Asia-Pacific immigrant managers in Australia: their views about career

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ABSTRACT Systematic cross-cultural studies of career advancement are fragmented, despite the burgeoning cultural diversity of the global workforce. This study examines diverse groups of managers from the Asia-Pacific region and their stories of career progression to date in Australia. Immigrant managers were interviewed to examine the influence of the new environment on their current career and advancement prospects. In doing so, we demonstrate the experiences of internationally mobile managers when adapting to new boundaries for career advancement. We found that overseas managers have difficulties fitting into the Australian workplace norms. In addition, the study revealed that newcomers had expected to be recognised and promoted for their multiple qualifications; however, this did not take place within the Australian workplace context.

Keywords: career development; cross-cultural management; migration; workforce diversity

The dynamic nature of career advancement reflects multiple stages; as employees move into senior managerial roles from lower management positions, their experiences and aspirations can change in response to both personal and organisational characteristics (Tharenou 1996). Career provides meaning to people because of their shared roles within an organisational context, which in turn have implications for creating cultural norms. Part of the rationale for studying the career advancement of managers from diverse cultural groups is to understand the impact of the cultural environment and "working constitution" of a society (Hughes 1937). Furthermore, we do not know enough about cultural influences on career advancement of managers outside the Western paradigm other than the understanding that culture shapes the values and behaviours of people (Hofstede 1980). While the broader literature on career has identified international differences in career patterns, systematic cross-cultural study of careers and advancement prospects within managerial levels remains fragmented (Thomas & Inkson 2007).

This study demonstrates the influence played by cultural background on managerial career advancement using twenty five managers from the Asia-Pacific region that are currently employed in Australia. We believe that it is critical to bring an understanding of cultural variables to investigation of managerial career progression and behaviours because we live in a global world where cultural diversity in the workplace is a reality. The contribution of this paper is twofold: first, by examining diverse groups of managers from the Asia-Pacific region and their stories of their career progression to

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date, we bring to the fore the challenges faced by non-Western managers while advancing their managerial careers. These narratives have implications for mainstream career theories that currently exist. Second, through narrative analysis of personal and organisational factors that have most benefited and/or impeded them, we provide practical information for organisations in developing culturally-sensitive policies and programs in the workplace that will assist career advancement for managers of diverse cultural groups.

MANAGERIAL CAREER ADVANCEMENT

The term career represents a range of meanings and definitions in the literature. Career stands for a "route" or "direction" which is pursued by an individual with a purpose or in order to attain a specific intention (Adamson, Doherty, & Viney 1998). Career is defined as more than a job and it is referred to as a professional employment with a distinct purpose to progress and move ahead (Adamson et al. 1998; Gunz & Peiperl 2007). Career is often viewed as a logical ordering of work experience with the intention that it is linked to the strategic positioning of an individual in their desired occupation. Thus, a career is not limited to a paid job, but incorporates a wider definition to include a process for continuous development and advancement in an organisational position. In fact, it was in the 1970s that this notion of career was first seen as a way to accumulate human capital in the form of education, training and experience throughout one's lifetime (Becker 1975), because it will maximise individual self-interest by gaining extreme power, wealth, status and prominence. It is also during this period that managerial career advancement was understood as the upward progression on numerous bureaucratic levels, in exchange for long serving tenure and seniority. Organisations offered attractive promise for managerial career advancement if employees would work hard, show loyalty, and demonstrate competence (Reitman & Schneer 2003). Managers could anticipate their career progressing within an organisation, uninterrupted and escalating upward on the corporate hierarchy if organisational loyalty and hard work were maintained (Hall & Moss 1998). The career paths for managers were clearly delineated within these organisations, and it was often the organisation, not the individual, who managed an employee's career, with senior managers pointing out where they best felt the manager
should focus their actions in exchange for career advancement, job security and financial benefits (Hall & Moss 1998).

However, since the late 1980s, external environmental factors have changed the predictors of career advancement within the managerial roles. Through globalisation of the market economy, dramatic changes in the contemporary business environment have taken place and resulted in an increase of acquisitions and mergers, restructuring and downsizing (Reitman & Schneer 2003). These external environmental changes have impinged upon managerial career advancement; career advancement is no longer an action of climbing the corporate ladder upwards. An important implication of these changes is that managerial career advancement can now involve a non-linear career path within a much flatter organisational structure with decentralised power (Gunz & Peiperl 2007; Tharenou 1997). As a consequence, the responsibility for career advancement has shifted to become the responsibility of individuals (Hall 1996; Herriot, Gibson, Pemberton, & Pinder 1993; McCarthy 2002). It is no longer deemed an organisational obligation to provide employees with a guaranteed career path to facilitate their managerial advancement. Contemporary notions of career and progression within the managerial career are instead viewed as a “lifelong journey” that encompasses unpredictable events, challenging experiences, and unstable external affairs (McCarthy 2002). Careers are now identified as both boundaryless and protean (Hall & Louis 1988; McCaby & Savery 2007; McCarthy 2002) and no longer restricted by organisational or industry boundaries (Arthur 1994; Arthur & Rousseau 1996).

As discussed, the shift from a linear progression model to non-linear advancement pattern was envisaged long ago in the late 1980s (Hall 1976). Despite the problems with an unclear career advancement route, the processes by which career progression takes place within management positions in contemporary organisations are not fully understood. Building on this realisation, the aim of the current paper is to examine stories of migrant managers from the Asia-Pacific region who currently work and live in Australia, including the personal and organisational factors they believe have most benefited and/or impeded their career advancement. We argue that current models of career advancement do not adequately represent the situation for culturally diverse managers today because the experiences and challenges of this group of people are unique. In furthering our understanding of
managerial career paths, it is important to consider the role of cultural background on career advancement prospects of employees in organisations.

CULTURE AND CAREER ADVANCEMENT

Career advancement is a key aspect of job satisfaction (Herriot, Gibbons, Pemberton, & Jackson 1994; Sturges 1999), which impacts both work performance and employee retention. Through globalisation, organisations are expanding internationally and there has been a significant change in the demographics of the workforce which has led to an increase in workforce diversity. In particular, there are more employees drawn from various cultural backgrounds in the workplace (Igbaria & Baroudi 1995; Igbaria & Greenhaus 1992). The demographic change within the workplace requires a heightened awareness of the impact of contextual variables such as socio-cultural context on advancement processes (Rowley & Yukongdi 2009). Understanding culturally-based perceptions of employees, their career path planning, and advancement strategies could lead to an important step forward in the way multi-national companies manage and relate to employees.

Although there are few cross-national career advancement studies, scholars have continued to argue that it is critical to include national cultural characteristics when studying career progression issues (Davidson 1997; Kamenou & Fearfull 2006; Nkomo 1988; Thomas & Inkson, 2007). In particular, we have little understanding about the theories that explain managerial career advancement outside the Western paradigm. There is a need to revisit Western research that has so far dominated the areas of theories and models used to explain career advancement. As Tams and Arthur (2007) note, our arguments build on the notion that ‘cultural and genetic transmission, acculturation and ecology have a pervasive psychological influence on people’ (p.92). Indeed, in their large research study (the GLOBE project) investigating the influence of cultural variables on the behaviour of people across 62 countries, House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman and Gupta (2004) argued that the divergence in cultural dimensions plays an important role in shaping individual attitudes socially as well as within the organisational context. For example, values such as meritocracy, freedom of choice and hierarchical progression (Thomas & Inkson 2007) define individual career success in the industrialised Western cultures. However, in collectivist cultures, the societal system is more concerned with work performed
for the collective good and achievement is viewed as success for the overall group when individuals are assigned particular careers (House et al. 2004).

Similarly, career theories typically advocate a democratic view of career progression, arguing that ‘anyone can get to the top’ (Thomas & Inkson 2007:456). However, this concept again draws from a Western perspective based on the cultural variable of low power distance (Hofstede 1980). In high power distance cultures, power is not equally distributed amongst people (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005). The societal norms tolerate and accept this notion of inequality within the members of the society. Therefore, the view that anyone can get to the top is not relevant when explaining career advancement prospects outside the Western cultural context.

Today we live in a world that is shifting its business landscape and economic imperatives to keep up with the emergence of Eastern values (Chen & Miller 2010). This dramatic change gives us more evidence than ever for a justification to expand the current understanding of career advancement theories and models. While existing theories in the field of career is important, it is time to move forward beyond the Western paradigm and acknowledge the unique contribution made by individuals from diverse cultural norms and practices. Therefore, in this study we aim to bring the voices from the Asia-Pacific to the fore and highlight the influence exerted by cultural background on career advancement prospects of managers in Australian organisations through conversations and narrative analysis.

**METHODOLOGY**

This paper presents findings from the first stage of a research project investigating the interplay of multiple factors on managers’ career progression, specifically, personal, organisational and external (societal) factors. The current phase of the study adopts a qualitative research design, with the aim to gain insight into managers’ experiences of career advancement. An interpretive perspective guides the study, which views reality as internally experienced (Sarantakos 1998), socially constructed through interaction (Jun 1997), and interpreted through the participants (Girod-Séville & Perret 2001).
Purposive sampling was utilised for recruitment of participants, with its concern for all participants having experience of the phenomenon being studied (Creswell 1998), that is, individuals currently employed as managers, originating from the Asia-Pacific countries and working as managers in Australian organisations. In addition, the research design aimed for a balanced sample of male and female managers, recognising that gender differences need to be considered alongside cultural variables. The method of data collection used was in-depth, semi-structured interviews, which have been established as a valuable tool for understanding human behaviour from the perspective of the individual (e.g. Kvale 1996; Taylor & Bogdan 1998). Such interviews enable the subjective experience of the respondents to be captured. In particular, a narrative approach guided these interviews (Czarniawska 2004), focusing on managers’ own descriptions of their career experiences and advancement prospects. Narrative enables both the respondent and the researcher to organise events and actions into a meaningful whole through ‘connecting and seeing the consequences of actions and events over time’ (Chase 2005:656). Further, the use of the narrative approach enabled comparison of managers’ stories across the different cultural contexts.

In this study twenty five managers from Asia-Pacific countries participated. Each interview lasted between one and two hours. With the respondents’ permission, all interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim to assist in data analysis. The development of themes was enabled through the process of coding of data (Taylor & Bogdan 1998), with the aim to uncover the meaning of career experiences for these managers (Benner 1994). The authors also consulted with each other through the data collection phase to enable emergent issues to be incorporated into subsequent interviews. Some of the key focus areas that guided the in-depth interviews were: the personal experience of career development to date, the perceived prospects for future career progression, and the barriers that are expected to hinder career advancement (personal, organisational, and external). Table 1 provides an overview of the demographic characteristics of the participants (shown here by country of origin). In the following discussion, the confidentiality of participants has been maintained through the use of codenames that identify their country of origin.

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RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this section, we present a number of examples that illustrate the potential cross-cultural issues for managerial careers identified by these managers from the Asia-Pacific seeking to develop their careers in Australia. To do so, we have followed the example of Prasad, D’Abate and Prasad (2007) in grouping our findings around some “classic” career progression themes, specifically, gaining a managerial career, personal activities to support career advancement, and organisational activities to support career advancement (Prasad et al. 2007).

Gaining a Managerial Career

The respondents to our study had mixed experiences in finding employment and a career after arriving in Australia. Whilst some respondents gained employment easier than others, the majority found that their first position in Australia was at a level lower than they held overseas despite having considerable experience in management overseas. They spoke about different incidents, including ‘no Aussie experience’ being the most common theme discussed.

However, issues related to communication arose repeatedly throughout the interviews. At first glance, this would not seem surprising given that the majority of managers interviewed came from countries where English is not the first language spoken. However, the concerns raised by respondents were not directly related to their use of language. Rather, ‘communication issues’ was used as a broad “catch-all” by employers as an explanation for non-employment or non-promotion. One respondent from Singapore shared the following story:

And again the question came up as I was leaving and everything was very positive and they say they will contact me. And when I was leaving the guy popped the question, like, ‘So are you going to watch the football this weekend?’ I said, ‘No.’ ‘Are you going to bring your son to football game?’ And I said, ‘No, my son is not quite into football, he plays computer games. So we do go out but probably not for football.’ ... And the next thing I heard from the recruitment company that brought me in, they say I have communication problems, my communication skills aren’t up to scratch with their expectations. That’s a very easy label to say “communication skills”. - Sing4, male

The notion of sporting knowledge was raised by a number of respondents, particularly the males. Australia is well-known for its sport-focused culture (Cashman 2003). It is very common for the Australians to be actively involved in both playing a particular sport and supporting players.
specific context for this study in the city of Melbourne, Australia may have also brought this issue further to the fore, as Melbourne is particularly sport-focused (Langmaid 2010; Yigitcanlar, O'Connor, & Westerman 2008). The same respondent spoke of another interview where he had a similar experience:

*I once went to interview with a software company that was local. And in the interview everything is fine and the job was fine and dandy and then they ask me a question, ‘Which team are you with?’ I said, ‘Sorry, what team?’ They said, ‘Which football team are you with?’ I said, ‘Sorry, maybe football is not quite up my league.’ They said, ‘Oh, but you need to have a team because the Directors here are into teams and everyone has a team and you gotta find yourself a team and join up.’ The next thing you know I wasn’t called again. [Short laugh] – Sing4, male*

While issues of communication – or, at least, espoused issues – were discussed in relation to commencing a managerial career in Australia, elements of communication were also prevalent across other career aspects. Respondents highlighted problems with communication when managing in teams and working to enhance their position, as discussed in the following section.

**Personal Activities to Support Career Advancement**

Many of the personal activities that individuals can undertake to support their career advancement (such as networking and professional development) involve interacting with others. Our respondents indicated that a lack of local knowledge specific to Australia made initiating these activities more difficult. A male manager from India spoke of this concern:

*I used to think communication could be an issue. Especially after coming here [to Australia]; communication and probably the local knowledge. ... Back in India I was more of a people manager, so I used to lead the team and the team used to really gel around me very well. The only thing that I’m probably not sure of how to work here, what things that would stop me from getting into that kind of role, probably the local knowledge that I have. Understanding the culture of the people here, for example, footy. ... I just know the headlines but I can’t really talk to the team members about football. I try to set a scenario in such a way that they will understand what I really want, which is quite possible in India. That local knowledge and those kinds of things. – Ind3, male*

This process of socialisation within a cultural environment appeared easier when there had been a prior exposure to working in a diverse environment – both on behalf of the migrant manager and those for whom they were working. Some of our respondents were from slightly more diverse multi-cultural societies within the Asia Pacific region such as Malaysia and Singapore as opposed to more
homogeneous cultures such as India, Vietnam and Sri Lanka. Participants with prior multi-cultural backgrounds appeared to have learnt how to respond and work within the Australian environment and culturally diverse teams. Mly2 exemplified this in her comments:

I find it really helpful coming from Malaysia because we are so multicultural and we work with different people like Indians, Malay. It sort of helps in terms of dealing with people. You don't sort of feel, oh I'm afraid of that person because it's not my - because that person's not Chinese or because we are so used to the environment which I think is a strength. – Mly2, female

Another aspect regularly highlighted as critical for the modern manager is teamwork, both leading and coaching a team of employees and being a member of the “management team.” Although teamwork theory extols the benefits of diversity among team members for greater skills capacity and problem-solving (Tambe 1997), there is often much attention given in organisations to being “one of the team,” focusing on the commonalities. Literature on the migrant experience gives attention to endeavours to “fit in” (Ho & Alcorso 2004; Kofman 2000), and many of our respondents highlighted this aspect of teamwork if they want to progress in the organisation. Ind1 shared his thoughts on this issue:

Whenever I meet anyone who’s just come into the country, I sit down and give them this talk. You know, how they should fit in. ... I found that I get on much better with colleagues and even workmates or even anyone else if I can talk the way they talk and drink the way they drink or even eat the way they eat. You know, at the moment, a lot of them are surprised ‘But you’re Indian yet you’re sitting down the pub and drinking with us.’ I said, ‘Yeah, so what?’ [Laughs] ... That’s what I tell my Indian friends: ‘How are they going to invite you out when you try to show them you’re different?’ And so that’s something that we have to be able to get over, both ways. – Ind1, male

In this example, Ind1 spoke of how being seen to “fit in” often involves a change in behaviour. However, such changes may not be easy. Indeed, it could involve respondents giving up or losing something of their cultural identity and values that were considered intrinsically desirable, as Mly4 shared:

And so with the Asians, you generally stand back; you are quiet, more reflective, you’re more cautious. And I think coming here, studying here and going to university here, I managed to actually get some of that out of my system. Plus my family background, because we are all quite vocal. So that helped a lot; I was able to adjust a lot quicker and fit in and tell people to -, you know, learn to swear pretty quickly. And I learnt how to speak the way Anglo-Saxon Australians understand and I fitted in a lot easier. ... In saying that I have lost a lot of my own cultural sort of -, you know, so that’s one of the hard things, that you have to fit into a society and as you fit in, you become more and more like that and then you lose that Asian side of it. My mother thinks I am very rude. – Mly4, female
This notion of becoming “louder” was of particular relevance in our sample of managers from countries in the Asia-Pacific region migrating to Australia. As members of a collectivist culture, our respondents were socialised and taught to show concern for others, have tolerance for errors, respect authority, and express soft skills as part of their communal living practice (Kennedy 2002). This communal living custom discourages assertiveness, confrontation, and aggressive behaviour in individuals including speaking up and being loud. One application of this principle within organisational behaviour is that managers are not prepared to speak up and hesitate to voice their opinions based on a cultural apprehension of being arrogant (Abdullah 2001; Schermerhorn 1994).

Sing3 identified this concern:

So in terms of in meetings or in discussions, I probably would not speak up as freely or as often and usually our voices tend to be a bit lower, a bit softer as well. So I think all this does kind of play a bit. And over time people will get to know you and know what you can do and your capabilities, but I suppose just probably in terms of the first impression ... if you just take a shorter period of time then [short pause] it’s harder to credentialise yourself, you know what I’m trying to say? — Sing3, female

For those pursuing managerial careers, demonstrating that one is capable and skilful has important future implications because these actions influence job performance evaluations and are associated with opportunities for promotion (Lyness & Heilman 2006). In Western cultures, being seen as wanting to progress and actively pursuing this vision through actions such as speaking up in meetings and putting forward views are important for career progression. However, SL2 acknowledged his hesitation for being vocal during his interview, as it could be seen as ‘begging somebody for a favour’. However, he recognised that he needed to change the way he interacted with senior people in the organisation: ‘Until you express your willingness to move out of your current role, nobody will know that you’re looking for a job or looking to move’.

Our respondents also spoke of their expectations to be recognised and promoted for their multiple qualifications; however this did not take place within the Australian workplace context. In Eastern cultures, especially Asia, education and training has been a growth industry for decades because of the value and importance given to education by the society (Root & Campos 1998). The World Bank has also acknowledged both the increasing quantity and quality of education in Asia compared to other countries (Root & Campos 1998). Thus, when migrating to Australia, our respondents had expected
that their educational attainment would support their career and advancement within their management role. The following quote from a Singaporean manager exemplifies the stories of respondents:

*When I finished my MBA it was with the same company that I had trouble with, and I thought when I finish my MBA that they might recognise that and say you’re done and put me in the role, that’s why I was asking for it. Ah no, in fact, I recall this role was actually not something I applied for but something as part of a reorganisation. They sort of seconded me to another organisation so I went for an interview. And those interviewers, those managers I come across, do not look and recognise that you’ve done an MBA.* – Sing4, male

**Organisational Activities to Support Career Advancement**

Most of our respondents also spoke about networking and mentoring as important activities that will assist in understanding culture, country and also workplace norms. It is an established view in the management literature that networking and further education will result in greater chances for promotion to occur (Carraher, Sullivan, & Crocitto 2008; Kumra & Vinnicombe 2008). People who take the initiative and make constructive change to their situation by participating in formal and informal networks and professional associations are likely to experience career success over time. The narratives of our respondents reinforce the need for developing new networks and mentors who understand their current situation:

*One thing is networking, so I am trying to get into meeting as many people as possible, trying to talk to them, people who are already managers. ... I'm still in touch with the people in TeleKom [a pseudonym] who were my managers and I continuously learn from them, the way they’ve worked here, the kind of examples they use, the kind of language they use, all those kind of things. ... It's just the catching up over coffee. ... I've been thinking about the formal ways of networking and I’ll come up with something. It's just managing the time, you have to dedicate a certain amount of time; the informal way is more convenient. That's probably a faster way of doing it than formally.* – Ind3, male

As a result of being the newcomers to the Australian workplace, our respondents found that they did not have existing professional and support groups. This is a considerable disadvantage, as through networking people find opportunities to actively engage in conversations which increases the impression of commitment and perception of competence:

*I find, like here, I don’t know if I would be right, but a majority of the good jobs are hardly advertised. It’s all by word of mouth so you’ve got to -, people have got to know you. I suppose that’s in every country, most of the jobs I’ve got have been by word of mouth. If people know you are good they'll come and pick you up; they won’t advertise they don’t do anything, like you know? So there is
definitely a loss there and you have to make up that. You know, when you move to a country and you lose your contacts. – Ind2, male

Our narratives suggest that the respondents are using self-focused strategies to advance in their careers. They present a totally workplace-focused image to progress upward by trying to blend into the existing culture.

CONCLUSION

This study examined the stories of individuals' career progression by considering the role and influence exerted by cultural background on career advancement prospects of managers from the Asia Pacific region who came to Australia to work and live. The experiences and challenges within their present management roles in organisations were examined through conversations and narrative analysis. This study indicates that Asia-Pacific respondents in professional managerial positions in Australia encounter challenges fitting into their roles, receive less career support, and sometimes encounter differential treatment. This represents one of the biggest challenges for career theories, 'to relate objective career data to individuals’ subjective perceptions of their own career’ (Herriot et al. 1993:116).

Our narratives suggest interesting challenges faced by our respondents. During the interviews, our study had at its base a desire to understand whether there are attitudinal and behavioural differences between managers from different cultural backgrounds, and the Australian Anglo-Saxon employees because of their cultural socialisation. The indirect effect of cultural background found in this study indicates that managers from the Asia Pacific countries are more likely to experience unfavourable career performance evaluations which are associated with advancement prospects. It is possible that our respondents perform moderately high in their management roles seeing that they have acquired the skills, prior experiences, and solid tertiary qualifications. However, these factors may not be sufficiently high to overcome the Australian senior managers' expectations. We hope that these findings will inspire additional research on similar career progression journeys and prospects of non Western managers and employees. We also expect that organisations acknowledge the heterogeneous groups of employees as diversity is a reality and it is an important aspect of the global economy.
REFERENCES


## TABLE 1:

Demographic Attributes of Participants' (n=25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Malaysia</th>
<th>New Zealand</th>
<th>Philippines</th>
<th>Singapore</th>
<th>Sri Lanka</th>
<th>Vietnam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (mean)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married/Partnered</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dependent Children</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tertiary Education</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time in current position (mean)</td>
<td>2.7 years</td>
<td>1.5 years</td>
<td>2.7 years</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>3.3 years</td>
<td>4.5 years</td>
<td>3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time in current organisation (mean)</td>
<td>2.5 years</td>
<td>10.6 years</td>
<td>8.1 years</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>3.6 years</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>3 years</td>
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