

RESEARCH BRIEF

Second Generation Gender Bias: The Effects of the Invisible Bias Among Mid-Level Women Managers

Meryl Ann Batara, Jan Micole Ngo, Kayley Anne See, and Dennis Erasga

De La Salle University, Philippines
merylannbatara96@gmail.com

Gender bias has been a persistent phenomenon that existed among the human population for a long time. As a social issue, sociologists have come to realize that gender bias has been well-entrenched within the walls of the family structure, customs and traditions, religion, and education in different ways and forms. While the status and economy of various countries around the world have started to undergo development and change, women as major part of such transitions, began their journey in fighting for a place and position, most notably in the workplace. Explicit practices and structures prohibitive of advancing women's opportunities within the spaces of economic endeavors have somehow been addressed through various legislations and company-based rules and policies such as Republic Act Number 6725 of 1989 (1989), which tries to ensure that women are not discriminated in the workplace. Despite such strides, there remain lingering issues that are implicitly connected to and are reflective of gender bias, some of which are unique to the context of the workplace. Thus, it may be fair to conclude that at present, there exist two types of gender bias in the workplace: the first generation gender bias (hereinafter referred to as 1GGB) and the second generation gender bias (hereinafter referred to as 2GGB; (Grover, 2015).

First generation gender bias pertains to the manifest form of discrimination against women in the society and workplace that are "intentional" in nature (Rifkin, 2015). While, 2GGB lacks neither the intention to exclude nor to produce direct harm to women in society (Ibarra, Ely, & Kolb, 2013a). Thus, 2GGB may have been engendered by and may be a result of gender stereotypes and societal expectations of both men and women (Rifkin, 2015). In this study, it will refer to a phenomenon wherein employed women are treated unfairly compared to men in ways that are subtle and hard to detect. Such invisibility of forms and manifestations of 2GGB makes it doubly difficult to track down unless clear and categorical measures are used as indicators. This being said, the study conducted among mid-level managers focused on two specific sources of bias: the cognitive bias and biases underlying unjust treatment.

As suggested by the previous statement, 2GGB hides behind the values and beliefs in society that tend to be prejudicial to women in the workplace and may be the underlying reasons for most women failing to reach their full potential as economic agents. Since men mostly have the responsibility to build and operationalize the organizational systems of society, systems tend to benefit men over women. Women,

on the other hand, have gone through a challenging journey to bring about a productive discussion about the issue of gender bias to the discussion tables of policymakers and the like (Grover, 2015). There is a great possibility that these biases take effect as an approach to maintain the status quo, which is to continuously provide the support needed for structures of male benefiting traditions, customs, values, and beliefs.

There is a dearth of studies regarding 2GGB as a social issue in the workplace. The study aimed to address this research gap by exploring the experiences of select women managers. The study explores their experiences by focusing on the forms and effects of 2GGB in their respective companies and how they eventually deal with them.

Specifically, the study aims to answer the following questions:

1. What are the forms of 2GGB experienced by mid-level women managers in multinational companies located in the National Capital Region?
2. How are these women affected by the different forms of 2GGB in their respective workplace?
3. How do these women handle the effects of 2GGB in the workplace?

Review of Related Literature

The study aims to validate the existence of 2GGB in the Philippines, more specifically, those that are present in multinational companies. The following review, therefore, revolves around this organizational aim. It started with a more generic review of the status of women in general within the global and local (Philippine) confines. Then it proceeded with a more critical survey of literature on 1GGB and how the 2GGB is implicated with it despite the fact that most 1GGBs have been addressed quite strategically both by governments and economic institutions. The last section attempted to map the various reasons for the social forces that may have lent invisibility to 2GGB and how women, who have been victimized by it, came to navigate the difficult waters of organizations saturated by 2GGB.

Status of Women

Throughout most of history, women are seen as subordinates to their male counterparts. They were traditionally tasked with domestic and household roles. In fact, women used to be prominent workers only in salons and schools, but at the onset of the Industrial Revolution, they started working in mills and factories (Kim, 2003). Over time, women became more empowered and gained more rights. This was most evident during the world wars wherein women gained careers and financial independence. Despite the developments in women's rights, they are still subjected to discriminatory behavior, biases, and violence. It is only in the 1970s that many women began to attend college and graduate school (Women in the Workplace - Boundless Open Textbook, n.d.). This further gave them a sense of empowerment, enabled them to get higher-paying jobs, and get promoted to higher positions. Since then, women became more prominent in various corporate organizations.

Status of women in the global scale. Despite the developments in women's right, they are still subjected to discriminatory behavior, biases, and violence in many parts of the world (one.org, n.d.). The study of Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise, and Watts (2005) documented the social experiences of women in 10 countries and concluded that violence remained prevalent in all these societies. Gender bias, on the other hand, is still present in the workplace and even women managers are subjected to discrimination. According to Agars (2004), women are more likely to receive a risky position compared to men, and there are also biases that hinder them from being promoted on the organizational ladder. Heilman (2001) stated that stereotypes, both descriptive and prescriptive, are responsible for the devaluation of the performance of women leaders. They are also given social sanctions for being competent.

Status of women in the Philippines. Torres et al. (1985) narrated the conditions of women in Philippine society. The status of women during the pre-Spanish colonial period was characterized by equality with their men counterparts. When the Spaniards came, they imposed radical political, social, and economic systems that are prohibitive of the chances of women to be at par with their male figures of authority such

as fathers, brothers, and husbands. Women were not given equal opportunity to education and to pursue economic enterprises. The end result was that women became economically dependent on men and such dependence reverberated in the walls of the homes, schools, and workplaces. It was only during the early 1900's that the feminist movement in the Philippines gained momentum. It drew many interests among women who became charter members of the movement and worked so hard to fight for the rights of Filipina women regarding education, political, and religious rights (Camagay, 1995).

In general, women are recognized as housekeepers. Society has taught that their primary goal is to get married and dominate the domestic responsibilities while men usually contribute little to household tasks. They are also pressured to value their family and their husband's material and psychological needs more than their own. Aside from this, females usually have the following traits: submissiveness, modesty, and nurturance (Sevilla, 1995). Aside from being a dominant player in the home, women's presence would also predominate the academic field. However, much like their situations in their households, women tend to have less power compared to their male counterparts. In the paper written by Reyes and Reyes (2015) regarding publication productivity in the Philippines, it can be seen that the percentage of articles being published by women has remained unchanged for the most part. The same study also stated that aside from discriminatory practices and generalized common stereotypes, some of these women may have chosen not to put out more journals out of their own volition. However, their inaction with regards to research may also possibly stem from their own beliefs and stereotypes regarding themselves.

Despite the developments in gender equality in the country, women still suffer from the glass ceiling effect. In a study done by Lim and Hechanova (2005), it can be seen that managers who adopted masculine traits are more likely to succeed in their respective organizations. Aside from this, the key informants in the study perceived that women are more penalized compared to their male counterparts, and men have more access to networks and connections since they tend to dominate administrative positions. A study has

shown that these issues are a result of the double burden that women have to carry (Carrillo, 1993).

Even with anti-discriminatory policies, women are still subjected to some biased practices in the workplace. In multiple countries, including the Philippines, women are more prone to layoffs compared to men when there is an inflation reduction (Braunstein & Heintz, 2008). Aside from this, it was found out in a study done by Raymundo and Quintillan (1994) that despite laws and policies that intend to protect women from discrimination, there are still some gaps in these policies; they do not fully address gender bias problems experienced by women.

First Generation Gender Bias (1GGB)

1GGB is easy to spot and recognize; it happens when the bias is knowingly and intentionally done against individuals because of their gender (Grover, 2015). It normally presented itself via the organizational practices that deliberately, consciously, and explicitly discriminate and exclude women (Sturm, 2001). Examples of 1GGB would include sexual violence, sexual harassment, and psychological and financial abuse. These types of biases clearly aim to either harm women, hamper their performance or both. Moreover, law journals included training, hiring, and promotional practices which isolate sexes that are considered deliberate and overt discrimination (Sturm, 2001).

1GGB may be said to have rare occurrence today as laws have been approved and implemented (somehow) to ensure that companies are not biased against their employees and applicants, notably women. In the Philippines, Republic Act No. 6725 of 1989 was enacted on May 12 of that year. This law reinforced the anti-discriminatory laws against women as enshrined not only in the Labor Code of the Philippines but in the very Constitution of the country. This law is described to be "An act strengthening the prohibition on discrimination against women with respect to terms and conditions of employment, amending for the purpose article one hundred thirty-five of the labor code, as amended" (Art. 135, Sec. 1. The said law included wage discrimination against sexes and discriminatory practices in promotion and training as unlawful acts.

However, these laws did not consider biases which were unconscious and implicit. Laws created to combat 1GGB did not cover issues such as organizational culture, national culture, and equal access of women to these protective laws (Sturm, 2001). As a result, some forms of 1GGB are still present in some workplaces. However, this is no longer the type of bias that is dominantly found; 2GGB, a more implicit form of bias, is now more present.

Second Generation Gender Bias (2GGB)

Robin Ely (as cited in Rifkin, 2015), a Harvard Business School professor of gender issues and leadership, noted in her study that the failure to have achieved significant change lies in what she called “second generation gender bias.” In contrast to 1GGB which is characterized by the discrimination that is no longer legal in most industrialized nation, 2GGB is said to be implicit, and usually, this is unintentionally done by the offending party. This type of gender bias is said to be a result of gender stereotypes and societal expectations of both men and women (Rifkin, 2015). In addition to this, a paper done by Grover (2015) stated that some of the practices that can be categorized as 2GGB are done for men to remain in powerful positions, with or without them knowingly doing so.

According to Ibarra, et. al. (2013b), women themselves believed the notion that gender bias is absent from their work lives. Those guilty of committing 2GGB do not necessarily aim to promote exclusivity nor do they intend to harm any person. It just so happens that due to their beliefs and perspectives with regards to gender roles, they unknowingly commit 2GGB. However, it still prevents women from achieving goals that could have been reached if it was not for the bias that they are subjected to in the workplace. 2GGB is said to be present if women have difficulties in connecting and relating to their male colleagues, being excluded from being advised to take a staff role to accommodate her family, and finding herself excluded from consideration for key and high ranking positions. In summary, all these situations reflect work structures and practices that put women at a disadvantage (Ibarra, Ely, & Kolb, 2013b).

Despite the constant efforts to provide solutions towards the issue of gender bias in the workplace,

there are only a few men and women professionals that would openly admit that gender inequality and discrimination continues to be a threat and serious problem in the society. Lerner (1981) presented monographs of several experiments that support the claim that society sees the need to believe in the existence of a just world through a distortion of the reality. Moreover, accounts also showed that women are more likely to deny the existence of gender bias more than men. This is supported by how some professional women, who have managed to climb their way to the top, try to bring other women down in order to perform better and achieve greater heights, and stay at the high-level position and maintain the powerful title. Another existing phenomenon to explain these circumstances is called as the “Denial of Personal Disadvantage” wherein women tend to compare their own career advancements with other women rather than being competitive with men (Barres, 2006).

Possible factors of 2GGB. Despite having few studies done on the phenomenon, some articles have identified possible factors that can account for evidence of 2GGB. In an article written by Crosby (1984), she identified two classifications of the various factors of 2GGB. One of which is “cognitive bias,” which pertains to how some women are thought to be less capable and inferior compared to their male counterparts.

The other factor primarily focused on the emotional aspect of bias, which Crosby (1984) addressed as “avoiding villains.” This pertains to how women are unjustly treated and would have a tendency to ignore this. These two factors can also account for some women’s denial of gender bias; cognitive bias can lead them to think that they are really incapable of reaching a higher position and avoiding villains can make women deny their own victimization.

Another article identified these factors as double blinds, lack of sponsorship, lack of female leaders, and the absence of a safe place (Browne, n.d.). Double blinds refer to how women are unable to attain higher positions because leadership is often associated with masculinity. Lack of sponsorship refers to how women are given less recognition in their workplace. The lack of female leaders can pose as a problem since there are less role models for aspiring female managers to

follow, and female representation will also offer more perspectives with regards to certain issues and help other women attain higher positions. Lastly, a “safe place” will lessen the pressure on women to act a certain way; they can freely express themselves without the fear of losing a potential raise or promotion.

All of these are possibly a result of cultural beliefs with regards to gender roles and stereotypes. There are various characteristics and skills beliefs that only one gender group is said to possess; these are results of culture and society’s expectations on people (Itzin & Newman, 1995). People would merely follow the stereotypes and beliefs ingrained by society. As a result, they are subjected to various restrictions without their knowledge.

Possible manifestations of 2GGB. Ilgaz (2015), in his Forbes article, outlined three notable pathways where 2GGB becomes a formidable force against women in the workplace. First, he noted that despite numerous studies agreeing to the advantages of female-friendly workplaces, there are still many companies that do not make a “conscious” effort to address gender barriers. Moreover, Ilgaz observed that women hardly acknowledge the occurrence of gender bias since most of them are unaware of having personally been victims of gender discrimination and that women who are seen as abrasive or aggressive receive more critical feedback. For example, 87.9% of women received critical feedback compared to 58.9% of men, creating an unfair review process that focuses on the various faults and limitations of women in the workplace.

The second example is on the area of evaluation. Results show that men receive criticisms that are geared to develop additional skills, while as for women, they are criticized to quiet down and step back at most times. Affirmation and support are far from what is being given to a woman’s position and professional growth since evaluations systematically question her qualifications and contributions to workplace discussions. The last pathway is in the area of leadership potential, where women are generally perceived to have less leadership potential even among the ranks of outspoken women. A study done by the Ilgaz (2015) shows that women who talk a lot are negatively viewed by others, much more when they hold positions of power. The study stated that even if

men were reported to speak the same amount, women are seen as controlling, less competent, and suitable for leadership positions. Both men and women are shown to hold this perception in the study. An article written by Snyder (2014) supports the statements presented by Ilgaz (2015). Snyder (2014) stated that women are more likely to receive negative feedback and criticism.

The glass ceiling or the revolving door effect are just some examples of how deceiving can the forms of 2GGB be. Both the glass ceiling and revolving door syndrome draw women to believe that they can pursue their dreams in their organizations, but little that they know that the road towards such goals either lead to a dead end or a maze-like trap. The study done by Hopfl and Matilal (2007) showed that when women realized the hurdles before them, they eventually came to a need to abandon their pre-conceived notions that being a woman can offer something different to the organizations or acting like the opposite sex can take them to higher leadership positions. A study by Haslam and Ryan (2010) looked into the glass cliff phenomenon. The phenomenon explains that a unit in crisis is more likely to have a female manager taking over it even if an equally capable male manager could take over the position. Due to these unfair appointments, women are more likely to fail. The reasons for these unfair appointments are because they are perceived to suit women more than men. Some of the forms of 2GGB can contribute to the persistence of the glass ceiling and the glass cliff effect. These phenomena can also be said to be byproducts of 2GGB and its 1st generation counterpart itself.

Response of women to 2GGB. An article written by Saab (2000) for Gallup News Service included the results of a new Gallup poll that found 30% of professional women in the United States believe that they are paid less than they would be if they were a man, while 70% of these women do not. On the other hand, with just 13% men saying women at their workplace get paid less than men who perform the same job, working men are even less likely to perceive that women are victims of gender discrimination in their pay.

Being a longtime goal of the feminist movement, the issue of pay equity resurfaced in the news once again when President Clinton proposed to increase

federal funding for programs. These programs aim to close and create an end to the wage gap between working men and women in the country. The President presented the statistics on the average salary of full-time working women and men. Surprisingly, it showed that for every dollar earned by the full-time working men, only 75 cents are earned by the full-time working women (Saab, 2000).

Women's denial of gender bias. Ibarra, Ely, and Kolb (2013a) discussed the observation of a social psychologist named Faye Crosby (1984) regarding the invisibility of certain forms of gender bias. The invisibility was not because they were hidden in plain sights, but because most women were unaware of being victims of them. Such phenomenon took refuge under the women's denial of the objective existence of these forms of gender bias. They can only be detected by the subliminal reactions of women on their presence in the workplace. Crosby argued that while women deny that they are subjected to gender bias (even if it they generally experience it), their work-based actions seemed to be direct reactions to such experience. For example, they tend to value the precepts regarding "working hard" to be assessed positively as their male co-workers and take gender out of the equation for their skills and talents to be recognized.

The existence of gender bias in organizational policies and practices suggests that women have been self-conditioning themselves to avoid dissonance between what they dream of pursuing in the organization and what they see happening around them. This syndrome generally inculcated in them the idea that probably they have no power to determine their own success. To illustrate, women were asked of reasons of them holding back in their respective organizations. They justify such behavior by thinking that it was not a big deal and the only reason maybe was that they were just less connected with the men they work with. This naturally resulted in their difficulty of getting traction for their ideas. Generally, women are led to believe that the organization's natural default is always to work on their behalf and policies that seem to lighten their jobs are meant to ease their workloads given their other home-based responsibilities. One also mentioned about her male colleagues having bigger responsibilities, while most women are left doing staff roles. Advised

to move into a staff role after the birth of her second child, the organization told her things would be easier for her. It is too late that she recognized that the path back to the line is now impossible (Ibarra, Ely, & Kolb, 2013a).

Thus, it is possible that the women themselves mobilized the perpetuation of such biases by justifying their presence. It affects their perception of themselves and in turn, their performance and behavior in the company. In the study by Gupta, Turban, Wasti and Sikdar (2009), it was shown that both men and women perceive that masculine characteristics are needed in entrepreneurship. This affects men's behavior and entrepreneurial intentions. Females employees who view themselves as lacking in masculine traits tend to view themselves as less likely candidates coupled with the thinking that their being women natural disqualifies.

Methods

The present study utilized a qualitative approach. It made use of in-depth interviews to collect the stories of women regarding their lives, goals and aspirations, opportunities, and limitations. In addition, the questions explored about their observations regarding the behavior of their organizations that can be beneficial or disadvantageous to them as women. The key informants for this study were 15 Filipino women with mid-level positions in several multinational companies in the Philippines. They have been working in their respective companies for at least two years; while the companies must be operating in, at least, two countries regardless of the products they sell and the services they provide. We employed the technique of snowball sampling to get the desired number of participants in the study.

The interview guide has three parts: (i) socio-demographic and work-related characteristics, (ii) nature of work, and (iii) the limitations to goals and aspirations. The questions did not directly refer or allude to 2GGB but instead explored the circumstances of their work in relation to their aspirations in the organization, and what they believed kept them from attaining such dreams. The interviews were recorded using the researchers' phones with the key

informants' consent. The recorded interviews were transcribed. Content analysis was done to generate the study dataset. The responses were discriminated and juxtaposed with the intractable features of 2GGB; and thematized in relation to the research questions of the research.

Results

Despite the developments with regards to gender equality, several manifestations presented that 2GGB continue to exist in the workplace. The findings showed the emergence of several trends. There were noticeable similarities and differences with regards to the experiences of the key informants.

The organizations of the key informants can be categorized into two main groups, namely, Asian and Western companies. Eight key informants were from Asian companies, while seven were from Western companies. The key informants also varied in marital status; eight of them are single, four are married, two are separated, and one is widowed. Lastly, they also vary in the department where they work at—six work in administration, three work in human resources, three work in sales, two are from marketing, and one works under merchandising.

Forms of 2GGB

The results of the study show that 2GGB can come in several forms. These included: stereotyping, multiple burdens, and lack of female representation in high ranks.

Stereotyping. Women tend to believe in stereotypes without them knowing that they are unjustly and subtly discriminated with them. This can come in the form of perceived gender roles as well as the perception of the skills and abilities associated with specific genders. The presence of many women in the Human Resource Departments (HRD) can be due to the existing stereotype that women are more inclined to be nurturing and caring, which are necessary qualities when working in that field. Stereotypes regarding the inclinations, skills, and abilities of both men and women can be limiting to both genders. Participants shared that women tend to give more thought to their actions, while men tend to act fast, sometimes without

thinking. Moreover, women are commonly perceived as capable of multitasking, detail-oriented, and patient. Although seen as positive qualities in the general sense, some superiors would exploit these traits as an excuse to give women additional workloads, which may distract them from producing their officially designated outputs. Most of these additional tasks may or may not include work that is not stipulated in their job descriptions.

Multiple burdens. As the necessary and contingent outcome of the first, multiple burdens pertain to how women are given additional workloads as per request of their bosses vis-à-vis their other household responsibilities. This form of 2GGB is mostly encountered by married women and single mothers. Married women typically carry the responsibility of caring for their children, ensuring the wellbeing of their family members, and doing the household work. Although some members of the family assist them, the bulk of the responsibility falls mainly on their laps in the form of traditional expectations. Even if the company encouraged most of these women to pursue and practice work-life balance and provide sufficient time to do so, these women opted to spend such time attending to their domestic chores. Single mothers, in particular, have difficulty with their work-life balance. They are burdened with the same responsibilities that married women have as well as the responsibilities typically held by the father.

Lack of representation in high ranking positions. It was noticed that there was a lack of female representation in the higher ranking positions of the organizations studied. The study offered two reasons: stereotyping and lack of opportunities. It is notable that men tend to dominate the workplace more than women as they are traditionally perceived as better leaders. Aside from this, it should be noted that those who occupy the top positions started working in the company at a time when there were only a few women present in the workplace, and they do not even possess much power. A key informant has stated that her company does not necessarily limit women from reaching higher position. However, there are simply no opportunities for them to get promoted yet since the older men in executive positions have yet to retire.

Effects of 2GGB

Women who are subjected to 2GGB were affected in different ways. Nonetheless, effects of 2GGB may overlap with each other such that it may have been a result of two forms of 2GGB. As an example, companies that encouraged their female employees to have work-life balance seem to amplify the notion that women need to accomplish obligations in the household even while working. This would fall under the stereotype that women should be focused on domestic work, and at the same time, this contributes to the multiple burdens that they experience.

Effects of stereotyping. Stereotyping affected the perceptions of these women in terms of the jobs they could take, the skills they could have, and the positions they could achieve. Many of these women thought that they could only have jobs which are, by nature, based on the office, data-driven, and people-oriented. As mentioned earlier, these women claim that they are nurturing, multitaskers, patient, persevering, and detail oriented. With that said, they take up the job because they perceive that the opposite sex cannot do it.

Companies also prefer to hire women to take up certain positions such as data managers, human resource personnel, community managers, and so forth, since they associate women to have the qualities considered appropriate for the above positions. One informant declared that men in the merchandising department quit their jobs due to high pressure. This particular department is currently composed of all females. The reason stated was that because women are more patient, prone to empathy, and capable of multitasking compared to men. In the human resource department of one company, the supervisor was an effeminate male. The latter case bolstered the suspicion that feminine traits are more likely to be associated with jobs meant for women. The HRD in many companies is populated by women given the prevalence of such expectations.

Another stereotype relates to women's vulnerability to assault and physical attacks given their weak constitution. They are perceived to be less capable of defending themselves in such situations. Hence, women barely occupy positions in the sales department that require fieldwork. One participant opined that it is quite dangerous for women to do fieldwork, more

so when they are carrying work-related devices such as laptops, tablets, and sample products from the company. The presence of supervising males in such department may have been triggered by this misleading stereotype of women in relation to their ability to protect themselves.

Effects of multiple burdens. It was also observed that female managers are affected by the multiple responsibilities assigned to them. Participants pointed out that they were subjected to stress and frustrations due to the additional workload given to them. Having sleepless nights and waking up in the middle of the night were but some of the symptoms of stress brought about by multiple burdens.

Interestingly, most of these women also have vague job descriptions. This enables their superiors to give them extra workloads and additional tasks. At times, these additional workloads can be overwhelming to the women. A key informant from the merchandising department shared that once, she had to do the job of different departments such as marketing and warehousing to ensure that their products are sold. It can be noted that most of the additional burdens the female managers experience are due to the nature of their work—jobs and positions that are commonly seen as “feminine” tend to carry more workloads as opposed to “masculine” jobs and positions.

Although this may seem to be favorable for women as they get jobs, again, there are adverse effects which women experience, one of which is the lack of personal time. Due to the multiple burdens of these women, they do not have time for themselves and their families. On another side, some women who are given opportunities to have personal time may still choose that time to accomplish their domestic responsibilities, thus, adding to their burdens. In the experience of a key informant, time for her family was also sacrificed since she is forced to work overtime. She was unable to spend quality time with her son and husband, and more so for herself. Further, her free weekends are spent cleaning the house. In relation to work, she also was unable to deliver an output which could have been better. Because she had to immediately meet the deadlines, quality was no longer of concern, rather quantity was emphasized.

Effects of the lack of representation in high ranking positions. It was also observed that women lack representation in higher positions. As a result, women lack role models whom they can emulate when it comes to reaching higher positions. In one company, a female manager looked up to a male manager and aspired to be like him. However, such model adoration became a source of frustrations since only males are recruited, much worse, advance to such a position. There are natural traits required for such line of work. According to her, women lacked the consistency in term of performance, which men have. Women, contrary to men, she said, have to attend to many things such as family. Some of her subordinates also attend to other day jobs and responsibilities.

Response of Female Managers on the Effects of 2GGB

There are three main responses of female managers on 2GGB: (i) taking action, (ii) acceptance, and (iii) denial.

Taking action. Taking action refers to how women respond to 2GGB by doing specific activities that go against it or that express their dissatisfaction with their current condition. One specific action they take was to be verbally assertive—as in publicly expressing dissatisfaction towards a current situation. This can include complaining to their co-workers and supervisors with regards to their feelings and perceptions. Another example is how female employees strive to exceed the expectations of their immediate supervisors when it comes to their roles and tasks required of the position. Female employees tend to believe that they are expected to do more to be recognized in the same spectrum as their male counterparts. As a result, they have a higher tendency to constantly prove themselves and perform more of what is being asked in order to leave a good impression.

Acceptance. In handling the effects of 2GGB, some female employees show acceptance of and resignation to the biases. These women have acknowledged that gender bias exists in their organization in some form, and, even rationalize their existence in the company in which they work. They accept it as the norm due to various reasons, one of which is rationalization. In this specific aspect, female employees give out reasons as to

why gender bias exists to protect their own perspective and accept the limitations they experience.

Some of the key informants stated that a majority of those in executive positions are males; the higher the position, the fewer females there are. However, she reasoned that the company is not being unfair to female employees. When it comes to promotion, they simply do not have the opportunity to get to higher ranks since the men in those positions have yet to retire. Another form of acceptance is adaptation, wherein female employees take action by adjusting to the practices and culture of the company. This involves the avoidance of conflicts to maintain a healthy professional relationship with the other employees. Some employees would also accept it as part of the company culture, and they would then adapt to it. Female employees also strategize in such a way that they exert efforts to cooperate with others. They strive to be a team player in the company at all times. Female employees mainly do this to avoid conflicts with their co-workers and the company in question.

Denial. Female employees handle the effects of 2GGB through personal denial. This comes from their own perspective that the company provides equality among employees in terms of treatment regardless of gender. Instances show that the denial of women regarding the matter is further influenced by their unawareness to the existence of factors that manifest 2GGB in the company. Another example of how female employees express denial is that they have a firm perception of equality among employees in terms of their career growth and development in the organization. Some female employees believe that women and men are given equal opportunities to improve their professional career. A glaring contradiction to their firm belief of equality comes in when most of them know that the top positions are mostly filled in by male employees. Most female employees appeared unconscious to this as gender-based bias, therefore express their denial towards the issue.

Interestingly, some of the women who take various actions in resolving gender bias outright deny its existence in their workplace. This shows that despite doing specific actions that indicate their dissatisfaction with the experiences of women in their workplace, they

still do not fully acknowledge its existence in their respective organizations. This shows that the issue on 2GGB is so deeply rooted and hidden that some try to resolve it without totally knowing about its existence.

Synthesis

Based on the data presented, the key informants were mainly subjected to three general forms of gender bias. These include stereotyping, multiple burdens, and lack of female representation (high ranks) which, in turn, have various effects on the women being subjected. Women's gender perceptions are altered in such a way that biases are maintained, limitations to the roles that women and men can take as a result of their gender, and stress and lack of role models in higher positions. Women can interpret and manifest their behavior in response to these in many ways. However, these can be categorized into three main groups; action, acceptance, and denial. Aside from the women, the organizations themselves have initiated certain actions that can either help in the reduction of both 1GGB and 2GGB. However, some of the companies were inactive when it comes to gender-related issues, and others even have practices which unknowingly perpetuate them.

Discussion

2GGB as a Cyclical Process

2GGB is not only difficult to identify; it comes in many forms and hides behind layers of veil. As such, they can affect women in multiple workspaces in a variety of ways. It appears, however, that despite its invisibility, its instances are not a matter of happenstance. They seem to be related or organized in specific ways and means; thus, they tend to reinforce each other's effects cumulatively. Moreover, the presence of rules and policies meant to temper the 1GGB were not enough to prevent them from appearing, and this explains its ideological persistence in the workplace. For one thing, there are no policies, or perhaps, policies cannot prohibit the espousal of and support for the belief in a certain set of stereotypes. Moreover, bosses "requesting" for additional tasks to be performed cannot be faulted for doing so especially

those who are seen as the very role models of their women employees.

In Figure 1, the cycle on how 2GGB persists in the workplace is shown. The process appears to commence with stereotypes since these are the baggage people carry along with them upon entering the organization and reinforced by others who happen to entertain the same portfolio of stereotypes. Gender-based stereotypes are the most basic among its kind and tend to have wider circulation. In addition, stereotypes have self-fulfilling effects on society at large and its machinations provide enabling inputs. These enabling inputs can be traditions and practices whose relevance permeates the walls of the workplaces. Self-fulfilling effects make individuals believe that as men or women they embody the traits that come along these stereotypes and this, in turn, could influence how they perceive themselves and the corresponding actions that they do. This is in support of the study done by Kunda and Sherman-Williams (1993) on individuals and the existing stereotypes in society. Even if individuals are against stereotypes, these can still affect their perception and judgment. It is likely that women are unknowingly perpetuating these stereotypes by settling into roles that society dictates as feminine.

The additional workloads, as well as their additional responsibilities at home, are the complementary result of the stereotype regarding women as multitaskers. These additional tasks can cause stress to the women, and they will also not be able to maximize their potentials and produce outputs that have the same quality if they were produced in less stressful situations. This can affect the probability of them being promoted and landing on the job they desired. This is possibly one of the reasons as to why there is a lack of female representation in high ranking positions in these types of organizations.

As a result of this, other women would choose to deny or accept the existence of gender bias. They would use these examples to justify the existing stereotypes about women. They would rationalize their roles and deny that gender bias exists in their respective organizations. For example, seeing that the HRD mostly consists of women will make them think that women should ideally choose to be under such department. It is true that there are a handful of women

who would choose to voice their opinion and do certain actions that would contest the negative treatment of women. However, these are not enough to truly end the cycle since the majority would still either deny or accept this. Stereotypes, which are continuously maintained due to their acceptance and denial of gender bias, would be followed by other women by taking on certain roles and doing certain actions that would agree with these beliefs. Thus, maintaining the cyclical process of 2GGB. This is one of the reasons why this issue is hard to resolve. As shown in the cycle, women cannot see this as a problem. However, they are still penalized by this “misplaced consciousness” and it is they themselves who continues to maintain it.

Persistence of 2GGB

Despite the experiences of women with regards to the different forms of gender bias, this phenomenon is still prevalent in the workplace, especially in the form of 2GGB. There are many possible reasons

as to why women continue to deny the existence of gender bias and why 2GGB continues to exist within multinational companies. The following are some theories and explanations of why this phenomenon continues to persist.

The Marxist concept of false consciousness (Little, n.d.) can be applied to women who experience gender bias, especially those who are subjected to 2GGB. 2GGB is almost invisible; it is difficult to detect and analyze. Most women are unaware of its existence, so in a way, they allow themselves to be subjected to such biases. Notably, the majority of the key informants outrightly denied the existence of gender bias in their respective organizations. However, based on the interviews, it still existed in the form of 2GGB. This issue will be difficult to resolve since many are unaware of it and it is relatively hard to trace in an organization. This is not to say that these female managers are incapable of making decisions, but they are simply unaware of such phenomenon.

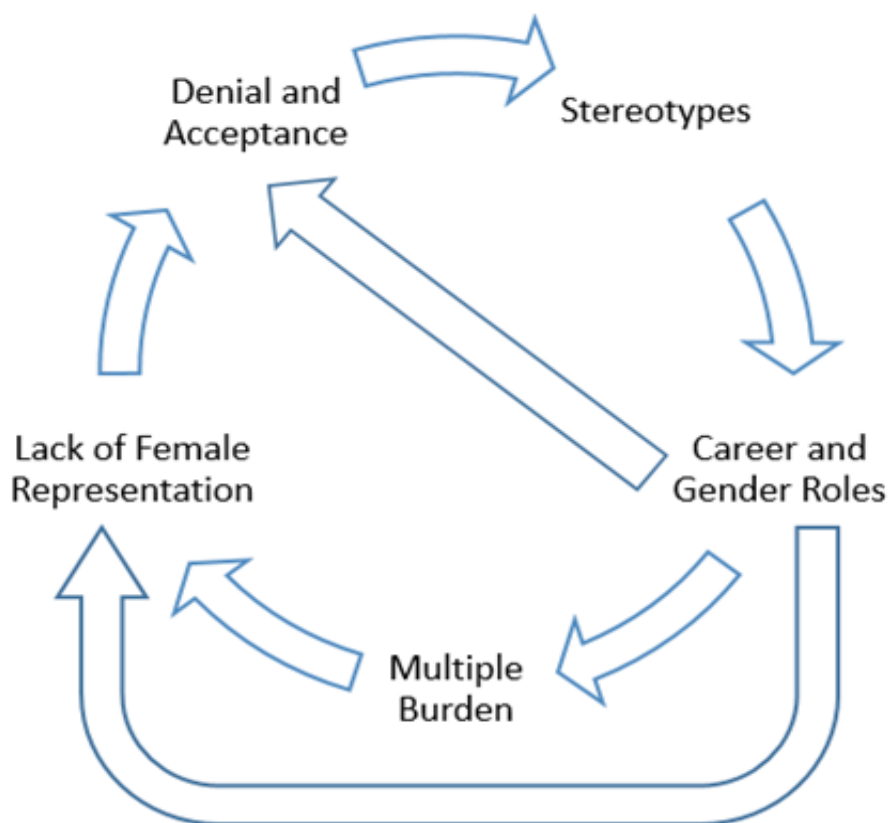


Figure 1. Cycle of 2GGB.

According to Veblen, habits, which are referred to as “submerged repertoires of potential thought or behavior, to be triggered by an appropriate stimulus or context” (as cited in Kingston & Caballero, 2009, p. 151). The previously established biased systems still have a negative effect on the women, and this is unconsciously being maintained. Habits are embedded in the perceptions of the women already, and this affects their thoughts and behaviors. These habits help in the maintenance and the changes of the established systems. Since women still have a tendency to follow them but are unknowingly doing so, 2GGB continues to persist.

Veblen also stated the importance of the evolutionary habits of thought, wherein individuals need to be adaptable in order to survive. This can also be the reason as to why there is a disparity between the responses to gender bias between Western and Asian companies. Those in Asian companies would need to conform more so than those in Western companies which tend to value individualism than their Asian counterparts. All of these factors affect how women view themselves. Unknowingly, women establish a self-imposed bias as a result of the stereotypes that exist in society. The female managers tend to limit themselves as a result. A good example of this would be how in some self-assessment tests, women tend to rate themselves lower than their male counterparts who exhibit the same level of skill. This is especially true for skills that are stereotypically identified as masculine (Correll, 2001). This is mostly due to the cognitive bias that exists. These cognitive biases hide the discriminatory aspects of stereotypes and perceived gender roles. As a result, women would self-impose their own biases due to the invisible nature of 2GGB.

To elaborate, 2GGB may be unseen by most, but this does not necessarily mean that female employees do not do anything to address their personal thoughts on this matter. The conflict arises because the female employees do something about 2GGB as a response. However, the issue is seen as either nonexistent or it is not being treated as a factor that can negatively affect them and their professional career. However, this is not enough to resolve the issue on 2GGB since they themselves are unable to trace the existence of the issue.

According to Fairchild (2015), 81% of men and women believe that gender has nothing to do with one’s ability to lead a business. This is in support of how most female interviewees have already built a clear-cut understanding that men and women are given equal opportunities, even if some of their personal statements contradict their firm belief. However, another study (Cook and Glass, 2013) showed that most male and female respondents think that men have an easier way to get to the top positions in both the political and business sectors. In fact, 67% of Americans, both including the male and female respondents, agree that men have the advantage to attain top executive positions, while 75% of the female respondents also say that men are more likely to achieve the top positions. Several manifestations of 2GGB emerged while the interview goes on, yet females do not notice them as anything gender-based. This explains why many among the respondents, especially the female employees themselves, believe that gender does not matter when it comes to pursuing a career in the corporate sector.

Conclusions

2GGB may be invisible because their very presence is denied by the social entities they are meant to victimize. They do not exert their influence individually but do so collectively in a cyclical process, which in itself is an invisible system that operates in workplaces and shaping social relations (work being an example). Sociologists and other scholars need to conduct more studies that will allow them to lift the veil that lent invisibility to 2GGB. Since the roots of the whole issue are stereotypes, explorations may start from the basic understanding of how to combat stereotypes harmful to specific sectors of society. Filipino sociologists may start mapping the spaces in the country where these stereotypes thrive, and the contours of their operations are most virulent. For the meantime, it suffices to entertain ourselves with the thoughts that despite their invisibility, we know that they exist and that we will use all the available and possible tools within our reach to expose them.

Ethical clearance:

The study was approved by the institution.

Conflict of interest:

None.

References

- Agars, M. D. (2004). Reconsidering the impact of gender stereotypes on the advancement of women in organizations. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 28(2), 103–111.
- An act strengthening the prohibition on discrimination against women with respect to terms and conditions of employment, amending for the purpose article one hundred thirty-five of the labor code, as amended. Republic Act No. 6725 (1989).
- Barres, B. A. (2006). Does gender matter? *Nature*, 442(7099), 133.
- Boundless Sociology (n.d.). Women in the Workplace. *Lumen Learning*. Retrieved from <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-sociology/chapter/women-in-the-workplace/>
- Braunstein, E., & Heintz, J. (2008). Gender bias and central bank policy: Employment and inflation reduction. *International Review of Applied Economics*, 22(2), 173–186.
- Browne, M. (n.d.). How top companies are tackling second generation gender bias. *The Glass Hammer*. Retrieved from <http://theglasshammer.com/2013/12/20/how-top-companies-are-tackling-second-generation-gender-bias-and-closing-the-gender-gap-in-leadership/>
- Camagay, M. (1995). Luisa. 1989. Women through Philippine history. In A. Torres (Ed.), *The Filipino woman in focus* (pp. 28–34). Bangkok, Thailand: UNESCO, reprinted in 1995.
- Carrillo, R. (1993). Violence against women: an obstacle to development. Women's lives and public policy: The international experience, 99–113.
- Cook, A., & Glass, C. (2014). Women and top leadership positions: Towards an institutional analysis. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 21(1), 91–103.
- Correll, S. J. (2001). Gender and the career choice process: The role of biased self-assessments. *American journal of Sociology*, 106(6), 1691–1730.
- Crosby, F. (1984). The denial of personal discrimination. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 27(3), 371–386. Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/000276484027003008>.
- Fairchild, C. (2015, January 14). Why so few women are CEOs (in 5 charts). *Fortune*. Retrieved August 06, 2016, from <http://fortune.com/2015/01/14/why-so-few-women-ceos/>
- Garcia-Moreno, C., Jansen, H. A., Ellsberg, M., Heise, L., & Watts, C. H. (2006). Prevalence of intimate partner violence: findings from the WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence. *The Lancet*, 368(9543), 1260–1269.
- Grover, V. (2015). Second generation gender bias: Invisible barriers holding women back in organizations. *International Journal of Applied Research*, 1(5), 12–15. Retrieved from <http://www.allresearchjournal.com/archives/2015/vol1issue5/PartA/22.1.pdf>
- Gupta, V. K., Turban, D. B., Wasti, S. A., & Sikdar, A. (2009). The role of gender stereotypes in perceptions of entrepreneurs and intentions to become an entrepreneur. *Entrepreneurship theory and practice*, 33(2), 397–417.
- Heilman, M. (2001). Description and prescription: How gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(4), 657–674. Retrieved February 9, 2015, from http://www.readcube.com/articles/10.1111/0022-4537.00234?r3_referer=wol&tracking_action=preview_click&show_checkout=1
- Hopfl, H., & Matilal, S. (2007). "The lady vanishes": Some thoughts on women and leadership. *Women and Leadership, volume 20*, 198–208.
- Ibarra, H., Kolb, D., & Ely, R. J. (2013a, August 21). Educate everyone about second-generation gender bias [Excerpt]. *Harvard Business Review*. Retrieved January, 2016, from <https://hbr.org/2013/08/educate-everyone-about-second/>
- Ibarra, H., Kolb, D., & Ely, R. J. (2013b). Women rising: The unseen barriers. *Harvard Business Review*, (September). Retrieved January, 2016, from <https://hbr.org/2013/09/women-rising-the-unseen-barriers>
- Ilgaz, Z. (2015, March 3). Small ways leaders alienate female employees through gender-biased criticism. *Forbes*. Retrieved January, 2016, from <http://www.forbes.com/sites/ellevate/2015/03/03/small-ways-leaders-alienate-female-employees-through-gender-biased-criticism/>
- Itzin, C., & Newman, J. (Eds.). (1995). Gender, culture and organizational change: putting theory into practice. Psychology Press.
- Kim, T. (2003). Where women worked in World War I. *Strike*. Retrieved from <http://depts.washington.edu/labhist/strike/kim.shtml>
- Kingston, C., & Caballero, G. (2009). Comparing theories of institutional change. *Journal of Institutional Economics*, 5(02), 151–180.

- Kunda, Z., & Sherman-Williams, B. (1993). Stereotypes and the construal of individuating information. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 19(1), 90–99.
- Lazarus, A. A. (2001). Multinational Corporations. *Psychotherapy*, 29, 150-8.
- Lerner, M. J. (1981). *The belief in a just world*. New York: Plenum.
- Lim, A. R. L., & Hechanova, M. R. (2005). Dissecting the glass ceiling: Leadership stereotypes and gender discrimination as perceived by Filipino managers. *Philippine Journal of Psychology*, 38, 75-96.
- Raymundo, C. M., & Quintillan, E. (1994). Status of women in Asia and the Pacific: A review of policies and programs. *Population Concerns and Public Policy Series, Discussion Paper No. 94-01*
- Reyes, C. N., & Reyes, J. A. L. (2015). Exploring publication productivity in the Philippines: A 10-year gendered analysis of six academic disciplines. *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review*, 15(1), 26–45.
- Rifkin, G. (2015, May 11). Second-generation gender bias. *Briefings*. Retrieved January, 2016, from <http://www.kornferry.com/institute/second-generation-gender-bias>
- Saab, L. (2000, February 7). Most working women deny gender discrimination in their pay. *Gallup*. Retrieved January, 2016, from http://www.gallup.com/poll/3262/Most-Working-Women-Deny-Gender-Discrimination-Their-Pay.aspx?utm_source=genericbutton
- Sevilla, J. C. C. (1995). The Filipino woman and the family. *The Filipino Woman in Focus: A Book of Readings* (pp. 35–55. University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City.
- Snyder, K. (2014). The abrasiveness trap: High-achieving men and women are described differently in reviews. *Fortune Magazine*, 627–660.
- Sturm, S. (2001). Second generation employment discrimination: A structural approach. *Colum. L. Rev.*, 101, 458.
- Torres, A. T. (1989). *The Filipino Woman in Focus: A Book of Readings*. UP Office of Research Coordination and UP Press.
- Haslam, S. A., Ryan, M. K., Kulich, C., Trojanowski, G., & Atkins, C. (2010). Investing with prejudice: The relationship between women’s presence on company boards and objective and subjective measures of company performance. *British Journal of Management*, 21(2), 484–497.