ABSTRACT

Double Bind: Women of Color in Business Leadership

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This paper argues that women of color are underrepresented in business leadership because of the unique and shifting standards by which they are evaluated. I seek to explain the relative lack of minority women in business leadership by examining various forms and theories of gender bias, and how such bias affects women of color who share several minority-related identity markers–race/ethnicity, immigration status, class or family of origin and language. After examining various theories of gender bias, I turn to possible strategies for disrupting and combating bias. These strategies include individual steps for supporting the promotion of minority women into leadership positions, as well as broader, structural changes that might reduce workplace barriers that women of color face.

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DOUBLE BIND: WOMEN OF COLOR IN BUSINESS LEADERSHIP

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By

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Women of Color in Business Leadership

This paper explores the underrepresentation of women of color in business

leadership who are impacted by a double minority status which I refer to as the double

bind. I argue that the unique and shifting standards by which women and minorities are

evaluated inhibit women of color from occupying positions of leadership within the

business environment. To explain the relative lack of minority women in business

leadership, I will examine various theories and practices of gender bias, and how such

bias affects women of color who share several minority-related identity markers—

race/ethnicity, immigration status, class or family of origin and language. After

examining various theories and practices of gender bias, I turn to possible strategies for

disrupting and combating bias. These strategies include individual steps for supporting

the promotion of minority women into leadership positions as well as broader, structural

changes that might reduce workplace barriers that women of color face.

I chose this topic for my thesis because I identify as an ambitious black female

who is pursuing a career in professional sales. Although I recognize that there are several

arguments that are "made by scholars and feminist organizations that in order to have

equal opportunities for promotion, women and minorities need the formal policies, rules,

and long job ladders that bureaucracies provide," (Smith-Doerr, 2004, p.2) I believe

minority women can take steps towards self-promotion. The topic of women of color in

business leadership is important because women and men are by no means equal in the

workplace, and for people of color the challenges are even greater. According to Catalyst's (2015) research, White and Asian women are more likely to obtain roles in business leadership than Black and Latina women. In fact, Figure 1 uses Catalyst's sample of the Standard & Poor's 500 as an example to illustrate the dismal statistics that arise because of the double bind:

■ Total Employees

■ First/Mid-Level Officials and Managers

■ Executive/Senior-Level Officials and Managers

■ CEOs

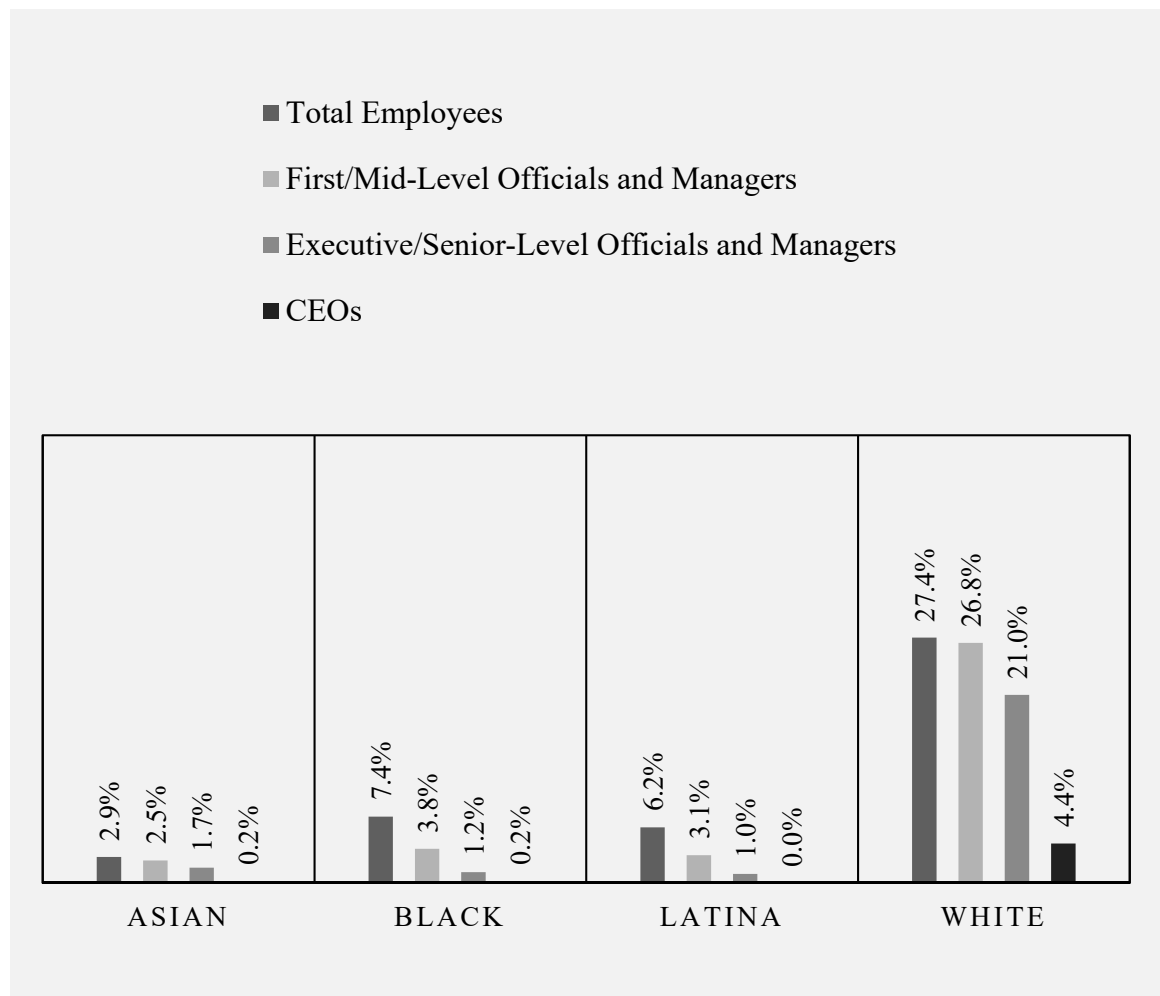|	ASIAN	BLACK	LATINA	WHITE
Total Employees	2.9%	7.4%	6.2%	27.4%
First/Mid-Level Officials and Managers	2.5%	3.8%	3.1%	26.8%
Executive/Senior-Level Officials and Managers	1.7%	1.2%	1.0%	21.0%
CEOs	0.2%	0.2%	0.0%	4.4%

Figure 1: Women in S&P 500 Companies by Race/Ethnicity (2015)

In addition to my aspiration to work as a professional saleswoman, I am confident that the technology industry is the area in which I want to work. However, jobs in

science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) are some of the most inequitable

industries for men and women regarding proportional presence in the business

environment. In fact, in 2011 the United States of America Department of Commerce

reported that:

> Although women fill close to half of all jobs in the U.S. economy, they hold less
> than 25 percent of STEM jobs. This has been the case throughout the past decade,
> even as college-educated women have increased their share of the overall
> workforce (Beede, Julian, McKittrick, Khan & Doms, 2011, p.1).

The Department of Commerce's statistics paint both a positive and a negative picture in

that women are making progress in terms of entering the workforce and representing their

gender; yet, when it comes to STEM jobs—which are in high demand across the global

economy—women are far outnumbered by men. Furthermore, people of color in STEM

jobs face additional challenges when it comes to equality in the workplace. To illustrate

these additional difficulties for minority people, Sylvia Hurtado, Christopher B. Newman,

Minh C. Tran, and Mitchell J. Chang (2010) argue that:

> One aspect that our research shows as integral to underrepresented students in
> science is the issue of race and diversity. Students continue to face 'solo status'
> (where they are one of few racial minorities in their classes or majors) or
> presumptions of under preparedness, despite their significant achievements (p.13).

Consequently, after people of color graduate from universities and begin entering the

workforce, their battle with solo status persists. Thus, Hurtado et al. brings up an

excellent perspective when it comes to factors such as education that have a major

influence on employment rates for people of any race or gender following higher

education.

Aside from the differences in education, postulate stereotypical differences,

discrimination, and systematic barriers are three theories offered by Ann M. Morrison

and Mary Ann von Glinow in "Women and Minorities in Management," that help explain the lack of women and minorities in higher-ranking and higher-paying business roles within fields like technology. In terms of the first theory regarding stereotypes, Morrison and von Glinow (1990) argue that, "The human capital explanation assumes that investment pays off equally for all groups, but recent studies suggest that investment yields higher returns for white men than for women and minorities" (p. 201). The inconsistency between people of color's investments in companies and their returns is important because factors such as education and preparedness are not enough to completely explain the, "discrepancies in level or pay in recent studies of sex and race differences in management" (Morrison & von Glinow, 1990, p. 202). Although the theory of postulate stereotypical differences highlights the complexity of the inequality issue for women of color in business leadership.

The second theory that Morrison and von Glinow call attention to in their work regarding discrimination is rational bias. According to Laurie Larwood, Barbara Gutek and Urs E Gattiker, (1984) "Perspectives on Institutional Discrimination and Resistance to Change:"

> On the inside, the rational manager making the evaluation might feel that his or her superior prefers discrimination, that members of key groups with whom he or she must negotiate are biased, or that others in general prefer to work with those who are "like themselves." Pressures might also be felt from outside clients who have a choice of which supplier they use, or from financiers who might structure a loan to an ailing organization less favorably if they have any reason to lose faith in it (p. 343).

A current example of rational bias in hiring practices is the use of pre-screening questionnaires to disproportionally remove candidates who possess a certain characteristic compared to other candidates who do not. Understanding rational bias is

significant because it helps provide a better explanation as to why people favor a handful of people and their characteristics over others. Stereotypes, performance and education alone only make up a portion of the factors that influence women's and minorities' low presence in managerial positions. That is why it is important to note that implicit and explicit bias also help explain why men in management are prone to discriminate against women by means of evaluations and decision making that could advance or impede the growth of any employee's career.

The third and final theory that Morrison and von Glinow explore is intergroup bias. Intergroup bias consists of creating and contributing to systematic favoritism for people who are similar to you, whether that be in terms of gender, age, or any other characteristic or affiliation people may use to exclusively network. In business, favoritism or loyalty towards in-groups creates structural obstacles for minorities such as women and people of color when they attempt to achieve promotions. David A. Thomas's and Clayton P. Alderfer's (1989) argue in "The Influence of Race on Career Dynamics: Theory and Research on Minority Career Experiences," that:

> When the pattern of group relations within an organization mirrors the pattern in society as a whole, such as when Whites predominate in high-status positions and Blacks are concentrated in low-status jobs, then evaluations of Blacks (or members of other low-status groups) are likely to be distorted by prejudice or anxiety as racist assumptions go unquestioned in the organization (as cited in Morrison & von Glinow, 1990, p. 202).

Even still, intergroup bias, along with implicit and explicit bias, stereotypes, and educational differences between marginalized and majority groups, are only a few of many factors that explain the preponderance of discrimination against minorities.

Furthermore, Marilynn Brewer's article, "In-Group Bias in the Minimal Intergroup Situation: A Cognitive-Motivational Analysis," helpfully analyzes the effects

of discrimination on people within the same group and how they interact with and value people that share their same characteristics (versus those people who do not). In fact, Brewer's (1979) research begins with a literature review of concepts such as ethnocentrism—the mentality that one's own culture and ethnic origin is the absolute best in the world compared to anyone else's—and competitive interdependence between in-groups and out-groups, by means of justifiable exploitation.

One of the classic experiments that Brewer highlights in her research regarding in-group versus out-group competition is the "Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation: The Robbers Cave Experiment", conducted by Muzafer Sherif, O. J. Harvey, B. Jack White, William R. Hood, and Carolyn W. Sherif (1961). Sherif et al.'s experiment was divided into three phases within an artificial reality for summer camps with two different groups of young boys. For the first phase of the experiment, the participants were unaware of the other group's existence and focused only on bonding within their group. The second phase merged the two groups of boys and forced them to compete for resources, which led to "us" versus "them" mentalities, in addition to violent collective behaviors towards the out-group. Finally, the third phase of the test forced the two groups to work together to solve issues, and resulted in lower intensity between in-group and out-group differences and negative bias behaviors (Sherif et al.,1961). Sherif et al.'s experiment and the many others that Brewer (1979) discusses leading up to her experimentation methodology are important because they prove that, "factors such as intergroup competition, similarity, and status differentials affect in-group bias indirectly by influencing the salience of distinctions between in-group and out-groups" (p.307).

Brewer's narrow research was trying to understand what motivates these bias behaviors and why.

As a result, she discovered that the competition and positive or negative behavior between in-groups and out-groups is motivated by the rewards and recognition that accompany the success or failure of the situation. Furthermore, Brewer (1979) argues that:

> One factor that is inherently confounded with the presence of explicit competitive interdependence between groups is that of differential shared fate; that is, under conditions of a competitive reward structure, members of a group share (or anticipate sharing) a common outcome that is distinct from the outcome shared by members of the other group (p.315).

Shared fate is important because when we perceive that there is social competition for a superior status in society—even though there should not be—it inspires hostile behavior towards the people we consider "other," or as part of our out-groups. Social competition implies that the people within an in-group work together, like the boys in the summer camp from Sherif et al.'s experiment, to bond with one another and positively trust their in-group members because their similar identities can naturally create in-group favoritism. Brewer's research also raises the question of whether or not the positive effects of an in-group depend on presence of a disadvantage out-group.

Instead of focusing on the negative aspects of in-group favoritism; however, I want to focus on its positive facets in order to create steps and strategies for individuals and organizations to correct and combat the implicit bias that women of color experience today. The concepts of in-group favoritism and bringing awareness to how it affects those people who are deemed as "other" is a simple, yet effective place to start. Although in-group favoritism that is unconscious or natural can be extremely difficult to eliminate.

However, I believe that we can embrace our in-group favoritism by expanding our in-group to encompass the entire human race. Another way of shedding light on intergroup bias is by spreading awareness through conversations that acknowledge the perspective of third-parties such as society and outside communities who do not have a seat at the literal, or figurative, decision making table, nor have the ability to share their experiences.

Methodology

In this paper I examine gender as a source of discrimination in the workplace. I begin by defining gender bias, exploring its origins, and examining its roles and social values. Next, I focus on gender dynamics in the business environment in order to highlight the differences between men's and women's generalized behavioral characteristics. Then, I contrast non-monitories to minorities in terms of access and exposure to opportunities as well as standards of evaluation. Finally, I suggest steps for women of color, along with strategies for business organizations, to create positive changes within their decision making structures.

In terms of the topic of in-group favoritism and intergroup bias, people that are evaluating minority women are more likely to be outside of their immediate in-group, which results in minority women in business leadership having a lower presence in higher-ranking business positions. Therefore, I will highlight the two authors, Herminia Ibarra and Otilia Obodaru (2009), in "Women and the Vision Thing," to talk about how men, when conducting performance reviews, perceive women as having less vision than them. This issue of perception negatively affects the way women see themselves,

coworkers, and managers who determine which people are worthy of career advancement opportunities and can promote women of color into business leadership positions.

The remedies that I suggest entail viewing humanity as an all-inclusive in-group and acting on the universal duty to protect and preserve all of humanity's interest. The steps that I recommend are intended to level the playing field for both minorities and women within the business environment. To employ this process of change I believe that ethical self-reflection is a method of disruption, because in order to be an excellent advocate for change of any sort, people must first disrupt the pattern they see before them. So for people who are religious, this act of disruption could be informed by a biblical perspective, and for people who do not subscribe to a religious faith, the disruption could be informed by a social or a humanistic value. For example, when thinking about whether or not a diversity committee or officer would be contrary to conventional firms and their values, executives could consider the positive elements that having another perspective could bring to the company. In terms of society, companies can pursue corporate social responsibility initiatives by reaching out to historically marginalized sub-groups of people, because helping the disadvantaged can help advance humanity.

Organizational Structure

The organizational structure of this thesis works together to create a foundational understanding of gender bias within a business environment before explaining why it occurs and how we can begin to disrupt it. The remaining chapters are described below.

In Chapter Two, "Gender Bias within Business," I define gender bias as well as the forms it takes in explicit and implicit biased behavior, such as old-fashioned and new-fashioned sexism. After defining these terms, I discuss the origins of gender inequality: a division of labor, respect, and value between men and women in terms of gender roles. Gender roles are essential to understanding how men and women interact and relate to one another to get things done in the workplace, especially because men and women generally possess stark contrasting behavioral characteristics. Similarly, minorities endure the projected reality of stereotypes that are associated with their race and work against their population of people, despite their proven capabilities in higher education and in the workplace. I will analyze articles that suggest that ethnicity status can work to the advantage of minorities; however, I will also clarify why racial status can also provide disadvantages for people of color.

Chapter Three, "Leadership & Standards of Evaluation," addresses the position of management and the psychology of decision making that takes place within managerial and leadership roles. In order to pinpoint the population of women of color, I first discuss women in general leadership positions. Next, I concentrate on women of color, who include the ethnicities of African-American, Asian-American, and Hispanic-American women. By separating these two populations, I can more effectively compare and contrast gender status and racial minority status in order to identity what I refer to as the double bind. In terms of performance reviews and access and exposure to leadership positions, there are evident differences in standards of evaluation for job qualifications, as well as a factor of intergroup bias. Intergroup bias is particularly significant because when examining the psychology of decision making, discrimination in terms of in-group

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favoritism and ethics can make the choice to hire or promote someone who does not look, think, or act like you more difficult than it should be.

Chapter Four, "Steps & Strategies for Women of Color," takes into account the factors and forces, both positive and negative, that women experience as a result of their minority status. For example, in-group favoritism is a natural result of intergroup bias that every human faces within their lifetime. Therefore, if we were to apply ethics to the concept of intergroup bias and expand our in-groups to include all of humanity, then we are, theoretically, one step closer to making a positive change as individuals. Another way to improve the status of women of color in business is through personal negotiation techniques such as being vocal about the things that are important to them in their career, as well as being bold when it comes to seeking sponsors or mentors with visibility and taking credit for their work and contributions within the workplace. I do, however, realize that individual steps by women of color are not enough to create a lasting change within the business sector. Therefore, sponsorship or mentorship, diversity committees, and officers within companies can provide unique perspectives and affirmation of the minority population, which can be utilized to better a firms' inclusive culture, visibility of minorities, and competitive advantage. Systematic bias and discrimination are serious obstacles faced by both women and minorities. I conclude this chapter by explaining some strategies for organizations that might lead to the change we all need to see in business and STEM today.

Finally, Chapter Five, "Conclusion" recaps the beginning arguments and latter suggestions for navigating and disrupting the double bind experienced by women of color today. This summary is important because it provides a quick reference and effective

inspiration for anyone looking to make a positive change as an individual or as a leader of

an organization by increasing diversity and fostering an inclusive company culture that

supports difference.

CHAPTER TWO

Gender Bias within Business

Defining Gender Bias

Gender is a significant feature of any individual's identity. Although it is "conceptually defined as the state of being male or female," (Adair Erickson & Roloff, 2008, p. 43) we often perceive gender as both a feature and a factor of identity that is beyond our control. The emphasis on either gender discovery or gender creation varies per regional and cultural values within the United States alone, so not all regions share the same sociopolitical values. In fact, Table 1 provides an analysis conducted by Gallup's Jeffery Jones (2015) who cites most and least conservative states in terms of ideology:

% Conservative minus % Liberal

MOST CONSERVATIVE	CONSERVATIVE ADVANTAGE	LEAST CONSERVATIVE	CONSERVATIVE ADVANTAGE
Alabama	31.9	Vermont	-15.3
Idaho	31.8	Massachusetts	-5.8
Arkansas	30.0	Rhode Island	-0.9
North Dakota	27.8	New York	0.6
Utah	27.7	Hawaii	1.3
Mississippi	27.6	Connecticut	1.6
Wyoming	27.6	California	1.6
Louisiana	26.9	Oregon	2.7
Oklahoma	26.3	New Jersey	3.3
South Dakota	25.3	Washington	3.4

Table 1: Most and Least Conservative States (2015)

People in conservative states such as Alabama and Idaho, for example, embrace traditional gender roles and conventional institutions that place high values on organized religion and community. However, people in liberal states, like Vermont and Massachusetts, challenge traditional social norms by focusing on liberty in terms of religious pluralism and autonomy. Understanding these clear cultural differences is important, because when individuals representing the minority opinion talk with the majority about cultural structures and understandings of gender within the regions or societies in which they are living, they often encounter dismay, disagreement and even bias.

Gender bias can be demonstrated through different shapes and forms; therefore, gender biases can be both explicit and implicit. Individuals that engage in explicit bias are self-aware of their prejudices, so when they express discrimination it is direct. However, people who exercise implicit bias do not understand that their actions are offensive, so when they discriminate it is unintentional. Laurie A. Rudman and Peter Glick (2008) as authors of *The Social Psychology of Gender*, explores gendered divisions of labor and gender-based hierarchies in societies. Rudman and Glick (2008) assess several societies in order to show that gender interdependence provides the foundation for concepts such as dominance, sexism, gender stereotypes, and possible steps and strategies to overcome bias.

Structural & Cultural Biases

Through Rudman's and Glick's (2008) examination of sexism in the workplace, we see that women face gender impediments to advance in professional realms at greater

rates than men. Where does this injustice on the basis of gender originate? According to

Rudman and Glick (2008), although the battles faced by women arise from internal and

external forces and ideologies, sexism as a form of workplace discrimination takes two

major forms: old-fashioned and new-fashioned sexism. Old-fashioned sexism is less

common in today's society, but it still consists of traditional forms of gender bias. In the

workplace, old-fashioned sexism can be seen in recruiting and hiring practices. For

instance, an older man in charge of hiring salespeople may strongly believe that instead

of finding jobs, younger women should be settling down, getting married and having

children. Driven by his beliefs, the older man may blatantly make the choice to not hire

younger women because he views them as a poor choice for the position (ill-equipped or

unsuited for the job).

New-fashioned or modern sexism involves transforming traditional gender roles

into policies or laws that undermine women benevolently. Limited amounts of unpaid

maternity leave and lower salaries are two examples. New-fashioned sexism compliments

women's generalized care giving and people skills, but offers them less compensation

than men. Despite women's achievements such as accessing and pursuing higher

education at positively increasing rates, companies still have a need for equal gender

representation in male-dominated fields. Both concepts of old-fashioned and new

fashioned sexism are important for understanding patriarchy, and the challenges a male-

dominated society imposes on the workplace.

Patriarchy is a structural barrier that grants authority and dominance to males

within society. Recall the contrasting ideologies and cultures within conservative and

liberal states, and how one of the overwhelming values within conservative states was

religion. In the Old Testament of the Bible, men are identified with headship in the church and society, whereas women are associated with submission to men and childcare within the home. Patriarchy is significant for workplace inequality because it helps us understand gender roles in societies in conservative states that are transferred into the workplace. Rudman and Glick (2008) suggest that another root of patriarchy is the rise of agriculture and industrialization, which prompted a shift towards distinct gendered labor divisions on the scale of male and female contributions. Prior to agriculture, there was an equal need and respect for both hunting and gathering. Yet, after examining the physical differences between men and women, there was greater differentiation of the two sexes. The physical differences and their implications resulted in distinct gender roles as well as a growing inferiority and denigration of women.

Overtime distinct gender roles created sociocultural expectations for women to fulfill domestic roles within and outside of their homes. Thus, professional women who were new moms began to face prejudice while working within male-dominated environments, which still causes some professional women to remain childless or simply leave the workplace today. However, women who choose to remain in the workforce often face ambivalent sexism—an ideology that encompasses both benevolent and hostile prejudice delivered by both males and females. Both genders' perspectives are important because people's actions are influenced by perceptions and reflect in ways that reinforce stereotypes. The historical and social expectation for women to affirm their teammates, to care for their children, and to negotiate on their colleagues' behalves, are all activities that contribute to gender bias within business. Similarly, the historical and the social expectation for men to challenge and compete with others also enforces bias. As a result,

women in the workplace are well-liked yet undervalued among their coworkers and managers, whereas men are respected and highly-esteemed.

Bias in Business

Now that I have established the reality and origins of gender bias, I can focus on gender relations in the business environment. According to Rudman and Glick (2008), characteristically, women are perceived as behaving more communal than men, who are seen as self-seeking. This difference in business behavior is then projected onto job functions, salaries, hiring practices, and standards of performance evaluations associated with the role. More times than not, companies choose to simply examine gender inequality then encourage cultural change initiatives instead of making the choice to act by in ways that solve the issue through effective experimental methods (Williams 2014b). To emphasize the inadequacy of the more common initiative approach, Joan C. Williams (2014b) in "Hacking Tech's Diversity Problem," uses language initiatives to report, "In fact, not only did the 'salary negotiable' language [versus 'salary' in want ads] close the negotiation gap between men and women, it closed the pay gap between the male and female hires by 45%" (para.6). This subtle difference in wording is significant because the income disparity between men and women in the same role—who have the same capabilities—adds up, and the difference in income, pay check after pay check, can become inescapable over time. In that case, even if both the female and the male were given promotions, the irreversible damage has already been done.

In addition to framing wording differences in job postings, another example of gender bias in business is the standards by which workers are evaluated. Herminia Ibarra

and Otilia Obodaru (2009), the authors of "Women and the Vision Thing," prove that

men often perceive women as lacking vision in their leadership. From the predominantly

male perspective, vision is not just communicating a leader's style of leadership, it is also

communicating a leader's aims and plans for a business as a whole (Ibarra & Obodaru,

2009). However, Amy Hilliard encourages women to retain their leadership style and

communicate vision in their own way:

> Soft women can succeed. You can remain feminine yet focused. If you do not
> relinquish your femininity, you are powerful by default. A balanced approach
> does not intimidate partners. Softer is vulnerable, so friends feel needed. Empathy
> for employees show that you know they have lives too. Put a hand on their
> shoulders when in need, but *do* make them accountable for goals! They won't be
> loyal to you if you can't be flexible or if you don't stress what is important
> (Sebastian, 2009, p. 22).

Although women are improving in some key areas related to vision, they are continuing

to be perceived as unwilling to take risks. Ibarra's and Obodaru's argument is important,

because women who are confidently performing their business role and responsibilities

sometimes feel that they must choose between being competent, liked, or visionary.

Therefore, shifting standards of evaluation is a factor of social bias which impedes

women's ability to lead.

Another example of gender bias in business is demeanor. In the *NPR* article "Sex

Discrimination Trial Puts Silicon Valley under the Microscope," Williams reports that

Ellen Pao was discriminated against at Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers:

> In court, Pao's attorneys have presented performance reviews that describe Pao as
> too quiet, too aggressive and lacking people skills. But they've also shown the
> jury reviews of male colleagues who received similar feedback—but the male
> colleagues were promoted (Dilling, 2015, para. 3).

By describing Pao as too aggressive, her managers are implying that she is too masculine,

or that Pao is failing to meet their perceived standard of how a women should behave.

Also, the fact that her male counterparts received a promotion while Pao did not is significant because William believes that this is an example of old-fashioned sexism, which is alive and well in finance and STEM industries today. Both technology and finance are argued as two of the worst gender equal business sectors, because they are overwhelmingly dominated by non-minority men (Dilling, 2015). As a result, women and minorities who enter these industries are viewed as "other," and often face both implicit and explicit forms of gender bias.

So far I have examined gender bias theory and perspective, so I now turn our focus to the evidence. Williams (2014a) in "Double Jeopardy? An Empirical Study with Implications for The Debates Over Implicit Bias and Intersectionality," examines whether or not the gender bias documented in social psychology labs shows up in real world workplace environments. To achieve this, Williams' (2014a) conducted "interviews of sixty women of color in science, technology, math, and engineering" (p. 186). Virtually all the women (96%) report experiencing one or more forms of Tug of War bias: "Prove it Again" (reestablishing creditability for your work), "Tightrope" (balancing a dual performance of society's expectations and workplace recommendations for women to be feminine yet bullish), "Maternal Wall" (a double edge sword of criticism for women with children who are either too committed to their responsibilities at work or at home) (Williams, 2014a). These forms of biases are important because they signify that all women experience some form of gender bias in the business environment. However, women of color face unique challenges.

In "Double Jeopardy? An Empirical Study with Implications for The Debates Over Implicit Bias and Intersectionality," Williams (2014a), shows that gender biases

operate differently among different classifications of women with identity markers—race/ethnicity, immigration status, class, family of origin, and language—that shape their experience of bias. Inequality for minority women is heightened, because of the common stereotypes of minorities that people consider, when interacting with their population, and later project onto women of color which reinforces and gives rise to implicit bias. The Implicit Association Test measures the existence and strength of racial, gender, and other biases by measuring "response latency," or the time it takes to associate a type of people with a stereotype (Williams, 2014a). For example, women without children face workplace biases that can be just as insidious as those experienced by working mothers or minorities. The stereotypical beliefs that childless women have no responsibilities other than their work and that minorities should do more than non-minorities inspires themselves or their managers to call on them to do extra activities more often and take advantage of them more frequently. Another stereotype Williams and Rachel Dempsey (2014) examine in *What Works for Women at Work: Four Patterns Working Women Need to Know* is "the 'bitchy woman' myth, showing the extent to which female competition is still driven by the sheer paucity of opportunity" (Spar, 2014, para. 5). The findings of Williams' studies are significant because they help draw attention to the perceptions of managers who evaluate women for promotions, and how their opinions are influenced by stereotypes, that are then projected onto women of color.

Women v. Men

Before I analyze further the double bind of racial minority status and gender, I want to address some generalized differences between women and men in the workplace,

starting with education. Recent studies have shown that the number of women attending

and graduating from college is higher than that of men. According to the National Center

for Education Statistics:

> Between 2003 and 2013, enrollment [for women in college] increased 20 percent, from 16.9 million to 20.4 million. Much of the growth between 2003 and 2013 was in full-time enrollment; the number of full-time students rose 22 percent, while the number of part-time students rose 18 percent. During the same period, the number of female students rose 19 percent, while the number of male students rose 22 percent. Although male enrollment increased by a larger percentage during this period, the majority (57 percent) of students in 2013 were female (Snyder, de Brey & Dillow, 2014, p. 407).

However, when I examine the prevalence of women in the workplace, the proportion of

women to men is significantly low. This is likely because women are getting stuck in the

system and structure of their companies, which cause them to miss out on the same

amount of career advancement and exposure to opportunities that men receive.

Compared to the prevalence of men in business leadership, women are harder to

come by. This disproportion can be highlighted through the different levels of ranks and

their proportional number of both genders in business firms. In order to demonstrate this,

Widad Atena Faragalla (2015), author of "Perception of Women on Discrimination at the

Job: Case Study for the Accounting Profession" surveys 283 women across different

fields of activity. Faragalla (2015) compares Romanian women within the accounting

profession, because in Romania women are the dominate gender in that career field. Her

article includes a 2013 Harvard study, which demonstrates that women constitute 53% of

apprentice positions and only 35% of executive-level positions (Faragalla, 2015). These

numbers indicate that women are trapped in lower level business positions for several

reasons, including performance prejudice and maternal release time.

Faragalla's and other research, in addition to the unequal portion of women to men in business leadership, show that women face both implicit and explicit biases in the business environment. To improve their situation, women are often told to work harder, longer, and for less pay than men. Frankly, this method of combating gender bias is biased in itself. For women to work harder and longer than men it takes additional time, effort, and energy, which subjects women to unfair treatment and unequal pay. However, Rudman and Glick (2008) argue using their social structural solution to combatting gender bias, that there are social and personality characteristics that generally make women better collaborators, team players, and motivators than men. Rudman's and Glick's perspective is important because both genders have merit earned through educational achievement, to succeed in the workplace. However, there are inarguably some steps and strategies that need to be taken in order to break down the barrier of inequity.

Minority Women v. Minority Men

It has been consistently shown that women and men are unequal in the workplace. It is less clear, however, whether the additional variable of racial minority status helps or hinders women's advancement in their careers. Aaron D. Hill, Arun D. Upadhyay, and Rafik I. Beekun (2015) argue in, *"Do Female and Ethnically Diverse Executives Endure Inequity in the CEO Position or do They Benefit from Their Minority Status? An Empirical Examination,"* that both occur. Specifically, Hill et al. (2015) use empirical evidence to prove that minority status can both help and hinder minority women with respect to higher compensation and lower exit level rates. More specifically, Hill et al.'s

(2015) research indicates that both females and ethnically diverse CEOs were compensated higher than white men, even though non-minority women had lower exit rates. It is important to note that Hill et al.'s (2015) study only examines publically traded companies, because unlike private companies, public firms are more likely to publish their CEO's compensation and other business statistics, so that they are highly visible to the public's eye. It is also important to highlight that the CEO position is a highly significant and valued job, so Hill et al.'s research may be an expectation instead of a rule.

I want to next look at minority women in comparison to minority men because they also experience the workplace differently. According to Mike Noon and Kim Hoque, (2001) authors of, "Ethnic Minorities and Equal Treatment: The Impact of Gender, Equal Opportunities Policies and Trade Unions," racial minority women are treated more poorly than men of the same racial minority status. Given this comparison, it further illustrates that women are unequal to men in the workplace, regardless of their ethnic status. Even when I remove the additional element of race, the plight of minorities in general is significant because minority status creates barriers in the workplace. Furthermore, Noon and Hoque's (2001) research found that:

> When the reference category is 'white women in non-union workplaces', these employees are less likely to have had training discussions than are white women in non-union workplaces. In other words, being in a unionized workplace would seem to bring advantages for white employees, but not for ethnic minority employees (p. 112).

Therefore, with the additional variable of gender, the forms and degree of bias in business increases for women of color.

There are several factors that can help us understand why gender and racial bias in the workplace occurs. In terms of gender, Selena Rezvani does a great job of explaining why inequity among men and women exists in the workplace. In terms of generalized gender characteristics in *Pushback: How Smart Women Ask and Stand Up for What They Want,* Rezvani shows that women have a more collaborative style that can help reveal creative solutions that mutually satisfy both parties' interests (2012). Rezvani also guides young women through self-advocating processes from finding their negotiation style to following up with the exchange in order to achieve their desired professional outcomes. A main focus of the text is workplace negotiations, such as salary, where she notes that only one in four women attempt to pushback by asking for an increase in starting pay (Rezvani, 2012).

Another factor of bias in business besides salary negotiations is company culture. Although many firms implement equal opportunity policies to help reduce bias within their business systems, mandated policies are not perfect solutions. Instead, business administers and leaders within business organizations need to stand up alongside their women and people of color by genuinely providing equal access and exposure to all people who represent a variety of educational backgrounds and socioeconomic statuses.

Summary

Gender bias is a reality that has been faced by women since the introduction of agriculture or industrialization which created a stark division between male and female functional contributions to society. As a result, gender bias has taken a variety of forms

over time and across different regions in which biases are both implicit and explicit. After comparing minority women and minority men, I found that women of color face a double bind associated with their race and gender, which makes it even harder for them to achieve leadership positions in business. Although minority men also face racial bias, they are seen as more fortunate than minority women. Characteristically, men and women excel in different roles at work, in that women are good at negotiating for others, and men are great at negotiating for themselves. However, these characteristics along with stereotypes, and different standards of evaluation cause women to get stuck in lower levels within business organizations. The setbacks that arise from the disproportion of women in business leadership not only create an inescapable income disparity between men and women, but also cause women to lose confidence in themselves as individuals and as a gender.

I have set the foundation for discussion and further examination of gender bias within the environment and context of business. Before I dive into steps and strategies for women to combat bias, I will next analyze the effects that different standards of evaluation can have on both men and women.

CHAPTER THREE

Leadership & Standards of Evaluation

Women in Leadership

In her book *Women in Business: The Changing Face of Leadership*, Patricia

Hogue Werhane (2007) argues that inequality between men and women in business

leadership persists. To prove her argument, she cites the low percentage of women in C-

Suite positions:

> The 2006 Census released by Catalyst, a research and advisory organization that
> conducts research on women's career advancement [which indicates that], in 2006
> women held just 15.6% of Fortune 500 corporate officer positions, fewer than the
> previous year (16.4% in 2005) (p. xvii).

Since then, Bryce Covert (2015) has recently reported that women in the Standard &

Poor's 500:

> Make up 19.2 percent of board seats in the S&P 500, 4.8 percent of CEOs, over a
> quarter of executives, more than 35 percent of managers, and nearly half of the
> entire workforce. White women fare much better than women of color: they make
> up over a quarter of managers, more than 20 percent of executives, and 4.4
> percent of CEOs (para. 4).

Despite the evident barriers and binds that women in business face, some women are

successfully rising through corporate ranks in leadership roles. But how are they

accomplishing it?

I begin with the meaning of the term "leadership." As a concept, leadership

includes personal styles of management such as servant, affiliative and coercive.

However, these personal styles of leadership like affiliative, for example, focus on the

feelings, thoughts, and mutual commitments between the members of any given group.

However, for the purpose of this study, I want to concentrate on the authority aspect of leadership through the lens of legitimate power. Legitimate power can be earned by means of promotion, which establishes an executive hierarchy where the leader is an individual who is granted authority over subordinates. My references to women in leadership positions throughout this study includes women in entrepreneurship, middle management and executive-levels, such as Vice President and C-Suite positions.

Werhane's (2007) *Women in Business: The Changing Face of Leadership* consists of interviews and individual success stories for twenty-two women who have gained legitimate power in their respective business organizations. Werhane (2007) answers the central question of what makes women in business successful in pursuing leadership opportunities by reporting commonalities among the twenty-two women in her analysis. In preparing for their leadership roles, she claims that many of the women shared the strategy of new age management:

> New age managers see themselves as well-trained professionals, not as employees and not as permanently committed to one company or firm (Werhane & Radine, 2003). Many of these are uncompromising in their integrity and work ethic, but their loyalties are first to professional integrity, to their clients, and to their fellow-workers, and only secondarily to the particular company with which they are associated. They often change jobs or form new organizations many times while advancing their careers" (as cited in Werhane, 2007, p. 177).

As a way of achieving legitimate power, new age managers who are prevalent among younger generations in the workforce are likely to transfer companies, as opposed to starting from an entry-level role and working the ranks of their initial business organization from the bottom-up.

In general, women use new age management to successfully obtain higher-ranking business positions and forms of legitimate power they might not receive in their current companies. But how does the additional variable of minority status affect women of color's ability to advance in their careers? Werhane (2007) confesses that although her team:

> Strived for diversity in our [their] sample, the reality is that the number of women of color who serve as directors and executive officers is still below an acceptable standard. Of fifty Chicago companies studied by The Chicago Network in their annual census report, in 2006, just 3.9% of all directors were women of color and 1.9% of top executive officers were women of color (p. 176).

Werhane's statistics are important because they illustrate the double bind for women of color in Chicago, which is just one city's perspective of minority women business leaders. However, nationwide Catalyst has conducted more recent research that reveals the scarcity of women of color in business leadership:

> Women of color make up a third of all working women, but they are scarce in corporate America. Women of color make up just 16.5 percent of people who work for S&P 500 companies, some of the country's largest and most financially powerful, according to new research from Catalyst. But they become even rarer the further up the ladder you go. They represent less than 10 percent of managers, a measly 3.9 percent of executives, and just 0.4 percent of CEOs. In fact, there is not a single Latina CEO among the S&P 500 (Covert, 2015, para. 1).

The small percentage of women of color in the S&P 500 indicates that the barriers women of color face in Chicago are encountered by women of color across the nation and arguably around the world.

I have shown that women's path to successfully achieving leadership positions in business involves jumping from company to company to acquire legitimate power and hierarchical authority within company structures. One answer to the question, "how does

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minority status effect the success of women in middle management and corporate

executive leadership roles," is meritocracy that is tied to visibility for minorities within

the workplace.

Tojo Thatchenkery and Keimei Sugiyama, as authors of *Making the Invisible

Visible: Understanding Leadership Contributions of Asian Minorities in the Workplace*,

answer the success question by focusing on the experiences of Asian-American women in

business. Thatchenkery and Sugiyama (2011) identify a common pattern of success for

Asian women leaders: a strong mental subscription to the concept of meritocracy.

Meritocracy is the systematic value placed an individual's merit gained through hard

work, skill, and knowledge.

To illustrate the power of meritocracy, Thatchenkery and Sugiyama (2011)

highlight the success story of Indra Nooyi. Nooyi was CEO of Pepsi-Cola in 2008, "one

of six Asians and one of thirteen women leading a Fortune 500 company" (p. 66).

Nooyi's promotions, according to Thatchenkery and Sugiyama, (2011) rests on her

commitment to merit-based achievement:

> In reflecting on her career progression, Nooyi says, "I focused on delivering
> whatever was required in my job all the time. Singular focus was doing a damn
> good job. It wasn't playing the politics. It wasn't running for office. That's the
> most important part. It was not running for office. It was always doing the job I
> was given exceedingly well but doing it better than anybody else could have done
> in that job. So I gave it my all and once people started seeing that you could over
> deliver on every job, they started giving you friendly tips on how to behave, how
> to act, how to interact in certain situations (p. 67).

Thatchenkery and Sugiyama (2011) emphasize that like many minorities, Nooyi was

taught as a young girl that she would have to work harder than non-minorities to prove

herself, to set herself apart, and to succeed in school and in work. However, for most

women of color in business leadership, advancement often comes at the expense of

overserving on several committees and being passed over for a promotion once, twice, or far more times than that. But instead of jumping companies, like most women who believe in new age management, women of color tend to trust that promotions will eventually come their way with the interest of time.

The Double Bind

Now that I have examined several commonalities among all women as well as some differences that apply to ethnic minorities, let's juxtapose the patterns of success. Some women see themselves as qualified professionals who can advance their careers by switching from company to company. Other women, however, remain in their organization by working harder than others and finding peace in knowing that they may be passed over several times before their company selects them to fulfill a higher-ranking leadership position. So what do these generalized differences in approaching success suggest about minority women's values?

Leonard Greenhalgh and James Lowry (2011) look to the model of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. to help provide an answer:

> Inspired and guided by the leadership of Dr. King, people with a conscience stepped up to tear down barriers that were denying minorities access to the American Dream. The same caliber of leadership is needed today to curtail *economic discrimination*. We need to address a deeply rooted, multifaceted set of constraints that are confining minorities and women to an economic role that is inconsistent with our national interest, thereby making the American Dream elusive for all of us (p. 137).

Greenhalgh and Lowery illustrate that the double bind of race and gender are constraints that linger in society and continue to constrain women of color today. However, culture

also plays a role. In terms of Asian-American women, Thatchenkery and Sugiyama (2011) report that:

> Asian minorities may prefer to have their work speak for itself within the team context. This approach may explain why so many survey respondents said that if their contributions are not acknowledged, they would simply work harder. In a work environment that is also collectively focused, this approach would still result in visibility for contributions because leaders seek out and value each team member's contribution. What is occurring for Asian minorities is that it takes longer for their contributions and their approaches to leadership to be valued and result in career mobility because their environment does not value those qualities as highly. They are the invisible and "quiet" leaders who achieve their goals by strong dedication to their work (p. 21)

The hard reality is that minority women in business must overcome implicit and explicit sociocultural bias. To succeed in doing so, they must analyze their given situations and choose to either emphasize their race or their gender, but not both. That is, they must subscribe to a new age management philosophy or the instilled belief in meritocracy paired with visibility that their families teach them as children. This feels like an impossible choice. Therefore, it is important to bring the barriers associated with the double bind to the attention of management departments in business.

Management in Business

In terms of the double bind of gender and race faced by women of color, management institutions hold the keys to unlocking the access and exposure to equality via equitable compensation and equal representation in roles. Despite improved areas such as education, women and minorities tend to earn far less in income than their male or non-minority counterparts. More specifically, information from the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in 2013 indicates that minority women earn the lowest incomes in the United States:

In fact, black and Hispanic women vie for last place on the earnings pyramid at every level of education, and the gender pay gap actually increases with higher education for black, white, and Hispanic women. Routinely, when pay equity analyses are done for corporations, the employees whose actual salaries are greater than two standard deviations higher than their predicted salary (based on job-related variables such as market value, time served, and performance ratings) are white men (Ashton, 2014, para. 8).

Women still encounter the glass ceiling: the invisible constraint that holds people back from reaching leadership positions at the top of an organization. Ellen Katz (2001), author of "The Glass Ceiling: Women Rising in Management," breaks down the glass ceiling using concepts she borrowed from *The Three Levels of the Glass Ceiling: Sorcerer's Apprentice to Through the Looking Glass*. These three paths to success for women and minorities are applicable to different levels of leadership within a company are referred to as "apprenticeship, pipeline, and Alice in Wonderland" (as cited in Katz, 2001, p. 77).

The entry level role is apprenticeship, which applies to men, women, and minorities that are new to the workforce or identify as individual contributors to their business organization and seek sponsorship or mentorship which creates higher visibility. According to Katz (2001), "On the apprenticeship level one is expected to work long hours, carry out the wishes of others, do work for which others take credit, and generally take abuse that clearly will not be required once the apprenticeship is completed" (p. 77). The apprenticeship path to business leadership mirrors Indra Nooyi's and several other minorities' commitment to meritocracy.

However, once women and minorities have surpassed the point of being individual contributors, they face tough times in middle management. Despite achieving

mid-level leadership positions, women still have to overcome gender and racial bias using the intermediary level path called pipeline. Within the pipeline path:

> One needs to be assertive in behavior in making your accomplishments known. This behavior is different from what women have learned, and certainly different from the accepted behavior during an apprenticeship. Demonstrating credentials for the job is crucial at this stage, as it leads to respect (Katz, 2001, p. 77).

For women of color, proving their worth is important because it requires them to stand up and speak out to justify their qualifications for leadership positions in addition to the limitations of their role's relevant responsibilities. When women of color fail to set these barriers, they run the risk of overserving as committee or board members and individual contributors. Despite overtaxing contributions, women of color continue to battle barriers in recruiting processes and everyday interactions with coworkers in efforts advance their careers.

The third and final path is Alice in Wonderland, which is achieved once a woman or minority has reached an executive leadership role like Chief Executive Officer or Vice President of Sales within a business organization. Unfortunately, after all the obstacles that women and minorities face during their apprentice and pipeline stages, they are still judged differently as heads of organizations compared to their male counterparts within their industries. Katz (2001) maintains that:

> Women need even greater visibility for feedback about their success, and often have to go outside their companies to obtain this. In addition, women at this level must learn the protocols and systems for making a job change, and not hesitate to make a change to a company where they are wanted as a new partner or Chief Executive Officer (p. 77).

Minority women managers continue to face a combination of implicit and explicit discrimination depending on their level of leadership within a company, so sponsorship or mentorship, which creates higher visibility can help.

Decision Making

According to the United States Census Bureau's "Educational Attainment in the United States: 2015" Asian-Americans were the only minority that outperformed non-minorities in terms of each population's percentage of completed degrees in higher education. However, racial minorities like African-Americans and Hispanic-Americans had populations far below the rate of non-minorities (Ryan & Bauman, 2016). However, once I isolate gender in each population, women were either equal to or greater than men with respect to degree attainment. So why does workplace inequality persist? Why are some women not advancing as business leaders at the same rate as men?

As more women and minorities earn higher degrees of education and higher-ranking leadership roles, the challenge of advancing in their careers becomes even more difficult. A major factor that impedes job advancement is the psychology behind decision making for management and recruiting departments. Lieselotte Blommaert, Marcel Coenders, and Frank van Tubergen (2014) in "Ethnic Discrimination in Recruitment and Decision Makers' Features: Evidence from Laboratory Experiment and Survey Data using a Student Sample" conduct an empirical study to demonstrate decision making bias. Blommaert et al.'s (2014) results revealed:

> That first judgments about applicants' suitability are predominantly determined by applicant features. The role of decision makers' features is relatively small at this stage; many relations are statistically insignificant. When it comes to deciding who to invite for a job interview, however, characteristics of decision makers are also of influence. Moreover, although an applicants' ethnicity has a significant effect in both phases of the selection process, it is relatively more important for invitations for interview than for suitability ratings (p. 748).

Blommaert et al.'s conclusions are similar to Nooyi's experience described earlier regarding proving her worth in order to gain insider tips on how to behave. Two

additional explanations that discuss discrimination in decision making include racial bias

theory and intergroup contact theory. According to Linda R. Tropp:

> Intergroup contact theory proposes that intergroup prejudice can be reduced when
> members of different groups interact with each other under optimal conditions.
> Allport (1954) developed what has become the most influential statement of
> intergroup contact theory, stating that prejudice will be reduced when the contact
> situation embodies four primary conditions: (1) equal status between groups; (2)
> common goals; (3) cooperation between groups; and (4) support of institutional
> authorities, law, or custom (as cited in Tropp, 2011, p. 254).

Blommaert et al.'s (2014) findings also show that contact theory was affirmed in the

study when there was bias in hiring women and minorities. For example, Bloomaer et

al.'s research shows that, "Individuals who have more positive interethnic contacts,

higher educational levels and higher educated parents are less likely to discriminate

against ethnic minority applicants. Individuals whose parents are church members are

more likely to discriminate, as are males" (p. 731). The different factors that influence

discrimination are important because they can influence an evaluator's opinions of

whether or not a woman of color is worthy of promotion. As in any job, education plays a

major role in determining what the objectives noted within a job description will be.

However, in terms of what qualifications management boards and recruiters look for

when selecting applicants to fill a role, we know they are implicitly influenced by biases

towards gender and race, both of which are biases described in racial bias and contact

theories.

Summary

Among the barriers that women of color face when pursuing leadership positions

are education, race, and religion. Despite the implicit intergroup bias and racial bias that

create the double bind for minority women, there have been several women who have found successful leadership positions in middle management and in corporate executive-levels which result in legitimate power. However, the paths that women and minorities use to achieve their success differs depending on their upbringing, what business department, what level of leadership they are seeking in the organization, and the preconceptions of people who are evaluating their performance. More specifically, in lower level positions like an individual sales contributor, minority women are culturally taught to subscribe to a system of meritocracy paired with visibility can identify with the department because all salespeople are taught to subscribe to result-based context. Then, after being promoted into higher level positions like an executive vice president of sales, women like men should prove their worth and assert their authority to receive respect from their subordinates, their organization, and their industries. More often than not, the organization that women and millennials of both genders first commit to after graduation is not the same organization, they will end up at as the head sales executive. Instead new age management instructs women and younger people to know their worth and transfer companies in order to reach the most senior business leadership position they seek.

I have examined the key factors of success for women in general as well as for women of color, who were represented by Asian-Americans. I looked at the standards of evaluation such as education, intergroup bias, and management teams' mindsets regarding their generalized perspective of what constitutes as quality candidates. In the next chapter, I will get into the steps and strategies that women of color and business organizations can implement in order to reach successful positions in business leadership

and encourage diversity companywide. I will also examine how to disrupt the bias associated with the double bind.

CHAPTER FOUR

Steps & Strategies for Women of Color

Positive Effects of the Double Bind

Despite apparent barriers and biases associated with the double bind, the racial

minority status for women of color can position them for success within the marketplace.

Their status of "other" can foster success in business because their life experiences and

identities provide non-minority groups with valuable, missing perspectives. Mary

Godwyn and Donna Stoddard (2011), authors of *Minority Women Entrepreneurs: How*

Outsider Status Can Lead to Better Business Practices, argue that women of color have

different ways of thinking, which adds value to whatever products or services their

business offers to a larger market of consumers. Furthermore, Godwyn and Stoddard

(2011) maintain that:

> Minority women entrepreneurs are a welcome antidote to the large, corporate
> business orthodoxy that has produced the current corruption, greed, and poor
> management. Minority women provide a new 'central theorem' for business: a
> fusion of social good with profitability where business no longer lives in a
> separate autonomous sphere but is situated in and governed by social values (p.
> 16).

The social good that women of color bring to corporate America is significant because it

shows that racial minorities and women can appeal to changing consumer tastes which

are more inclusive and socially conscious today than ever before. Because of the value

they add to the business sector, women of color are able to seek out business

opportunities that reflect their values and needs. Aside from economic incentives such as

salary, for example, women of color value elements of community service (Godwyn &

Stoddard 2011). Diversity is also an important aspect of business that minority women consider when researching a company's leadership structure and culture. Whenever minority women choose to join companies or start businesses of their own, they are often quite intentional about identifying their personal brand with product offerings and business goals, such as mission statements and core values.

Core values are more critical for women of color than non-minority women today, because women of color more likely to align their personal sense of value with their company's. For instance, if women of color support the products endorsed by companies that employ them, then they are more likely to feel like a valued member of the team and speak up to create a positive difference. Minority perspectives can help businesses determine the authenticity of their product offerings and genuinely ensure that the product is well positioned in the marketplace. Like core values, authenticity is more significant to women of color compared to non-minority women because the majority of women of color are often expected to use a primary part of their identity to help their work. For example, Godwyn and Stoddard (2011) find that a woman who identifies as part of the double bind, a minority twice over: "navigates the boundary between majority and minority communities in her personal, political, and profession decisions. This puts her in a particularly good position to represent a range of interests and to empathize with many different views" (p. 170). Therefore, despite the challenges of the double bind, women of color exhibit dynamism in their way of thinking and a capacity to connect with various collections of diverse people. No matter if women of color are speaking to customers, subordinates, or colleagues, their positive attributes serve businesses well.

Negative Effects of the Double Bind

In contrast to the positive effects of the double bind, the negative effects are more prevalent and insidious. Recall the solo status that people of color face in school and after college that diminishes their personal significance despite their achievements. The same effect of perception is working against women of color in terms of business ownership. Cheryl Adkins and Steven Samaras (2013), authors of "The Challenges of Business Ownership: A Comparison of Minority and Non-Minority Women Business Owners," report that:

> Minority group membership was significantly related to perceptions of challenge even when objective differences in the size and age of the business and the owner's age and education were controlled. Further, minority status was positively associated with perceptions of challenges for women business owners in general, thus suggesting different overall views of the business environment. However, minority status was not significantly associated with perceptions of challenges on factors that might be expected to have a more uniform impact on most small businesses such as the state of the economy, health insurance costs, and the competitive business environment (p. 87).

Adkins' and Samaras' research shows that despite controlled standards of evaluation, such as education, women of color are psychologically disadvantaged when it comes to competing in the workplace. Although all women in general face similar barriers, the solo status for racial minorities haunts them for life.

Another negative effect of the double bind is that women of color lack equal access to financial resources, which can help them advance in the workplace, despite recent efforts to improve their financial situations. For example, New York City government agencies created a grading system to help evaluate mandated support initiatives to aid minority owned businesses; however:

> NYC mayoral agencies procured $13.8 billion in contracts with private firms during fiscal year 2015. Just $725 million, 5.3 percent, went to minority and

women-owned business enterprises (M/WBEs). It is a new high, counting back to 2007, and a jump up from just 3.9 percent in fiscal year 2014 (Oscar, 2015, para. 3).

The agencies' low amounts of comparative investments towards businesses owned and managed by women of color conveys that the support for women of color is more difficult to obtain than it is for non-minorities. Therefore, when solo status obstacles are paired with an unsupportive financial reality, the psychological effects on women of color in business can be discouraging if not downright prohibiting.

Business Ethics

Ethics in business are influenced by policy, prescriptive and descriptive work environments. The ethos of a company can also play an important role in managing what is right from what is wrong. In the case of Comptroller Scott Stringer and his New York City agencies, they were supposed to be led by ethical choices and values, —which turned out to be inequitable and unfair—but ended up doing the wrong thing by allocating significantly less money to minority and women-owned businesses. Even though the city had policies in place to promote diversity and equality by evaluating agency spending, the city failed to meet those guidelines:

> "In a city as diverse as New York, a 5 percent spend with MWBE businesses is unacceptable," writes Stringer. "African-American, Latino, Asian-American and women-owned firms must be given a chance to compete for their fair share of the City's budget" (Oscar, 2015, para. 16).

However, aside from the city's failing score, the grading policy was an example of corporate social responsibility (CSR) defined as intentional strategies and actions to promote marginalized groups of people.

In addition to society and business organizations, ethics come into play in terms of personal integrity and organizational structures. Integrity is an internal motiving source that tells a person what they should and should not do, even when no one else is looking at them. Therefore, women of color in business, who adjust their perspectives depending on who they are talking to in order to gain a win or advance in their career, should be careful not to over-represent themselves in a way that damages their personal integrity. Although the positive effect of their double bind status is that they are valued sources of minority perspectives, there may be times in business when fabricating perspectives may help a woman of color personally succeed. However, misrepresenting a population, may not be what is best for the people who realistically represent and identify within that group. Regardless of unique subgroups, in-group favoritism in conjunction with intergroup bias is something that every human faces within their lifetime. But, if we were to apply ethics to the situation by expanding our in-groups to include all of humanity, then we are one step closer to advancing ourselves as a human race.

Biblical perspectives—especially in a predominately Christian nation like the United States—inform human behavior: In Richard Bauckham's (2003) "Reading Scripture as a Coherent Story," he claims that in the individual accounts within the Biblical metanarrative, the multitude work together to create a more truthful and powerful story. Therefore, when responding to the ethical argument of in-group favoritism being a primary motivation for intergroup bias, Bauckham would argue that we should be aware of our differences but also remain committed to the larger in-group of humanity which holds us all together. Moreover, Bauckham examines the issue of unity and diversity by analyzing the text within the Bible. In his work, he defends that the

position that people should take from the Bible should not be viewed through a single narrative lens. In fact, Bauckham (2003) argues that:

> The unity of such a novel consist in the dialogue of conflicting voices…While the Bible does not have the kind of unity and coherence a single author might give a literary work, there is nevertheless a remarkable extent to which the biblical texts themselves recognize and assert, in a necessarily cumulative manner, the unity of the story they tell (p. 40).

Bauckham's thoughts on the diversity within unity are important because if we think of the diverse texts within the Bible along with the different kinds of people who wrote its stories as representations of different people and their in-groups, the idea is the same. People are different, and although naturally their forms and characteristics will resemble a cluster of diverse people, we are all unified by God as our creator—and, for Christians, by Christ as lord and savior.

By using Bauckham's perspective of diversity and unity derived from the Bible's metanarrative structure to explain how to overcome biases towards difference, I can see a potential remedy to help reduce the amount of self-seeking bias in business. There is beauty and power in viewing the differences within the Bible as well as people, because what brings people together is the larger context of God's human creation as an all-inclusive in-group consisting of brothers and sisters. Therefore, when faced with the responsibility to make ethical decisions that can potentially affect immediate people within our out-groups, the in-group that managers, recruiters, and leaders should look to when making their decisions is humanity as a whole.

In addition to Bauckham's (2003) defense of diversity in the name of unity, he also talks about using God's word as a higher authority. He writes:

> What justifies the term metanarrative is that biblical story is a story about the meaning of the whole reality… It makes a thoroughly universal claim, which

combines the universality of the Creator and Lord of all things with particularity of this God's identification of himself as the God of Israel and of Jesus Christ" (p. 48).

In terms of ethics, looking to God's word is helpful because the Bible can be used as an authority to help people in power make ethical decisions, and when faced with issues that are particularly difficult in terms of people who are unlike our immediate in-groups, managers, recruiters, and leaders can always consult God's word. The important thing is to consciously and actively use Bauckham's understanding of His unitive power through diverse narratives to maintain the positive power of in-group favoritism and apply it in general to everyday interactions with other people who represents all forms of the human race.

Individual Steps

Although using an all-inclusive in-group for the human race sounds great in theory, the approach can be hard to put into practice. Therefore, I am recommending three individual steps for women of color to take in order to advance within business leadership. The steps that I recommend are intended to level the playing field for women of color by disrupting bias for both minorities and women within the business context. These steps include the following: self-reflection, seeking guidance, and negotiation.

The first step is self-reflection. Taking time to figure out what is important to you in terms of your personal values and goals prior to pursuing a position with a business organization is critical for psychological health, confidence, career guidance, and personal and professional growth. In fact, Gillian Smith and Pat Yates (2012) report that:

> If an individual has had previously bad experiences of working with others, little understanding of group dynamics or negative feelings towards others, this will in

turn affect his performance and that of the team. Research we [they] have undertaken indicates that by recognizing the preferences of ourselves and others, facilitated self-reflection improves the potential for behavioral change (para. 9).

In studying the negative effects of the double bind, I have learned that solo status is an issue facing women of color in college and their careers. By acquiring an accurate view of self through ongoing self-reflection, women of color can overcome their challenges of self-doubt, increase their self-awareness, and commit to companies whose core values match their own personal views.

The second step to disrupting double bind bias is for women of color to seek guidance for their work. Both internal and external sponsorship or mentorship are important at this stage because self-validation as well as advice and visibility can help build the confidence women of color need to know their worth and their limits. Setting limitations is critical for women of color, because they often run the risk of burning out from overserving on committees, boards, and teams due to the perception that they must do more to prove their worth. Therefore, a sponsor or mentor who has gained visibility through meritocracy and legitimate power is extremely useful within and outside of the business organization because these leaders offer guidance. Internally, the self-reflection from step one can help build the self-efficacy needed to affirm one's own work. After a woman of color has found what is important to her and a sponsor or mentor to guide her, the next thing for her to consider is what she has accomplished since she has been a part of her business organization. For example, keeping a journal of relevant work acknowledgments and affirmations from customers, managers, and other references can be beneficial. The contents of her journal gives tangible creditability to all of her good work that can be reinforced in the third and final step.

Negotiation is the last step in a continuous cycle for women of color seeking

leadership positions in business. Negotiation can take place in a variety of situations, so it

does not have to restrict itself to the conversation of salary. Women of color should

negotiate the unique things they value as individuals, which they discovered from the

initial self-reflection stage. Therefore, negotiation topics can include career advancement,

time off from work, volunteer days, projects, deadlines, task forces, and more. Being

vocal about what is ethical in terms of her business practices and personal integrity

should never be sacrificed. For example, in terms of everyday job practices:

> Lisa Helms-Miller, a loan officer and vice president at MarketEdge Mortgage
> Inc., Columbus, Ohio, says she "tries to get as much information as I can" on an
> initial call from a prospect. Afterward, she uses a "three strikes and you're out"
> rule to determine which ones to follow up aggressively. Potential borrowers with
> three issues that make their application hard to sell into the secondary market will
> be passed on by Helms-Miller. However, she tries to suggest another lender they
> could approach, such as a community bank that portfolios nonstandard loans
> (Schneider, 2007, p. 142).

As a leader within MarketEdge Mortgage, Inc., Ms. Miller identified what would be right

and wrong for her to pursue in terms potential client's credit history. In the same manner,

if a woman of color is faced with a tough situation in which her values and her

company's requests are in conflict, it is best for her to walk away from the negotiation all

together, then find another organization that appreciates her hard work and dedication.

However, in order to transfer firms, she should be very strategic and deliberate about how

she exits the company, why she left to begin with, and where she will go next. Together,

these three steps create an ongoing cycle that can help individual women of color

navigate the positive and negative effects of the double bind bias.

Organizational Strategies

Despite the steps that women of color can take as individuals to manage the negative effects of the double bind, it will take more to disrupt the barriers and binds altogether. Therefore, businesses should learn and implement best practices for promoting diversity in their companies and communities. Diversity plans and CSR are initiatives are two great places to start. In terms of diversity plans, Daniela de la Piedra (2008) in *Diversity Initiatives in the Workplace: The Important of Furthering the Efforts of Title VII* points out that:

> Affirmative action programs and diversity plans are often confused as being the same thing, but in fact the two programs have different origins and varying goals. Affirmative action programs are imposed on employers by the government and have a narrow focus on race and gender and the hiring process from an established applicant pool. Alternatively, a diversity plan is self-imposed by the employer and addresses ways in which to expand the applicant pool to all underrepresented communities, as well as to address other aspects and components of the workplace environment (p. 44).

Diversity plans are more effective than affirmative action mandates because the value placed on diversity is grown within the business organization; therefore, it is more likely to be accepted and enforced by business leaders. Perhaps this is a reason the New York City agencies are still struggling to provide acceptable financial investments to minority and women-owned business.

In addition to diversity plans, CSR can help business organizations disrupt the barriers and binds faced by women of color pursuing business leadership. CSR initiatives consider different aspects of society in terms of community, environment, and historically-marginalized people in order to improve the image of a corporation and connect with a diverse group of consumers. Companies can help foster a company culture that thrives on environmental consciousness and socially sensitive values by employing

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women of color who connect well with different populations. Thus, companies looking to level the playing field for both women and people of color would be wise to embrace diversity plans or CSR initiatives.

Summary

The total number of women of color is rising in today's society. This increase of minorities and people of color in the workforce means that currently there are more women and will continue to be more women than ever before experiencing the effects of double bind status, which has both positive and negative implications in the workplace. The positive is that minority women offer companies a diverse perspective, which enables the company to expand and extend the reach of their product offerings into new and current markets. However, the negative effect is that the disproportion of women of color in the workplace perpetuates solo status, which results in a perception of increased challenges and lack of access to resources. Therefore, women of color as individuals should take the time to reflect on what they value so that they can commit to a business organization that matches what they find important. However, seeking guidance, taking credit, and asking others to do the same for their work is also essential to justifying their leadership pursuits and positions and increasing visibility. They must never forget that negotiating for what they value and aspire to achieve in their careers is crucial. It is also important for organizations to disrupt the bias of the double bind by creating authentic and genuine diversity plans and CSR initiatives that satisfy all the shareholders—stakeholders, employees, and outside communities—in their business environment.

In sum, I examined how the double bind positively and negatively affects women of color who pursue leadership positions in business, as well as some ways to manage and disrupt the reality of gender and racial bias. In the final chapter, I will highlight the major points from previous chapters. Then, I will discuss areas that need further research.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

Final Thoughts

The roots of gender bias, whether implicit or explicit, grew as an unintended consequence of agriculture or industrialization. Once agriculture was introduced into social structures women and men began shaping their sociocultural expectations of how individuals of each gender should function—what roles they should play and what duties they should fulfill. Although the shifting standards of how the two genders should function in society is shaped by history, region, and upbringing, over time, generalized gender characteristics developed. For example, women became viewed as naturally nurturing care-givers with people skills, while men were seen as breadwinners with leadership abilities. Gender bias alone creates issues and barriers within business environments and contexts; however, when the additional variable of racial minority status is added, those challenges become even greater. All people of color face obstacles when pursuing higher education and employment after college. Despite the achievements of many racial minorities, major reasons for their struggles are solo status, stereotypes, and different standards of evaluation. As a result, women of color have trouble reaching the top ranks within their fields of business. Proportionally, women are entering the workforce at higher rates than men; yet, when it comes to women in business leadership positions, women are disproportionally underrepresented.

Solos status is an impediment that women of color face as a reality of the double bind when pursuing leadership positions in business. However, implicit intergroup bias

and racial bias are two biases that operate under the surface and hinder women of color's confidence and performance evaluations. On the bright side, it is possible for women and people of color to successfully obtain business leadership positions. Meritocracy has assisted women and minorities in lower level positions to push past everyday biases into middle management where they have earned some legitimate power, so guidance is critical to encouraging other women of color to do the same. Meritocracy must be tied to visibility through sponsorship or mentorship to further encourage double bind women to pursue career advancement within current companies. However, when it comes to more senior-level roles, new age management tactics, like switching companies in order to move up the corporate ladder, have also helped both women and minorities score executive-level positions such as CEO and Vice President. Both meritocracy and new age management, however, enable women of color to know their worth and prove their capabilities to justify their ranking in the workplace chain of command.

The population of women of color in the United States continues to increase; therefore, more women are representing the double bind. It is important to understand that being a women and a racial minority is by no means a bad thing. Yes, the negative aspects of the double bind include solo status, bias, and fewer resources than non-minority people; but, the positive factors for women of color is that they are inclusive, highly skilled when connecting with diverse groups, and offer a fresh perspective to customers and companies. No matter what their situations entail, women of color should own their double bind status and invest in themselves by reflecting inwardly, recording their affirmations, and negotiating on things that are important to them. However, women of color cannot disrupt the double bind bias on their own. Organizations need to support

women of color in business leadership by fostering a positive environment that encourages diversity or CSR.

Further Research

It is important to note that this research was done through secondary literature. There were no primary data sets in the form of interviews or statistical surveys conducted solely for the purpose of this paper. Therefore, primary research would be helpful in exploring and confirming the effects of the double bind. Another thing to consider when looking forward is how the proportions of women of color compare to other professions outside of business. For example, recent articles released from *The Washington Post* and *The Huffington Post* in October of 2016— "What People Did When an Ivy League Professor Wrote Faculty of Color Don't Get Jobs Because 'We Don't Want Them'" and "Black Woman Says Flight Attendant Didn't Believe She Was a Real Doctor"—convey that women of color who pursue doctoral and professional degrees also struggle with acceptance within their work environments. Recent electoral debates have also revealed several incidents of unapologetic explicit bias against women and racial minorities. So it would be worthwhile to examine the bias imbedded within the culture of United States today—whether that be through lens of politics, academia, military, or law.

In terms of steps and strategies that help promote women of color in business organizations, I recommended individual and companywide actions; however, it would also be interesting to examine the hidden role of communities. Communities can refer to groups of people that are outside of the business organization which includes cities,

chambers of commerce, or online forms or societies that help advance women and people of color.

In Waco, Texas there is The Greater Waco Chamber of Commerce which was founded in 1899, but originally called the Waco Business Men's Club. Seventy-six years later in 1975, The Cen-Tex Hispanic Chamber of Commerce was created in Waco, as an example of network and community that helps infuse diversity into business for Hispanic-Americans in business. Nationally, however, there are plenty of online societies such as The National Black Chamber of Commerce founded in 1933, and The American Business Women's Association which was founded in 1949, that help support and guide women and people of color in terms of business education and career pursuits. I believe that examining the community dynamics and actions of promoting diversity in business would be beneficial to the study of women of color in business leadership. Further research could reveal the positive and negative effects that current community structures and cultures can have on double bind women in business leadership today.

Despite the harsh realities of the double bind in business, both women and racial minorities have made tremendous progress since the gender and racial divides that was associated with agriculture, industrialization, and the founding of the United States in 1776. More specifically, the 15th Amendment ratified in 1870 gave racial minority men the right to vote, and 19th Amendment ratified in 1920 did the same for women. These two Amendments granted women of color the right to vote and speak out against injustices like the double bind bias they face in the workplace today. More recently, affirmative action in education, diversity committees in organizations, and employee resource groups in companies are all great examples of support programs that are helping

progress historically-marginalized populations. Although it is slow, positive change is being made to disrupt the bias in business. In the meantime, the steps and strategies suggested in this paper may inspire those individuals and organizations who are ready and willing to support diversity and practice inclusiveness in all aspects of work and life.

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