



# Emotional Tax— A Challenge Companies Can't Afford to Ignore

Imagine feeling a need to protect yourself from unfair treatment and negative attention inside and outside the workplace. You devote time and energy consciously preparing to face each day, which you know comes with the potential for large and small acts of bias, exclusion, or discrimination. This requires daily, not occasional, vigilance. At work, you feel a constant need to protect against what others might say or do, whether they intend to exclude you or not. Throughout the day, you might find yourself bracing for insults, avoiding social interactions and places, or adjusting your appearance to protect against hurtful situations. Put simply, you live each day in a constant state of being "on quard."

For Asian, Black, Latinx, and multiracial employees, decades of research tells us that exclusion, discrimination, and bias can be daily experiences.<sup>4</sup> These experiences occur both inside and outside the workplace, and they can be sharply painful.<sup>5</sup> Taken together, they impose an Emotional Tax with heavy personal consequences. This Emotional Tax can also harm businesses by preventing employees from being able to thrive at work.<sup>6</sup>





# What Are Companies to Do?

Listening to people of color, learning from their experiences, and taking intentional action to implement practices that mitigate Emotional Tax will deliver benefits to your talent and your business. When individuals feel included—when they belong and are valued for their uniqueness—they are more likely to be innovative and team-oriented<sup>7</sup> and more likely to stay in the company.<sup>8</sup>

To generate fresh thinking and build inclusive workplaces, companies must proactively decide not to shy away from the unique challenges women and men of color face both inside and outside of work. Throughout this report, we present actions that you can take today to address and reduce the consequences of Emotional Tax and ensure that the people of color working at your company can thrive, contributing their best talents.

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Team up with employees to leverage their drive to contribute; demonstrate through partnership the value you place on their contributions.

Ensure that leaders and employees are supported and held accountable for inclusive leadership behaviors. All of us have a role to play in creating workplaces where everyone is valued, is heard, and has fair opportunities to succeed.

# **Key Findings**

This report examines the Emotional Tax levied on Asian, Black, Latinx, and multiracial professionals in the United States as they aspire to advance and contribute to their organizations. In particular, we focus on an important aspect of Emotional Tax: the state of being **on guard–consciously preparing to deal with potential bias or discrimination**.

- Asian, Black, Latinx, and multiracial professionals pay an Emotional Tax at work when they feel they must be **on guard** to protect against racial and gender bias.
- This experience was shared by nearly 60% of the women and men of color we surveyed.
- Employees who feel on guard are most likely to want to leave their employers and face challenges to their well-being.
- A majority of those who are on guard have a strong drive to contribute and succeed-suggesting that the loss of their talent would be detrimental to the organization.
- To retain these valuable employees and address potential reasons for being on guard, leaders must cultivate inclusive workplaces.

# WHAT IS EMOTIONAL TAX?

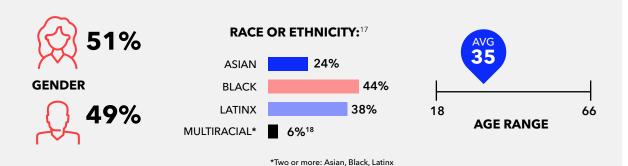
Emotional Tax is the combination of feeling different from peers at work because of gender, race, and/or ethnicity and the associated effects on health, well-being, and ability to thrive at work. These experiences can be particularly acute for people of color who fear being stereotyped, receiving unfair treatment, or feeling like the "other" (i.e., set apart from colleagues because of some aspect of their identity such as gender, race, or ethnicity While most experiences of otherness are detrimental, 11 a lifetime of being marginalized can have uniquely potent effects, including on health and well-being. 12

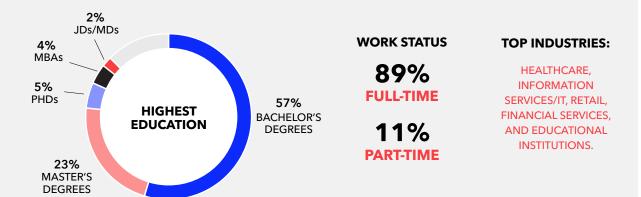


# **ABOUT THE STUDY**

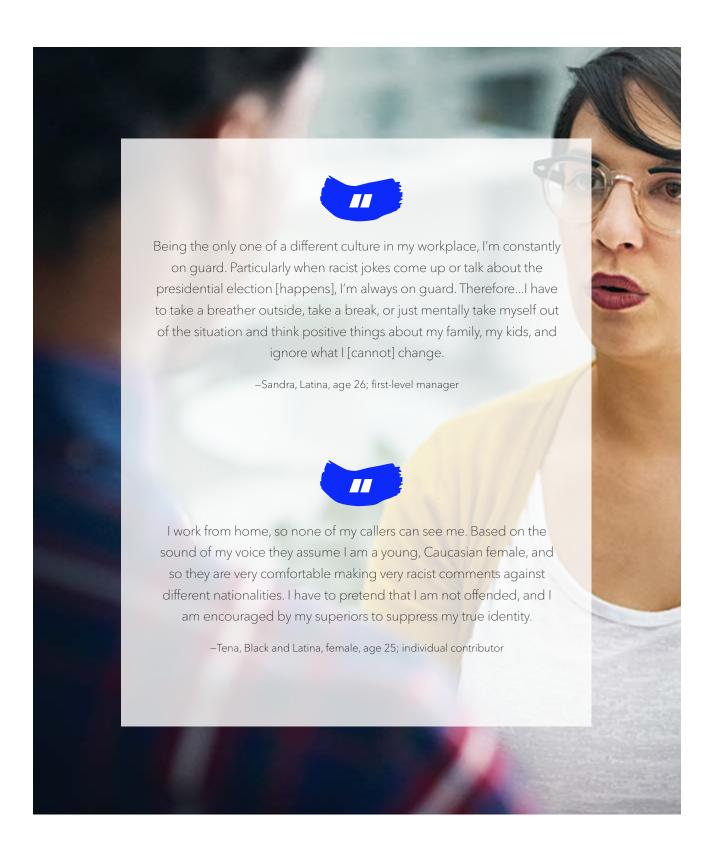
This report<sup>13</sup> builds on Emotional Tax: How Black Women and Men Pay More at Work and How Leaders Can Take Action, the Catalyst report featured in ESSENCE magazine's November 2016 article, "Battling the Burden of Success."14

The findings are based on a survey of 1,569 professionals<sup>15</sup> working in corporate and non-corporate organizations<sup>16</sup> in the United States at the time of data collection.





In addition to gathering quantitative survey data for this report, we invited study respondents to share their experiences of Emotional Tax. These stories offer personal accounts of being on guard or vigilant in anticipation of bias, discrimination, or exclusion because of gender, race, and/or ethnicity.

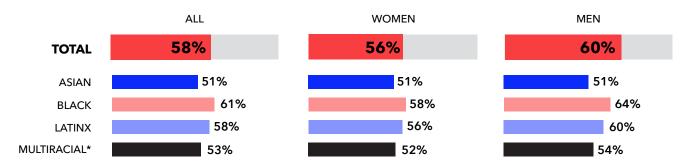


# Women and Men of Color Pay an Emotional Tax at Work

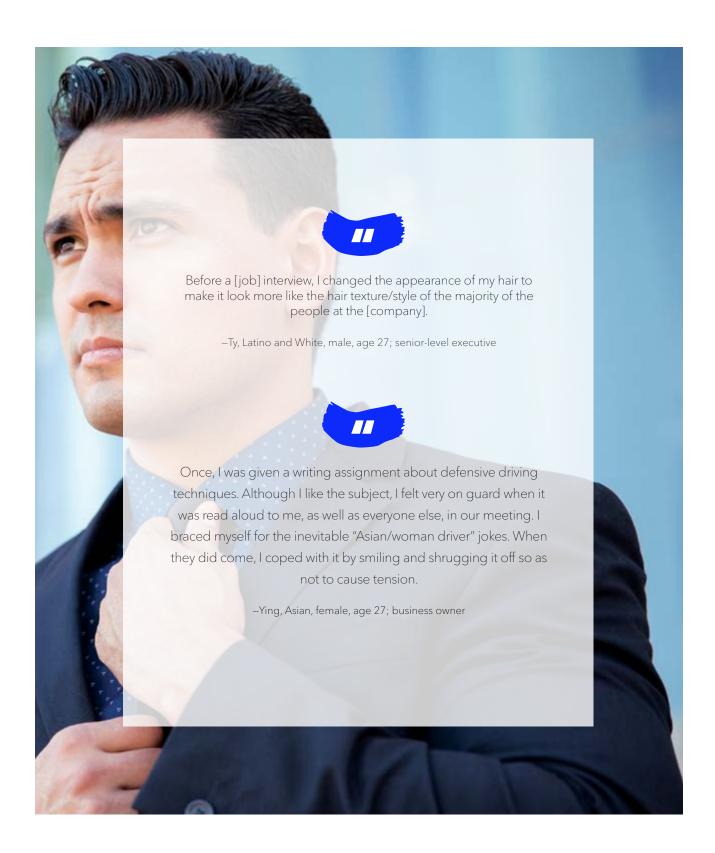
The women and men of color we surveyed endure experiences of being singled out or excluded because of their gender, race, and/or ethnicity on a regular basis. Of our survey respondents:

- A majority of women and men across racial and ethnic groups— **58%**—report being highly on guard.<sup>19</sup>
  - > Asian women (51%), Black women (58%), Latinas (56%), and multiracial women (52%) report being highly on guard.
  - > Black men (64%) and Latinos (60%) most frequently report being on guard.

# PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ON GUARD



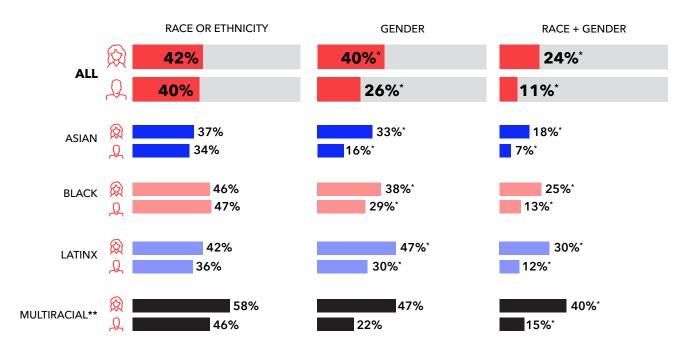
\*Two or more: Asian, Black, Latinx



# Why Are People Highly on Guard?

To explore how gender, race, ethnicity, and other aspects of identity affect decisions to be on guard, we invited respondents to report why they are on guard for potential bias or discrimination. They could select as many reasons as applied, but race and gender were cited most often.

# **REASONS WHY INDIVIDUALS ARE ON GUARD**



\*The difference between genders within racial/ethnic group is significant, p < .01.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Multiracial: Two or more: Asian, Black, Latinx



# They Anticipate Racial Bias<sup>20</sup>

- Over 40% of Asian, Black, Latinx, and multiracial respondents report being on guard because they anticipate racial/ethnic bias.
  - > Women and men cite this reason at similar frequencies.
  - > Multiracial women (58%), who identify as two or more of Asian, Black, and Latinx, are the most likely to be on guard due to their race/ethnicity.

Feeling the need to fit in with a group of not my race.

> -Jordan, American Indian and White, female, age 40; senior-level executive

# **They Anticipate Gender Bias**

- Women (40%) were significantly more likely than men (26%) to report being on guard in anticipation of gender bias.<sup>21</sup>
  - > Latinas were the only group to cite their gender (47%) more than their race/ethnicity (42%) as a reason to be on guard.

# **They Anticipate Racial and Gender Bias**

- Women of color (24%) are more likely than men of color (11%) to be on guard because they expect both gender and racial bias.<sup>22</sup>
  - > Among women, multiracial women are most frequently on guard for these reasons.

There was a situation when everyone (men) was talking about sports and a recent sports event. I felt very out of place because I'm not into sports. I felt a little ashamed as well to fit the stereotype of a woman who doesn't like sports.

-Hannah, Asian, female, age 29; individual contributor

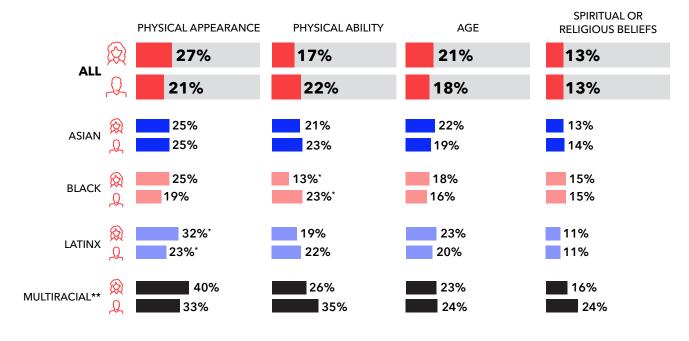
I usually feel on guard during meetings. I believe not only my race but [also] my position as an assistant [leads] people to dismiss me and believe that I am not as quick as my co-workers.

> -Dion, Black, female, age 55; individual contributor

# **They Anticipate Other Biases**

- Between 13% and 27% of respondents report being on guard because they anticipate bias based on other aspects of their identity, such as physical appearance, physical ability, age, and religious beliefs.
  - > Latina respondents are significantly more likely than Latinos to anticipate bias based on their physical appearance (e.g., skin tone, weight, body size, hair style).<sup>23</sup> Black men, by contrast, are significantly more likely than Black women to anticipate bias based on their physical ability.<sup>24</sup>
  - > A few women and men of color are on guard because they anticipate bias against their sexual orientation or parental status.<sup>25</sup>

# OTHER REASONS WHY INDIVIDUALS ARE ON GUARD



\*The difference between genders within racial/ethnic group is significant,  $\rho$  < .01. \*\* Multiracial: Two or more: Asian, Black, Latinx

# MEN OF COLOR: ON GUARD BECAUSE OF THEIR GENDER-A CLOSER LOOK AT MASCULINE NORMS

Interestingly, over one-quarter of men of color respondents said they are on guard in anticipation of bias against them because of their gender. This was a shared experience across racial/ethnic groups, with Black and Latino men more likely than Asian or multiracial men to report it.

Why might men of color report being on guard because of their gender?

Let's take a look at the role of masculine norms. In the United States, researchers find that White men often benefit from dominance behaviors consistent with stereotypically "masculine" ideals. However, men of color are more likely to be penalized for the same behaviors.<sup>26</sup> For example:

• Latinos, especially those of Mexican national origin, endure stereotypes in some settings that describe them as emotional<sup>27</sup> and "macho" with negative connotations.<sup>28</sup> They may be seen as too aggressive and too dominant. At the same time, Latino men can feel compelled to perform in accordance with "macho" norms.<sup>29</sup>

- Black men are often stereotyped as aggressive and hostile<sup>30</sup>-for example, research demonstrates that people associate violence and street crime with Black people.<sup>31</sup> Behaviors that are regarded as assertive when performed by White men may be seen as aggressive when enacted by Black men.
- In contrast, Asian men are stereotyped as passive and non-dominant.32 When they act more assertivelycontradicting the stereotype-they may be penalized in the workplace.

Understanding how men of color can pay a price for behaviors that are rewarded in other men is key to building processes that promote more equitable treatment.33

At the same time, men of color who have a personal understanding of the everyday consequences of racial and gender bias can use that knowledge and experience to become a force for creating inclusive workplaces and championing gender diversity.



# STRATEGIES FOR MITIGATING EMOTIONAL TAX BY LISTENING TO AND AFFIRMING EXPERIENCES



Normalize talking openly about differences-paying particular attention to listening to and affirming experiences that bridge gender, race, and ethnicity.

# **WHY IT MATTERS**

We know words have power-and silence is inaction. Creating an environment in which all employees feel that they belong and where each person's differences are appreciated may seem challenging when those differences are related to gender, race, and ethnicity. Yet the sensitivity of those subjects only highlights how important it is to talk openly about differences.34



# **ENCOURAGE DIALOGUE**

about how people navigate Emotional Tax.

PROMOTE EXPRESSIONS OF

**DIFFERENCE**—encourage co-workers to speak up, challenge the status quo, share dissenting opinions, and assume positive intent.

**SHARE STRUGGLES** and adverse circumstances, rather than avoiding or concealing problems.

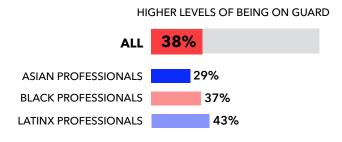
**BE OPEN** to being challenged and accepting another person's perspective. This will help validate women and men of color's day-to-day experiences of inclusion and exclusion.

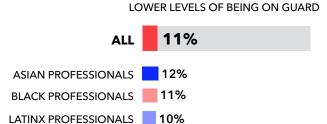
# Emotional Tax Affects Intent to Leave and Well-Being

Highly motivated and talented employees can bear a significant burden when they feel they must be on guard because they expect bias, exclusion, or discrimination.<sup>35</sup>

- Respondents who experience higher levels of being on guard<sup>36</sup> are more likely (38%)<sup>37</sup> to frequently consider leaving their jobs than those with lower levels of being on guard (11%).<sup>38</sup>
- The relationship between being on guard and intent to quit holds across gender for Asian, Black, and Latinx respondents.<sup>39</sup>

# PERCENTAGE REPORTING THINKING ABOUT QUITTING "FREQUENTLY" OR "ALL THE TIME"







I face stigma and bias every day at work because I am African American and transgender. I have been at work events where a co-worker mocked [a celebrity] because of her transition (brave at her age), not yet knowing I too am transgender. Once the co-worker found out I am transgender, they never apologized for the remarks. I experience a lot of tribalism at work, where the Polish people socialize with the Polish people, the Asian people with the Asian people, the Italian people with the Italian people....Being the only African American, I don't have anyone with whom I can socialize. They care nothing for the history [of] my ethnicity-only theirs....l am ostracized every day, and cannot wait to leave in a month. I found a more accepting place to work.

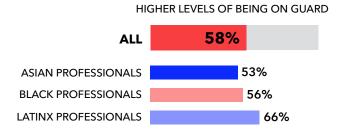
-Daniel, Black, male, 31; individual contributor



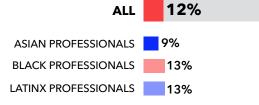
Being on guard is also associated with sleep problems.<sup>40</sup>

- Asian, Black, and Latinx respondents<sup>41</sup> who report higher levels of being on guard are also more likely to report sleep problems (58%) than those with lower levels of being on guard (12%).
- The relationship between being on guard and sleep problems holds across gender for Asian, Black, and Latinx respondents.<sup>42</sup>

# PERCENTAGE REPORTING HIGH RATES OF SLEEP PROBLEMS



# LOWER LEVELS OF BEING ON GUARD



# STRATEGIES TO DEEPEN UNDERSTANDING OF THE COSTS OF EMOTIONAL TAX



Take proactive, careful stock of the day-to-day experiences of exclusion and inclusion; don't discount subtle ways people can feel singled out or connected to their colleagues.

# **WHY IT MATTERS**

Employee experiences matter. Assess your organization's cultural values and norms on a regular basis to reveal and close gaps based on intersections of gender, race, and ethnicity. Subtle forms of exclusion (e.g., bias, stereotyping) can be particularly harmful and can feel harder to identify and combat.<sup>43</sup> While these subtle biases can be easily dismissed in the moment, their effects are no less acutely felt and can linger and accumulate.



**EVALUATE** whether your company's dominant business culture is inhibiting experiences of inclusion across all groups.

# **CLOSELY TRACK AND MONITOR OUTCOMES** of

talent management processes at key junctures to pinpoint where equity may be breaking down.

**PAY ATTENTION** to how experiences may differ depending on gender and/ or race, assessing formal and informal behaviors and practices as well as unwritten rules.

# **ENSURE CONSISTENCY**

across the organization as you implement policies, practices, and tools to mitigate bias.

# **Despite Emotional Tax,** Women and Men of **Color Aspire to Succeed** and Contribute

Women and men of color who experience Emotional Tax also report high aspirations to succeed and thrive professionally, personally, and in their communities. Indeed, nearly 90% of women and men of color who experience higher levels of being on guard<sup>44</sup> report that realizing goals such as being influential leaders or altruistic is very or somewhat important to them.

This tells us that the barriers faced by women of color-such as lower pay than men and fewer advancement opportunities<sup>45</sup>-are not related to their values, priorities, or choices, nor are the challenges faced by men of color as compared to White peers. In fact, it might be precisely because women and men of color are so driven to succeed and contribute that they experience emotional consequences when they are stymied. Any company that doesn't fully leverage this ambition is vulnerable to a talent drain.

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# **ASPIRATIONS TO SUCCEED AND CONTRIBUTE**

		BECOME INFLUENTIAL LEADERS	HAVE CHALLENGING AND INTELLECTUALLY STIMULATING WORK	OBTAIN HIGH-RANKING POSITIONS	REMAIN IN THE SAME COMPANY
ALL		89%	90%	<b>87</b> %	91%
	Q	89%	88%	85%	91%
ASIAN		80%	89%	82%	91%
	Q	87%	89%	85%	89%
BLACK		89%	88%	88%	90%
	D	86%	88%	84%	90%
LATINX		93%	93%	89%	93%
	D	94%	91%	86%	94%

		TAKE CARE OF NON-CHILD RELATIVES	BE A GOOD PARENT	OBTAIN FINANCIAL STABILITY <sup>46</sup>	BE ALTRUISTIC
ALL		92%	92%	<b>95</b> %*	93%
	Q	91%	92%	90%*	90%
ASIAN	(A)	94% 92%	92% 92%	93% 90%	91% 91%
BLACK		90%	92% 93%	95% 88%	91% 89%
LATINX	(A)	92% 91%	93% 93%	97% 93%	96% 89%

<sup>\*</sup>The difference between genders is significant, p < .01.

# **People Who Are On Guard Persevere-Reporting More Productive Work Behaviors**

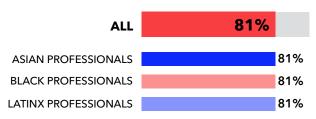
The ability to consciously prepare for potential bias may enable some people to persevere, particularly when they recognize that the bias affecting them is external and changeable-rather than due to some inner flaw.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, experiencing difficult situations may foster purpose and resolve in the face of adversity.

- Asian, Black, and Latinx respondents who report higher levels of being on guard also report more creativity (81%)<sup>48</sup>—the ability to demonstrate originality and try out new approaches or processes at work<sup>49</sup>-than those experiencing lower levels of being on guard (64%).<sup>50</sup>
- The relationship between being on guard and creativity holds across gender for Asian, Black, and Latinx respondents.<sup>51</sup>

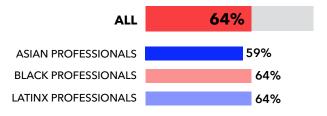
# **EXPERIENCING** DIFFICULT **SITUATIONS MAY FOSTER PURPOSE AND RESOLVE IN** THE FACE OF **ADVERSITY**

### PERCENTAGE REPORTING HIGH RATES OF CREATIVITY





# LOWER LEVELS OF BEING ON GUARD

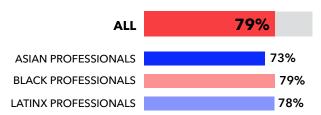


- Asian, Black, and Latinx respondents who report higher levels of being on guard are also more likely (79%) to report speaking up,<sup>53</sup> e.g., when something needs to be said or when something happens that is not seen as appropriate,<sup>54</sup> than those experiencing lower levels of being on guard (62%).<sup>55</sup>
- The relationship between being on guard and speaking up holds across gender for Asian, Black, and Latinx respondents.<sup>56</sup>

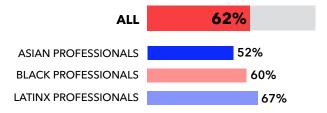
The women and men we surveyed are able to contribute to their workplaces at high levels—and as such, they are employees your company should strive to retain. Doing nothing to relieve the Emotional Tax may drain your talent as these highly motivated employees choose to leave your company.

### PERCENTAGE REPORTING HIGH RATES OF SPEAKING UP

# HIGHER LEVELS OF BEING ON GUARD



# LOWER LEVELS OF BEING ON GUARD



### STRATEGIES FOR LEADERS TO ACCELERATE CHANGE



Team up with employees to leverage their drive to contribute; demonstrate through partnership the value you place on their contributions.

# **WHY IT MATTERS**

Involved and committed employees can amplify inclusion and signal progress within your company.<sup>57</sup>This will help your organization focus on how more inclusive approaches may be integrated into the fabric of your culture, as opposed to using one-off approaches that rely solely on people of color to provide insights and solutions to the challenges they face in the workplace. We suggest linking up to ensure all women and men work together as allies for positive change.



**HOLD FACILITATED CONVERSATIONS** or focus groups with employees and leaders to find out what works, what does not, and why.

### **IDENTIFY COMMON THEMES**

related to what helps or prevents employees from contributing and feeling valued for their unique experiences and backgrounds.

# FIND WAYS FOR EMPLOYEES TO "OWN" INCLUSION

**EFFORTS**. For instance, employees could act as inclusion ambassadors who work collectively to drive and role model change, especially concerning the unique challenges faced across intersections of gender, race, and ethnicity.

# **Retain Valued Employees** With Inclusive Work Cultures

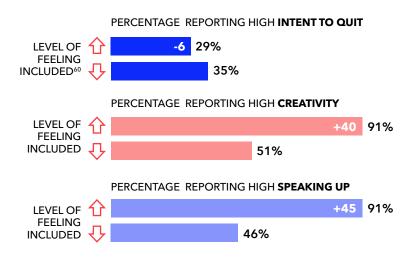
Given that Emotional Tax challenges both employees and organizations, how can workplaces ease the burden and maximize their employees' talent and ability to thrive? Catalyst research points to inclusion as the answer and shows that inclusion creates an environment where people are valued for their true and full selves.

But what, exactly, makes employees feel included? Our research finds that inclusion requires the simultaneous experience of feeling valued for your uniqueness and having a sense of belonging on your team.<sup>58</sup>

For Asian, Black, and Latinx professionals experiencing Emotional Tax, feeling included<sup>59</sup> is associated with:

- A lower intent to quit the organization.
- More reported creativity.
- A higher likelihood of speaking up.

# FEELINGS OF INCLUSION AFFECT ENGAGEMENT





In less inclusive workplaces, employees of color may be more likely to feel they must be on guard, and thus may "cover" (hide their true identities) or "code switch" (change their language or manner of expression) in order to blend in with the majority group. They are not able to be fully authentic, and they end up paying a larger Emotional Tax—while their companies are deprived of the benefits of their unique perspectives.

Inclusion allows all employees to be authentic—to speak their ideas, to innovate based on their lifetime of experience, to feel that their contributions are valued, and to envision advancing at the company. Benefits accrue not just to them, but to their companies, managers, and leaders. Decreasing the Emotional Tax is the first step toward this future.

# **SLEEP AND EMOTIONAL TAX**

Emotional Tax pervades many aspects of life both inside and outside of work. Even though feeling included at work is associated with better workplace outcomes (enhanced creativity, ability to speak up in difficult situations, and lowered intent to quit), it may not be enough to overcome the experience of being on guard outside of the office. The systemic and structural discrimination that people of color have historically endured cannot be wholly overcome through inclusion on a work team. To positively impact something as personal as sleep, inclusion must exist in the public sphere as well—in peer groups, community groups, and other non-workplace environments.

However, this does not discount the importance of inclusion in the workplace. In cases where people of color have few spheres in which they are included, the workplace can offer a crucial alternative where they can live their strengths and own their truths—and your company will benefit.

# INCLUSION ALLOWS ALL EMPLOYEES TO BE

TO SPEAK THEIR IDEAS,
TO INNOVATE BASED
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# STRATEGIES FOR LEADERS TO CULTIVATE INCLUSION



Ensure that leaders and employees are supported and held accountable for inclusive leadership behaviors. All of us have a role to play in creating workplaces where everyone is valued, is heard, and has fair opportunities to succeed.

# **WHY IT MATTERS**

Business leaders and senior executives seeking to make change may struggle to connect inclusion to business practices and profitability. The Emotional Tax demonstrates how inclusion can increase productivity and innovation among a growing segment of the talent pool, as well as retain talent in a changing and uncertain world.

Even people who do not lead a team can embrace inclusive leadership behaviors to create a culture of inclusion in which colleagues of color can be less encumbered by the weight of Emotional Tax.



# **EDUCATE AND TRAIN**

**MANAGERS** about using self-checking exercises and other tools to identify their own biases and limit those biases' impact on decision-making processes.

**PAY ATTENTION** to whose voices are being heard, whose opinions are being validated, and who is being ignored or dismissed during meetings or informal interactions.

# **SHORE UP EMPLOYEE SKILL**

in inclusive leadership behaviors through training, peer-coaching, and formal or informal talent-management initiatives.

# **PRACTICE SHARING**

vulnerability and learning from mistakes.

# **ENCOURAGE TEAM MEMBERS**

to "have each other's backs" by offering protection and support when others encounter difficulties or challenges in their efforts to deliver results.

# **Endnotes**

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- 13. This report is part of Catalyst's research initiative on gender, race, and ethnicity, which focuses on creating knowledge and actionable insights that 1) recognize current realities and deep-rooted inequities, and 2) help leaders and organizations nurture inclusive organizations where all can thrive and succeed.
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- 15. Participants opted in to receiving invitations to Catalyst surveys, and were invited to complete this quantitative survey hosted on SurveyGizmo. Participants were not required to complete the survey and may opt out of Catalyst's invitations at any time. Responses were 100% confidential. Participants' names and companies were at no point collected nor attached to their data in any way. Quotes are from real study participants, but the names of individuals referenced or quoted in this report have been changed to protect anonymity.
- 16. Sector: 53% work in a for-profit or professional service firm; 18% work for a nonprofit, educational institution, or government entity; and 28% are self-employed or work in a family business.
- 17. Sample includes individuals across intersections of diverse racial/ethnicity groups. Among Asian respondents, 24% identify as Chinese, 11% identify as Filipino, 10% identify as Japanese, 13% identify as Korean, 7% identify as Vietnamese, 37% identify as Indian, 9% identify as another Asian racial/ ethnic group, and 8% identify as two or more Asian racial/ethnic groups. 45% of total respondents identify as Black or African American. Among Latinx respondents, 56% identify as Mexican or Chicano, 20% identify as Puerto Rican, 9% identify as Cuban, 18% identify as another Latinx or Spanish racial/ethnic group, and 3% identify as two or more Latinx racial/ethnic groups. 6% of total respondents identify as Asian and Black, Asian and Latinx, Black and Latinx, or Asian, Black, and Latinx. Some respondents who identify as Asian, Black, or Latinx also identify as White: 11% of Asian participants, 5% of Black participants, and 26% of Latinx participants. However, due to the small size of the groups identifying as White, we did not analyze them separately. We compared those who identify as Asian, Black, or Latinx and do not identify as White to those who also identify as White and found no significant differences on how different they feel based on race or ethnicity. Among Black and Asian professionals there is no difference in the extent to which they are on guard or the extent to which their ethnicity is central to their identity based on whether or not they also identify as White. Among Latinx professionals there is no difference in whether or not they are on guard due to their race based on whether or not they also identify as White, ps > .10.
- 18. Due to the small size of this group, they are not analyzed separately in this report. Those individuals who identify as multi-racial (two or more: Asian, Black, Latinx) are, however, included in the analyses for other groups. For example, if a multiracial person is Black and Latina, she is included in the comparisons for Black and Latina participants.
- 19. Being-on-guard items were rated on a scale of 1-7, where 1 reflects "almost never," 4 reflects "sometimes," and 7 reflects "almost always." Participants whose composite score was 5 or greater are coded as being highly vigilant.

- 20. To determine why individuals were experiencing a need to be on guard, we asked a series of questions asking participants to indicate why they were on guard, and they could select as many reasons as applied to them. If one or more of their reasons for being on guard was not listed, they could write them in.
- 21. Women were significantly more likely to report being on guard due to their gender than men, t(1548) = 5.74, p < .001.
- 22. Women were significantly more likely to report being on guard due to both their gender and race/ethnicity than men, t(1548) = 6.84, p < .001.
- 23. Latina women were significantly more likely to report being on guard due to their physical appearance than Latino men, t(581) = 2.68, p < .01.
- 24. Black men were significantly more likely to report being on guard due to their physical ability than Black women, t(690) = -3.34, p < .01.
- 25. The number of such responses was too small to conduct any statistical tests such as gender differences.
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- 27. Mauricio Gaston, Barriers to the Employment and Work-Place Advancement of Latinos: A Report to The Glass Ceiling Commission, (U.S. Department of Labor, 1994).
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- 34. Dnika J. Travis, Julie S. Nugent, and Courtney McCluney, Engaging in Conversations About Gender, Race, and Ethnicity in the Workplace (Catalyst, 2016).
- 35. James Hamblin, "Why Succeeding Against the Odds Can Make You Sick," The New York Times, January 27, 2017.
- 36. Higher levels of being on guard is defined as the top third of the distribution; lower levels of being on guard is defined as the bottom third.
- 37. Intent to Quit is a single item measured on a scale of 1-5 where 1 reflects "all the time," 3 reflects "occasionally," and 5 reflects "never." For correlations among the continuous variables, the coefficients are negated so that positive correlations reflect the relationship between vigilance and higher intent to quit, for ease of interpretation. Among Black participants, the correlation between vigilance and intent to quit is r = .29, p < .001; among Latinx participants, r = .37, p < .001; among Asian participants, r = .25, p < .001; among all participants, r = .31, p < .001.
- 38. Participants who selected a 1 ("all the time") or 2 ("frequently") on Intent to Quit were coded as having a high intent to quit.
- 39. Among women, the correlation between vigilance and intent to quit is r = .33, p < .001; among men it is r = .28, p < .001.
- 40. Sleep concerns focus on individuals' ability to get the needed rest to function in areas of their lives, as discussed by Hicken et al. Sleep problems were measured on a scale of 1-7 where 1 reflects "almost never," 4 reflects "sometimes," and 7 reflects "almost always." Among Black participants, the correlation between vigilance and sleep is r = .49, p < .001; among Latinx participants, r = .49, p < .001; among Asian participants, r = .43, p < .001; among all participants, r = .48, p < .001.
- 41. Participants whose composite score on sleep problems was 5 or greater are coded as having high rates of sleep problems. The percentages within each individual race/ethnicity represented in this study were explored, but as they were extremely similar to one another, we focus here on the overall effect common among women and men of color professionals.
- 42. Among women, the correlation between vigilance and sleep problems is r = .47, p < .001; among men it is r = .49, p < .001.
- 43. Derald Wing Sue, Christina M. Capodilupo, Gina C. Torino, Jennifer M. Bucceri, Aisha M. B. Holder, Kevin L. Nadal, and Marta Esquilin, "Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice," American Psychologist, vol. 62 (2007): p. 271-286.
- 44. Only those in the highest 50% of being on guard are included in this table.
- 45. Nancy M. Carter and Christine Silva, *Pipeline's Broken Promise* (Catalyst, 2010); Katherine Giscombe and Mary C. Mattis, "Leveling the Playing Field for Women of Color in Corporate Management: Is the Business Case Enough?," *Journal of Business Ethics*, vol 37 (2002): p. 103-119.
- 46. Women are more likely than men to report that obtaining financial stability is somewhat or very important to them. There are no other differences based on gender. The importance of each value was measured on a 1-4 scale where 1 reflects "not at all important" and 4 reflects "very important." The only significant difference between genders is on the importance of financial stability, t(830) = 2.88, p < .01. Percentages reflect those selecting a 3 (somewhat important) or a 4 (very important).

- 47. Brenda Major, Cheryl R. Kaiser, and Shannon K. McCoy, "It's Not My Fault: When and Why Attributions to Prejudice Protect Self-Esteem," Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, vol. 29, no. 6 (2003): p. 772-781; Jessica D. Remedios and Samantha H. Snyder, "How Women of Color Detect and Respond to Multiple Forms of Prejudice," Sex Roles, vol. 73 (2015): p. 371-383.
- 48. Among Black participants, the correlation between vigilance and creativity is r = .20, p < .001; among Latinx participants, r = .20, p < .001; among Asian participants, r = .23, p < .001; among all participants, r = .20, p < .001.
- 49. Pamela Tierney, Steven M. Farmer, and George B. Graen, "An Examination of Leadership and Employee Creativity: The Relevance of Traits and Relationships," *Personnel Psychology*, vol. 52, no. 3 (1999): p. 591-620.
- 50. Creativity was measured on a scale of 1-7 where 1 reflects "strongly disagree," 4 reflects "neutral," and 7 reflects "strongly agree." Participants whose composite score on creativity was 5 or greater are coded as being highly creative.
- 51. Among women, the correlation between vigilance and creativity is r=.17, p<.001; among men it is r=.23, p<.001.
- 52. High vigilance is defined as the top third of the distribution; low vigilance is defined as the bottom third.
- 53. Among Black participants, the correlation between vigilance and speaking up is r=.16, p<.001; among Latinx participants, r=.14, p<.002; among Asian participants, r=.21, p<.001; among all participants, r=.17, p<.001.
- 54. Sonya Fontenot Premeaux and Arthur G. Bedeian, "Breaking the Silence: The Moderating Effects of Self–Monitoring in Predicting Speaking up in the Workplace," *Journal of Management Studies*, vol. 40, no. 6 (2003): p. 1537-1562.

- 55. Speaking up was measured on a scale of 1-7 where 1 reflects "strongly disagree," 4 reflects "neutral," and 7 reflects "strongly agree. Participants whose composite score on speaking up was 5 or greater are coded as exhibiting a high rate of speaking up.
- 56. Among women, the correlation between vigilance and speaking up is r = .18, p < .001; among men it is r = .17, p < .001.
- 57. Dnika J. Travis and Alixandra Pollack, *Think People, Not Just Programs, to Build Inclusive Workplaces* (Catalyst, 2015).
- 58. Prime and Salib.
- 59. Prime and Salib; Stamper and Masterson's perceived insider scale: see Christina L. Stamper and Suzanne S. Masterson, "Insider or Outsider? How Employee Perceptions of Insider Status Affect Their Work Behavior," *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, vol. 23, no. 8 (2002): p. 875-894.
- 60. These statistics are considered only for those in the top 50% on vigilance. The correlation between inclusion and speaking up is r=.65, p<.001; creativity r=.60, p<.001; intent to quit r=.14, p<.001. Inclusion is a composite assessing experiences of uniqueness and belongingness, each item measured on a scale of 1-5 where 1 reflects "never" and 5 reflects "always." The uniqueness and belongingness items loaded on the same factor in factor analysis and as such were combined into one composite score. Participants whose composite score on inclusion was 4 ("often") or greater are coded as experiencing high inclusion
- 61. Catalyst, What Is Covering? (December 11, 2014).

# **Acknowledgments**

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