Strategy Research Project

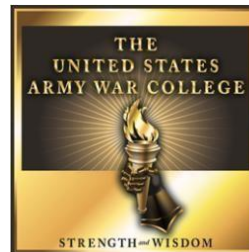# Nevertheless, She Persisted…Parity in National Security

by

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14. ABSTRACT

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Abstract

Diversity of thought and perspective is paramount in finding smart solutions to tough real-world problems. Research shows positive effects of a diverse workforce to include optimized decision-making, innovation, agility and organizational morale. This kind of problem solving is critical to addressing the nation's security issues. Women hold 46% of positions in the USG workforce, yet women hold only 14-38% of positions across the defense-intelligence-diplomacy-development continuum of national security. Women hold only 15-28% of leadership positions. Elements of the USG, including the former White House, Director of National Intelligence, and Congress, recognize that the national security apparatus must reflect the nation it serves, and call for immediate attention to the problem. The lack of women in national security stems from social attitudes and ideals of meritocracy, aggravated by unconscious bias and tokenism. Traditional affirmative action programs trigger animosity in the workplace and are not effective in changing cultural attitudes. This study asserts that to correct this problem, leaders in national security must lead by example in mentoring, empowering an innovative and collaborative workplace, and championing diversity.

Nevertheless, She Persisted…Parity in National Security

America's professional workforce has changed dramatically in the past few years, becoming increasingly diverse and globally linked. However, our national security agencies, such as the National Security Council, Department of Defense and military services, State Department, US Agency for International Development, Central Intelligence Agency, and Department of Homeland Security, have not kept stride with this trend and do not represent the diverse population in America.[1] Women hold 57 percent of jobs in America and 46 percent of government jobs, but only 30-38 percent of positions in national security.[2] While numerous studies and legislation point to the value of diversity, progress is stalled. What are the implications of the gender gap on national security? As the national security field lacks demographic parity with the American public, we forfeit talent and unique perspectives vital to understanding complex problems that a more balanced gender make-up could provide. The imbalance impairs our country's ability to field its best talent to effectively address and resolve today's multi-dimensional, asymmetric threats.

In this study, I will argue that the nation is less able to meet the broad challenges we face due to stalled progress on diversity. I then explain cultural causes for this failure and provide suggestions for security organizations to make a positive difference in closing the gender gap. I will also discuss two aspects of diversity efforts that cause programs to fail; these are tokenism to satisfy program image and unconscious bias of leaders who make decisions based on supposed meritocracy. Leaders in national security have a responsibility to address the gender gap through an intentional focus on diversity in all aspects of work opportunity. This includes organizational inclusion

programs and mentoring. In addressing the gender gap, all aspects of equity will improve, advancing workplace outcomes.

<center>Best Athlete for the Race</center>

Meritocracy is the understanding that systems are fair and people advance through strong performance. The American ideal for which we strive is equal opportunity and an impartial social system, having faith in life's inherent and infinite possibilities based on talent, capability, and intelligence. Americans tend to believe that hard work pays off, and that life's outcomes are within individual control.[3] Those who believe in meritocracy may be suspicious of efforts to address bias as reverse discrimination.[4] Many attribute a shortage of women in leadership to their own choices, or a shortcoming in "talent, education, effort or desire" instead of systemic flaws.[5] Only 30 percent of women are satisfied that one in ten leaders are women; men are evenly divided.[6] In fact, research shows that "those who think they are the most objective can actually exhibit the most bias…[because] they don't monitor and scrutinize their own behavior."[7] Privilege is invisible to those who have it. We believe we know what's fair when we see it, and we see many fewer women than men in national security, especially in leadership positions.

Gender inequality continues to persist in occupational segregation and pay gaps, political participation, elected representation and household labor. As the U.S. faces important security and economic challenges, women are the untapped force. Women are under-represented in all national security fields[8], numbering about 30 percent of professionals employed and aggregated below management level.[9] The number of women in Intelligence Community agencies is higher but has remained practically unchanged—38.5 percent of the workforce compared with 38.6 percent in 2011. The

number of women in the Civilian Labor Force was 46 percent in 2011 and increased

slightly to 46.1 percent by 2014. At the highest levels of influence, women hold only

fifteen percent of senior-level positions.[10] These statistics demonstrate that despite

significant effort in affirmative action, there has been limited improvement and many

workforce challenges persist.[11]

A 2016 Executive Order, *Promoting Diversity and Inclusion in National Security*

Workforce, noted: "As the U.S. becomes more diverse and the challenges we face more

complex, we must continue to invest in policies to recruit, retain and develop the best

and brightest from all segments of our population."[12] Former White House officials

concluded that the national security community was "less diverse on average than the

rest of the Federal Government…This undermines the value of inclusion and fairness,

deters retention in the service, and more dangerously, demonstrates a disconnect from

the American public that it serves."[13] The Directorate of National Intelligence (DNI)

affirmed in a 2017 study, "The intelligence effort is only strengthened by the presence of

diversity and inclusion to attract and retain the type of employee who is most qualified

for acting in defense of this nation."[14] The Director noted an expanded talent base would

"promote a diverse, highly-skilled intelligence workforce that reflects the strength of

America."[15] As a *Foreign Policy* editor commented, "Advancing U.S. interests in the

world depends on having the best people working on the country's behalf. It is essential

that all national security professionals, including women and minorities, have an equal

chance to rise professionally as far as their talents will take them."[16] Inclusion is the

organizational action that makes every employee feel welcome, motivated, and

empowered to rise through the ranks. America's history relies on the idea that from

many, we are one and that our whole is greater than the sum of its parts.[17] Diversity and inclusion are key American values. Addressing the gender gap will positively impact all disadvantaged groups and benefit national security objectives.

Why Diversity Matters

Research shows that inclusive teams make better decisions, increase performance, improve results, and are more agile to meet changing situational challenges. Business studies provide measurable and profitable outcomes that are translatable to national security results. Companies with the highest fraction of gender diverse boards (men and women holding governing positions) were 35 percent more likely to outperform industry medians.[18] Inclusive organizations are 75 percent more likely to implement marketable employee ideas and five times more likely to be agile environments.[19] The highest correlation between diversity and outcome is in decisions; inclusive teams make better competitive business decisions 87 percent of the time and can drive decisions twice as fast in half the meetings.[20] Business reviews acknowledge the power of diversity, and companies are deriving the profits and benefits.

The *2017 National Security Strategy* (NSS) notes, "The U.S. faces an extraordinarily dangerous world, filled with a wide range of threats that have intensified in recent years. [This requires] fresh thinking…our diplomatic, intelligence, military and economic agencies have not kept pace with changes in the character of the competition."[21] The United States must prepare for renewed struggles and revise its capabilities, the NSS states. Ensuring the nation has the most competitive and agile environment to confront these challenges, with teams who can ably provide fresh ideas to decision makers is a robust national goal.

United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1325 on *Women, Peace, and Security (WPS)*, adopted in October 2000, formally established the WPS agenda on the international scene. It called for greater participation of women in all decision-making levels of international efforts. Second, it stressed the importance of including gender perspectives in assessing and developing policy responses to national and international security challenges.[22] Since then, the UN has established that the lack of women in establishments making decisions inhibits better policy-making. "The [institutions] are comprised mainly of men…[focusing] on traditional security threats analyzed through traditional lenses and familiar policy frameworks."[23]

Research shows that parity may is achievable with continued attention to diversity and workplace initiatives, and increased focus on education, recruitment and retention factors. While congressional legislation and executive orders demonstrate awareness to the broader issues of women's involvement in security, the crucial buttress of funding and staffing is lacking. A review of compelling data and case studies elucidates the issues and points to solutions of recruitment, training, mentorship and increased dialogue. More women in the field will meet United States Government (USG) equality goals and improve outcomes of problem analysis, policy formulation, and decision-making.

Markers in the Workplace:

Women face unrecognized burdens in the workplace. McKinsey and the Lean In Organization found women are promoted at lower rates than men, especially at senior levels, and the gap is more pronounced for women of color. Further, attrition, such as maternity leave, does not account for the difference as women and men leave organizations at the same rate.[24] Progress in gender diversity is slow and may even be

stalling; some see a few women in leadership and are comfortable with that.[25] Some

men privately worry that gender parity will disadvantage them, akin to reverse

discrimination. A 2017 study of *Women in Peace and Security Careers* found, "Women

experience pressure to establish credibility, especially in substantive policy areas that

remain male-dominated, such as defense, intelligence, and law enforcement."[26] Efforts

to make the workplace fair have exponential benefits to organizations, unlocking

potential and allowing the best talent to rise. If leaders and institutions build the pipeline

of female talent, workforce dynamics will improve.

The percentage of women in the federal workforce increased steadily from 41.3

percent in 1986 to 44.4 percent in 1998 and grew to 46 percent since then. Women are

38 percent of the national security force, but most are low-level employees and few see

promotions to senior government positions.[27] In policy and development (soft power

influence) agencies, such as the State Department and US Agency for International

Development, 21-29 percent of women hold senior positions.[28] Only 13 percent of the

Senior Intelligence Service (hard power influence) is female.[29] Female leaders know

they are a minority in these environments, and experience different kinds of pressure to

establish credibility and experience. Those who do assume high-level roles are making

a difference; psychology scholarship advises that exposure to women in leadership

positions helps change engrained views of authority as male.[30]

The gender gap in security is a worldwide problem. In a study of diplomats,

researchers studied seven thousand foreign policy appointments and identified that men

occupied positions of higher military and economic status than women. Only 15 percent

of women hold ambassador positions worldwide. Under the Obama administration in

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2016, the U.S. appointed a record high of 30 percent women to ambassador roles. As of 2017, 20 percent of ambassadors are women.[31] Such gender patterns correlate to status and reinforce the equations in international politics.[32] The worldwide study found feminine or "soft" fields link to the development sphere, and men congregate in "hard" fields of military and finance, simultaneously assuming more prestigious access to the executive. They found, "The law of increasing disproportion predicts that women will decrease with every step towards the apex of power."[33] These patterns reproduce the link between men and power that is predominant in national security and international relations that can be mitigated with more high-profile assignments of women.

The study of ambassadors found, "That limited representation of women in top organizational positions persists, despite speculation that time would remedy the problem."[34] Institutions themselves, and not just the people working in them, may become emblems of gender. They create symbols that reproduce gender divisions of labor and ideas about masculinity and feminism.[35] Institutions that focus on diversity efforts in recruitment, mentoring, leadership training and improving work-life balance see improvements in workplace satisfaction and productivity. The presence of women in positions of leadership and open efforts of men who embrace diversity programs enhances success of the programs. National security organizations need leadership by example and clear, urgent roadmaps for change.

National Security is Important to the U.S. Public

Security is the public's most important policy priority, notes Pew Research center. Seventy-three percent of those polled say defense against terrorism is the top priority for the President and Congress. This priority has not changed since 2001 and beats education, economy, health and job concerns.[36] While 50 percent of those polled

believe race relations are a priority, gender parity was not a national concern. However, Pew records that when told that women earn only 83 percent of what men earn, people feel this should change. Seventy-seven percent of women and 63 percent of men said, "This country needs to continue making changes to give men and women equality in the workplace."[37] The United Nations views gender equality--that women and men have equal value and should be afforded equal treatment--as a human right. Further, U.S. State Department studies show equality makes societies wealthier, improves freedoms, strengthens families, and improves governance.[38]

National security jobs are highly competitive to earn and many people seek them as life-long careers. Most entry-level positions require a college degree, experience, and a background check. The Federal Bureau of Investigation recorded a four percent hiring rate, and applicants held an average 3.5 grade point average.[39] Numbers applying for the Foreign Service and Central Intelligence Agency are roughly the same. The Partnership for Public Service's annual "Best Places to Work" survey reports the Intelligence Community, State Department, Federal Bureau of Investigation and Department of Homeland Security rate well for job satisfaction, though results fell from 2016. The Department of the Army enjoyed a 4.6 percent leap on the scale. In these jobs, effective leadership, engagement, empowerment, and mission-match outweigh pay and work-life balance. Diversity is not highly rated as a positive work factor, but employees value their jobs in general.[40]

Most employees desire training, recognition, feedback and opportunities for advancement, and the private sector does this better than the government. Almost 70 percent of private sector employees believe their companies provide an opportunity to

improve skills, and only 58 percent of government employees felt this was a work priority. The most critical comparison was in performance recognition, where 67 percent of business employees felt rewarded for their work and 48.5 percent of government employees felt rewarded. Business leaders are 15 percent more likely to provide constructive feedback to employees. However, the results pivot when respondents discuss willingness to put in extra effort to get the job done; 95 percent of federal employees compared to 83 percent of private sector employees replied affirmatively. Federal employees are proud of their work and willing to go the extra mile, but feel the workplace deserves improvement, specifically in advancing the professional development of employees.

Officers who pass the rigorous entry to national security employment display the skills necessary to advance, and agencies have a vested interest in training and coaching to assure their personal and professional success. As one Foreign Policy editor commented, "Advancing U.S. interests in the world depends on having the best people working on the country's behalf…all [need] an equal chance to rise professionally as far as their talents will take them."[41] Yet, leadership training and promotion are two areas in which women see the earliest cuts to their advancement possibilities. Women who stay in service benefit their organizations in essential ways. High costs associated with executive turnover aside, "The presence of senior female leaders positively influences the attractiveness of institutions for more junior women," resulting in a larger talent pool. Female leaders signal possibilities of advancement within their organizations, and younger professionals are more likely to emulate their paths.[42]

Barriers and Assumptions at Work

Some research suggests obstacles are due to insufficient numbers of women in the pipeline, differential attitudes to education and job options, and career "highway" choices. Legislation prevents blatant discrimination. Yet, there may be subtle forces at work related to the bias of "marginalized groups" on the periphery of dominant power sets. Promotion bias originates in organizational context, which can be as innocent as leadership style and personality. Pre-existing social hierarchies create qualities for promotion; when a candidate acts consistently, the status quo is reinforced.[43] Such subtle hierarchies define "the rules of the game by which executive power is gained, maintained and lost in organizations."[44] Conversely, transparent promotion criteria and committee composition improve a merit-based system.

In a study conducted by Columbia Journal of Gender and Law, researchers found cultural assumptions that conflict with the reality of discrimination. The prevalent idea is that women and minorities are hyper-vigilant to perceived bias, and see racism and sexism when it does not exist.[45] Cultural bias, including derogatory references such as "feminazi" or "pulling the race card," encourage negative treatment of those who "attribute adverse outcomes to gender or race bias."[46] Evidence attests that women privately acknowledge discrimination but in general, publicly deny it.[47] Discrimination law, based on the ideology of individual responsibility and reluctance to blame others, attributes subtle sexism as "not actionable." Many men believe that meritocracy, not gender, explains women's situation in the workplace and down-play the assumption of bias.[48]

To counter gender bias and bolster success, organizations must show commitment to employees that contribute to a long-term employment relationship.

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When organizations make continuous investments in employees, there is a reciprocal sense of obligation and trust, resulting in loyalty and career satisfaction. This is especially true for women, who will be less likely to resign. Women are exceptionally loyal to employers who recognize work/life balance and flexibility for periodic challenges.[49] Women in national security value their positions and want better professional opportunities from their employer.

<u>Parental Attitude and Cultural Expectation</u>

The decision to pick a career starts early in life; parental attitude and early cultural expectations affect significant choices. Socioeconomic status, race, and gender influence expectancy of full-time work and choice of occupation. Many people saw their mother's employment marginalized or dependent on a part-time/home environment. Now, 64 percent of women expect to work full time and 36 percent believe they will work part-time. Eighty-one percent of middle-class women and 58 percent of working-class women expect careers.[50] Women still evaluate careers based on gender expectations and how they see themselves succeeding at work. Another factor that influences bias is a person's sense of entitlement or legitimacy of treatment. Women are not likely to perceive bias if they are treated fairly in their social group and withhold comparison to men.[51]

<u>Education Factors</u>

Education has been the great equalizer for women, but gender stereotype may begin in academic institutions. Since the 1990s, women have outnumbered men in college enrollment and completion, according to a Pew study. Thirty-seven percent of women aged 25-29 hold a Bachelor's degree, compared with 30 percent of men.[52] Political Science and International Relations remain male-dominated fields, with women

comprising 26% and 23% of faculty. Male instructors teach more courses in foreign

policy, international security, and great-power politics, such as European and Asian

spheres. Females teach more classes on human rights, international organizations, and

peripheral governments, such as those in Africa and Latin America.[53] Students see men

discussing security and women addressing human rights, and sense greater credibility

and authority in the hard power courses.

Some researchers argue that assumption of women's gender roles compromise

their competency and pursuit of foreign policy careers, even though evidence refutes

this.[54] When asked about interest in careers, men and women indicated foreign policy

and international relations as top choices. Men chose military, policy, weapons, and

security sub-fields, and women preferred women's studies, human rights, and ethnic

conflict.[55] When asked, only 13% of foreign policy professionals believe that gender

inequality is a vital threat to US national interests--that is 9% of men and 20% of

women. They were more likely to think that gender mattered in policy areas such as

education and health, and less likely to feel gender mattered in policies having to do

with force.[56]

Gender inequality is evident in assigned readings and citations. Women's articles

are consistently cited less than men's, and women's research is concentrated on the

periphery of IR network.[57] "A research article written by a woman and published in any

of the top journals will still receive significantly fewer citations than if that same article

had been written by a man."[58] Similarly, "women are under-represented on political

science faculties, at conferences, and in peer-review publications."[59] The bias of

citations and publications bleeds into tenure, promotion, and salary in academia, further

complicating the gender gap. This gap is not likely to disappear until there are equal numbers of female and male researchers and professors.

Gender and Military Integration

Studies show positive precursors between military diversity and the national security gender gap. Modernization and professionalization of the military have set an essential precondition for the voluntary force and female membership. Now, women make up 14 percent of the force. War and related personnel shortages have positively affected the quantity and quality of female integration.[60] Combat occupations are slowly opening to women, creating more leadership opportunities. The dependence on female personnel is associated with the advancement of women and modernization of gender ideologies in public discourse.[61] There is an explicit link between foreign policy doctrines, military reforms, and gender policies, and equality serves as a symbol of American superiority of values. In some cases, the US imposes policy conditions for equality, such as "liberating Muslim women."[62] As national security becomes gender neutral, it can more convincingly influence foreign policy.

Bias in the Workplace

Bias in the workplace is one of the most challenging problems to assess and harder to rectify. Social psychologists find that people have difficulty in recognizing personal instances of discrimination and are more likely to recognize them in groups.[63] For instance, a man and woman competing for the same job may have similar job levels, seniority, education, and motivation ratings, yet the male will appear as the better "fit." "Selection bias operates at the subconscious level, regardless of a person's conscious views about gender."[64] Targets of discrimination rarely complain because they fear risks to future career opportunities. People have a general desire to be liked

and to appear competent, and those who complain of discrimination are viewed as trouble-makers.[65] Claiming discrimination sparks a social and occupational cost that most are unwilling to pay. "When people are reluctant to publicly identify or challenge gender bias within institutions, their silence contributes to a normalcy in which individuals interpret their own experiences and perceptions consistently with that collective silence."[66]

Organizations unwittingly perpetuate group bias. Even when nothing is at stake, people tend to conform to the dominant views of the group and leader. A culture which incentivizes consensus and does not welcome dissent will inhibit diverse thinking. Social biases are likely to prevail in discussions where everyone in the room knows the views of the ultimate decision maker.[67] Very few corporate strategists making necessary decisions consciously identify their own biases in decision making. In a recent *McKinsey Quarterly* survey, candid conversations with senior executives indicated that cognitive biases affect the most critical strategic decisions made by the smartest managers in the best companies.[68] To counteract this, leaders must foster genuine debate through diversity of the decision makers, a climate of trust and confidence, and a culture in which discussions are vigorous yet depersonalized.[69]

Women's Reaction to Bias

Women generally under-react to the perception of bias unless they see solidarity in identifying the problem. Women understand that discrimination involves an individual decision maker who acts with conscious intent and that this is a high bar to prove. As noted, if sexism occurs and no one complains, it is not considered sexism. Women who have solidarity can make a difference for others. "Women who declared that gender was a significant element in their social identity were significantly more likely to perceive

[actual] sexist treatment."[70] However, women are unlikely to identify themselves as victims and will discount their membership in a stigmatized group to preserve their sense of control. Those who embrace common interests and collective destiny facilitate constructive response to bias.[71] Victimhood lowers one's sense of well-being, and yet, failure to correct bias has professional and personal cost. "The refusal to name a problem ultimately supports the status quo and closes off opportunities to forge creative strategies for change."[72] Creating the sense of urgency for transformation of the workforce is every manager's problem, not just a corporate responsibility.

Workplace Culture and Diversity Efforts

In 2017, The Directorate of National Intelligence (DNI) issued an examination of diversity and inclusion in the Intelligence Community (IC). The DNI found comprehensive research on the sources of workplace inequality, yet little on the effectiveness of different programs for countering it. The findings demonstrated a correlation between workplace culture to diversity. "The more different a person is from the traditional group of power in an organization, the more likely that person is to experience cultural distance or separation from the dominant ways of operating within that organization."[73] This cultural separation leads to barriers for minorities, increasing in workplaces with dominant cultural norms, such as those in the IC. While the study did not reveal legal inequities in practice or policy, "T*he perception in and of itself"* was relevant.[74] The DNI study highlighted two primary themes underscoring inequality; the lack of diversity in leadership ranks and the lack of transparency in employment practices. The DNI report's analysis is useful for all national security organizations in assessment of diversity programs.

Why Diversity Programs Fail

Most diversity programs are "one-size fits all," including mandatory training, grievance systems and hiring tests. They are legalistic in nature, imply negative behaviors and increase animosity.[75] In 2016, *Harvard Business Review* (HBR) evaluated the vast literature on the efficacy of diversity programs and found members of high-status groups may perceive diversity messages as threatening.[76] Ubiquitous pro-diversity messages may have positive effects on lower-status groups, such as women and minorities, but white men registered concerns about unfair treatment in the study. Many businesses utilized tools to reduce explicit bias and preempt lawsuits for discrimination. Not surprisingly, force-feeding a program message undermined the benefits. Men may attribute new and fair realities to reverse discrimination. Organizational psychologists note diversity may initially foster unconscious fears, but this improves through sociability.[77] In relation to trust, two factors increase the failure rate of diversity programs: tokenism, and unconscious bias.

Tokenism

Tokenism is a term coined in the early days of the women's liberation movement by sociologist Rosabeth Moss Kanter.[78] The token woman is a symbol representing the marginalized social group and does not actually satisfy diversity goals. Additionally, her performance can affect the prospects of other people in their group. Token employees perform their jobs in conditions that are not faced by the majority, and this can have psychological consequences. For instance, appearance or ostensible favoritism may eclipse achievements. Some tokens may withstand pressure to do well enough without appearing to do 'too well' to maintain collegial relationships. Tokens are regularly reminded they are outsiders through comments highlighting their difference, such as

specific politeness. Industries have taken steps to address tokenism on boards, and the Federal Government has launched statistic tests to measure its progress in real change.

Unconscious Bias

Like tokenism, unconscious (or implicit) bias represents well-meaning efforts. It is the blind spot of personal objectivity. Unconscious bias, unlike identifiable group bias, is a deep-seated social stereotype about specific groups formed outside conscious awareness. "Unconscious bias is far more prevalent than conscious prejudice and often incompatible with one's conscious values."[79] Researchers note that situations can evoke unconscious attitudes, especially those involving decision or tension. In a California Law Review study, managers promoted white males from a diverse group based on 'gut feelings' or belief that he would be the "best fit."[80] As there is no burden of proof for these decisions, there is no legal basis for discrimination. Many organizations and schools utilize Harvard's Project Implicit Database to help those interested in determining their unconscious biases.[81] The good news in social science is evidence that population diversity tends to reduce the level of implicit bias. "Positive exemplars in the workplace may do far more to reduce implicit bias than another mandatory training session on workplace diversity."[82] Recognizing implicit bias is the key to averting its effects.

Backlash at Work

Tokenism and unconscious bias may perpetuate a culture of confusing norms in the workplace. Women hope and believe in a meritocratic system and expect their performance is reason for professional accomplishment. Instead, women see few role models and diminished possibilities, decreasing their trust in the environment.[83] Many women consciously adjust their expectations and careers around renewed expectations.

Some women see themselves as a minority and mimic majority behaviors, in the belief they will succeed through "playing" by the rules. Finally, when only a few women hold top positions, there can be a perception that they have compromised to male norms. Many women feel their natural process of working is not valued, and they must adapt to "tougher" behaviors.[84] Women may develop "imposter syndrome," accrediting their success to luck, great effort, or a favorable break instead of their own ability and competence. Hence, leaders may see a productive workplace yet overlook negative undercurrents. The gender gap and lack of women in authority is generally not intentional discrimination, but a symptom of comfortable cultural norms led by people who believe they are acting with best intentions.

What Does Work?

Recent studies on diversity point to similar themes in addressing programs that accomplish inclusion and prevent negative stereotypes. Leadership engagement at all levels is necessary to change culture that accepts the status-quo gap. First, leaders must understand the negative connotations of diversity programs and second, deliberately introduce programs based on natural business and employee outcomes. In assessing three decades of data from 800 US firms and interviewing hundreds of managers, HBR found companies get better results when they engage managers in problem-solving, increase contact between management and lower status employees, and foster a fair environment. Manager engagement, mentoring programs, and task forces provide positive results.[85] Likewise, the DNI study found similar factors in addressing its governmental workforce deficiencies.

Managers Taking the Lead

Leaders must personally engage to influence change as an innovation strategy. When managers actively help boost inclusion, they begin to think of themselves as diversity champions. Rotation of trainees or cross-training through departments supports contact among disparate groups and facilitates understanding of the organization. Self-managed teams allow people in different roles and functions to work together on projects as equals. Informal interest and affinity groups may focus on business outcomes while simultaneously providing cultural awareness, mentoring and opportunities to network. Leadership development opportunities, both formal and informal, and book/discussion breaks create avenues for concept development. As noted in Pew studies, government employees desire training, feedback, and recognition. Management may consider these steps to raise the morale of the entire workforce while increasing inclusiveness.

Mentoring

Mentoring is a popular program that, like more extensive diversity programs, requires careful execution for best results. Mentoring between cultural groups, specifically between male managers and female employees, helps shrink bias and increases opportunity for advancement--for both parties. Research by Sun Microsystems measured careers of 1,000 employees over five years and found that 28 percent of mentors earned raises, compared to 5 percent of managers who did not mentor. Mentors were more likely to gain positive attention and promotion than non-mentors.[86] In guiding and advocating for training and assignments, mentors help give employees opportunities for advancement. The mentors then come to believe these employees merit development. It is essential for supervisors to mentor outside of their

comfort zones and social group to advance the circle of inclusion. Harvard Business

Review found that white men easily find mentors on their own, but that women and

minorities primarily gain a foothold in formal programs. Georgetown's Business School

Dean, David Thomas, found that white male executives do not feel comfortable

reaching out to women or minority men but are eager to participate in assigned

programs. Businesses have registered remarkable results for mentoring programs. After

five years, Coca-Cola reported 80% of all mentees climbed at least one rung in

management, with attendant salary increases. Correspondingly, the company's

employee morale grew, innovation increased, and profits rose.[87]

Task Force and Accountability

     Harvard Business Review reported that corporate diversity task forces promote

social accountability and full acceptance among groups. These teams, comprised of

department heads and members of underrepresented groups, study diversity trends and

provide innovative ideas for management consideration. Deloitte proved the power of

social accountability when its task force relied on transparency to monitor the career

progress of its female employees and set goals to address problems. As the Chief

Executive Officer (CEO) and partners became interested in the task force's progress,

women gained a fair share of premier clients and mentoring. By 2015, 21 percent of

Deloitte's global partners were women, and CEO Cathy Engelbert was the first woman

to head a major account firm.[88] Task forces promote accountability, engage managers

who may be apprehensive about diversity programs, and increase contact among the

diverse group who participates. Most of all, it shows the workforce that management

cares about inclusion from a grassroots and innovative standpoint.

Attention and Outcome

There is clear evidence that the gender gap in national security requires attention from all levels of leadership--executive to first-line supervisor. It is every employee's responsibility to create an inclusive workplace, and managers will realize the positive effects in performance and morale. The DNI study explored the emotional impact of diversity issues on employees so the research team could understand current and potential obstacles to workplace improvement. It was surprising to ascertain the level of negative attitudes, the perception among employees and result in the work climate.[89] The study found how "culture and diversity relate to one another," reciprocating distance in performance and dialogue.[90] The DNI's recommendations for improvement mirror those of business and inform all national security agencies in pursuit of fairness and best performance outcomes. The organizational imperatives include demographically diverse leadership, cultural message change, inclusive recruitment, fair advancement, and focus on work/life integration.[91]

The national security workforce displays a mindset and commitment to innovate continually, in concert with America's challenges. In 2016, former Central Intelligence Agency Director Brennan noted his resolve to make the workforce as diverse as the world they monitor. The DNI report "forces those of us in the Intelligence Community to confront some hard truths about who we are and how we are performing our mission. This is both a moral and a mission imperative. Diversity not only gives us the cultural understanding we need to operate in any corner of the globe, but it also helps us avoid groupthink, ensuring we bring to bear a range of perspectives on the complex challenges that are inherent to intelligence work.[92]

Concurrently, the pending *National Security Diversity and Inclusion Workforce Act of 2017*, if passed, would codify and build upon President Obama's presidential memorandum for "Promoting Diversity and Inclusion in the National Security Workforce" and Executive Order 13583. Senator Cardin stated, "America's diversity is one of our greatest assets as a nation, and our national security agencies should reflect that reality." He continued,

> Unfortunately, these agencies are less diverse than the rest of the Federal Government. To correct this and put our country on an even stronger footing, we should capitalize on what makes the United States unique and draw from the range of perspectives that represent the vast diversity of the American people. America should show the world the positive things we stand for. When America leads with our values on display…it should be done with personnel who reflect the entire tapestry of the United States.[93]

America continues to face challenges and has remarkable resources at hand to address them. Diversity of thought is paramount in finding smart solutions to vexing, real-world problems. The National Security workforce will be stronger as it includes more women, and concurrently, minorities and provides them equal opportunity. This is not a proposal for quotas or partiality. Rather, it is a call for leaders and institutions to do their best to ensure a fair workplace and endorse an organizational culture based on performance. As the DNI declared, "In a profession that routinely grapples with complex national-security and foreign-policy issues, we want the best ideas.[94] Every security professional takes an oath to support and defend the Constitution, and to 'well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office.' Creating an environment for all employees to thrive in critical national security work is one of these duties. As more women see themselves as thriving in national security, the gender gap will dissipate and our nation will reflect its natural strength.

Endnotes

[1] Katherine Kidder, Amy Schafer, Phillip Carter, and Andrew Swick, *From College to Cabinet: Women in National Security* (Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, February 2017) https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/from-college-to-cabinet (accessed October 28, 2017).

This report focuses on women in national security, including civil servants and political appointees. For the purposes of this study, the "national security sector" is defined as the major cabinet level departments and executive agencies, as well as the National Security Council staff, who implement and execute national security for the United States. The study focuses on the Department of Defense (DoD), the State Department, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and the National Security Council (NSC), as well as the military services.

[2] Mark DeWolf, "12 Stats about Working Women," US Department of Labor, blog entry posted March 1, 2017, https://blog.dol.gov/2017/03/01/12-stats-about-working-women (accessed January 28, 2017).

Women are Integral to Today's Workforce: There are 74.6 million women in the civilian labor force. Almost 47 percent of U.S. workers are women. More than 39 percent of women work in occupations where women make up at least three-quarters of the workforce. Women own close to 10 million businesses, accounting for $1.4 trillion in receipts. Female veterans tend to continue their service in the labor force: About 3 out of 10 serve their country as government workers.

Working Moms are the Norm: Seventy percent of mothers with children under 18 participate in the labor force, with over 75 percent employed full-time. Mothers are the primary or sole earners for 40 percent of households with children under 18 today, compared with 11 percent in 1960.

Trends in Women's Employment Have Evolved over Time: Women's participation in the U.S. labor force has climbed since WWII: from 32.7 percent in 1948 to 56.8 percent in 2016. The proportion of women with college degrees in the labor force has almost quadrupled since 1970. More than 40 percent of women in the labor force had college degrees in 2016, compared with 11 percent in 1970. The range of occupations women workers hold has also expanded, with women making notable gains in professional and managerial occupations. In 2016, more than one in three lawyers was a woman compared to fewer than 1 in 10 in 1974. Despite these gains, women are still underrepresented in STEM occupations, with women's share of computer workers actually declining since 1990. The unemployment rate for women is currently 4.8 percent, down from a peak of 9.0 percent in November 2010.

[3] George Gao, "How Do Americans Stand Out from the Rest of the World?" March 12, 2015, linked from the *Pew Research Center* Home page *at "FactTank,"* http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/03/12/how-do-americans-stand-out-from-the-rest-of-the-world/ (accessed January 28, 2018).

Nearly 200 years later, Americans' emphasis on individualism and work ethic stands out in surveys of people around the world. When Pew Research Center surveyed people in 44

countries last spring, 57% of Americans disagreed with the statement "Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control," a higher percentage than most other nations and far above the global median of 38%. True to the stereotype, surveys showed that Americans are more likely to believe that hard work pays off. When asked, on a scale of 0 to 10, about how important working hard is to getting ahead in life, 73% of Americans said it is was a "10" or "very important," compared with a global median of 50% among the 44 nations.

[4] Marianne Cooper, "The Myth of Meritocracy," *The Atlantic Online*, December 1, 2015, https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2015/12/meritocracy/418074 (accessed January 28, 2018).

The paradox of meritocracy builds on other research showing that those who think they are the most objective can actually exhibit the most bias in their evaluations. When people think they are objective and unbiased then they do not monitor and scrutinize their own behavior. They just assume that they are right and that their assessments are accurate. Yet, studies repeatedly show that stereotypes of all kinds (gender, ethnicity, age, disability etc.) are filters through which we evaluate others, often in ways that advantage dominant groups and disadvantage lower-status groups. For example, studies repeatedly find that the resumes of whites and men are evaluated more positively than are the identical resumes of minorities and women. This dynamic is precisely why meritocracy can exacerbate inequality—because being committed to meritocratic principles makes people think that they actually are making correct evaluations and behaving fairly. Organizations that emphasize meritocratic ideals serve to reinforce an employee's belief that they are impartial, which creates the exact conditions under which implicit and explicit biases are unleashed.

[5] "Trading Action for Access: The Myth of Meritocracy and the Failure to Remedy," *Harvard Law Review Online* 121, no. 8 (Jun., 2008): 2159, http://www.jstor.org.usawc.idm.oclc.org/stable/pdf/40042735.pdf?refreqid=excelsior:d6cf7beb8eb0c041db03d1b5c3228eca (accessed January 16, 2018).

This note now turns to the question of how individuals explain this inequality. Whether in personal musings or in answers to asked questions, the framework that one uses to explain apparently unequal results has a significant impact on the kind of solutions one considers adopting in order to remedy the inequality. Individual Failings in a Meritocracy. - Put simply, the ideal of meritocracy presumes that "opportunity [is awarded] based on individual merit rather than inherited status." The meritocracy ideal is congruent with other fundamental American values: "[upward mobility and individualism are both core values of the American Dream; they legitimate our democratic ideal of equal opportunity for all." In the employment context, the meritocracy ideal is founded on two interconnected beliefs: "that employment discrimination is an anomaly" and that "merit alone determines employment success." Many Americans persist in viewing the workforce as meritocratic. Many agree that "if blacks would only try harder, they would be just as well off as whites" or that "success within the workforce that women make and to the role that in selection of the most qualified candidate unequal outcomes in the workforce are shortcomings such as a lack of "talent, education, effort or desire" and not systemic flaws in the selection process.

[6] Sandrine Devillard, Vivian Hunt and Lareina Yee, "Still looking for Room at the Top: Ten years of Research on Women in the Workplace," *McKinsey Quarterly Online*, March 2018, https://www.mckinsey.com/global-themes/gender-equality/still-looking-for-room-at-the-top-ten-years-of-research-on-women-in-the-workplace (accessed March 9, 2018).

[7] Marianne Cooper, "The Myth of Meritocracy"; discussing study by Eric Luis Uhlmann and Geoffrey L. Cohen, "I Think it, Therefore it's True": Effects of Self-Perceived Objectivity on Hiring Discrimination," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 104, no. 2 (November 2007): 207-223.

[8] As noted in Endnote 1, for the purposes of this study, the "national security sector" is defined as the major cabinet level departments and executive agencies, as well as the National Security Council staff, who implement and execute national security for the United States. The study focuses on the Department of Defense (DoD), the State Department, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and the National Security Council (NSC), as well as the military services.

[9] IC Equal Employment Opportunity and Diversity Office, *Diversity and Inclusion: Examining Workforce Concerns within the Intelligence Community* (Washington DC: Office of the Director of National Intelligence, January 2017), 5, https://www.odni.gov/files/documents/Newsroom/IC_EEOD_Barriers_Analysis.pdf 9 (accessed December 5, 2017).

The number of women at IC agencies has remained practically unchanged--38.5% of the workforce compared with 38.6% in 2011 In contrast, the number of women in the Civilian Labor Force was 46.0% in 2011 and increased slightly to 46.1% by 2014.

Research shows that inclusion is the essential ingredient for diversity to have an impact. The U.S. Office of Personnel Management defines inclusion as a "set of behaviors (culture) that encourages employees to feel valued for their unique qualities and experience a sense of belonging. Studies by Deloitte University Press (2014), the Society of Human Resource Management (SHRM, 2010) and McKinsey (2014) demonstrate that there is common acceptance in research that diversity for diversity's sake is simply an exercise in analysis of numbers. Without a sense of inclusion, the fact that a workforce may approximate representation of the population does not translate into value for the organization in terms of mission outcomes and impact. Thus, without the perception of a fair and inclusive work environment, essential gains derived from a diverse workforce are diminished and an organization risks employee apathy, disengagement, and attrition.

The case for diversity and inclusion is clear. Along with an inclusive work environment, diversity in both leadership and the workforce are critical to maximizing mission effectiveness and impact. Given its national security mission, there is no more critical place to encourage and support a culture of diversity and inclusion than in today's Intelligence Community. As the Director of National Intelligence (DNI) affirms, the intelligence effort is strengthened by the presence of diversity and inclusion to attract and retain the type of employee who is most qualified for acting in defense of this nation. The value of increasing diversity, especially in underrepresented segments such as minority groups, women, and persons with disabilities, expands the talent base. One of the DNI's primary goals in *Leading Intelligence Integration* is to "promote a diverse, highly-skilled intelligence workforce that reflects the strength of America."

Although there has been a great deal of research on the sources of workplace inequality, there has been little on the effectiveness of different programs for countering it. Research has shown that at best been doing has not been effective and we need to do something different. This study takes a somewhat different approach from a traditional barrier analysis. Generally, a barrier analysis involves the identification of anomalies found in workplace policies, procedures,

practices, and conditions through a heavy reliance on workforce data tables and comparisons to other data sets (e.g., civilian labor force). While other data sources such as workforce surveys and employee input from agency employee and advocacy groups are employed, the emphasis is generally on comparing statistical data tables. This study shifted emphasis toward a more workforce-impact focused methodology complimented by a strong literature review addressing what empirical research has identified.

[10] Jolynn Shoemaker and Jennifer Park, *Progress Report on Women in Peace and Security Careers*: *U.S. Executive Branch* (Washington, DC: Women in International Security, 2017), 3, https://www.csis.org/analysis/progress-report-women-peace-security-careers (accessed November 28, 2017).

[11] Equal Employment Opportunity and Diversity Office, *Diversity and Inclusion*, 3.

[12] Reuben E. Brigety II, "Diversity and U.S. National Security: Why it Matters and What Can Be Done," *Foreign Affairs Online*, December 8, 2016: 2, www.foreignaffairs.com/print/1118925 (accessed November 2, 2017).

[13] Ibid., 2.

[14] Equal Employment Opportunity and Diversity Office, *Diversity and Inclusion,* 5.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Brigety, "Diversity and U.S. National Security," 6.

[17] U.S. Office of Personnel Management, "Diversity, and Inclusion Policy*," linked from the U.S. Office of Personnel Management Home Page* at "Policy," https://www.opm.gov/policy-data-oversight/diversity-and-inclusion/ (accessed January 24, 2018).

When we draw on the wisdom of a workforce that reflects the population we serve, we are better able to understand and meet the needs of our customers-the American people. Government-wide, we have made substantial progress toward hiring a workforce that truly reflects America's diversity, and we will continue to pursue that goal. But merely hiring a diverse workforce is not enough. We must make our workplaces more inclusive as well.

America was founded on the idea that from many, we are one, a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts. That is the rationale for inclusion. To gain the maximum benefit from our increasingly diverse workforce, we must make every employee feel welcome and motivated to work their hardest and rise through the ranks. We must affirm that we work better together because of our differences, not despite them. When we tap this knowledge, when employees are trained in team building, decision making, problem solving, and conflict resolution, we will not only uphold the principles of our nation, we will get better results. The business case for inclusion is clear in American history. The best, brightest, hardest workers have come to America for over two centuries because they knew they would have an opportunity to join our society, work hard, and succeed.

[18] Shelley Zallis, "The Truth about Diversity-And Why it Matters," *Forbes Magazine Online,* November 30, 2017, https://www.forbes.com/sites/shelleyzalis/2017/11/30/the-truth-about-diversity-and-why-it-matters/#4d041d5e66e7 (accessed January 27, 2018). Zallis quotes research by Vivian Hunt, "Why Diversity Matters, *McKinsey Online*, January 2015,

https://www.mckinsey.com/business-functions/organization/our-insights/why-diversity-matters (accessed January 27, 2018).

    [19] Everwise Company, *Talent Crisis: Non-Diverse Leadership* (San Francisco: Everwise, n.d.), http://go.geteverwise.com/rs/206-KYD-166/images/EBOOK-2016-10-11-Non-Diverse-Leadership.pdf (accessed January 13, 2018).

    [20] Erik Larsen, "New Research: Diversity+Inclusion=Better Decision Making, *Forbes Magazine Online*, September 21, 2017. https://www.forbes.com/sites/eriklarson/2017/09/21/new-research-diversity-inclusion-better-decision-making-at-work/#298b14944cbf (accessed January 29, 2018).

    [21] Donald J. Trump, *National Security Strategy* (Washington DC: The White House, December 18, 2017), 28, https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf (accessed December 20, 2017).

    [22] Chantal de Jonge Oudraat and Michael E. Brown, *WPS+GPS: Adding Gender to the Peace and Security Equation,* Policy Brief (Washington, DC: Women in International Security, November 2017), http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/7th-WIIS-Policy-Brief-v1-11-7-17.pdf (accessed January 24, 2018).

    [23] Ibid.

    [24] Alexis Krivkovich et al, *Women in the Workplace* (New York: McKinsey and Company and Lean In Organization, 2017), 2, https://www.mckinsey.com/global-themes/gender-equality/women-in-the-workplace-201 (accessed November 2, 2017).

    [25] Ibid.

    [26] Shoemaker and Jennifer Park, *Progress Report on Women in Peace and Security Careers*.

    [27] Ibid.

    [28] Kidder, "College to Cabinet."

Thirty years later, not much had changed. In 1983, women still accounted for 37 percent of the CIA's staff workforce, but only 23 percent of the professional population and 85 percent of the clerical staff—figures that had remained virtually the same since 1953. Only roughly 5 percent held senior GS-15 positions. Staff employment of women remained essentially steady, but many were also hired as "contract wives" who accompanied their employee husbands on overseas tours and worked for extremely low pay in roles that were gendered in ways similar to those of the staff.

The CIA Glass Ceiling Study in 1992 reported that women remained an underutilized resource at the Agency, but since then the proportion of women in senior levels has steadily increased. In 2012, 44 percent of GS-13 through GS-15 CIA employees were women, and they made up 31 percent of Senior Intelligence Services (SIS) officers—a higher percentage in senior executive ranks than the combined average of the other intelligence community agencies. Improvements such as those to transparency in the vacancy, assignment, and promotion processes; increased opportunities for employee feedback; policies intended to eliminate harassment; and training in diversity all

contributed to the increase. Further, more flexible and uniform policies on work-family balance made a career path in the intelligence community more appealing and realistic.[39]

Women's representation as a percentage of the workforce has grown consistently at the CIA, from 35 percent in 1980 to 46 percent in 2012. Perhaps the CIA's single most visible metric of success stemming from increased gender diversity is the role that female analysts played in the capture of Osama bin Laden. The remarkable focus of the team was reported to have been "influenced by a distinctly female view of security," with a particularly aggressive view on "the protection of our children" and a perception that women saw "risks differently, longer term."

[29] Shoemaker and Park, *Progress Report on Women in Peace and Security Careers*.

[30] Ann Towns and Birgitta Niklasson, "Gender, International Status, and Ambassador Appointments," *Foreign Policy Analysis Online* 13, no. 3 (July 1, 2917): 524, https://academic.oup.com/fpa/article/13/3/521/2625550 (accessed December 5, 2017).

[31] American Foreign Service Association, "Tracker: current U.S. Ambassadors," linked from the *Association of Foreign Service Home Page* at "Policy," http://www.afsa.org/list-ambassadorial-appointments (accessed February 19, 2018).

Note: As of February 19, 2018, 37 of 187 ambassador roles are filled by or nominated as females. 40 positions are vacant.

[32] Towns and Niklasson, "Gender, International Status, and Ambassador Appointments," 523.

[33] Ibid., 526.

[34] Ellen R. Auster and Ajnesh Prasad, "Why do Women Still Not Make it to the Top? Dominant Organizational Ideologies and Biases by Promotion Committees Limit Opportunities to Destination Positions," *Feminist Forum Review Online*, March 16, 2016, 177, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/298907705_Why_Do_Women_Still_Not_Make_It_to_the_Top_Dominant_Organizational_Ideologies_and_Biases_by_Promotion_Committees_Limit_Opportunities_to_Destination_Positions (accessed November 28, 2017).

[35] Towns and Niklasson, "Gender, International Status, and Ambassador Appointments," 526.

[36] Pew Research Organization, "Economic Issues Decline Among Public's Policy Priorities," January 25, 2018, linked from *the Pew Research Center Home Page* at "U.S. Politics," http://www.people-press.org/2018/01/25/economic-issues-decline-among-publics-policy-priorities/ (accessed February 19, 2018).

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[37] Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "The Narrowing, but Persistent, Gender Gap in Pay," April 3, 2017, linked from the *Pew Research Center Home Page* at "FactTank," http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/04/03/gender-pay-gap-facts/ (accessed February 19, 2018).

[38] "Gender Equality Does More than Benefit Young Women," linked from the *U.S. Department of State Home Page* at "Young Leaders of the Americas Initiative,"

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[41] Brigety, "Diversity and U.S. National Security," 6.

[42] Kate Walsh, Susan S. Fleming, and Cathy A. Enz, "Give and You Shall Receive: Investing in the Careers of Women Professionals," *Emerald Insight Online* 21, no. 2 (January 28, 2016): 196, www.emeraldinsight.com/1362-0436.htm (accessed November 27, 2017).

[43] Auster and Prasad, "Why do Women Still Not Make it to the Top?" 179.

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[45] Deborah L. Brake, "Perceiving Subtle Sexism: Mapping the Social-Physiological Forces and Legal Narratives that Obscure Gender Bias," *Columbia Journal of Gender and Law Online* 16 (2007): 684. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1169582 (accessed November 28, 2017).

[46] Ibid., 686.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid., 687.

[49] Walsh et al., "Give and You Shall Receive," 196.

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56 Joshua Busby and Heather Hurlburt, "Do Women Matter to National Security? The Men Who Lead U.S. Foreign Policy Don't Think So." *Washington Post Online*, February 12, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/02/do-women-matter-to-national-security-the-men-who-lead-u-s-foreign-policy-dont-think-so/?utm_term=.25b3af214e43 (accessed October 1, 2017).

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68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

70 Brake, "Perceiving Subtle Sexism," 709.

71 Ibid., 711.

72 Ibid., 723.

[73] Equal Employment Opportunity and Diversity Office, *Diversity and Inclusion*, 5.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Frank Dobbin, and Alexandra Kalev, "Why Diversity Programs Fail," *Harvard Business Review Online*, July-August 2016, https://hbr.org/2016/07/why-diversity-programs-fail (accessed January 5, 2018).

[76] Tessa Dover, Brenda Major, and Cheryl Kaiser, "Diversity Policies Rarely Make Companies Fairer, and They Feel Threatening to White Men," *Harvard Business Review Online*, January 4, 2016 https://hbr.org/2016/01/diversity-policies-dont-help-women-or-minorities-and-they-make-white-men-feel-threatened (accessed January 4, 2018) (accessed January 5, 2018).

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[78] Newman Study, "The Architecture of Inequality: Sex and Gender- Tokenism in the Workplace," linked from the *Sage Publications Home Page*, https://studysitessagepub.com/newman4study/resources/token.htm (accessed January 16, 2018).

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[81] Harvard University, "Project Implicit," linked from the *Harvard University Home Page*, http://implicit.harvard.edu (accessed January 4, 2018.)

[82] Jolls and Sunstein, "The Law of Implicit Bias," 984.

[83] Ruth Sealy, "Changing Perceptions of Meritocracy in Senior Women's Careers," *Gender in Management: An International Journal Online* 25, no. 3 (2010): 191, www.emeraldinsight.com/1754-2413.htm (accessed January 16, 2018).

[84] Ibid., 193.

Almost all of the women spoke of being very aware of their sex when they started out, as they were so obviously in the minority. However, there was an assumption that the "world is a fair place", and that although they were in a minority, as long as they could understand the system, they would be able to prove themselves by their hard work. The women appeared to equate "understanding the rules" to the "rules of success" being fair and meritocratic. The women took a pragmatic approach to learning the organizational norms in terms of what being successful looked like, or more accurately what were the behaviors of those deemed to be successful within the organization: At the beginning of my career I was not myself. I just mimicked the role models that I saw – they were all men – and I thought, if I do like them I'm more likely to be promoted (Penny). From what you see around you, you would just assume that you need to be very aggressive in your demeanor to make a good trader [. . .] that was what

was rewarded (Vicky). In their early career, the women had assumed that by "playing the game", they would be treated the same as the other players and judged on their merit within those rules: So for the first few years I did change my style in order to pretend that I was more like the guys (Hannah).

3.3 Future career: When asked about their future career, more than half of the women said they were seriously thinking of leaving the organization and/or banking. Recurring themes for this group of women were again the lack of evidence of a meritocratic system, and additionally a dwindling will to engage in the politics with which they have had to deal all of their working lives. Symbolic construal of meritocracy. The lack of positive exemplars of a system based on meritocracy was taken as evidence that the women would not be given the opportunities to further their careers, even when they believed they were truly capable and deserving: If you have an entirely male senior executive management team that's [. . .] that sends a message and having [Female Name] there sends a different sort of message (Lisa). Meritocracy versus politics. Many of the senior women spoke of the important role of organizational politics. Their perception was that the increasing significance of political aspects, particularly at the most senior levels of the organization, was contrary to the meritocratic ideal. This confirms women's beliefs that definitions of meritocracy should be based on elements of human capital (i.e. ability and experience). Some of the women spoke quite angrily about political behavior, considering it a waste of time in that it took them away from the actual job – and compromising their need for authenticity.

[85] Dobbin and Kalev, "Why Diversity Programs Fail."

[86] Everwise, "Mentoring That Works."

[87] Dobbin and Kalev, Why Diversity Programs Fail."

This article referenced the following study: Neville Isdell and Christina Bielaszka-DuVernay, "How Coca-Cola Built Strength on Diversity," Harvard Business Review, April 1, 2008. https://hbr.org/product/how-coca-cola-built-strength-on-diversity/an/U0804B-PDF-ENG

[88] Ibid.

This article referenced the following report: Deloitte Organization, *Making an Impact that Matters* (UK: Deloitte, October 2015), https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/global/Documents/About-Deloitte/gx-gr15-main-final.pdf (accessed March 24, 2018).

[89] IC Equal Employment Opportunity and Diversity Office, *Diversity and Inclusion*, 5.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid., 6. Recommendations provided in the ODNI study:

1. Leadership - Minority demographic representation in leadership positions is lacking. Seeing role models from minority demographics in senior leadership would be powerful and inspiring; the lack of these role models leads minority employees to question an agency or element's commitment to diversity. Worse, perceptions of "token" promotions or appointments only serve to confirm negative stereotypes and alienate employees.

2. Organizational Culture/Work Environment - Despite strong messages promoting diversity at the most senior levels of the IC, middle managers and supervisors are often unsuccessful in promoting a diverse and inclusive workplace culture. Mid-level managers are commonly viewed as lacking empathy for non-majority cultural experiences and often avoid addressing poor performance and workplace inequalities. Well-intentioned programs suffer from poor image problems due to narrow views if associated solely with "equal employment opportunity" and "diversity."

3. Recruitment and Selection - In recent years, hiring and selection decisions have increased the incoming talent pool of women, minorities, and persons with disabilities. However, the IC struggles to provide the type of inclusive workplace culture to retain these populations in the leadership pipeline, eventually leading to less representation at the most senior levels.

4. Advancement - Minority - demographic groups perceive unfairness across some employment practices, particularly promotion and advancement opportunities. There is a common concern that impenetrable majority groups limit minorities' access to premium job assignments, mentoring and performance feedback.

5. Work/Life Integration - Many employees across the IC struggle with work-family conflict, and do not find supervisor support for the flexibility needed to manage their requirements. Issues with work/life integration seem to be systemic process issues that affect all employees within the community; however, these issues may be experienced more heavily by underrepresented groups, such as women, who more often have primary caregiver responsibilities.

Diversity creates a synergy of different perspectives. This is particularly useful when trying to find solutions to perplexing and wicked problems such as the ones the national-security profession encounters daily. To get more diversity in the profession, everyone in the field, regardless of their backgrounds, should go out and recruit qualified candidates. It can be done as long as those doing the seeking and recruiting can suppress the sociological tendency to recruit someone of similar gender, race, background, culture, and ethnicity. When they find a qualified candidate, gain their trust. Demonstrate through action that the organization values them as a professional first and foremost. Show them that they will have an equal opportunity to succeed in the organization. When their performance warrants it, reward them in the same way others are rewarded for the same level of contribution.

Diversity can give us an asymmetric advantage if we leverage it. This is not a call for quotas or other discriminatory personnel practices. This is a call for trailblazers, the kind that help the profession, their respective communities, and the United States of America. Trailblazers have to trust that they will receive fair treatment. After that, at least three things are guaranteed to happen. First, trailblazers will inspire others like them enter the profession. Second, the organizational culture will change to one that is more tolerant of diversity of all kinds. Lastly, leaders in the organization will become more inclined to recruit and mentor diversity. These are the first steps in setting the conditions where the only things that matter are the ideas, and in a profession that routinely grapples with complex national-security and foreign-policy issues, we want the best ideas.

[92] John O. Brennan, *Statement as Prepared for Delivery: before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence,* 114th Cong., 2nd sess., June 16, 2016, https://www.cia.gov/news-information/speeches-testimony/2016-speeches-testimony/statement-by-director-brennan-as-prepared-for-delivery-before-ssci.html (accessed January 4, 2018.)

[93] Sean Bartlett, "Cardin Introduces Bill to Improve Diversity in U.S. National Security Workforce," April 25, 2017, linked from the *U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Home Page* at "Ranking Members Press," https://www.foreign.senate.gov/press/ranking/release/cardin-introduces-bill-to-improve-diversity-in-us-national-security-workforce (accessed January 4, 2018).

[94] Joe Funderburke, "Diversity: Our National-Security Advantage," *Foreign Policy Online,* September 25, 2014, http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/09/25/diversity-our-national-security-advantage/ (accessed January 4, 2018).