



BIROn - Birkbeck Institutional Research Online

Steinfeld, L. and Sanghvi, M. and Zayer, L.T. and Coleman, C.A. and Ourahmoune, N. and Harrison, R.L. and Hein, Wendy and Brace-Govan, J. (2019) Transformative intersectionality: moving business towards a critical praxis. *Journal of Business Research* 100 , pp. 366-375. ISSN 0148-2963.

Downloaded from: <https://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/id/eprint/26399/>

Usage Guidelines:

Please refer to usage guidelines at <https://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/policies.html>
contact lib-eprints@bbk.ac.uk.

or alternatively

Transformative Intersectionality: Moving Business Towards a Critical Praxis

Highlights

- Re-radicalized intersectionality provides transformational potential to firms
- Diversity programs require intersectionality and context-specific perspective
- Standardization of implicit bias tests neglects intersecting identities
- Diversity training overlooks deep systemic issues and glocalized conditions
- Depth and breadth are key to managerially useful intersectional understanding

Abstract

Drawing on intersectionality's historical feminist roots of critical praxis and recent re-radicalization of the theory, this paper urges for an expansion of the concept of intersectionality in business and marketing-related studies. To extend the transformative potential of intersectionality theory, we call for scholars and practitioners to move beyond the study of intersecting identity markers (e.g., gender, race, class) to include assessments of power structures and intersectional oppressions. We propose the *transformative intersectional framework* (TIF) to help scholars and practitioners to explore sources of oppressions more deeply and broadly. We illustrate the analytical capability of the TIF by examining a much lauded business-to-business service that seeks social justice and change—diversity training programs. Using the TIF, we identify the inherent and (in)visible complexities of injustices with which organizations must grapple. We close by demonstrating how the TIF can enrich practice and propose recommendations for action.

Keywords: Intersectionality, Transformative Consumer Research, Diversity Training, Gender Inequalities, Racial Inequalities, Corporate Citizenship

Laurel Steinfield^a (corresponding author), Minita Sanghvi^b, Linda Tuncay Zayer^c, Catherine A. Coleman^d, Nacima Ourahmoune^e, Robert L. Harrison^f, Wendy Hein^g, Jan Brace-Govan^h

^aAssistant Professor, Department of Marketing, Bentley University, 175 Forest Street, Waltham, MA, USA, lsteinfield@bentley.edu, 001 617.599.3623.

^bAssistant Professor, Department and Management and Business, Skidmore College, 815 N Broadway, Saratoga Springs, NY, USA, msanghvi@skidmore.edu, 001 336.210.3258.

^cAssociate Professor, Quinlan School of Business, Loyola University Chicago, 820 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL, 60611, USA, ltuncay@luc.edu, 001 312.915.6134.

^dAssociate Professor, Department of Strategic Communication, Texas Christian University, TCU Box 298065, Fort Worth, Texas, 76129, USA, c.coleman@tcu.edu, 001 817.257.7452.

^eAssociate Professor, Kedge Business School, Domaine de Luminy, Rue Antoine Bourdelle, 13009, Marseilles, France, nacima.ourahmoune@kedgebs.com, 0033664661143.

^fAssociate Professor, Haworth College of Business, Western Michigan University, 600 Marion Ave, Kalamazoo, MI, robert.harrison@wmich.edu, 001 269.387.5261.

^gLecturer in Marketing, Department of Management, Birkbeck University of London, Malet St, WC1E 7HX, London, United Kingdom, w.hein@bbk.ac.uk, 0044 207 631 6848.

^hAssociate Professor, Monash Business School, Department of Marketing, Caulfield East 3145, Melbourne, Australia, jan.brace-govan@monash.edu.au, 0061 3 9902 6000.

This research did not receive any specific grant from funding agencies in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

Final word count: 7,999 excluding abstract, references, and title page.

Transformative Intersectionality: Moving Business Towards a Critical Praxis

1. Introduction

Transformative consumer research (TCR) centers on the welfare and quality of life of all individuals in society. It does so by focusing on businesses and the interactions between products, services, employees and consumer markets to achieve transformative goals (Anderson et al., 2013; Crockett et al., 2013). Adding to this rich body of scholarship, we propose the *transformative intersectionality framework* (TIF) to guide corporate citizenship and social justice interventions. This framework, rooted in the critical praxis of intersectionality (Collins, 2015), reveals what perpetuates discriminations for those with intersecting identities and calls for changes to problematic systems and practices. We demonstrate the analytical power of the TIF by examining diversity training programs, a much lauded business-to-business service consumed by corporations and small businesses alike.

The goal of diversity training is to remedy biases and discriminatory practices in the workplace. Despite being viewed as beneficial for employees, consumers and organizations, the true impact of diversity training remains contested (Herring & Henderson, 2014). To illuminate why some of these interventions have not reached their full potential, we study three corporations at the center of current conversations about diversity and inclusion: Facebook, Starbucks and Google. Through these illustrative examples, we consider why diversity programs often meet with limited change. As the TIF reveals, the initiatives rarely address the deeper structural and interlocking aspects of biases and inequities.

1.1 Theoretical Bases and Contributions

Intersectionality is an analytical tool and theoretical perspective. It reveals how systems and practices can magnify oppressions versus privileges when identity categories overlap (Cho, Crenshaw, McCall, 2013; Collins, 2015). Identity categories or characteristics, such as gender, race, ethnicity, age and/or socioeconomic status, are key to our sense of self but they are also used to delineate differences between social groups. They are affirmed through inter-relations in how we recognize each other, yet are individually experienced. What can become problematic are the perceptions or biases attached to identity categories. These perceptions are historically and socially constructed, and often naturalized or taken as given (Fiske, 1988). They become the foundations upon which injustices, such as discrimination, occur and are reproduced.

Understanding how biased beliefs, practices and societal structures can disadvantage social groups is a complex undertaking since identities co-exist and inform one another, they can have multiple meanings, and they are time and context specific (Nash, 2008). For example, being a young Black woman in the U.S. corporate world may be a disadvantage in some situations. While her White female counterparts may face a glass ceiling, she may face a “concrete ceiling” enacted through additional stereotypes and scrutiny, questioning of competencies and authority, a lack of “fit” and limited access to informal networks (Catalyst, 2004). In other situations, her identity may be an advantage. As the organizational diversity mantra attests, she may be able to identify new opportunities and gaps in the marketplace that the entrenched majority (e.g., White males or females) may overlook.

At its essence, intersectionality stresses that to resolve oppressions one cannot examine identity characteristics independent of context, or in an individual, decomposed manner, such as considering gender and ethnicity separately. Davis (2008, p. 68) summarizes these aspects of intersectionality describing it as a study of “the interaction between gender, race, and other

categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the *outcomes of these interactions in terms of power*” (emphasis added).

In this article we adopt Davis’s definition, emphasizing the latter part. Per Liu (2018, p. 82), we “re-radicalise” intersectionality by grounding it in its theoretical perspective of critical praxis and focusing on the systemic elements of discrimination. By combining theory and practice, critical praxis requires that scholars and practitioners use critical thinking to *uncover* social injustices and to *inform* practices that relate to these injustices. Aligning this with our transformative approach, we apply the goal of critical praxis to urge businesses to go beyond practices that contribute to the bottom line. We advocate for actions that go further to “uncover and transform systems of domination” (Moradi & Grzanka, 2017, p. 507).

In this vein, the main contribution of this paper is to draw on the original tenets of intersectionality scholarship and to build on the current conceptualizations in business disciplines. As our review of the literature demonstrates, current conceptualizations have a tendency to focus on the identification of overlapping categories (Gopaldas, 2013). We perceive a risk that this over-focus on intersecting identity factors can conflate what is problematic and what requires transformation, namely prevailing systems, practices and power asymmetries (Collins, 2000; Rodriguez et al., 2016). Our proposed *transformative intersectionality framework* (TIF) allows for a more encompassing and systematic analysis to reveal these problematic elements.

More specifically, the TIF captures elements related to *depth* and *breadth*. It illuminates how *deep* the injustices are ingrained by assessing how injustices relate to power asymmetries at the macro level (systemic or society-wide), meso level (within organizations or communities), micro level (intra-personal and interpersonal relations), and the interaction of these levels. It

examines the *breadth* of social injustices by considering the range of identities and interests that are made (in)visible, the forms representations of identities take, and the resulting impact. While the TIF is applied to the example of diversity training, we believe it to be robust and applicable to a range of challenges faced in social justice endeavors.

The second contribution of this research is to overcome the disciplinary divide in intersectionality scholarship. Organizational theorists focus on business policies and *internal* practices that perpetuate inequalities (Acker, 2006; Rodriguez et al., 2016; Ward, 2004), while Black feminists, media and consumer behavior scholars largely examine the *external* practices of marketing and its potential to misrepresent or exclude certain groups (Collins, 2000; Gopaldas & Siebert, 2018). Yet, internal and external practices shape each other and impact consumers as much as employees. In our analysis of diversity training, we break down these artificial boundaries and argue that a holistic perspective is needed if social injustices are to be remedied.

The third contribution of this work is to reposition and expand on the role of business within the intersectionality literature. Our review of the intersectionality literature finds that scholars historically focused on critiquing and advocating for change to policies and legislations (e.g., Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989). As such, the scholarship largely assumes that government and civil society shape corporate actions (Dill & Kohlman, 2012). It downplays business' contribution to positive change and the complexities businesses face in so doing. Yet corporations, as powerful players, shape the marketplace and influence employees' and consumers' lives. The complex ways business practices create, maintain and challenge oppressions and discrimination are thus vital to consider. By using the TIF to assess the

diversity training of major corporations pioneering this space, this research identifies the good corporations are doing, but also highlights areas that remain problematic or unaddressed.

Before exploring the insights offered through the TIF, we provide an in-depth treatment of intersectionality's historical premise. We do so to position and justify our call for a radicalization and critical praxis approach. Against this backdrop, we explore how scholars in business disciplines have taken up intersectionality theory and how the TIF expands upon this prior work. Our focus is primarily on marketing and consumer literature given that similar reviews exist for organizational studies (Rodriguez et al., 2016). After describing the key elements of the TIF, namely its depth and breadth perspectives, we apply it to the case of diversity training. Through this illustrative example, we demonstrate how our proposed analysis can encourage scholars and practitioners to shift beyond a focus on *intersections of identities* to recognize *intersectionalities' interlocking systems and processes of oppressions*. We conclude by providing recommendations that stem from our analysis, and note commonalities between other TCR perspectives. We argue that a transformative approach to business practice can improve the appropriateness and inclusiveness of social justice interventions.

2. Review of Intersectionality

2.1 Historical Roots of Intersectionality

Intersectionality's canonical legacy is grounded in the radical and transformative perspectives of social justice projects, identity politics and coalition politics representing communities of diverse backgrounds (Lutz et al., 2011a; Dill & Kohlman, 2012). Its genesis in the United States can be traced back to "knowledge projects" of Black activists and intellectuals. This includes Sojourner Truth's *Ain't I a Woman* speech in 1851, Ida Wells-Barnett's awareness campaigns of lynching in the 1890s, and Anna Julia Cooper's articulation

of the realities faced by Black women and families in the 1890s. These activists were among the first to formulate the unique two-dimensional perspective of a Black woman's life and struggle. In addition, Black men fighting against eugenics, such as W.E.B. DuBois, called for the recognition of how race and class structures shape the lives of Blacks. These perspectives established arguments that were taken forward and refined in the discourse of the 1960s civil rights and 1970s feminist movements (Collins, 2015; Dill & Kohlman, 2012). Importantly, Black feminists realized the need to extend beyond their individual, grassroots social justice projects, and to work together to form a broader coalition. Pushing against the dominant feminist literature, which reflected the lives and ideologies of White women, Black feminist scholars highlighted the biased and incomplete view of social injustices. (See for example the works of Anzaldúa, 1987, Combahee River Collective, 1986; Crenshaw, 1989; Dill, 1983; hooks, 1981; Lorde, 1984; and Zinn, 1981). Bridging their activism with intellectual debates and writings, these scholars raised awareness of the simultaneous, interconnected and systemic nature of oppressions, and called for analyses to go beyond one axis of identity such as gender (Collins, 2015; Hancock, 2016). They produced knowledge that validated the lives and stories of those who had been marginalized and largely ignored, and used this knowledge to “help empower communities and the people in them” (Dill & Kohlman, 2012, pp. 165-166).

Many of these ideas are now captured under the concept of intersectionality—a term initially used by Crenshaw. As a Black feminist legal scholar, Crenshaw (1989, p. 139) examined three discrimination-based cases to demonstrate how Black women were “theoretically erased” and denied equality. The law ignored their multidimensional existence and treated their cases based on a single-identity factor—gender or race. However, as Crenshaw

(1989, p. 140) aptly stressed, their “intersectional experience [was] greater than the sum of racism and sexism.”

Although Crenshaw is often cited as the key theorist of intersectionality, it is important to recognize that Crenshaw’s work gives name to a century of work. It marks a critical junction when these multitude of knowledge projects finally became accepted in the wider academic lexicon (Collins, 2015). We stress this point because to read Crenshaw without delving deeper into the history her work reflects, may lead to the erroneous assumption that intersectionality refers to merely identifying the “various interactions of race and gender” (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1296). Yet as Collins (2015, p. 1) concludes, intersectionality’s true “raison d’être” is “its attentiveness to power relations and social inequalities.”

2.2 Intersectionality in Marketing and Consumer Behavior

Within marketing theory, understandings of intersectionality are still evolving. Although many studies do not use the word intersectionality, as Ger (2018) points out, a historical alignment exists between the foundations of intersectionality theory and the works stemming from consumer culture theory, critical theory and transformative consumer research. Thus, many examples exist of studies that focus on multiple oppressions (e.g., Cappellini et al., 2014; Hill & Stephens, 1997; Joy, Belk & Bhardwaj; 2015).

In the 2000s, when the term “intersectionality” entered marketing scholarship, scholars predominantly developed conceptual papers (see Crockett et al., 2011; Corus et al., 2016; Gopaldas, 2013; Gopaldas & Fischer, 2012). Drawing from other disciplinary approaches to intersectionality, such as guidelines provided by the sociologists McCall (2005) and Choo and Ferree (2010), these studies made important contributions by stressing the interaction of consumers’ identity categories, and by raising awareness of the need for perspectives of

multiply-marginalized consumer groups. Marketing scholars continue to build on this work (e.g., Crockett, 2017; Gopaldas & Siebert 2018), adding to the rich understandings of consumer's navigation and experience of oppressions, vulnerabilities, and discriminatory practices.

Yet, as Ger (2018, p. 3) argues, taken as a whole, this body of work “underscores facets we do not deliberate as much as we could and should.” It prioritizes micro-level agency over power relations within structures and practices of domination. Notable exceptions exist, yet remain few or still in conceptual stages (see for example Hutton, 2015; Jang & Kim, 2018; Zayer et al., 2017). Rodriguez et al. (2016, p. 202) report a similar pattern in organizational studies where research captures the “texture and consequences” of the experiences of inequalities;” less prevalent are studies assessing “systematic dynamics of power.”

2.3 A Need to Re-radicalize Intersectionality

[R]ace is the child of racism, not the father. And the process of naming “the people” has never been a matter of genealogy and physiognomy so much as one of hierarchy.

- Ta-Nehisi Coates, *Between the World and Me*

In marketing and consumer behavior literature, intersectionality is often conceptualized as “*the interactivity of social identity structures such as race, class, and gender in fostering life experiences, especially experiences of privilege and oppression*” (Gopaldas, 2013, p. 90). Gopaldas (2013, p. 91) proposes that it can be used to study a range of overlapping identity characteristics, including age, citizenship, ethnicity/race, physical body types and abilities, mental abilities and health status, religion, sex, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, amongst a list of other “naturalized—though not necessarily natural—ways of categorizing human populations.”

While capturing the inclusive potential of intersectionality for “revealing other marginalizations” (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1299) and popularizing its application (Davis, 2008), this definition risks being interpreted as an additive approach. As we argue, essentializing identities to recognizable categories and adding them to analysis is merely assessing *intersections of identities*. In business’ diversity practices, for example, this may amount to headcounts of employees based on their gender, race, and physical or mental abilities with a limited understanding of how systems, often dominated by White men, can overlook the challenges under-represented groups may face. As indicated by this example, a focus on intersections of identities risks disregarding the premise of intersectionality theory, namely: i) a focus on oppressions or how people navigate oppressions (Lutz, Vivar & Supik, 2011a; Zanoni et al., 2010); ii) the complex interactions of power dynamics and structures that create interlocking oppressions (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 2008; Walby, Armstrong & Strid, 2012); and iii) what needs to be transformed to achieve social justice (Collins, 2015).

Additionally, the focus on identities risks centering the debate on whom or whom not to include rather than how to change the system. In other disciplines we see these debates occurring. Some contend that an endless number of categories may lead to an over-emphasis on differences that can hinder the pursuit of social justice (Fraser, 1998; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Others question whether intersectionality analysis should be expanded to all members of society, including those who are predominately privileged, such as the White, heterosexual males (Christensen & Jensen, 2012; Nash, 2008; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). In our re-radicalization, we agree with those scholars who advocate for acknowledging privilege and those in positions of privilege, as it provides a basis to explain systems of oppression and stalled transformations (Nash, 2008; Walby et al., 2012). However, we likewise affirm that this

expanded view should not detract from the focus on the systems that oppress multiple subordinate-groups (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008).

Accordingly, to protect intersectionality from becoming a “buzzword” in business literature (Davis, 2008), we propose the TIF to re-radicalize and re-ground the concept in its feminist roots (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013). We encourage a view that reveals “the way things work rather than who people are” (Chun, Lipsitz & Shin, 2013, p. 923) so that transformations can occur. Such a perspective distinguishes that race and gender are themselves not problematic. Rather, as the opening quote from Ta-Nehisi Coates relates, it is the oppressions and “isms”—racism, sexism, classism—that result from historically rooted power asymmetries, which make overlapping categories of identities problematic. It is these “isms” and systems of oppression that need to change. We thus urge for attention to be shifted from intersecting identities to the processes (such as economic exploitation) or combination of systems (such as the family, workplace, market, and nation) that (re)produce interlocking oppressions (Choo & Ferrer, 2010).

3. The Transformative Intersectionality Framework (TIF): A Depth and Breadth Perspective

The question remains: how we can *research* and, more importantly, *transform* systems of domination and discrimination given their complexity and their multi-level interactions? To answer this question we built a framework—the TIF. We created the TIF by first inductively assessing corporate citizenship initiatives and their transformational impact through a social justice framework called the Transformative Gender Justice Framework (TGJF). The TGJF, described below, encourages a complex assessment of social injustices and power relations (Hein et al., 2016; Steinfield et al., 2018). Similar to other intersectionality scholars (Winker &

Degele, 2011) it brings to the fore macro, meso and micro factors in hopes that by doing so more transformative solutions can emerge. As subsequently detailed, these are what we call elements revealed by the *depth* dimension of the TIF. Yet in working through our illustrative cases, we found that the depth dimension did not provide the whole picture. Because intersectionality draws attention to the way power asymmetries give rise to the (in)visibility of social groups, we realized a second dimension need to be added to the TIF. This is the dimension of *breadth*. The resulting framework urges scholars and practitioners to explore intersectionality from a *depth* and *breadth* perspective (refer to Figure 1).

3.1. Intersectionality and the Transformative Gender Justice Framework (TGJF)

The TGJF (Hein et al., 2016; Steinfield et al., 2018) identifies the complexities of social injustices and potential limitations of proposed solutions by working reiteratively through three theoretical, arguably transformative, lenses: i) distributive or social justice; ii) recognition theory; and iii) the capabilities approach. Each lens highlights different modes of injustices. First, distributive or social justice relates to structures, laws, regulations and policies that can result in unequal access to resources (such as wealth, education, networks, knowledge, land and other assets that can enable the achievement of better livelihoods). It also captures the power asymmetries that perpetuate or shift these conditions. Second, recognition theory reflects injustices stemming from the cultural recognition of identities or social groups, such as who is recognized, not recognized or misrepresented. The existence of (mis)recognition is revealed through images, narratives, myths and discourses that reflect sociocultural norms, ideologies and hegemonic beliefs. Third, the capabilities approach adds to these lenses by highlighting actions, agencies and freedoms of individuals to pursue the life they desire. As Hein et al. (2016) demonstrate, these three lenses overlap and can result in compounding and recursive

effects. For example, distributive injustices may lead to unequal access to education, which may in turn restrict a person's capabilities. Over time, this may give rise to societal perceptions that certain groups are under-educated and less competent, resulting in misrecognition. This misrecognition, or stereotype, may contribute to increased scrutiny of certain groups. In turn, this may result in lowered self-perceptions and contribute to poorer levels of educational achievement. To consider these interactions, Hein et al. (2016) propose a dialogical approach (Morin, 1982) that considers how bases of injustices and proposed solutions may, at times, complement and reinforce each other and at other times oppose and detract.

In order to resolve injustices, Steinfield et al. (2018) demonstrate the need to assess complex power dynamics. They build on Hein et al.'s (2016) dialogical approach and examine the three elements of injustice (distributive, recognition, capabilities) through a multi-level analysis (macro, meso, micro). In so doing, they identify the recursive and dialogical effects of top-down and bottom-up power dynamics that maintain or alter social injustices. While this scholarship has enriched our understanding of injustices, these analyses remain centered primarily on one key attribute—gender. We thus extend upon this work, adapting the TGJF to assess the intersectional nature of oppressions.

3.2. TIF: Intersectionality from a Depth Perspective

Drawing from the TGJF, we identify elements at the macro, meso and micro levels, and consider how their interactions can result in oppressions and how they can advance versus limit the transformative potential of initiatives. These elements include pervading beliefs, norms and regulatory structures (macro-meso), practices, discourses or representations (macro-meso-micro), and agentic actions (micro) (refer to Figure 1). We capture these in the concept of *depth*, meaning how ingrained are the oppressions and discriminatory practices. The TIF's dimension

of *depth* reveals why corporate citizenship initiatives sometimes achieve surface-level versus transformative change: they do not delve deeply enough to consider how systems, practices, capabilities and actions mutually reinforce or disrupt one another.

However, a depth analysis should also include aspects that challenge injustices. For example, some macro- and meso-level discriminatory structures, practices and misrecognitions are being challenged by social movements like #MeToo or Black Lives Matter. Classifying elements as macro versus meso will be case specific as meso boundaries can change. Meso may refer to aspects within countries or communities or organizations. Macro captures the elements external to the meso level. It can include global elements and, in cases where meso is at an organizational-level, more country-specific or localized elements.

3.3. TIF: Intersectionality from a Breadth Perspective

In addition to depth, we note a need for *breadth*, which relates to the span of visibility of social groups and interests. The TIF's assessments of *visibility* captures what social groups become more visible by initiatives, how they are represented, the impact of this visibility and representation, and what interests this makes apparent. In turn, assessments of *invisibility* examines what social groups are excluded, overlooked and further marginalized, what (mis)representation causes this invisibility, the impact, and the (in)visible interests that hold these injustices in place. This also includes those who become invisible due to naturalized assumptions and positions of privilege. Recognizing these naturalized invisibilities of privilege is key to identifying how existing practices and beliefs, which on the surface may appear neutral, act to protect the social standing and interests of the dominant group. In so doing, the dominant group may hold in place marginalizing practices by forcing "the other" to fit in to the "given" norm.

Importantly, the analysis of breadth is not simply about adding overlapping categories. Rather, it is about examining: what *impact* do these (mis)representations and (in)visibilities in identities and interests have on social groups? How do the (mis)representations and (in)visibilities contribute to perpetuating versus resolving injustices, or limiting versus supporting efforts to address injustices? The intention of the TIF is to encourage an inclusive analysis that recognizes the complexities underlying social injustices.

4. The Illustrative Case of Diversity Training

Diversity training programs are exemplary of corporate citizenship efforts that can merit from an intersectionality analysis, particularly due to the continued under-representation of marginalized groups. In the diversity endeavors of American firms, this is largely centered on women and ethnic and racial minorities. For example, McKinsey Consulting notes that for the 222 large-based companies included in their study, while "more than 75% of CEOs include gender equality in their top 10 business priorities...gender outcomes across the largest companies are not changing" (Barton and Yee, 2017). As Steinfield and Scott (2018) note, this is a global problem. Across nations and industries, gender gaps are apparent in wages and promotions. The gaps maintain gender asymmetries in decision making and economic power. These gender gaps become even more dismal for women of ethnic minorities (McKinsey, 2017).

While not all corporations explicitly claim to be addressing intersectionality in their diversity training programs, these practices are reflective of the essence of intersectionality work in that they seek to open spaces to underrepresented or previously excluded social groups. Accordingly, these efforts are used as an illustrative case to demonstrate the analytical power of the proposed TIF. The evidence offered comes from a review of the publicly available diversity

training materials released by Facebook, Google and Starbucks, past scholarship and popular press reviews. These three corporations are leaders in diversity management initiatives in the United States. While they originate from the U.S. they operate globally. Diversity training is an emergent practice and companies are still experimenting. The assessment of their programs is thus a timely evaluation. Their acts of corporate citizenship can be aided by an expanded view offered by the TIF, namely its depth and breadth perspectives. To situate our analysis, we first explore the context for diversity training, the concepts that have emerged as central to the markets for diversity training, and the progress of the three companies.

4.1. Historical Context of Diversity Training

Since the 1960s, following second wave feminism and the civil rights movement in the United States, there have been long standing calls to focus on inclusivity and to radically change the composition of organizations' workforces. Policies, such as affirmative action or “positive discrimination,” were established to overcome organizational tendencies towards hiring, promoting and training workforces dominated by specific groups of workers, predominantly White, middle-class men. Corporate engagement in these issues was often in response to governments enforcing policies or to public outrage triggered by various discrimination scandals (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998).

More recently, as organizations recognize the inevitability of a diverse workforce and consumer base due to demographic shifts (Stevens et al., 2008), they have attempted to go beyond policy requirements by experimenting with diversity training and management programs. These efforts may involve instructional programs that seek to: i) reveal prejudice and discrimination; and ii) empower employees with skills sets, knowledge and motivation to create, and maintain positive intergroup relations in a diverse workforce (Bezrukova et al., 2016). A

popular component of these programs is unconscious or implicit bias education, which are frequently used interchangeably in business.

Bias, which can be explicit or implicit, is an inclination or a prejudice that favors a person or group over another. Examples of explicit bias include signs such as “Irish need not apply” or workplace policies that discriminate against pregnant women. Several regulatory structures are in place to give recourse to an individual in case of explicit (overt) bias. Implicit bias, on the other hand, is characterized as being unconscious in that the person may not be aware of their own prejudice. It is considered to be one of the “most pervasive and important forms of bias operating in society today” (Wax, 1999, p.1130).

While the term implicit is at times contested, it has a long history in the field of psychology, with Greenwald and colleagues (see Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Greenwald, McGhee & Schwartz, 1998) first demonstrating responses to stereotypes that were implicit. Implicit responses are connections made without volition. According to this research, implicit bias has two key parts: i) repetition, for instance repeatedly hearing “doctors are male and nurses are female;” and ii) cultural context, such as patriarchal assumptions. In this case, gender socialization and hierarchies of a patriarchal culture contribute to men being naturalized as the gender of surgeons, a traditionally esteemed position, while women become associated with nurses, a traditionally less esteemed position.

To help companies “break down” implicit biases, an extensive consultancy market estimated to be about \$8 billion has developed (Lipman, 2018). Additionally, companies are spending millions of dollars on creating software packages and modules for implicit bias trainings and workshops. These workshops go through exercises to generate awareness or evidence of one's implicit biases, and to explore different ways of responding, interacting and

challenging assumptions (Feloni, 2016; Huet, 2015). Many companies, including Google, Starbucks and Facebook, use this practice as a basis for their diversity training programs.

In spite of the resonance that these activities find with corporations, the effectiveness of these efforts is widely debated (see Bezrukova et al., 2016; Bohnet, 2016 for overviews). Because diversity programs do not always translate to changes in a workforce's composition, best practices call for companies to go beyond diversity to create a culture in which people feel included and their different perspectives encouraged, appreciated and recognized (Bourke & Dillion, 2018). However, the process by which to accomplish this is not simple. It demands an intersectionality lens and a readiness to engage with the complexities that hamper change.

4.2 The Organizational Contexts of Google, Facebooks and Starbucks

In 2017, Google's CEO reaffirmed its commitment to diversity—"having people internally who represent the world in totality" (Goode, 2017)—after contending with a widely circulated manifesto. Dubbed the "Google Memo," employee James Damore claimed that women, at a biological level, could not write code as well as men. Although fired, Damore received letters of support from fellow employees who feared voicing similar viewpoints (Brooks, 2017; Friedersdorf, 2017). This reaction came despite Google spending nearly \$114 million in diversity training in 2014 alone and having at least 75% of its employees undergo unconscious bias training—including Damore (Lipman, 2018).

Publicly, while Google grapples with issues of sexism, Facebook and Starbucks face issues of racism. At Facebook's headquarters, when employees posted "Black Lives Matter" on the office wall, it was repeatedly crossed out and replaced with "All Lives Matter" (Nunez, 2016). The CEO, Mark Zuckerberg, quickly labeled these as "disappointing" and "malicious" actions (Clifford, 2017). And while Starbucks promotes a "welcoming environment," an

incident in 2018 in Philadelphia proved otherwise. A manager called police after judging two Black men as loiterers. Although the Black men were waiting for a business partner, the manager perceived them as taking up space and using the bathroom without buying anything. The Black men were taken away in handcuffs even as fellow customers protested that they had done nothing wrong (Winsor & McCarthy, 2018). The arrest video went viral and consumer backlash and boycotts resulted in Starbucks shutting down its 8,000 stores to do an afternoon of diversity training with all of its 175,000 employees, with an explicit aim to tackle racism (Starbucks, 2018a).

Although Starbucks, Google and Facebook, as well as a diverse array of organizations, have relied on implicit bias training extensively to address diversity in their workforce (e.g., Feloni, 2016), published reports on employee diversity at various levels demonstrate that imbalances still persist (refer to Figure 2). These companies, however, are the norm, not the exception (Steinfeld & Scott, 2018; McKinsey, 2017). In an attempt to understand why these incidents occurred, we apply the TIF to the diversity training material collected on these three companies.

5. Analysis and Discussion: What a Depth and Breadth Intersectionality Perspective Reveals

Combining *depth* and *breadth*, two main themes emerge regarding limitations of the diversity training practices. First, these practices do not fully emphasize the interactions of macro, meso, and micro elements. As such, they lose sight of the complexity and nuanced nature of diversity issues. Second, by not incorporating a broader perspective of (in)visibility, they misplace the focus of change. We demonstrate these limitations by exploring three aspects

related to diversity training: i) profit orientation and attempts to build the talent pipeline; ii) standardized approaches; and iii) expectations to “lean in.”

5.1. Profit Orientation and the Talent Pipeline

We find the narratives and practices of firms have a tendency to focus on diversity management as a means for profit. This profit orientation reflects the macro-level, ideological power of the capitalist system. As the meso-level narrative relates, a more diverse workforce is positioned to cater to the needs of more diverse consumers and, if productive, will lead to more innovations (Starbucks, 2018b; Facebook, 2017; Google, 2018). For example, Google’s attempt to challenge gender biases and sexism is framed as being important because:

“[W]omen have great ideas. Women can be amazing leaders. And the research shows that when we have gender diversity at the very top of organizations it actually drives all of the metrics that shareholders care about. Return on equity. Return to shareholders. All sorts of things” (Welle, 2014, 15:10).

A sole focus on profits, however, can obscure the need to address intersectional oppressions. As a breadth perspective reveals, “women” does not adequately capture the injustices that can occur at the intersections of multiple identity categories and the “isms” that are tied to these. For example, it is known that biases disadvantage women with children (Kitroeff & Silver-Greenberg, 2018). Although this is an explicit concern of the diversity training modules of Starbucks (2018b) and Google (2018c), progress is slow in ensuring pregnancy or maternal discrimination does not affect women’s career progression, as evident in Figure 2.

Markedly, Google’s (2018b) most recent diversity report stresses how “various social identities can overlap to influence the amount of bias or disadvantage someone faces.” They release workforce data reporting on “pipeline” progress by gender and multiple racial identities,

and have challenged others to participate in more rigorous examinations of intersectional spaces. Yet the overall meso-level approach, which couches the conversations in a short-term, profit-oriented mindset, overshadows a range of longer-term, systemic issues that affect pipelines. Accordingly, if businesses are going to bring about impact they need to deepen the conversation and their temporal horizons. They need to move past short-term profit goals and consider longer-term, holistic measures of people development and retention.

We see evidence of this shift as companies are making investments in higher-education to increase the pool of applicants. “Facebook University” has programs for under-represented groups (Williams, 2017); Google recruits from historically Black colleges and universities (Simon, 2016); Starbucks (2018c) supplements tuition. This reflects a meso-level initiative to address macro-level economic inequities. Although based on available information we are unable to discern how far down the education pipeline these initiatives extend (e.g., primary and secondary school), this example demonstrates how companies can move towards addressing the depth of an intersectionality perspective. Specifically, they can do so by tackling more systemic issues underlying problems with achieving diversity.

5.2. Standardized Implicit Bias Tests and Diversity Training

Our review found that all the firms use and encourage a standardized approach. However, standardization can oversimplify and can cause the complexities and nuanced understandings of injustices and oppressions to be lost. For example, Google, Starbucks and Facebook encourage employees to complete standardized tests on implicit bias (Project Implicit, 2011) that focus on single identity categories. These tests bring to the fore biased beliefs (i.e., women as maternal; men as workers) yet do so reductively (i.e., “women” is equated to all women). Additionally, in assessing the breadth of these meso-level initiatives, we find

invisibilities. For example, the way implicit biases change as categories cross, such as gender *and* race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, able-bodyism, sexual orientation is not discussed. Consequently, at the micro-level, we see that individuals are tasked to take personal responsibility for eliminating injustices without being made fully aware of how intersectional differences might matter.

Standardized solutions also do not fully account for differences in the macro-local contexts, populations and voices. Indeed, we perceive that the U.S. centrism of the diversity training modules can be problematic given that these companies operate globally. Standardization, as a meso-level practice, is adopted by organizations to ensure consistency with organizational culture and to manage the cost-benefit tradeoffs, particularly when hired consultants are involved. Yet prioritizing these organizational or meso-level needs negates how diversity issues, although global, are localized (Merriweather Woodson & Ollier-Malaterre, 2016; Tatli & Özbilgin, 2012). For example, macro-level regulatory structures in the EU prevent companies from adopting affirmative action, as it is viewed as a form of discrimination (treating one group better than another). Only if candidates have equal merit can underrepresented groups be prioritized in hiring or promotion decisions (UK Government, 2010). Macro socio-historical influences and nuances of micro-interpersonal relations means that other identity categories may come to matter, such as ethnicity and immigrant or citizenship status, religion or language (Lutz et al., 2011b). A breadth perspective is needed to uncover what identities are consequential.

5.3. *Expectations of Leaning-In*

The meso-level discourse surrounding how those in privileged positions versus the underrepresented group (normally categorized as the “other”) need to “lean-in” or work to

advance their careers (Sandberg, 2013), likewise exhibits tensions that affect micro-level interrelations and actions. A current remedy to improve diversity is to teach middle or senior-managers to be more empathic towards the “other” (Bourke & Dillon, 2018). By directing the focal point towards helping the “other,” it can mask the need to address issues related to the identity of those in privileged positions. For example, macro-level gender norms tie men’s status to the identity of being a breadwinner. However, changes in workplace structures are disrupting this norm with limited, alternative compensatory options available for men to maintain or regain status. This may explain the hostile meso-level environments, as exemplified in the Google Memo. None of the diversity training material examined in this research discussed the need for men to give up power. As an intersectionality perspective urges, grappling with privilege as well as oppressions is needed to enable social change.

Additionally, the meso-level expectations of employees “surfacing” and “busting biases” (e.g., Facebook 2018b; Google 2018c) do not acknowledge the deeper structural issues. Rather, they place the responsibility at the micro-level. Employees are expected to hold themselves and each other accountable for stopping bias through “calling out” bias in meetings and using standardized guides for hiring and promotional decisions. What becomes overlooked are problems with the system of meritocracy, which both Facebook (2018b) and Google (2018) adopt. A deeper and broader perspective, however, questions whose interests and way of life is being advanced given that it is those in positions of privilege who often define what “achievement” means. In this case, difficulties that arise from overlapping identities risk being misdiagnosed. It becomes the “unfit” employee who is labeled as underperforming and at fault

for not advancing through the pipeline. The standardized diversity program becomes a check-box activity rather than an assessment of larger issues.

As this example illustrates, our analysis reveals how the “other” incurs misrecognition. The emphasis of macro and meso-level discourses is placed on how to “fix” them and not the system. The micro-level agency of these employees becomes co-opted. The “other” is told to “lean in” and to undergo, for instance, female leadership or negotiation training (cf., McKinsey, 2017), revealing, yet again, discourses around who is considered as not needing to lean in (i.e., heteronormative White males). Moreover, applying a breadth perspective, we find that because concepts of leaning in are largely construed from the experiences and perspective of White women (for example, see Facebook’s Chief Operating Officer, Sheryl Sandberg’s 2013 book *Lean In*), they fail to account for how these actions may be misconstrued. The example of Black women encountering concrete ceilings due to additional racial and cultural stereotypes is a case in point (Catalyst, 2004). Misalignment can consequentially result between meso-level expectations of people leaning in and the micro-interpersonal realities that occur when they do lean in. By adopting an intersectional approach, “women” and “others” are not seen uniformly as a category to target; rather they are viewed as social categories with complexities within the categories themselves (e.g., women *and* race, age, sexual orientation, etc.).

By recognizing the layers and complexity of diversity within different contexts, tackling problematic practices, stretching diversity training to include understandings of more nuanced intersectional identity categories, and having conversations about privilege, businesses may be able to learn from their employees and speak to their audiences in more nuanced and purposeful

ways. The researchers are optimistic that businesses, such as Starbucks, Google, Facebook and others, can build on their existing efforts and enhance their initiatives even further.

6. Recommendations and Implications

While the application of the TIF highlights the recursive interplay between *depth* and *breadth* of intersectionalities, the lessons gleaned from it should not stop at the analysis level. Rather, they should be harnessed to explore more transformative solutions. To frame this re-radicalized approach to intersectionality and the possibilities of its critical praxis, we consider what could happen if we rethink some of the boundaries and binaries that limit the impact of corporate citizenship initiatives.

6.1. Macro/micro – towards multilevel analysis and interventions

Social injustices prompting corporate citizenship initiatives require complex, long-term—not simplified, short-term—analyses and solutions. Too often organizations tackle meso-level issues and “problematize” identities in isolation. They neglect far-reaching roots and sources of oppressions and discriminations, and respond with quick-fixes. They overlook the way interacting elements at macro, meso and micro levels can limit change, and imperatively, how deprivations can intensify for individuals with overlapping identities.

As illustrated through the diversity training example, this calls for an intersectionality perspective that uncovers the injustices produced by pervasive, systemic, socio-historic oppressions and discriminations, particularly those that are naturalized and made invisible. This requires open dialogues that take into consideration how organizations are structured and which stakeholders benefit. It entails that corporations identify and work to change problematic manifestations of power, including questioning popular or “best” practices, such as meritocratic systems. In the case of diversity training, a transformative approach may entail shifting from

measuring diversity based on employee headcounts to measuring achievements of social justice and changes in problematic practices. It becomes important to not just consider *who* people are or *what* they represent (e.g., white, black, male, female), but also *what they do* within organizations or society and how these roles relate to power and influence.

6.2. Global/local – towards glocal and transnational

In addition to recognizing systemic aspects of discriminations, it is important to note the geographical and socio-historic peculiarities that shape the meanings and sources of oppressions at a local level (Boxenbaum, 2006; Liu, 2018; Merriweather Woodson & Ollier-Malaterre, 2016). This requires global organizations to attend to differences in regulations and structures, but also the localized meanings and experiences of injustices.

The global expanse of value chains likewise calls for an appreciation of the transnational nature of corporate impact. As a first step, it is imperative to take into account the uniqueness of the historical and social contexts, and to consider how they might affect the company's achievement of goals. In adopting a more reflexive approach, corporations also need to recognize their privileged position in the value chain and to use that privilege to enable others. For example, rather than imposing corporate citizenship efforts, organizations should ensure representatives from across their subsidiaries or the communities in which they operate inform social justice endeavors. To lead to appropriate interventions, they need to value these voices as much as their own. Additionally, to stave off negative, unintended consequences, corporations should leverage the insights from these representatives to create well-informed theories of change (Scott, 2017).

Given the global and transnational nature of business and of many social injustices, the operationalization of corporate citizenship programs may also benefit from crossing boundaries

between firms. Rather than viewing each other as local or global competition, corporations would be better off viewing others as partners involved in global problems. Fostering spaces where corporations can share practices and be guided by experts to recognize the potential blindspots of their actions can lead to productive partnerships and actions (e.g., Scott, 2017).

6.3. Top-down/bottom up; internal/external – towards recognizing hierarchies, power, and porous boundaries

As with the diversity programs examined in this study, many corporate citizenship initiatives follow top down approaches. While CEOs and executives need to play inspirational roles as change mediators, a balance is required with who defines the goals and who is tasked to implement them. Particularly for diversity training, employees often have little space to participate in shaping programs based on their own lives inside and outside of the organization. A more meaningful approach can be achieved if processes address impediments throughout the system and are more inclusive.

For example, middle managers are instrumental in implementing cultural change and empowering co-workers. While teaching managers to be empathetic to others is one solution (Bourke & Dillion, 2018), managers also require training that enables understandings of the intersectional and complex nature of inequities that hamper diversity. Importantly, similar to top-level managers, middle managers can impede changing hierarchies by holding onto their positions. Questions of whether they will have to give up power to achieve goals of equitable and diverse workforce remain unaddressed. Without addressing the uncomfortable realities that those in dominant positions may have to relinquish power, achievement of social justice in any intervention will remain limited.

Alongside challenging organizational structures are the socio-historic boundaries that

organizations can perpetuate, such as divisions between higher- and lower-ranked employees, customers and employees, and the professional and private spheres of employees' lives. Including voices of those who are often excluded, whether internal or external to the company, can help corporations identify how practices can uncritically perpetuate disadvantages and result in more appropriate human resource and marketing strategies. While unions and consumer panels may be one means through which employees and customers can have a voice, organizations need to question whether the representatives invited to the table are capable of appreciating and advocating for more marginalized or under-represented groups. Corporations could improve the resonance of their efforts by ensuring that panels, boards and c-suits reflect the diversity they wish to achieve. Yet, to truly work towards addressing social injustices, corporations must create environments that encourage respect of personhoods, not just merit (Darwall, 1977). Personhood breaks down the boundaries between the professional and the personal-private sphere. It recognizes how the personal informs the professional, or rather, how the personal can be political and compound experiences of privilege and oppression.

6.4. Business/society – changing “business as usual”

The global reach of many corporations and the social injustices they can (re)produce or diminish infers that social justice should become a responsibility, not an option. It is time that corporate endeavors towards responsible practices become normalized, rather than viewed as the exception that is celebrated through glossy reports and awards. To achieve these standards of responsibility, it may be optimal for corporations to be guided and held accountable by mechanisms that are outside of their own control. This may include a global institution, akin to the UN or OECD, that can set benchmarks and collate information on progress towards social justice goals. While this may be a more radical suggestion, we note that greater steps such as

these are needed to overcome a dominant focus on profits and to instead work hand in hand with other entities in the pursuit of social justice and change.

6.5. How a TCR Lens Could Help

The scholarship of transformative consumer research (TCR) offers many useful guidelines for mapping the complex terrain of corporate citizenship efforts. For example, this paper draws on the TGJF to explore the depth of intersectionality. This approach could be combined with the model of poverty experiences proposed by Blocker et al. (2013) to provide a more encompassing view of how consumers navigate or are limited by structures (cultural, market forces), personal capabilities, and experiences (product and service experiences) that shape their consumer choices and felt deprivations.

To explore breadth, scholars and practitioners could adopt more participatory approaches to allow the voice and agency of marginalized groups to be included in strategies for social change. Community action research (Ozanne & Anderson, 2010), for example, draws together the community with goals to learn from each other to transform socially unjust structures. Participatory action research (Ozanne & Saatcioglu, 2008) leverages and builds local knowledge to find solutions that the community can implement and diffuse. Combining TCR approaches such as these with a consideration of structures that can impinge upon corporate citizenship, incorporates the strengths of TCR with the critical praxis of intersectionality theory.

7. Conclusion

Oppression, marginalization, discrimination and invisibility can be intensified when social identity categories overlap. Yet, as our discussion and re-radicalization of intersectionality theory demonstrates, it is not the categories that are problematic, but the structures that (re)produce and reflect the “isms”—e.g. sexism, racism, heterosexism.

Our assessment of a popular business-to-business service, diversity training, through the TIF demonstrates how business and its corporate citizenship efforts can benefit from a transformative intersectionality approach, and also be challenged to rethink the ways of doing business. We further reveal how a fusion of the critical praxis of intersectionality and TCR could increase avenues for research—research that could help organizations navigate and work towards resolving social injustices. Ultimately, we encourage scholars and practitioners to broaden intersectionality from a focus on categories to a recognition of the depth and breadth of oppressions. We argue that these dimensions need to be considered if the “isms” of injustices are to be meaningfully challenged and transformed.

REFERENCES

- Acker, J. (2006). Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations. *Gender & Society*, 20 (4): 441–464.
- Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands: The New Mestiza = La Frontera*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
- Barton, D. & Yee, L. (2017). Time for a New Gender Equality Playbook, *McKinsey and Company*. Available online: <https://www.mckinsey.com/global-themes/leadership/time-for-a-new-gender-equality-playbook>. Accessed on 2 July, 2018.
- Bezrukova, K., Spell, C. S., Perry, J. L., & Jehn, K. A. (2016). A Meta-analytical Integration of over 40 Years of Research on Diversity Training Evaluation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 142(11): 1227-1274.
- Bohnet, I. (2016). *What Works: Gender Equality by Design*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

- Bourke & Dillion. (2018). *The Diversity and Inclusion Revolution: Eight Powerful Truths*. Available online: <https://www2.deloitte.com/insights/us/en/deloitte-review/issue-22/diversity-and-inclusion-at-work-eight-powerful-truths.html>. Accessed on 2 July, 2018.
- Boxenbaum, E. (2006). Lost in Translation: The Making of Danish Diversity Management. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 49 (7): 939–48.
- Brooks, D. (2017). Sundar Pichai Should Resign as Google’s C.E.O. *New York Times*. Available online: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/11/opinion/sundar-pichai-google-memo-diversity.html>. Accessed on 29, November, 2018.
- Cappellini, B., Marilli, A. & Parsons, E. (2014). The Hidden Work of Coping: Gender and the Micro-Politics of Household Consumption in Times of Austerity. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 30 (15–16): 1597–1624.
- Catalyst (2004). Advancing African-American Women in the Workplace: What Managers Need to Know. Available online: https://www.catalyst.org/system/files/Advancing_African_American_Women_in_the_Workplace_What_Managers_Need_to_Know.pdf. Accessed on 24 November, 2018.
- Clifford, C. (2017). Women are Neurotic, Diversity Efforts are “Bad for Business” and 10 Other Shocking Quotes from the Viral Google Manifesto. *CNBC*. Available online: <http://www.cnbc.com/2017/08/07/shocking-quotes-from-the-viral-google-manifesto.html>. Accessed on 2 July, 2018.
- Cho, S., Crenshaw, K. W. & McCall, L. (2013). Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications, and Praxis. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 38 (4): 785–810.

- Choo, H. Y. & Ferree, M. M. (2010). Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions, and Institutions in the Study of Inequalities. *Sociological Theory*, 28 (2): 129–49.
- Christensen, A. D. & Jensen, S. Q. (2012). Doing Intersectional Analysis: Methodological Implications for Qualitative Research. *NORA: Nordic Journal of Women's Studies*, 20 (2): 109–25.
- Chun, J. J., Lipsitz, G., & Shin, Y. (2013). Intersectionality as a Social Movement Strategy: Asian Immigrant Women Advocates. *Signs*, 38 (4): 917–40.
- Coates, T. N. (2015). *Between the World and Me*. New York, NY: Spiegel & Grau.
- Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge.
- . (2015). Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 41: 1–20.
- Combahee River Collective (1986). *The Combahee River Collective Statement: Black Feminist Organizing in the Seventies and Eighties*. Albany, NY: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press.
- Corus, C., Saatcioglu, B., Kaufman-Scarborough, C., Blocker, C. P, Upadhyaya, S. & Samuelson A. (2016). Transforming Poverty-Related Policy with Intersectionality. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 35 (2): 211–22.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989: 139–67.

- . (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43 (6): 1241–99.
- Crockett, D. (2017). Paths to Respectability: Consumption and Stigma Management in the Contemporary Black Middle Class. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 44 (3): 554-581.
- Crockett, D., Anderson, L., Bone, S. A., Roy, A., Wang, J. J. & Coble, G. (2011). Immigration, Culture, and Ethnicity in Transformative Consumer Research. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 30 (1): 47–54.
- Darwall, S. L. (1977). Two Kinds of Respect. *Ethics*, 88 (1): 36-49.
- Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as Buzzword: A Sociology of Science Perspective on What Makes a Feminist Theory Successful. *Feminist Theory*, 9 (1): 67–85.
- Dill, B. T. (1983). Race, Class, and Gender: Prospects for an All-Inclusive Sisterhood. *Feminist Studies*, 9 (1):131-150.
- Dill, B. T., & Kohlman, M. H. (2012). Intersectionality: A Transformative Paradigm in Feminist Theory and Social Justice. In S. N. Hesse-Biber (Ed.) *Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis*, 154–174. Sage: Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Facebook (2017). Managing Unconscious Bias Training. Available online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZbuH7HhFPU>. Accessed on 2 July, 2018.
- Facebook (2018a). Facebook Newsroom: Company Info. Available online: <https://newsroom.fb.com/company-info/>. Accessed on 29 June, 2018.
- Facebook (2018b). Facebook Managing Bias. Available online: <https://managingbias.fb.com/>. Accessed 3 July, 2018.
- Feloni, R. (2016). Here's the Presentation Google Gives Employees on How to Spot Unconscious bias, *Business Insider*, February 12. Available online:

<https://www.businessinsider.com.au/google-unconscious-bias-training-presentation-2015-12###the-presentation-begins-with-an-explanation-of-why-everyone-is-gathered-in-the-first-place-becoming-aware-of-biases-can-lead-to-changing-behavior-which-ultimately-can-make-google-more-collaborative-inclusive-and-competitive-1>. Accessed on 2 July, 2018.

Fiske, S. T. (1998). Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Discrimination. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.) *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 357-411. New York, NY, US: McGraw-Hill.

Fraser, N. (1998). From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'post-Socialist' Age. In A. Phillips (Ed.), *Feminism and Politics*, 430–60. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Friedersdorf, C. (2017). A Question for Google's CEO. *The Atlantic*. August 11, 2017. Available online: <https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2017/08/a-question-for-google-ceo-sundar-pichai/536535/>. Accessed on 1 July, 2018.

Ger, G. (2018). Intersectional Structuring of Consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research* (Curation Introduction).

Goode, L. (2017). There's a Place for You in this Industry, *The Verge*, August 10, Available online: <https://www.theverge.com/2017/8/10/16129490/ceo-sundar-pichai-speech-appearance-girls-coding-event-technovation>. Accessed on 2 July, 2018.

Google. (2018). Google: Our Company. Available online: <https://www.google.com/about/our-company/>. Accessed on 29 June, 2018.

Google (2018b). Google Diversity Annual Report. Available online: <https://diversity.google/annual-report/>. Accessed on 3 July, 2018.

Google (2018c). Learn About Google's Unbiasing Journey. Available online:

<https://rework.withgoogle.com/guides/unbiasing-raise-awareness/steps/learn-about-googles-unbiasing-journey/>). Accessed on 3 July, 2018.

Gopaldas, A. (2013). Intersectionality 101. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 32: 90–94.

Gopaldas, A. & Fischer, E. (2012). Beyond Gender: Intersectionality, Culture, and Consumer Behavior. In *Gender, Culture, and Consumer Behavior*, edited by L.T. Zayer & C. C. Otnes, 393–410. New York: Routledge.

Gopaldas & Siebert, A. (2018) Women over 40, Foreigners of Color, and Other Missing Persons in Globalizing Mediascapes: Understanding Marketing Images as Mirrors of Intersectionality, *Consumption Markets & Culture*, DOI: 10.1080/10253866.2018.1462170.

Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., Schwartz, J. L.K. (1998). Measuring Individual Differences in Implicit Cognition: The Implicit Association Test, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74 (6): 1464–80.

Greenwald, A. & Banaji, M. (1995). Implicit Social Cognition: Attitudes, Self-esteem, and Stereotypes, *Psychological Review*, 102 (1): 4-27.

Hancock, A. M. (2007). When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5 (1): 63-79.

———. (2016). *Intersectionality: An Intellectual History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hein, W., Steinfield, L., Ourahmoune, N., Coleman, C. Tuncay Zayer, L. & Littlefield, J. (2016). Gender Justice and the Market: A Transformative Consumer Research Perspective. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 35 (2): 223–36.

- Herring, C., & Henderson, L. (2014). *Diversity in Organizations: A Critical Examination*. New York: Routledge.
- Hill, R. P. & Stephens, D. L. (1997). Impoverished Consumers and Consumer Behavior: The Case of AFDC Mothers. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 17 (2): 32–48.
- hooks, b. (1981). *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. Boston: South End Press.
- Huet, E. (2015). Rise Of The Bias Busters: How Unconscious Bias Became Silicon Valley's Newest Target, *Forbes*, November 2nd, Available online: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/ellenhuet/2015/11/02/rise-of-the-bias-busters-how-unconscious-bias-became-silicon-valleys-newest-target/#ab5cfdc19b57> Accessed on 24 November, 2018.
- Hutton, M. (2015). Consuming Stress: Exploring Hidden Dimensions of Consumption-related Strain at the Intersection of Gender and Poverty. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31 (15-16): 1-23.
- Jang, S., & Kim, J. (2018). Remediating Food Policy Invisibility with Spatial Intersectionality: A Case Study in the Detroit Metropolitan Area. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 37 (1): 167-187.
- Joy, A., Belk, R. & Bhardwaj, R. (2015). Judith Butler on Performativity and Precarity: Exploratory Thoughts on Gender and Violence in India. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31 (15–16): 1739–45.
- Kelly, E, & Dobbin, F. (1998). How Affirmative Action Became Diversity Management: Employer Response to Antidiscrimination Law, 1961-1996. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 41: 960-984.

- Kitroeff, N., & Silver-Greenberg, J. (2018), "Pregnancy Discrimination Is Rampant Inside America's Biggest Companies," *New York Times*, June 15. Available online: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/06/15/business/pregnancy-discrimination.html>. Accessed on 3 July, 2018.
- Lipman, J. (2018). *That's What She Said: What Men Need to Know (and Women Need to Tell Them) About Working Together*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Liu, H. (2018). Re-radicalising Intersectionality in Organisation Studies. *Ephemera: Theory & Politics in Organization*, 18(1): 81-101.
- Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press.
- Lutz, H., Herrera-Vivar, M. T. & Supik, L. (2011a). Framing Intersectionality: An Introduction. In H. Lutz, M. T. Herrera-Vivar, & L. Supik (Eds.) and G. Holden (trans.), *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, 1–24. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- (Eds.) 2011b. *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- McCall, L. (2005). The Complexity of Intersectionality. *Signs*, 30 (3):1771–1800.
- McKinsey & Company. (2017). Women in the Workplace. Available online: <https://womenintheworkplace.com/>. Accessed on 29 June, 2018.
- Merriweather Woodson, T., & Ollier-Malaterre, A. (2016). An Intersectional Approach to Diversity Management in the United States and France. In A. Klarsfeld, E. Ng, L. A. E. Booyen, C. Christianson, & B. Kuvaas (Eds.), *International Handbook on Diversity Management at Work: Comparative Country Perspectives on Diversity and Equal Treatment* (Vol. 3). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

- Molla, R. (2018). How Facebook Compares to Other Tech Companies in Diversity. *Recode*. Available online: <https://www.recode.net/2018/4/11/17225574/facebook-tech-diversity-women>. Accessed on 30 November, 2018.
- Moradi, B. & Grzanka, P. R. (2017). Using Intersectionality Responsibly: Toward Critical Epistemology, Structural Analysis, and Social Justice Activism. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 64 (5):500–513.
- Morin, E. (1982). *Science avec conscience*, Paris: Fayard, excerpt “From the Concept of System to the Paradigm of Complexity,” S. Kelly (Trans.). Available Online: <https://manoftheword.files.wordpress.com/2013/07/morin-paradigm-of-complexity.pdf>. Accessed on July 2, 2018.
- Nash, J. C. (2008). Re-Thinking Intersectionality. *Feminist Review*, 89: 1–15.
- Nunez, M. (2016). Mark Zuckerberg Asks Racist Facebook Employees to Stop Crossing Out Black Lives Matter Slogans. *Gizmodo*. Available online: <https://gizmodo.com/mark-zuckerberg-asks-racist-facebook-employees-to-stop-1761272768>. Accessed on 2 July, 2018.
- Ozanne, J. L., & Anderson, L. (2010). Community Action Research. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 29 (1): 123–137.
- Ozanne, J. L. & Saatcioglu, B. (2008). Participatory Action Research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35: 423–439.
- Project Implicit. (2011). Available online: <https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/takeatest.html>. Accessed on 2 July, 2018.

- Purdie-Vaughns, V. & Eibach, R. P. (2008). Intersectional Invisibility: The Distinctive Advantages and Disadvantages of Multiple Subordinate-Group Identities. *Sex Roles*, 59 (5–6): 377–91.
- Rodriguez, J. K., Evangelina H., Fletcher, J. K., Nkomo, S.M. (2016). The Theory and Praxis of Intersectionality in Work and Organisations: Where Do We Go From Here? *Gender, Work & Organization*, 23 (3): 201–22.
- Sandberg, S. (2013). *Lean in: Women, Work, and the Will to Lead*. New York: Random House.
- Scott, L. (2017). *Private Sector Engagement with Women's Economic Empowerment: Lessons Learned from Years of Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Simon, M. (2016). Google Sets Sights on HBCUs for Recruitment Efforts. *NBCNews*. Available online: <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/google-sets-sights-hbcus-recruitment-efforts-n601476>. Accessed on 20 November, 2018.
- Starbucks. (2018a). *Coffee & Company Starbucks to Close All Stores Nationwide for Racial-Bias Education on May 29* [Press release]. Available online: <https://news.starbucks.com/press-releases/starbucks-to-close-stores-nationwide-for-racial-bias-education-may-29>. Accessed on 2 July, 2018.
- Starbucks. (2018b). The Third Place. Our Commitment, Renewed. The Starbucks Channel. Available online: <https://starbuckschannel.com/thethirdplace/>. Accessed on 2 July, 2018
- Starbucks. (2018c). Starbucks College Achievement Plan. Available online: <https://www.starbucks.com/careers/college-plan>. Accessed on 3 July, 2018.
- Steinfeld, L., Coleman, C., Tuncay Zayer, L., Ourahmoune, N & Hein, W. (2018). Power Logics of Consumers' Gendered (In)justices: Reading Reproductive Health

Interventions through the Transformative Gender Justice Framework. *Consumption Markets & Culture*. doi.org/10.1080/10253866.2018.1512250.

Steinfeld, L., & Scott, L. (2018). The Global View of Gender Discrimination in Business: A Story of Economic Exclusion. In S. Adams (Ed), *Time for Solutions! Addressing Gender Barriers in the Workplace*. Routledge: New York.

Stevens, F. G., Plaut, V. C. & Sanchez-Burks, J. (2008). Unlocking the Benefits of Diversity: All-Inclusive Multiculturalism and Positive Organizational Change. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 44 (1): 116–33.

Tatli, A., & Özbilgin, M. F. (2012). An Emic Approach to Intersectional Study of Diversity at Work: A Bourdieuan Framing. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 14 (2): 180-200.

Tiku, N. (2018). Google’s Diversity Stats are Still Very Dismal. *Wired*. Available online: <https://www.wired.com/story/googles-employee-diversity-numbers-havent-really-improved/>. Accessed on 30 November, 2018.

UK Government. (2010). Equality Act 2010. Available online: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/notes/contents>. Accessed on 1 July, 2018.

Walby, S., Armstrong, J. & Strid, S. (2012). Intersectionality: Multiple Inequalities in Social Theory. *Sociology*, 46 (2): 224–40.

Walters, A. S., & Curran, M. C. (1996). Excuse Me, Sir? May I Help You and Your Boyfriend?: Salespersons’ Differential Treatment of Homosexual and Straight Customers. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 31 (1–2): 135–52.

Ward, J. (2004). “Not all Differences are Created Equal” Multiple Jeopardy in a Gendered Organization. *Gender & Society*, 18 (1): 82-102.

- Wax, A., (1999). "Discrimination as Accident". Faculty Scholarship. Paper 747. Available online: http://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/faculty_scholarship/747. Accessed on 3 July, 2018.
- Welle, B. (2014). Unconscious Bias@Work-Google. Available online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nLjFTHTgEVU>. Accessed on 27, November, 2018.
- Williams, M. (2017). Facebook Diversity Update: Building a More Diverse, Inclusive Workforce. *Facebook Company News*. Available online: <https://newsroom.fb.com/news/2017/08/facebook-diversity-update-building-a-more-diverse-inclusive-workforce/>. Accessed on 2 July, 2018.
- Winker, G., & Degele, N. (2011). Intersectionality as Multi-level Analysis: Dealing with Social Inequality. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 18(1): 51-66.
- Winsor, M., & McCarthy, K. (2018, April 17). Men Arrested at Starbucks were There for Business Meeting Hoping to Change "Our Lives." *ABC News*. Available online: <https://abcnews.go.com/GMA/News/men-arrested-starbucks-business-meeting-hoping-change-lives/story?id=54578217>. Accessed on 1 July, 2018.
- Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Intersectionality and Feminist Politics. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13 (3): 193–209.
- Zanoni, P., Janssens, M., Benschop, Y. & Nkomo, S. (2010). Unpacking Diversity, Grasping Inequality: Rethinking Difference through Critical Perspectives. *Organization*, 17 (1): 9–29.
- Zayer, L. T., Coleman, C. Hein, W. Littlefield, J. & Steinfield, L. (2017). Gender and the Self: Traversing Feminisms, Masculinities, and Intersectionality Towards Transformative

Perspectives. In M. R. Solomon & T. M. Lowrey (Eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Consumer Behavior*, 147–62. New York: Routledge.

Zinn, M. B. (1981). Sociological Theory in Emergent Chicano Perspectives. *Pacific Sociological Review*, 24 (2): 255–72.

Figure 1. Transformative Intersectionality Framework (TIF)

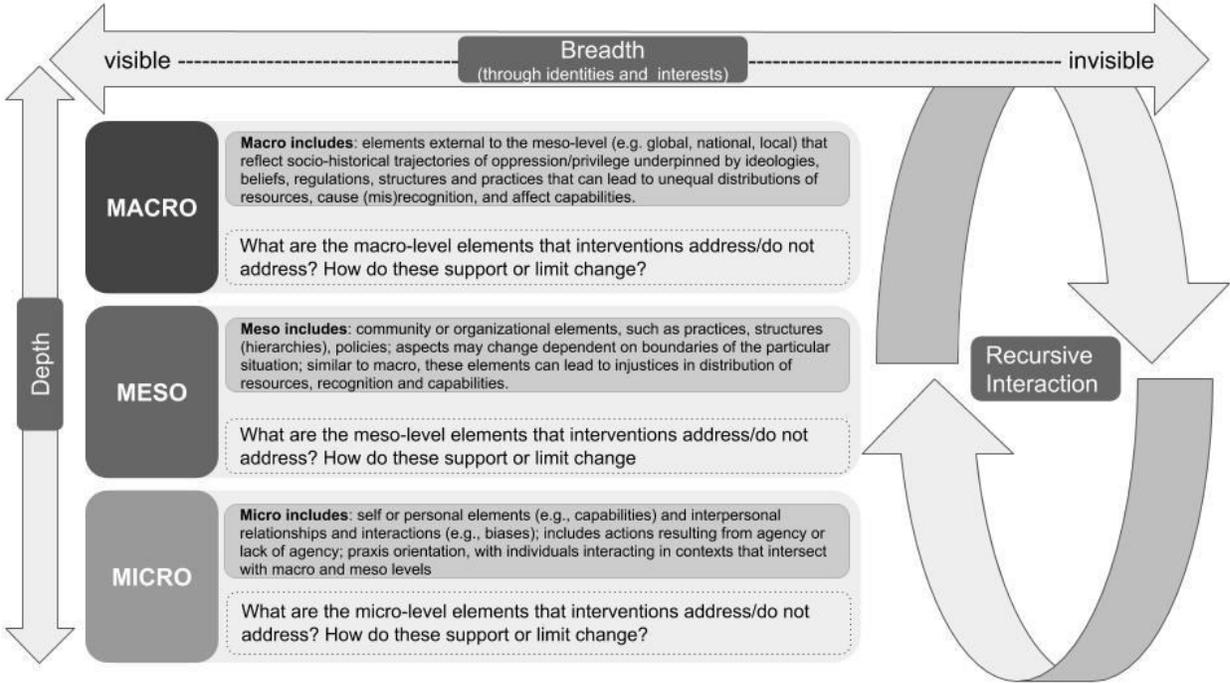
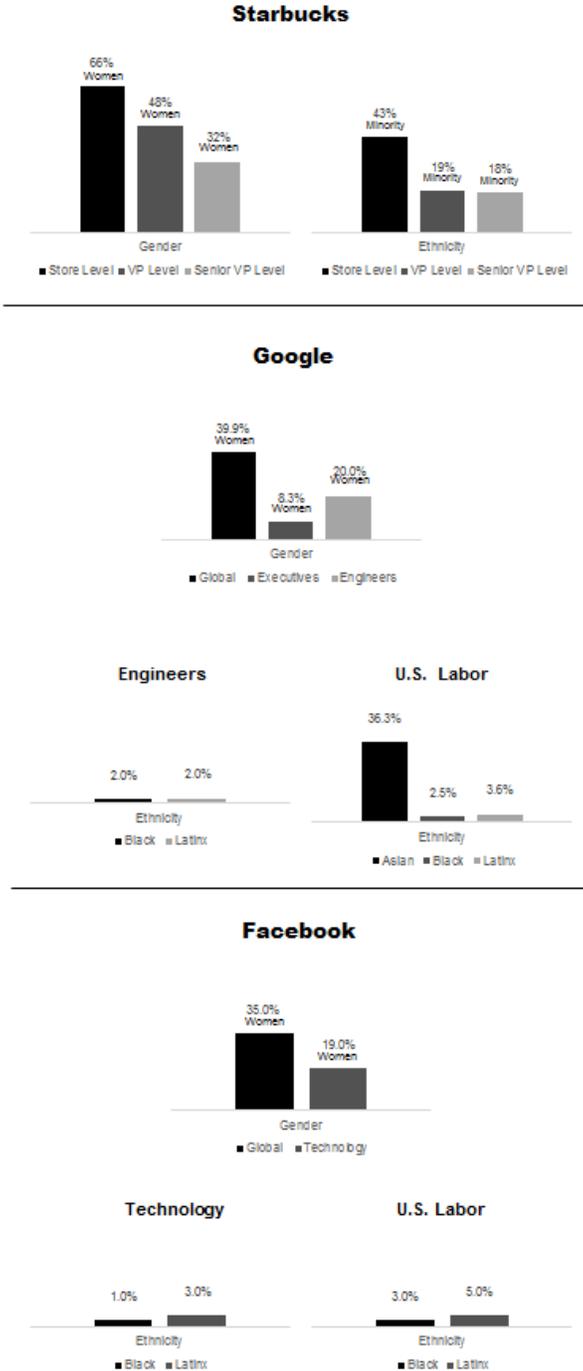


Figure 2: Diversity Employment (2017)



Sources (Molla, 2018; Tiku, 2018)