

“Off the Grid” – Women’s Workplace Exclusion

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This paper presents a study to understand women’s experiences of exclusion in corporate workplaces. Using semi-structured, in-depth interviews of 17 mid-senior management women corporate professionals working with large Indian and multinational conglomerates across industries and functions, this study unravels their lived experiences of being excluded at workplace. Respondents reported overwhelmingly high numbers of discriminatory instances of being ‘left out’ or ‘kept out’ pointing to the evolution of a new theme of gender microaggression and adding to the taxonomy. Its ubiquitous signals the silent proliferation of covert microaggressions into women’s daily workplace experiences, leaving them lonely and demotivated. This study adds significant inputs for professionals still struggling to find the exact cause of leakage to the women’s talent pipeline.

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Introduction

Over the last couple of decades, the world has seen a significant amount of progress for women in the workplace. This is evident in the increased number of women receiving higher education and actively participating in the labor markets, not to mention the increased awareness about gender equality. In spite of all these advancements, corporate workplaces remain painfully underrepresented for women. And, if the diminutive number of C-suite women leaders is anything to go by, we have a long way to catch up to reach gender equity as well as equality (International Labour Organisation, 2017). An important contributor of this gender gap is the inherently gendered nature of the organizations. Research (Aaltio et al., 2002; Cabay et al., 2018; Hatchell & Aveling, 2009; Lester et al., 2017) shows that women continue to experience sexist, unwelcome climates irrespective of the geography, industry, role or level. Such a misogynistic gendered environment is a large part of the social and professional environment in which women operate today (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2011; Heilman, 2012; Jones et al., 2017; Leskinen et al., 2015). Consequently, various studies have identified a multitude of reasons for the leaky

pipeline of talented women in the corporate world. And the list of issues is wide ranging, from personal reasons like marriage or motherhood, to organizational reasons of lack of support systems and sponsorship. Contemporary research (Basford et al., 2014) has clarified that although blatant expression of sexism in formal workforces appears to be on the decline, gender discrimination is not actually declining but instead, becoming more subtle, ambiguous and often, difficult to challenge. Most often than not, these subtle, micro acts of discrimination, also known as gender microaggressions (Nadal et al., 2015) create barriers for women's entry and growth into the corporate ladder. While they may not be so apparent, they still manifest themselves in the small number of women reaching the top echelons of corporate ladder.

Gender Microaggressions

Gender Microaggressions (GM), by definition, are brief, commonplace, daily verbal or behavioral indignities, whether intentional or otherwise, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative gender slights and insults that potentially harm women (Sue, 2010). Basford et al define gender microaggressions as intentional or unintentional actions or behaviors that exclude, demean, insult, oppress, or otherwise express hostility or indifference toward women (Basford et al., 2014). Women are often at the receiving end of such microaggressions from 'well-meaning' supervisors, colleagues and even subordinates. It is their invisibility that makes them so powerful and lethal (Sue, 2010). Such gender microaggressions at

the workplace are a growing area of interest to scholars and Diversity and Inclusion professionals. While empirical research work about the different manifestations and impacts of microaggressions is still in early stages of development (Sue, Capodilupo et al., 2007), a few researchers have developed a significant body of work around the prevailing gender microaggression and its experiences at the workplace, specifically in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) (Barthelemy et al., 2014, 2016; Diaz-Espinoza, 2015; Ruder et al., 2018; Yang & Carroll, 2018), Information Technology (Bohr, 2013; Rogers, 2015), academia (Lester et al., 2016, 2017; Schmaling, 2007) and even social work (Ross-Sheriff, 2012). The female dropout reasons like marriage, maternity and motherhood could just be the tip of the iceberg having deeper roots in microaggression which is omnipresent. Just like air, it is all around us but can only be felt.

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Based on the past literature in the areas of sexism, scholars proposed common themes of gender microaggression. Sue (2010) and his team proposed sexual objectification, second class citizenship, use of sexist language, assumption of inferiority, denial of reality of sexism, traditional gender role assumptions, invisibility, denial of individual sexism and sexist jokes as possible themes of gender microaggressions. Subsequent empirical

research validated the above proposed taxonomy and added a new underdeveloped theme called *leaving gender at the door* (Capodilupo et al., 2010). But the subjects in this empirical work were university students with no exposure to corporate workplaces. Hence it is crucial to conduct a contemporary inquiry of the lived GM experiences of women in their workplace.

Workplace Exclusion

According to Maslow's need hierarchy, the psychological needs of inclusion and belonging are important determinants for a motivated and fulfilled human life. Feeling loved, wanted and accepted in social groups like family, friends, work colleagues and society, provides a sense of belonging. Any threat to social belonging can be inferred as social exclusion. Simply put, social exclusion is the act of being 'left out' or 'kept out' of social events, discussions, work tasks or decisions. Such exclusionary acts when manifested at the workplace can be termed as workplace exclusion. Workplace exclusion has been studied in the context of workplace incivility (Scott et al., 2013; Sharp et al., 2019) or ostracism (Robinson et al., 2013). Such workplace ill-treatment is a common experience for the marginalized populations at the workplace, like women. While past studies have highlighted the generic experiences and impact of workplace exclusion, the subject of women's gendered exclusionary experiences in corporate workplaces still remain underexplored and is in urgent need of examination. This study at-

tempts to investigate workplace exclusion using a gender microaggression lens.

Gendered workplace exclusion can be explained as being overlooked, ignored, rejected (Leary, 2001), separated (O'Reilly & Banki, 2016) or undermined (Duffy et al., 2002) based on one's gender identity. Such exclusion hampers positive interpersonal relations, favorable reputation and work related successes (Hitlan et al., 2006).

Study Objective

In this study, we examine the workplace exclusion experiences of mid-senior to senior level women professionals in corporate India. It is also an attempt to extend the repertoire of microaggression taxonomy and contribute to the literature on workplace gender microaggressions. The examination of the data collated during this study uncovers exclusion as a novel theme. The current paper details the findings related to this new theme and as such adds to the existing literature.

Methodology

As we understand them, microaggressions are subjective experiences of interactions between individuals. Prior research in the area of microaggression has found that it does not lend itself easily to objectivity and hence a more subjective comprehension using a qualitative approach was used to provide a contextually rich material of experiences occurring in natural settings (Capodilupo et al.,

2010) and to hear silenced voices (Creswell, 2007). A phenomenological approach was adopted to gather the experiences of 17 women working in the corporate sector in India. Using purposive sampling, it was ensured that each selected participant had at least 8 years of work experience in large, reputed organizations. All attempts were made to ensure representation of variety of functions and industries. Semi-structured in-depth one-on-one interviews were conducted to gather the experiences of participants.

Data Analysis & Findings

The analysis of the participants' interview revealed an overwhelming response on exclusion experiences at the workplace. This novel theme of gender microaggression, viz. exclusion, included experiences of intentional and unintentional exclusion from work discussions, meetings, informal gatherings, office parties as well as other well-guarded hang-outs like smoke breaks. Surprisingly, every participant was bursting with a multitude of exclusionary experiences such that they had grown to expect it. Nevertheless, every single instance seemed etched clearly in their memory and reminded them of the devaluation that they suffered with every such instance. The unanimous feedback also reflected the universality of this phenomenon as well as the profound impact that these experi-

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ences had on women experiencing them. Emerging from the comments recorded from the participants, three distinct aspects of workplace exclusion were identified as lack of formal inclusion, exclusion from informal socializations and loneliness.

Lack of Inclusion at Work

Women's Exclusion at the workplace is manifested via organizational policies, workplace climate and also, leader behaviors. Experiencing chilly climates at work was reported by almost all the respondents. When Nikita, the Marketing Head at a chemical company was asked to lead the development of her company's future marketing strategy, the local India Management Team (IMT) went all out to make her feel like an outsider. "So, we had an offsite and when was this told to me?...just the (previous) evening. Next day, the whole team was going to Aamby valley for a 2 day offsite. So, Europe said no, no Nikita would kind of lead it. So, the whole journey from Mumbai to Pune and sitting in Aamby valley I was so unwelcome. Nobody, except my finance head was speaking to me. Rest didn't speak to me, say hi to me, say hello to me. They were all speaking to me till then, but the minute this announcement came they didn't speak. At dinner, I was so left out. Because I was the only non-IMT member and I was going to tell them how to work on this strategy. So,... it was very unwelcoming. It was like, why are you here. You have no right to be here".

In this instance, it appears that Nikita's colleagues placed her gender

ahead of her competence. She felt the resistance from the IMT members in the way they excluded her during the offsite. She was made to feel like an ‘outsider’ who was intruding on ‘their’ space. Such unwelcome treatment from her colleagues left her with bitter memories. Subsequently, when she was formally but reluctantly inducted to the IMT, she continued to experience such trivialization. She reported being ‘ignored’ during several meetings. Even when she persisted with her questions, the other men in the meeting cued a “Being a lady, how could you even question me?” Oftentimes, women’s competence works against their inclusion interests which results in such cold treatment from work colleagues, especially men.

Similar exclusion was experienced by Juhi, an OD expert with a large Indian corporation. Her organization was reworking on their corporate values and competency structures and a core team was tasked to come up with suggestions. She was shocked to see that the core team was a ‘manel’ and did not include any women employees. Since the team was working on an important guiding document which would define the culture of the entire organization, it was critical to ensure a diverse and well-represented team. Instead, it was surprising to find that an all-male team was entrusted with crafting the core-competencies for an organization which prides itself in promoting, manag-

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ing and tracking its workforce diversity. Moreover, despite Juhi’s prior experience in similar projects, she was not included in the team. Women are often met with such cold and hostile treatment at work (Miner et al., 2018) resulting in negative psychological outcomes. Every other participant complained about being ‘disregarded’ or ‘ignored’ and excluded by their male co-workers. Vani, a senior PR professional recalled similar such exclusionary instances when she and the other women in her workplace felt excluded. “They (men) were all having their own little private conversations. Shut the door of one of the cabins, say about 5.30 – 6.00 (and) chit chat. You could hear the conversation... little less noisier and suddenly it will be ha-ha jokes and if you open the door... “Nothing- Nothing”. That was very common, so we did not bother about it. They clearly do not want to go home to their wives... they would have their formats after 6-6.30, chill out and sit because they know everyone has left or the woman has left to go home.”

Lately, many corporate workplaces have developed a culture of ‘sitting back’ after office hours. While most women prefer to leave the workplace in time as they look forward to the second shift of home and childcare, men probably do not have the inclination to leave early and thus end up socializing at the workplace every evening. Such well-guarded boy’s clubs are commonly seen in a corporate workplace. They explicitly represent a culture of male superiority while implicitly devaluing women around them. Women have repeatedly reported experiencing such unfriendly climates at work.

Another participant, Anuja, a senior HR professional was habituated of being ignored at her workplace. According to her, it could be because of the male-dominated workplaces that she worked in. Women seem to have resigned to such normalization of the masculine workplace.

Such is the extent of this masculinization that some workplaces lack even the basic hygiene facilities for women. Saili, a global R&D Head of a retail food chain, was visiting a cheese factory in Qatar. During the meeting break, she asked for the directions to the ladies' toilet and... "I asked for a female toilet and they said sorry we don't have one separately for female and I was shocked. I am like why? (They said) 'Because there are no women here, why would a woman come to a factory?' I said 'Why you don't have any woman?' But in the factory's huge building with lots of equipment, one of the best factories I've seen in the world, brand new, just built a couple of years back. But the factory design... there is no woman toilet which means they never even plan to employ a woman worker".

Another participant, Maya, a Marketing Head of an engineering MNC, had a similar experience while visiting a factory near Delhi and had to use the men's wash-room. As preposterous as it may seem, this was their lived reality in a supposedly egalitarian world and well into the 21st century. Such systemic and structural exclusion of women from workplaces speaks volumes of deeply entrenched patriarchal mindsets involved even in designed modern corporate workplaces.

Women experience exclusion even during the most ordinary workplace interactions. As Revati says: "Even during the team gathering, you are like the black sheep of the team, suddenly in a conversation people go quite and then most of the discussions don't happen"

.This is a common experience shared by many of the study participants. Sudden silence upon entering a conversation made them feel like an intruder. Preeti, a Global Marketing Specialist with a chemical company complained how the topics of workplace conversation like business financials and income tax would quickly change to other frivolous topics like movies when she entered the discussion. In those instances, apart from missing important work discussions, she felt that her competence and intelligence were devalued.

Lack of Informal Socializations

Workplace exclusion was not only rampant in the formal meetings but also found extensively in informal workplace interactions like lunch and tea breaks, smoke breaks and after work get-togethers. Suman, a corporate lawyer, had just returned to work after her maternity break. Being the Legal Head of the large multinational FMCG giant, she

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was a part of the Leadership Team. Upon her return, she found herself being excluded from informal leadership gatherings. She shared one such instance: “My baby was two and a half months and in the leadership, you have these dinners where you go out and I was not invited because they used to feel that I may not join. After all, I may have more responsibility at home. While they tried to portray it as their good intent...it is not, frankly speaking, because I had my support system, at least check with me whether would you be able to come or even if I declined, that is my choice. No one should be making that choice on my behalf. A lot of times that happens and I know that there is a leadership dinner but I don’t get any invite and then somehow you later get to know, oh, but how could you attend or you have a small baby. No, you are nobody to kind of decide on my behalf. But, a lot of times people take calls on your behalf, so that happens a lot.....They are trying to show that it’s in your good (interest) that we have not called you to the leadership dinner..... you have a small baby now so you know... And it requires you to just miss one thing and they will just kind of make the entire plan for the year for you”.

Despite being a member of the leadership team, Suman was not invited to the team dinner with the assumption that she may not join. She did not appreciate the fact that someone else made these decisions on her behalf. The last statement is of particular importance as she believed that she missed out on some crucial discussions and plans that were made in her absence, clearly without her

consent. Such ostracism was not just limited to work related meetings or gatherings but also experienced during daily personal time-offs like lunch time or coffee breaks. Juhi (introduced earlier) was looking forward to a great experience after joining a large Indian business conglomerate. Her new company was a top employer and was famed for having the most progressive HR and diversity practices. But her experiences at that workplace were far from inclusive. “This is my first week. This is my skip manager ok and we were on the same table in the cafeteria having tea, ok. I went and sat on the same table purposely. Yeah, so he will talk to me or whatever and.... Nothing! And he didn’t talk to me, I think it was hierarchy and I think it was gender also. Because I see him speak with other men of my level. So, the first couple of months that I was here nobody even casually spoke to me...So, when they go out for lunch, they would not tell me that.....” This was visibly a very painful experience for Juhi who confessed that she was shaken for the first few months in the organization and continued to wonder how this organization was considered eligible to be the best employer. She started to doubt her decision to join this well renowned Indian business house.

It’s not just these informal events that are exclusionary. After-work socializations with work colleagues over drinks are fast emerging as a modern form of professional networking, thus helping forge workplace bonds. Women’s experiences of exclusion were much more pronounced during such formal or informal after-work parties. Firstly, since

women were rarely invited or could rarely participate in such gatherings, they seem to be automatically excluded from such workplace communities. Even when a woman did decide to join the men for an after-work dinner, she actually found herself in a very uncomfortable situation as narrated by Nikita: "I feel uncomfortable especially during these dinner meetings and events and all they talk shit about ladies. You know, they talk rubbish, they pass comments and what not. So, yaa that makes me very uncomfortable".

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The above narration aptly uncovered the habitual objectification of women by men in the workplace. It also provides additional evidence on how men actively work at putting women in uncomfortable situations during such informal networking occasions. Further probing on such informal socializations revealed some interesting trends at the workplace. With the belief that this could accelerate their career growth, aspiring men and women tried to latch on to such vices to get into such groups. Anuja observed: "Yes, to get into these groups, I have seen men take up smoking or take up drinking. I have seen women also try and do that...It's also what the youngsters are picking up. Probably, they are perceptive and maybe more ambitious, also in a hurry. And they understand that this is a quicker way of getting ahead and therefore be it, males, be it females", Nikita

confirmed that she herself took on social drinking to be a 'good company' for her male colleagues. She thought it was a good form of ice-breaking with the team and useful medium to bond with workplace male colleagues. On the contrary, Janaki, an HR professional found that her male colleagues avoided inviting her for an afterwork drink. "They will all go for a drink or something and not ask me and I drink socially...And I am fairly talkative, not again one of those who will not talk to my male colleagues and maintain a distance...So in spite of that, I have seen that they would like to maintain their boy's club...they think that you know, I am not one of them. Clearly, Janaki's colleagues believed that her gender was more relevant to the decision of inviting her rather than her as social company. Again, an example of gender preceding other more important characteristics.

Another important networking activity surfaced during this study was the smoking breaks that most women miss out on. Statistics (Ministry of Health and Family, 2009) show that the number of men smokers is ten times that of women counterparts. Just like the drink buddies, the smoke buddies were a tight knot boys-club. Revati, the communications specialist at a pharmaceutical giant quipped: "I have seen those bonding happen when men take a smoke break; when some go others join the part of that coterie....maybe unconsciously all those discussions happening. Others have succeeded, have leveraged their opportunity to get closer to their supervisors maybe during a smoke break...maybe that somewhere plays a part in somebody's career

development, not immediate but certainly down the line. I've seen it happen....you know the so-called smoke break and so called post work gatherings over drinks". She indicated that her male colleagues had leveraged the smoking-buddy bond to grow faster (and sometimes unfairly) in their careers. Anuja, an HR Professional, agreed that these shared vices provided a perfect opportunity to build workplace bonds which could be exploited to gain career related favors.

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"Males have more opportunities to connect on smoking-breaks and therefore they end up discussing something which is official and which a female colleague needs to be a part of, but she wasn't part of these informal meetings and therefore she's not got those office networks, which at times can be very important in either moving up the ladder or getting in, or even kind of completing a certain work because it gets done more quickly in an informal setup. Certain pieces of discrimination still exist".

Similarly, Maya confirmed the prevalence of similar exclusionary episodes in her career with an engineering MNC. This example lends itself perfectly to the fact that the burden of double shift (either during work hours or after work hours) could possibly be responsible for women missing out on these informal interactions. "Males go out to smoke as the same team, five people went out to

smoke, they finished their discussion there and came back. Woman (Maya) at that time was talking to her maid at home checking if the child is ok, the office discussion was already concluded by the males, decisions have been taken in the smoking lounge, yes, that happens right".

In such scenarios, firstly, women are unable to contribute to the discussion as it was held in their absence. Secondly, they are forced to agree with these decisions because the majority of the team (mostly men) has acceded to it. In these subtle ways women's voices are ignored or overlooked in the convenience of their absence in the discussions. A telling experience shared by Ria, a Marketing Lead with a pharma giant: You are in the middle of your manager and your subordinate as well. But then those two people suddenly get along just because they are cigarette partners. This guy(subordinate) doesn't want to learn anything, with only 3-4 years' experience he aspires for an international role, without really building his operational capability. Just because they had the cigarette bond, where they used to go think about, strategize, come back and tell me that let us do this way, this way, this way. It was like a dictum given to me. So, this happened quite some time and then I had to fight for it

These instances reveal how men use these 'boys' club' opportunities to connect and promote each other while excluding women. Smoke breaks and after office drinks provide a perfect opportunity for professionals to network. Many non-smokers or non-drinkers start this habit just so as to improve their chances of growth

through their network. Men and women taking up these vices coz their boss indulged in it. It provided them 5-6 occasions everyday worth 15-20 mins each to bond or network with their stakeholders notwithstanding the injury to their health.

Lone Ranger Syndrome

Besides such experiences of 'otherness', being the only woman in their team or at their level seemed to exacerbate women's feeling of exclusion and loneliness at work. A CA working as the Finance Head at a shipping corporation, Prajakta said that she felt alone at her workplace. She spoke about how the tacit exclusion created invisible boundaries. "I am the only woman in this company.... they don't really mingle...you can sense that boundary....It doesn't have to be said or heard, written, but it is there". Most large corporations today claim that they struggle to achieve and maintain a healthy gender ratio. But Payal's experience exposed the root-cause. When Payal, a CA and a senior banker, joined an international banking corporation, she noticed that her organization had a very skewed male: female ratio in favor of men. She said: "when I joined the majority work force was men... .. 90 percent men and 10 percent female. And when it comes to senior management, there were no females, I was the only female.... because they didn't want females"

While sharing this experience, Payal stressed on the fact that the cause of this skewed ratio was that the hiring managers and decision makers of that organization 'did not want' to hire females. Again,

a perfect example of exclusion where women, irrespective of their merit, were kept from taking senior leadership roles just because of their gender. Nikita (introduced earlier) had a remarkably similar experience when she was the only lady in the management team. She noted that the other team members (men) 'purposely did not give her attention' making her feel excluded. Ria started her career in pharma sales which was not popular with women pharmacist and hence she was used to being the only women. Based on these experiences, it appeared that, given their small numbers, women tend to feel excluded and isolated at the workplace. The recent McKinsey report of 'Women in the Workplace' (McKinsey & Company and Lean In, 2020) endorses this finding and states that these 'Onlys' experience higher stress to prove themselves, thus exposing them to microaggressions.

Discussion

When small slights or snubs like exclusion are contextualized, they take the shape of microaggressions.

All these experiences were shared by participants while working with large Indian and foreign business houses. Given the global nature of these corporations, their workplace policies and value systems laid high emphasis on non-discrimination, equality, diversity and inclusion. These organizations were also progressive in providing anti-discrimination training to all their employees. By design, these should have been the most ideal environments for women to flourish but the evidence proves otherwise. Such lack of inclusion experi-

enced by the participants underscores the perpetuation of the workplace as a masculine normative where women were not welcome. Every single participant experienced some form of exclusion providing evidence of its pervasiveness and exposing the myth of the equal and inclusive 'best employer' corporations. Theoretically while organizations check all the boxes on having the right set of policies, diversity initiatives, training programs and immaculate employer branding, the efficient implementation and follow-through of these programs is often left unattended (Kabat-Farr et al., 2020).

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Although government laws, organizational policies and societal pressure have proclaimed gender discrimination as antiquated, this study shows that gender prejudice still exists ubiquitously, albeit in tacit forms like microaggressions. These encounters of being ignored, avoided, excluded by workplace colleagues are neither captured by workplace anti-discrimination policies, nor covered by the POSH (Prevention of Sexual Harassment) programs and as such, slip between the cracks. Because they are subtle, ambiguous and sometimes unintentional, such exclusionary acts do not have a distinct identity. This lack of definitive identity poses a challenge for acknowledgement and remediation of

such disparaging acts of prejudice. Nevertheless, they continue to detach women from the workforce causing equal (or more!) amount of damage to the motivation and adversely affect the prospects of women to stay and grow into the leadership ranks. And according to Sheryl Sandberg, CEO of Facebook, managers play an important role in ensuring equal access to their hangout time.

This study has brought to fore 'exclusion' as a prominent form of microaggression. Participants experienced purposeful exclusion from formal and informal discussions or socializations at workplace. Most often, these instances of exclusion were experienced in combination with other themes of microaggression. The results of this study have important implications in understanding this systemic exclusion of women which attempts to tacitly dissociate them from the workforce half expecting them to perform and grow in their corporate careers.

Past empirical studies (Erdil & Ertosun, 2011; Wright et al., 2006) have established the close relationship between supportive and inclusive social climate at workplace and employee wellbeing. Consequently, workplace camaraderie and companionship positively influence the workplace outcomes. It is also true that when such needs remain unmet, it adversely impacts the psychological wellbeing of the employee (Lam & Lau, 2012). Thus, lack of conducive and inclusive workplace environment poses an additional area of concern for women professionals. And as Michelle Penelope King

puts it, it is not the women but the workplaces that need to be 'Fixed'.

Future Research

Microaggression in the form of exclusion could be an invisible but important contributor to the leaky women's talent pipeline. Further research to determine the links between such workplace devaluation and the low number of women reaching the top echelons of corporate ladder could be useful to the D&I (Diversity and Inclusion) professional to help reorient their diversity efforts for better results. Because they are omnipresent, it would also be worthwhile to understand how women cope with these experiences of exclusion and loneliness as well as the resulting disengagement.

Conclusion

Corporate gender diversity efforts in the last couple of decades have increased the number of women in the workforce. But that has not changed the underlying patriarchal mentality of the members at the workplace. Despite the fact that anti-discrimination laws and policies have made way for a greater number of women to participate in formal corporate employment, their complete inclusion and belonging is still elusive. Women are continually made to feel like 'outsiders', adversely impacting their access to networks, information and resources for ca-

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reer growth. Thus, building gender diversity without active inclusion is essentially not having diversity at all.

Efforts on D&I seem to begin and stop at adding more women to the workforce. Organizations need to extend their focus to creating an inclusive environment where the diversity can thrive and provide the ROI that it was built for. Diversity numbers or actions are not a true determinant of inclusive environment. Active efforts to hear the voices of the diverse workforce will reap the intended benefits.

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