Habitus; Capital (Social)
Career and Financial Expectations	Career Promotion	Field; Doxa; Capital (Economic)
Job Opportunity, Career Aspirations	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Capital (Social, Cultural); Doxa
Interview Experience, Professionalism of Interviewers	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Habitus; Symbolic Violence
Interviewer Professionalism	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Symbolic Violence
Organisational Preparedness	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Capital (Cultural, Technical)
Job Satisfaction; Autonomy; Engagement	Career Development	Field; Capital (Social, Cultural)

Workplace Fairness	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Symbolic Violence; Habitus; Field
Workplace Dynamics; Favouritism	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Habitus; Symbolic Violence
Conflict Management; Lack of Fact-based Decision-making	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Symbolic Violence
Unfair Treatment; Nepotism	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence; Field
Managerial Style; Professional Relationships	Career Development	Field; Capital (Social)
Emotional vs. Professional Management	Career Development	Field; Habitus; Capital (Social)
Exclusionary Practices; Cliques	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Habitus; Symbolic Violence
Voicing Concerns; Consequences for Speaking Up	Career Promotion	Field; Symbolic Violence

Intervening in Conflict; Discouragement	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Symbolic Violence
Lack of Emotional Support	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangement s	Field; Capital (Social, Emotional)
Lack of Recognition for Extra Effort	Career Development	Capital (Cultural, Social); Symbolic Violence
Indirect Communication; Lack of Transparency	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Symbolic Violence
Bias in Conflict Resolution	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field; Symbolic Violence
Gender Composition in Recruitment Team	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Capital (Gender-based)
In-group Formation; Gender- based Exclusivity	Career Promotion	Field; Habitus; Capital (Social)
Exclusivity; Lack of Transparency	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions	Field; Habitus; Doxa

	in the Workplace	
Atmosphere of Unease; Fear of Scrutiny	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field; Symbolic Violence
Shift in Behaviour; Alienation	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Habitus; Symbolic Violence
Erosion of Trust	Career Development	Capital (Social); Symbolic Violence
Distrust in Recruitment Process	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Capital (Social, Cultural); Doxa
Focus on Larger Mission	Career Development	Field; Capital (Cultural, Social)
Adherence to Procedures; Focus on Performance	Career Promotion	Capital (Cultural); Habitus; Field
Personal Timeline; Career Aspirations	Career Development	Field; Capital (Cultural); Habitus
Positive Environment; Team Motivation	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Capital (Social, Cultural); Habitus
Barriers to Progression; Changing Qualification Requirements	Career Promotion	Field; Doxa; Capital (Cultural)

Hindrance in Promotion; Importance of Connections over Qualifications	Career Promotion	Field; Capital (Social); Symbolic Violence
Barriers to Advancement; Feeling Overlooked	Career Development	Field; Capital (Cultural); Symbolic Violence
Gender Imbalance; Lack of Professionalism	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Lack of Follow-through; Questionable Future	Career Development	Field; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Challenging Relationship; Unjust Critique	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Capital (Social); Symbolic Violence
Covering Shortcomings; Stagnation	Career Development	Field; Capital (Cultural, Social); Symbolic Violence
Persistent Issues; Lack of Exit Interviews	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Career Transition; Collaboration; Recognition	Career Development	Field; Capital (Social, Cultural); Habitual Practices
Career Progression; Varied Roles	Career Promotion	Field; Capital (Cultural, Social); Career Mobility
Championing Equality; Role as Equality Officer	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field; Capital (Social); Habitual Practices; Doxa

Observation of Workforce; Lack of Practical Steps	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Doxa; Symbolic Violence
Need for Change; Establishment of Equality and Diversity Department	Career Development	Field; Capital (Social); Doxa; Habitual Practices
Organisational Change; Structured Effort	Career Development	Field; Doxa; Capital (Social)
Culture Transformation; Role of Leadership	Career Development	Field; Capital (Social); Habitual Practices
Lack of Diversity; Managerial Level	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Symbolic Violence; Doxa
Lack of Representation; Workforce Diversity	Career Promotion	Field; Symbolic Violence; Doxa
Unconscious Bias; Disparity with Local Population	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Symbolic Violence; Doxa
Disparity in Promotions; Underrepresentation	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Symbolic Violence; Doxa
Panel Diversity; Selection Biases	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Symbolic Violence; Capitals (Cultural, Social)
Senior Management; Addressing Bias	Career Development	Field; Capital (Symbolic); Doxa
Organisational Reflection; City Diversity	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Doxa
Problem-solving; Self- questioning	Career Development	Habitus; Capital (Cultural)
Agents of Change; Newcomers	Recruitment and Selection	Field; Habitus; Capital (Social)

Long-term Advocacy; Equality and Inclusion	Career Development	Field; Capital (Social, Symbolic); Doxa
Legacy; Organisational Change	Career Promotion	Field; Habitus; Doxa
Expertise; Directorial Outreach	Career Promotion	Field; Capital (Cultural, Social, Symbolic)
Inclusive Environment; Thriving	Career Development	Field; Capital (Social, Symbolic); Doxa
Lack of Preparedness	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Organisational Incompetence
Ethnic Disparities	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Doxa: Normalized Racial Disparities
Performative Initiatives	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Symbolic Violence: Surface-level Commitments
Timing of Initiatives	Career Development	Field: Reactive Measures
Lack of Personalized Risk Assessment	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working	Capital: Ignored Social Capital (Ethnicity)

	Arrangements	
Organisational Barriers	Career Promotion	Habitus: Systemic Impediments
Unreasonable Delays	Career Development	Doxa: Accepted Inefficiency
Bureaucratic Delays	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Organisational Hurdles
Need for Advocacy	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Symbolic Violence: Marginalization
Organisational Bureaucracy	Career Development	Field: Inefficient Hierarchies
Inattention to Discrimination	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Doxa: Normalized Ignorance
Desire for Equality	Career Promotion	Capital: Underrecognized Social Capital
Extra Effort Required	Career Promotion	Symbolic Violence: Marginalization
Organisational Incompetence	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Fatal Negligence

Disregard for Religion	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Capital: Ignored Cultural Capital
Delayed Safety Measures	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Habitus: Systemic Inefficiency
Public Visibility Required	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field: Public Accountability
Resource Inequality	Career Development	Capital: Inequitable Distribution of Material Capital
Ignorance of Inequality	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Doxa: Normalization of Disparities
Lack of Representation	Career Promotion	Field: Absence of Advocacy Capitals
Unprofessional Communication Channels	Career Development	Capital: Weak Informational Capital
Fear of Speaking Up	Career Promotion	Symbolic Violence: Career Retribution Fears
Culture of Silence	Disciplinary and Daily	Habitus: Organisational Silence

	Interactions in the Workplace	
Lack of Structural Change	Career Development	Field: Stagnant Hierarchies
Lack of Ethnic Mentors	Career Development	Capital: Absence of Social and Cultural Capital
Scepticism Towards Leadership	Career Development	Field: Ineffective Leadership
Fear of Reprisal for Using Policies	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence: Labeling as Troublemaker
Lack of Transparency in Selection	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Non-Transparent Selection Process
Dismissive Responses to Concerns	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Symbolic Violence: Dismissal of Concerns
Absence of Ethnicity and Health-Considerate Support	Career Promotion	Capital: Lack of Cultural and Health Capital Recognition
Inconsistency in Treatment	Career Development	Doxa: Normalization of Inconsistency
Previous Employment and Redundancy	Recruitment and Selection	Capital: Transition in Professional Capital
Volunteering and Job Search	Career Development	Capital: Accumulation of Social and Cultural Capital
Ethnic Background and Education	Recruitment and Selection	Capital: Cultural and Social Capital in Migration and Education

Long-Term Employment and Initial Training	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Entry into Professional Field with Required Training
Skill Development in Dispatch	Career Development	Capital: Skill and Human Capital Development
Role Diversification	Career Promotion	Capital: Multi-faceted Professional Capital
Interest in Continuous Learning	Career Development	Capital: Intellectual Capital and Lifelong Learning
Skill Recognition and Promotion	Career Promotion	Capital: Recognition of Professional Capital leading to Career Promotion
Job Stress and Personal Pressure	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Capital: Erosion of Emotional and Economic Capital
Financial Losses and Seeking Guidance	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Capital: Economic Capital and Use of Social Capital for Coping
Career Progression and Further Training	Career Development	Capital: Investment in Skill and Human Capital
Role Transition and Increased Responsibility	Career Promotion	Capital: Recognition of Skill and Human Capital leading to Career Transition
Adaptation to Technological Changes	Career Development	Field: Adaptation to Evolving Professional Field
Unique Work Opportunities (Olympics)	Career Development	Capital: Accumulation of Social and Cultural Capital through Unique Experiences

Specialised Role and Liaison Duties	Career Promotion	Capital: Accumulation of Specialized Human and Social Capital
Event Management and Communication	Career Development	Capital: Social Capital through Networking and Human Capital through Skill Enhancement
Organisational Changes and Adaptation	Career Development	Field: Adaptation to Changes in Organisational Structure
Role Flexibility and Technological Adaptation	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Capital: Technological and Skill Capital
Emotional Support Role	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Capital: Social and Emotional Capital; Habitus: Caregiving
Health and Safety Role	Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Capital: Human and Skill Capital; Habitus: Risk Mitigation
Voluntary Emergency Response	Career Development	Capital: Human and Skill Capital; Field: Crisis Management
Project-based Work due to Tenure and Age	Career Development	Capital: Cultural and Skill Capital; Habitus: Adaptability with Age
Career Challenges and Lack of Support	Career Promotion	Capital: Limited Social and Cultural Capital for Promotion; Symbolic Violence: Lack of Support
Experiences of Bullying	Disciplinary and Daily	Symbolic Violence: Direct and Indirect Forms

	Interactions in the Workplace	
Support from Management	Career Development	Capital: Social Capital; Field: Management Support
Career Milestones	Career Promotion	Capital: Cultural and Human Capital; Field: Specialized Roles
Conflict Resolution Skills	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Capital: Human and Skill Capital; Habitus: Mediation
Diversity Management	Recruitment and Selection	Field: Diversity Management; Capital: Cultural Capital
Ethnic Isolation	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Symbolic Violence: Isolation; Doxa: Racialized Practices
Promotion Challenges and Cultural Mismatch	Career Promotion	Capital: Limited Social Capital for Promotion; Symbolic Violence: Discrimination
Formation of Diverse Networks	Career Development	Capital: Social Capital; Field: Diverse Teams
Unique Background	Career Development	Capital: Cultural and Social Capital; Habitus: Diverse Experiences
Union Membership	Career Development	Capital: Social and Cultural Capital; Field: Union Involvement
Management Challenges and Threats	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions	Symbolic Violence: Threats from Management; Capital: Limited Social Capital in Management Field

	in the Workplace	
Dominant Demographics	Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the Workplace	Field: Gender and Race in Workplace; Doxa: Male Dominance Accepted as Norm
Resistance to Change	Career Promotion	Habitus: Resistance to Change; Capital: Experience as Social Capital
Lack of Initial Engagement with Diversity	Career Development	Habitus: Ignorance towards diversity; Field: Workplace Diversity
Subjective Promotion Criteria	Career Promotion	Field: Subjective Promotion Dynamics; Capital: Cultural Capital (subjective traits valued)
Vocal and Image-Based Promotion	Career Promotion	Capital: Social and Cultural Capital in Being Vocal; Doxa: Norms of Promotability
Tenure Overlooked in Promotions	Career Promotion	Capital: Social and Cultural Capital Overlooked; Symbolic Violence: Devaluing Tenure
Racial Bias in Hiring	Recruitment and Selection	Doxa: Racial Bias; Symbolic Violence: Discrimination Against Qualified Candidates
Barriers in Career Advancement Due to Advocacy	Career Promotion	Capital: Social and Symbolic Capital Undermined; Symbolic Violence: Career Penalties for Advocacy

Appendix 9: Data Structure for Navigating Careers Dominant Structures and Gendered and Racialised Practices in the London Ambulance Service

First Order Concepts	Second Order Themes	Aggregated Dimension Categories (Bourdieu's Concepts)
Engaging in Legal Action Against Employer	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Disciplinary Process, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Legal Recourse, Symbolic Violence: Institutional Inaction
Seeking Institutional Support	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Disciplinary Process, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Proactive, Doxa: Organisational Support Mechanisms
Creating Safe Spaces for Dialogue	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Empathetic, Doxa: Emotional Safety
Leveraging Supportive Leadership for Career Growth	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Opportunistic, Doxa: Leadership Support

Proactive Career Management	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Self-Driven, Doxa: Career Autonomy, Symbolic Violence: None
Self-Adaptation for Career Advancement	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Adaptive, Doxa: Self-Selection, Symbolic Violence: Unequal Opportunities
Seeking Internal Job Change as Coping Mechanism	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Economic, Social, Habitus: Resigned, Doxa: Escape
Experiencing Persistent Struggle	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Economic, Cultural, Habitus: Exhausted, Doxa: Unequal Access to Opportunities
Fighting for Professional Development Opportunities	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Educational, Social, Habitus: Persistent, Doxa: Unequal Access to Training
Identifying Lack of Internal Career Development Opportunities	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Observant, Doxa: Lack of Internal Career Development Programs
Accelerating Career Through Education	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Habitus: Ambitious, Doxa: Rapid Career Advancement
Challenging Gendered Labels	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Disciplinary Process, Capitals: Social, Habitus: Assertive, Doxa: Gender Bias in Professional Behaviour Assessment

Staying in Comfort Zone	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Satisfaction and Complacency, Doxa: Role Satisfaction, Symbolic Violence: Lack of Progression
Utilizing Coaching and Mentoring	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Continuous Learning, Doxa: Professional Development, Symbolic Violence: Lack of Initial Effectiveness
Maintaining Professionalism in Difficult Situations	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Civility and Respect, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Maintaining Composure, Doxa: Professional Conduct, Symbolic Violence: Potential for Conflict
Formal Grievance Against Discriminatory Practices	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Disciplinary Process, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Fairness in Selection, Symbolic Violence: Unfair Selection Tactics
Filing Grievance Against Discriminatory Remarks	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Disciplinary Process, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Civility and Respect, Symbolic Violence: Discriminatory Remarks
Seeking Medical Leave for Mental Wellbeing	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Employee Wellbeing, Symbolic Violence: Neglect of Mental Health
Proactive Problem-Solving and Adaptation	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Fairness in Shift Allocation, Symbolic Violence: Dismissal of Solutions

Critiquing Leadership's Reactive Nature	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Skeptical, Doxa: Reactive Leadership
Monitoring and Questioning the Absence of Equality Initiatives	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Watchful Advocate, Doxa: Organisational Accountability
Seeking Diverse Leadership as an Indicator of Workplace Culture	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Observant, Doxa: Workplace Hierarchies
Critical Evaluation of Organisational Policies	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Habitus: Critical, Doxa: Organisational Authenticity, Symbolic Violence: Tokenistic Policies
Challenging Unjust Workplace Decisions	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Assertive, Doxa: Gendered Roles
Creating Own Scheduling Solutions	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Economic, Habitus: Self-reliant, Doxa: Traditional Work Hours
Actively Pursuing Workplace Needs	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Proactive, Doxa: Procedural Navigation, Symbolic Violence: Delay in Response
Challenging Management Decisions	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Assertive, Doxa: Structural Inequities
Seeking Transparency and Fairness	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Assertive, Doxa: Lack of Transparency

Consulting BAME Colleagues for Validation	Utilization of Social Networks	Field: Navigating Social Networks, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Validation and Consultation, Doxa: Shared Experience, Symbolic Violence: Discrimination in Experience
Seeking Advice and Support from Trusted Colleagues	Utilization of Social Networks	Field: Navigating Social Networks, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Supportive Networking, Symbolic Violence: Lack of Institutional Support
Navigating Shift and Leave Under Biased Management	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Fairness in Shift Allocation, Symbolic Violence: Obstructive Management
Shift from Career to Job for Financial Stability	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Adaptation and Resignation, Doxa: Career Satisfaction, Symbolic Violence: Institutional Apathy
Experience of hostility at work	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Symbolic Violence: Discrimination based on accent and skills; Habitus: Adaptation to hostile environment
Filing Complaints Against Discriminatory Behaviour	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Civility and Respect, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Workplace Respect, Symbolic Violence: Discriminatory Comments and Slow Investigation
Seeking Occupational Health Advice	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Employee Wellbeing, Symbolic Violence: Neglect of Occupational Health Advice
Finding Joy Amidst Challenges	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Adaptation and Satisfaction, Doxa: Employee Wellbeing, Symbolic Violence: Absence of Support Structure

	in Working Arrangements	
Evolving Role to Include Social Work	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Adaptation and Specialization, Doxa: Role Enrichment, Symbolic Violence: Evolving Work Environment
Persistent Attempts at Career Advancement despite Obstacles	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Promotion Meritocracy, Symbolic Violence: Obstructive Practices
Active Seek for Mentorship and Career Support	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Equality in Support, Symbolic Violence: Neglect and Unfair Treatment
Strategic Silence to Avoid Repercussions	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Adaptation to Dominant Structures, Doxa: Promotion Meritocracy, Symbolic Violence: Fear of Reprisal
Endurance in Unfavourable Working Conditions	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Flexibility in Work, Symbolic Violence: Discriminatory Allocation
Continued Advocacy for Personal Development	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Equality in Support, Symbolic Violence: Neglect and Lack of Support
Coping with Health Challenges in Work Assignments	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Equality in Work Assignments, Symbolic Violence: Insensitivity to Health
Insistence on the Right to Progress	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Career Progression, Symbolic Violence: Exclusion from Progress

Principle-Driven Grievance Filing	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Disciplinary Process, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Fairness in Grievance, Symbolic Violence: Foreknowledge of Outcome
Anticipation and Preparedness for Future Challenges	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resistance and Adaptation, Doxa: Communication and Support, Symbolic Violence: Anticipated Scrutiny
Switching Sectors for Work-Life Balance	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Adaptation and Specialization, Doxa: Work-Life Balance, Symbolic Violence: Sectoral Constraints
Prioritising Work-Life Balance in Career Progression	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Adaptation and Prioritization, Doxa: Career Progression, Symbolic Violence: Lack of Flexibility
Optimism About Diversity Initiatives	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Adaptation and Optimism, Doxa: Organisational Policies, Symbolic Violence: Previous Lack of Opportunities
Involvement in Policy Changes	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Advocacy and Involvement, Doxa: Organisational Policies, Symbolic Violence: Previous Lack of Fair Pay and Recruitment
Raising Suggestions and Observing Differential Treatment	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Suggestion and Observation, Doxa: Decision-Making, Symbolic Violence: Ignored Suggestions
Critical Self-Reflection on Advice Receptivity	Utilization of Social Networks	Field: Navigating Social Networks, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Self-Reflection and Questioning, Doxa: Advice Receptivity, Symbolic Violence: Discrimination in Advice Receptivity
Preferring to Work with Senior Female Members	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Gender-based Communication, Doxa: Gendered Value, Symbolic Violence: Gendered Reception of Opinions

Building Reviews and Making Recommendations	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Providing Feedback, Doxa: Importance of Feedback, Symbolic Violence: Differential Reception
Addressing System Issues and Noting Attitudes	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Technical, Habitus: Problem Identification, Doxa: Systems and Training, Symbolic Violence: Resistance to Feedback
Positive Reception by Women	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Gendered Reception, Doxa: Gender Norms, Symbolic Violence: Gendered Expectations
Learning Professional Challenge	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Professional Conduct, Doxa: Organisational Behavior, Symbolic Violence: Self-Imposed Limitations
Limitation in Personal Challenge	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Emotional, Habitus: Emotional Regulation, Doxa: Emotional Labor, Symbolic Violence: Emotional Distress
Leveraging Educational Opportunities for Career	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Educational, Cultural, Habitus: Continuous Learning, Doxa: Skill Diversification, Symbolic Violence: None
Adaptability in Roles and Interactions	Utilization of Social Networks	Field: Navigating Social Networks, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Adaptable, Doxa: Role Flexibility, Symbolic Violence: Limited Interaction
Awareness of Department-Specific Policies	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Adaptive, Doxa: Policy Awareness, Symbolic Violence: Departmental Inequality

Navigating Corporate Policies and Procedures	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Policy-Savvy, Doxa: Procedural Navigation, Symbolic Violence: Rigidity in Policies
Identifying and Acknowledging Discriminatory Practices	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Disciplinary Process, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Self-Aware, Doxa: Discrimination Awareness, Symbolic Violence: Racial Discrimination
Identifying Discriminatory Practices based on Gender and Ethnicity	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Disciplinary Process, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Self-Aware, Doxa: Discrimination Awareness, Symbolic Violence: Gender and Racial Discrimination
Seeking Validation from Colleagues	Utilization of Social Networks	Field: Navigating Social Networks, Capitals: Social, Habitus: Networking, Doxa: Collective Validation, Symbolic Violence: None
Perceiving Differential Treatment from Management	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Perceptive, Doxa: Managerial Bias, Symbolic Violence: Gender and Racial Discrimination
Navigating Departmental Policies on Well-being	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Social, Habitus: Adaptive, Doxa: Policy Awareness, Symbolic Violence: Racial and Gender Discrimination
Active Career Mobility to Avoid Stagnation	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Proactive, Doxa: Awareness of Limitations, Symbolic Violence: Limited Career Opportunities
Recognition of Institutional Limitations	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Reflective, Doxa: Institutional Constraints, Symbolic Violence: Recognition without Action

Acknowledging Intersectional Challenges	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Civility and Respect, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Inclusive, Doxa: Intersectionality, Symbolic Violence: Multiple Forms of Discrimination
Asserting Presence in Professional Conversations	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Habitus: Assertive, Doxa: Inclusion, Symbolic Violence: Marginalization
Managing Tensions in Field Work	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Civility and Respect, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Diplomatic, Doxa: Public Perception, Symbolic Violence: Stereotyping
Navigating Delayed Recognition	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Self-aware, Doxa: Gender and Racial Bias
Recognizing Career Stagnation Points	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Economic, Cultural, Habitus: Observant, Doxa: Gender and Pay Disparity
Acknowledging Subconscious Biases	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Civility and Respect, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Perceptive, Doxa: Unconscious Bias
Confronting Pigeonholing	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Assertive, Doxa: Stereotyping
Addressing Organisational Culture	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Advocative, Doxa: Toxic Work Culture

Implementing Support Mechanisms	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Innovative, Doxa: Employee Support
Navigating Breach of Confidentiality	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Disciplinary Process, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Cautious, Doxa: Trust in Institutional Support
Advocating for Equality Analysis	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Advocative, Doxa: Policy Compliance
Navigating Limited Voice in Decision-making	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Restrained, Doxa: Fear of Repercussions
Building Team Solidarity	Utilization of Social Networks	Field: Navigating Social Networks, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Collaborative, Doxa: Team Respect and Fairness
Resilience Against Gender-based Comments	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Civility and Respect, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Resilient, Doxa: Gender Stereotyping
Navigating Emotional Exposure	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Emotional, Habitus: Reflective, Doxa: Emotional Vulnerability
Conducting Research on Diversity	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Habitus: Inquisitive, Doxa: Awareness of Structural Inequality

Seeking Supportive Networks	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Habitus: Resilient, Doxa: Ageism in Career Advancement
Identifying Gender Biases in Policies	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Critical, Doxa: Gender Inequality in Career Advancement
Observing Pay Gap	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Economic, Cultural, Habitus: Observant, Doxa: Gender and Racial Inequality in Compensation
Navigating Gender Stereotypes	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Civility and Respect, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Resilient, Doxa: Gender Stereotyping
Navigating Unconscious Bias	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Habitus: Resilient, Doxa: Gender Bias in Professional Interactions
Identifying Rigidity in Working Arrangements	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Economic, Social, Habitus: Adaptive, Doxa: Inflexibility in Job Roles
Advocating for Change	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Proactive, Doxa: Organisational Resistance to Change
Advocacy for Fair Disciplinary Procedures	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Disciplinary Process, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Advocacy, Doxa: Racial Bias in Disciplinary Actions

Challenging Racial Bias in Disciplinary Reports	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Disciplinary Process, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Critical, Doxa: Defensive Reactions to Critique
Recognizing Systemic Barriers to Career Progression	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Observant, Doxa: External Hiring over Internal Development
Navigating Lack of Support and Mentoring	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Self-reliant, Doxa: Empty Promises in Career Support
Encouraging Self-Initiated Career Development	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Empowering, Doxa: Self-Initiated Development over Organisational Support
Addressing Language and Accent as a Barrier	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Observant, Doxa: Linguistic Discrimination in Career Progression
Acknowledging Others' Experiences with Discrimination	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Social, Habitus: Empathetic, Doxa: Racial Disparities in Career Progression
Leveraging Opportunities for Personal Growth	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Educational, Economic, Habitus: Aspirational, Doxa: Career Mobility through Training
Identifying Hierarchies in Leadership	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Observant, Doxa: Gender and Racial Disparities
Navigating Work Flexibility	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Social, Habitus: Inquisitive, Doxa: Work-life Balance

Making Use of Formal Appraisal Processes	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Communicative, Doxa: Formal Appraisal as Career Tool
Navigating Ambiguity in Career Pathways	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Social, Habitus: Self-directed, Doxa: Lack of Formal Career Guidance
Critiquing Underrepresentation in Management	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Critical, Doxa: Underrepresentation in Management
Career Shift for Impact	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Educational, Habitus: Dissatisfied, Doxa: Career for Social Impact
Struggling with Career Progression	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Cultural, Habitus: Frustrated, Doxa: Opaque Career Progression Pathways
Selective Policy Implementation	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Habitus: Sceptical, Doxa: Inconsistent Policy Implementation
Experiencing Discrimination and Lack of Transparency	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Disheartened, Doxa: Inequality in Opportunity Allocation
Coping with Microaggressions	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Civility and Respect, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Annoyed, Doxa: Ethnic Stereotypes
Noting Discrimination against Accents	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Civility and Respect, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Observant, Doxa: Language Discrimination

Gender Accommodations	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Civility and Respect, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Satisfied, Doxa: Gender Equity
Negotiating for Flexibility as a Single Mother	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Determined, Doxa: Traditional Gender Roles
Asserting Professional Capabilities	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Ambitious, Doxa: Skill Matrix
Standing Up to Sexism	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Civility and Respect, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Courageous, Doxa: Institutional Sexism
Highlighting Organisational Flaws	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Disciplinary Process, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Observant, Doxa: Organisational Inaction
Navigating Career While Being a Single Mother	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Cultural, Economic, Habitus: Resilient, Doxa: Traditional Gender Roles
Challenge in Career Progression	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Assertive, Doxa: Institutional Barriers

Questioning Recruitment Procedures	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Assertive, Doxa: Arbitrary Requirements
Navigating Gender and Racial Disparities	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Assertive, Doxa: Gendered and Racialized Practices
Exploring Alternative Opportunities	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Proactive, Doxa: Limited Opportunities
Strategic Career Moves for Progression	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Strategic, Doxa: Institutional Mobility
Proactive Change in Career Path	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Proactive, Doxa: Lack of Support
Reflection and Appreciation of Positive Change	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Reflective, Doxa: Organisational Culture
Acknowledging Organisational Efforts in Diversity	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Observant, Doxa: Diversity and Inclusion
Intra-organisational Mobility	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Adaptive, Doxa: Job Security
Career Pivoting with Support	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Strategic, Doxa: Managerial Support

Escaping Toxic Work Environments	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Self-protective, Doxa: Power Dynamics
Addressing Lack of Representation	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Critical, Doxa: Lack of Diversity
Addressing Discriminatory Practices	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Disciplinary Process, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Assertive, Doxa: Racial Bias
Prioritising Fair Treatment Over Career Progression	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Pragmatic, Doxa: Fairness
Upholding Equality Against Local Sentiments	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Public service, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Assertive, Doxa: Discriminatory Sentiments
Experiencing Workplace Gossip and Taking Responsibility	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Public service, Capitals: Social, Habitus: Responsible, Doxa: Discriminatory Practices
Exercising Autonomy Against Discriminatory Treatment	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Public service, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Assertive, Doxa: Discriminatory Practices
Career Choices Influenced by Lack of Trust in Management	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Public service, Capitals: Cultural, Habitus: Pragmatic, Doxa: Discriminatory Practices

Advocacy for Systemic Change and Mental Health	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Public service, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Advocative, Doxa: Discriminatory Practices
Recognising the Impact of Racial Discrimination on Health Outcomes	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Public service, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Ethical, Doxa: Discriminatory Practices
Participation in Organisational Initiatives for Diversity	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Participative, Doxa: Inclusivity
Leveraging Past Experience for Maternity Benefits	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Resourceful, Doxa: Job Security
Utilising Role Flexibility to Manage Pregnancy	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Adaptable, Doxa: Gender Roles
Balancing Career Progression Expectations with Personal Satisfaction	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Pragmatic, Doxa: Career Aspirations
Overcoming Interview Challenges Through Improvisation	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Resourceful, Doxa: Professional Preparedness

Observing and Mentally Noting Inequities	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Observant, Doxa: Workplace Fairness
Navigating Emotional Management Styles	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Diplomatic, Doxa: Emotional Labor
Speaking Up Despite Risks	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Assertive, Doxa: Professional Transparency
Recognizing and Adapting to Structural Barriers in Career Progression	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Adaptive, Doxa: Credentialism
Questioning Unfulfilled Promises	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Skeptical, Doxa: Organisational Accountability
Maintaining Professional Commitment Amid Personal Challenges	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Resilient, Doxa: Work-life Balance
Progressing in Role While Championing Equality	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Proactive, Doxa: Equality in Progression
Identifying and Critically Assessing Lack of Practical Steps for Equality	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Critical Thinker, Doxa: Policy vs. Practice
Adopting a Resilient Approach to Challenges	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Resilient, Doxa: Problem-Solving Orientation

	in Working Arrangements	
Long-Term Advocacy and Aspirations for Organisational Change	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Visionary, Doxa: Legacy Building
Rejecting Token Diversity Initiatives	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Skeptical, Doxa: Superficial Diversity Measures
Advocating for Self Through Mentor Intervention	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Assertive, Doxa: Bureaucratic Barriers
Asserting Rights for Protective Gear	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Patient yet Assertive, Doxa: Inadequate Safety Measures
Identifying Lack of Advocacy and Representation	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Discontent, Doxa: Lack of Representation
Addressing and Being Dismissed for Raising Concerns	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Civility and Respect, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Disheartened, Doxa: Culture of Dismissal
Actively Seeking Guidance During Challenges	Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements	Field: Navigating Well-Being and Flexibility in Working Arrangements, Capitals: Social, Habitus: Problem-Solving, Doxa: Individual Struggles

Actively Pursuing Training for Career Advancement	Navigating Career Development	Field: Navigating Career Development, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Determined, Doxa: Career Progression
Establishing a Supportive Environment for Colleagues	Utilization of Social Networks	Field: Navigating Social Networks, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Empathetic, Doxa: Emotional Labor
Acknowledging and Navigating Workplace Challenges	Navigating Disciplinary and Daily Interactions in the workplace	Field: Navigating Civility and Respect, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Resilient, Doxa: Workplace Bullying
Advocacy and Resistance Against Status Quo	Navigating Policies and Procedures	Field: Navigating Policies and Procedures, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Advocacy, Doxa: Resistance to Change
Critiquing the Subjectivity of Promotions	Navigating Career Promotion	Field: Navigating Career Promotion, Capitals: Social, Cultural, Habitus: Critical, Doxa: Subjective Promotions
Maintaining Integrity Amidst Unjust Barriers	Navigating Leadership and Management	Field: Navigating Leadership and Management, Capitals: Cultural, Social, Habitus: Principled, Doxa: Management Disconnect

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