

Research Article

Tokenism at Workplace: Numbers and beyond

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Accepted 15 Jan 2015, Available online 01 Feb 2015, Vol.5, No.1 (Feb 2015)

Abstract

The present research work intended to study the effect of Gender, Occupational gender type and proportional numerical strength on Work Alienation. According to Tokenism theory (Kanter, 1977), "Tokens" (those who comprise less than 15% of a group's total) are expected to experience a variety of hardships in the workplace, such as feelings of Heightened Visibility, Isolation, and limited opportunities for advancement. Most previous studies have defined Tokenism narrowly in terms of proportional numerical strength at workplace. The present study extends the framework of prior research work by examining Workplace Tokenism as a function of Gender, Occupational Gender Typing (Gender Atypical/Gender Neutral or Non Atypical) and Proportional (Male-Female) Numerical Strength at workplace (Tokens/Non Tokens), with an examination of different groups of Males and Females in Gender Atypical and Gender Neutral/Non Atypical occupations as numerical Tokens and Non Tokens respectively. Total sample size was 250. Results depict that the complex interaction of Gender, Gender type of Occupation and Male Female proportional numerical strength impact experienced Tokenism.

Keywords: Gender, Tokenism, Stereotypes, Tokens, Gender Typing

Introduction

Men and Women are just like the two wheels of a chariot. They are equal in importance and they should work together in life. The one is not superior or inferior to other. Women constitute almost half of the population in the world. But the hegemonic masculine ideology made them suffer a lot as they were denied equal opportunities in different parts of the world. The division of labor by sex appears to have been universal throughout human history. In our society the sexual division of labor is hierarchical, with men on top and women at the bottom. There is a strong gendering of occupations, which has been related to both lower pay and more limited careers for women. It has been argued that occupational segregation is fundamental to structural gender discrimination in enabling differential pay and limits on promotion. There is also some basis for these claims in the fact that 'women concentrated occupations' are often lower paid than men's and those in which women are concentrated can offer fewer benefits (Lupton, 2006). Moreover, historical analysis has shown the ways in which occupations such as clerical work have been subject to status-and therefore pay-regrading as the proportion of women in them have increased (Lewis, 1984).

Nevertheless, the relationship between occupational segregation and women's employment

outcomes is not clear-cut. As Wagner & Berger (1997) have pointed out, distinguishing between horizontal and vertical forms of segregation is important. Additionally it is not obvious how one should work out what pay in an occupation 'should be' in the absence of segregation. Riemer (1979), for example, has suggested that the specialized skills required in occupations with a high concentration of women may, on average, be lower, with consequent impact on pay. Lower levels of specialization have been attributed to the likelihood of women to experience a career break and thus having less to gain from building up skills within a particular workplace. These arguments bring us back to the interconnectedness of work histories and family lives. However, though there is increasing recognition of the extent of the discontinuities in women's employment trajectories (Jacobs, 1995), arguments that stem from lower specialization imply that women have predicted the discontinuities in their careers and made employment choices accordingly, which may not be a realistic assumption. Thus there is a need to look at hierarchical occupational segregation resulting from a mutual accommodation between two robust forces of Patriarchy and Capitalism. Interestingly any disturbance in the established status quo between the two sexes in the work front has some serious repercussions for both the stakeholders.

The Making of Tokens

Zimmer (1988) pointed out how the term "Token" has been used in a variety of ways. Laws (1975)

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popularized the concept of 'Workplace Token' with her analysis of the special problems faced by women who have entered the male-dominated academic setting in terms of their entrance being permitted but not full participation. Simmel's (1950) "stranger" and Hughes's (1945) "outsider" are also along similar lines as someone who meets all of the formal requirements for entrance into a group but does not possess the "auxiliary characteristics" (especially race, sex and ethnicity) that are expected of persons in that position. Consequently, they are never permitted by "insiders" to become full members and may even be rejected if they stray too far from the special "niche" outlined for them. The term token has also been used in the sociological literature to refer to persons (usually women or minorities) who are hired, admitted or appointed to a group because of their difference from other members, perhaps to serve as "proof" that the group does not discriminate against such people (Zimmer, 1988).

The Theory of Tokenism at Workplace

Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) greatly expanded and formalized the concept of Tokenism by including it as one of three major components of her theory of organizational behavior.

Her theory defined Tokenism as the processes resulting whenever a group is skewed such that a clearly definable subgroup, Tokens, makes up less than 15 percent of the whole. From her case study of 20 upper-management saleswomen, their colleagues, and their superiors in a 300-person sales force, Kanter (1977) reported three interactional perceptual tendencies leading to negative token dynamics:

- **Visibility** reflects the heightened attention directed toward Tokens, who always stand out in their work groups and thus suffer **exacerbated pressures to perform**.
- **Contrast** refers to the exaggeration of differences between Tokens and the numeric majority, dominants, which may result in the **Social Isolation** of Tokens.
- Finally, **Assimilation** refers to the stereotyped perception of Tokens that may lead to **Role Encapsulation** at workplace in terms of the tasks and projects expected out of Tokens.

Organisational Implications

What Kanter (1977) had identified as the major issues in the situation of the numerically few in her extensive case study are also characteristics of the Token position in general as per her analysis. The same pressures and processes can occur around people of any social category who find themselves few of their kind among others of a different social type. Kanter's Token theory implied that all Tokens (based on sex, race, nationality etc) will suffer negative outcomes from the unique interactional pressures they face. Further Token dynamics was also related to several

work related aspects such as job satisfaction, work alienation, stress etc.

Relevance of Gender based Workplace Tokenism in India

According to a report by Planning Commission of India (2007) the labor sector of the Indian economy consists of roughly 487 million workers, the second largest after China. In terms of gender equality in employment, male to female ratio was 5:1 in government and government owned enterprises; private sector fared better at 3:1 ratio. Combined, counting only companies with more than 10 employees per company, the organized public and private sector employed 5.5 million women and 22 million men. This gender gap at work place gets further aggravated by ghettoisation of women at certain levels and certain types of jobs creating a sex based occupational segregation. Explanations for the occupational segregation are attributed to the factors like human capital differentials, employer discrimination and restriction to labor mobility, differences of family and educational background and the socialization process (Mittman, 1992). In our country all these interwoven factors lead females to be associated with the low paying jobs that need very little skill and efficiency. While the skilled jobs remain occupied by the males. If this process continues over time then the unskilled female/male workers would develop a certain kind of skill in those unskilled jobs, they performed daily. Then automatically jobs get segmented by the employers at the same time by the employees, satisfying the demand and supply processes further strengthening the gender stereotyping of occupations (Chakraborty, 2013). The gender gap makes them the most visible and dramatized of performers, noticeably on stage, yet they are often kept away from the organizational backstage where the dramas are cast because of their small numerical strength. They are the unique "individuals" in the organization, since they stand apart from the mass of peer group members; yet they lose their individuality behind stereotyped roles and carefully constructed public personae that can distort their sense of self.

In short a variety of organizational, social and personal ambivalence surround individuals experiencing gender gaps at workplace composition.

The Present Study

Based on the fact that not many researchers have attempted to explore the link between Token status and experienced Work Alienation beyond the 'number game perspective', the purpose of the present study is to provide an insight into the impact of Gender, Proportional Numerical Strength at workplace and Occupational Gender Type (in terms of Gender Typicality/ Atypicality) on the experience of Workplace Tokenism.

Objectives

The objective of the study is to compare different groups created on the basis of Gender, Occupational Gender Type and Proportional Numerical Strength at workplace on the experienced Workplace Tokenism and its dimensions (i.e. Visibility, Contrast, Assimilation).

Hypothesis

On the basis of the review of literature and in the light of theoretical background, for attaining the objectives of research following hypothesis were formulated:

- *Hypothesis 1:* There would be a significant difference between the eight groups based on Gender, Occupational Gender Type (Gender Atypical/ Gender Non Atypical) and Proportional Numerical Strength (Numerical Token/Non Token status) in their extent of experienced Workplace Tokenism.
- *Hypothesis 1(a):* There would be a significant difference between the eight groups based on Gender, Occupational Gender Type (Gender Atypical/ Gender Non Atypical) and Proportional Numerical Strength (Numerical Token/Non Token status) in their extent of experienced Heightened Visibility at work.
- *Hypothesis 1(b):* There would be a significant difference between the eight groups based on Gender, Occupational Gender Type (Gender Atypical/ Gender Non Atypical) and Proportional Numerical Strength (Numerical Token/Non Token status) in their extent of experienced Contrast at work.
- *Hypothesis 1(c):* There would be a significant difference between the eight groups based on Gender, Occupational Gender Type (Gender Atypical/ Gender Non Atypical) and Proportional Numerical Strength (Numerical Token/Non Token status) in their extent of experienced Assimilation at work.

Method

Sample

The sample comprised of both Male and Female employees working as numerical Tokens and Non Tokens in Gender atypical and Non atypical occupations. The total sample comprised of 250 participants.

The total sample can be divided into eight groups, namely Occupationally Gender Atypical Token Male (OATM), Occupationally Gender Atypical Token Female (OATF), Occupationally Gender Atypical Non Male(OANTM), Occupationally Gender Atypical Non Token Female(OANTF),Occupationally Gender Non Atypical Token Male (ONATM), Occupationally Gender Non Atypical Token Female (ONATF), Occupationally Gender Non Atypical Non Token Male (ONANTM),

Occupationally Gender Non Atypical Non Token Female (ONANTF).The Sample design is illustrated in Figure 1.

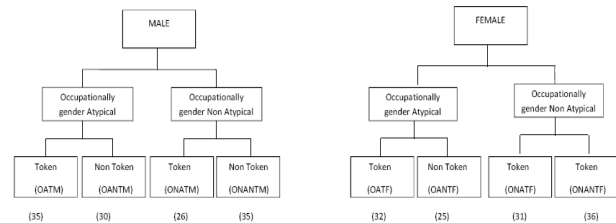


Figure 1: Sample Design

The sample was selected for the eight categories on the basis of the statistics on Education and Vocational Training in India (2009-10) depicting specific vocations with their male-female proportional numerical strength of potential workforce. (Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, 2013)

Males: Gender atypical: less than 40% ; Gender Non atypical: 40-60%
 Numerical Tokens: less than 20%; Numerical Non Tokens: more than 40%

Females: Gender atypical: less than 30% ; Gender Non atypical: 30-50%
 Numerical Tokens: less than 15%; Numerical Non Tokens: more than 30%

Criterion for Inclusion

- Criteria 1:** Number of years in the current job: 2-5
- Criteria 2:** Total work experience: <=5 years
- Criteria 3:** Education: Above Senior Secondary
- Criteria 4:** Work Sector: Organized
- Criteria 5:** Organization Size: Small (< 50 employees)

For all analyses, education and Total work experience as well as professional tenure in the current organization were controlled because workers with more experience and education may be rewarded with more challenging work, greater autonomy, and higher levels of compensation making them more satisfied with their overall work experience work and more strongly attached to the organization than are the inexperienced and less well educated.

Research Tools

(i) Scale on Tokenism

The questionnaire used in this study has been developed by Stroshine and Brandl(2011). Stroshine and Brandl in the construction of the questionnaire to measure workplace effects of Tokenism asked respondents about an array of workplace experiences pertaining to visibility index, polarization and assimilation. All questions that related to Tokenism

Table 1 Means and Standard Deviations for the experienced Total Workplace Tokenism and its various dimensions for all the eight categories based on Gender ,Occupational Gender Type and Proportional Numerical Strength at workplace

| Categories | Tokenism | | Visibility | | Contrast | | Assimilation | |
|------------|----------|------|------------|------|----------|------|--------------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| OATM | 19.94 | 3.2 | 3.89 | 1.23 | 13.43 | 3.07 | 2.63 | 0.87 |
| OANTM | 17.97 | 2.7 | 2.93 | 1.02 | 12.53 | 2.59 | 2.5 | 1.01 |
| ONATM | 16.46 | 2.7 | 2.96 | 0.87 | 12 | 2.23 | 1.5 | 0.58 |
| ONANTM | 15.23 | 4.05 | 2.46 | 0.81 | 11.17 | 3.88 | 1.6 | 0.74 |
| OATF | 26.78 | 3.87 | 5.84 | 1.05 | 17.69 | 3.89 | 3.25 | 0.72 |
| OANTF | 24.6 | 3.87 | 4.88 | 0.97 | 17 | 3.87 | 2.72 | 0.79 |
| ONATF | 24.47 | 3.95 | 5.17 | 1.01 | 15.87 | 3.71 | 2.83 | 0.79 |
| ONANTF | 18.76 | 2.33 | 3.3 | 0.88 | 12.76 | 2.14 | 2.7 | 0.85 |

Table 2 Summary result of Anova on the measure of Workplace Tokenism

| Source | Type III Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----|-------------|-----------|-------|
| Gender (A) | 2399.757 | 1 | 2399.757 | 208.208** | 0 |
| Occutype (B) | 793.347 | 1 | 793.347 | 68.833** | 0 |
| Numstatus (C) | 472.915 | 1 | 472.915 | 41.031** | 0 |
| Gender * Occutype (A*B) | 14.421 | 1 | 14.421 | 1.251 | 0.264 |
| Gender * Numstatus (A*C) | 84.135 | 1 | 84.135 | 7.3** | 0.007 |
| Occutype * Numstatus (B*C) | 29.778 | 1 | 29.778 | 2.584 | 0.109 |
| Gender * Occutype * Numstatus (A*B*C) | 70.041 | 1 | 70.041 | 6.077** | 0.014 |
| Error | 2789.232 | 242 | 11.526 | | |
| Total | 110612 | 250 | | | |

Occutype- Occupational Gender Type, Numstatus- Proportional Numerical Strength

were measured on a 4-point Likert type scale where respondents were asked to *strongly disagree, disagree, agree, or strongly agree* with statements. The coefficient of internal consistency was calculated and the value of Chronbach Alpha reported was 0.734. The instrument was adapted to make its use suitable to the new context of the present study. Pre-piloting was done on 15 participants to check relevance of the modified items to the construct by analyzing item score variance. Also relevance of the items to the community was checked by seeking direct participant feedback. The few modifications that were made to adapt the instrument for the purpose of the present study were also gleaned from the Theory of Tokenism (Kanter, 1977) to ensure the construct validity is kept intact. Finally Pilot testing was done on a sample of 35 participants to validate the suitability of the adapted Tokenism scale on the population of interest of the present study. Internal consistency was evaluated and the Cronbach's alpha value came out to be .712. Further temporal stability was evaluated using Test Retest reliability on 10 participants from the sample. The interval between testing ranged from 10-20 days with a mean retest interval of 16.74 days (S.D=5.32). The test retest reliability was examined using Pearson correlation coefficient that came out to be .84.

Quantitative Analysis

Statistics used for analysing the quantitative data included simple descriptive statistics of mean and standard deviation.

Later for computing the differential experience of Token Dynamics and experienced Workplace Tokenism for the 8 groups under study 2*2*2 analysis of variance was employed. The 3 factors being Gender (Male/Female), Occupational Gender Type (Occupational Gender Atypicality/Non Atypicality) and Proportional (Male-Female) Numerical Strength (Token/Non Token status)

All analysis was conducted using SPSS, version 19.

Results

Table 1 show that the mean value for Total Workplace Tokenism is highest for Occupationally Gender Atypical Token Females , followed by Occupationally Atypical Non Token Females , then Occupationally Gender Non Atypical/Neutral Token Females followed by Occupationally Gender Atypical Token Males then Occupationally Gender Non Atypical/Neutral Non Token Females followed by Occupationally Atypical Non Token Males followed by their Male Token and Non Token counterparts in Gender Neutral/Non Atypical Occupations.

Table 2 shows that there exists a highly significant difference between the eight groups formulated on the basis of Gender, Occupational Gender Type and Proportional Numerical composition at workplace in their experience of workplace Tokenism as reflected in their significant interactional effects.

Table 3 Summary result of Anova on all the dimensions of Workplace Tokenism (depicting F values)

| Source | df | Heightened Visibility | Assimilation | Contrast |
|---------------------------------------|----|-----------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Gender (A) | 1 | 223.383** | 63.343** | 73.324** |
| Occutype (B) | 1 | 36.698** | 35.759** | 28.601* |
| Numstatus (C) | 1 | 93.704** | 2.801 | 11.12** |
| Gender * Occutype (A*B) | 1 | 0.264 | 14.995** | 3.909** |
| Gender * Numstatus (A*C) | 1 | 15.307** | 2.356 | 1.569 |
| Occutype * Numstatus (B*C) | 1 | 4.384* | 2.325 | 2.024 |
| Gender * Occutype * Numstatus (A*B*C) | 1 | 14.957** | 0.172 | 2.26 |
| | | | * F Significant at 0.05 Level | **F Significant at 0.01Level |

Discussion

Kanter (1977) proposed a demographic composition theory stating that individuals become “Tokens” when they are such a small minority that they are seen as symbols of their particular category rather than as individuals. Following Mittman (1992) organizational demography can be defined as the pattern or distribution of demographic characteristics such as sex, race, age, and tenure composition across an organization or an organizational subunit such as a department, work group, or occupation(Young & James,2001). Early research in this area linked general demographic characteristics such as sex, age, race, tenure, and education with organizational outcomes like performance (Waldman & Avolio, 1986), hiring and promotion (McIntire, Moberg, & Posner, 1980), and attrition (Mobley, Horner, & Hollingsworth, 1978). Pfeffer (1983) outlined an argument for taking demography research a step further by concentrating on the compositional effects of demography on organizations and their subunits. According to Young and James (2001), although often research on compositional underrepresentation has been done with women, more recently men in the minority have also become a subject of interest. In pursuing this newer line of some research have questioned how the experiences of a minority of men working with a female majority would compare to those of a minority group of women working with a male majority. However, most of these studies have been small and qualitative in nature pointing towards a need for quantitative research to complement the qualitative data. Many of these studies also relied solely on numerical proportions to explain their effects without examining possible intervening variables.

The present study attempts to fill in the gaps of the previous researches done in this area by providing an integrated approach to gain an insight into the probable intervening variables of Gender, Proportional (Male-Female) numerical strength at Workplace (Tokens/Non Tokens) and Occupational gender type (in terms of Gender Atypical/ Non Atypical or Neutral) on the experience of Workplace Tokenism. As can be seen in Table 1, the mean value for total Workplace Tokenism is highest for Occupationally Gender Atypical

Token Females(OATF) , followed by Occupationally Atypical Non Token Females(OANTF) , then Occupationally Gender Non Atypical/Neutral Token Females(ONATF) followed by Occupationally Gender Atypical Token Males(OATM) then Occupationally Gender Non Atypical/Neutral Non Token Females(ONANTF) followed by Occupationally Atypical Non Token Males(OANTM) followed by their Male Token and Non Token counterparts in Gender Neutral/Non Atypical Occupations(ONANTM).The pattern of result hints at the need to understand the experiences of men and women at workplace beyond demographical structures. There is a strong need to explore if the curse of a *disadvantaged gender status* that patriarchy has bestowed on women is the underlying current for all their workplace experiences.

Interestingly the comparative analysis with respect to *relative numerical status* shows a considerable consistency in terms of the reported workplace Tokenism means being more for numerical Tokens in comparison to Non Tokens along the lines of Kanter’s theory of tokenism. Further the impact of *gender typing of occupations* can be witnessed in the consistent pattern of results in which the experienced workplace Tokenism means were less for gender non atypical jobs in comparison to atypical ones.

Further Table 2 shows that there exists a highly significant difference between the eight groups formulated on the basis of Gender, Occupational Gender Type and Proportional Numerical composition at workplace in their experience of Workplace Tokenism as reflected in their significant interactional effects thus confirming Hypothesis 1.

Now we analyze the relative standing of the groups, under various dimensions of Workplace Tokenism to get a deeper insight: **Heightened Visibility**- The first dimension, namely, Visibility depicts the extent to which minorities(less than 15%) at workplaces experience excessive attention by virtue of their numerical rarity and as a result experiences a heightened performance pressure at workplace. The mean values depict the highest score for OATF, followed by ONATF, OANTF, OATM, ONANTF, ONATM, OANTM and ONANTM. The relatively high mean values for both males and females working in gender atypical occupation hints at the effect working in a gender

atypical occupation has on the workplace visibility. The constant reminders about the atypicality of the choice of occupation both from the “insiders” working within the organisation and the “outsiders” who are part of the larger social network of which the organisation is a part, accentuates the visibility experienced by both males and females working in atypical jobs. Also all the male and female tokens have reported higher scores for the experience of heightened visibility in comparison to their non token counterparts as Tokens get attention and have higher visibility than dominants. They capture a larger awareness share as in accordance with Gestalt psychology, there numerical uniqueness makes them ‘pop out’ as a figure against a background of dominants who get to be common more easily due to their high numerical presence. The next dimension of workplace Tokenism is **Assimilation** which is defined as the use of stereotypes, or familiar generalizations about a person’s social type (Kanter, 1975, 1977) as a result of which the person feels encapsulated in certain prescribed roles. The characteristics of a Token tend to be distorted to fit the generalization. The mean values depict the highest score for OATF, followed by ONATF, OANTF, ONANTF, OATM, OANTM, ONANTM, and ONATM. Interestingly the result shows how females irrespective of the Proportional Numerical Strength in gender typical/atypical jobs have reported the highest mean values for experienced Assimilation at workplace. Female employees whether in gender typical or gender atypical jobs find themselves encapsulated in the traditional roles ascribed to their gender, irrespective of what the job demands. However the situation is worst for females in gender atypical jobs in which they are damned as ‘gender deviates’ if they adhere to the ‘masculine’ job descriptions and are damned again if they adhere to their feminine gender descriptions. The third and the last dimension is **Contrast** which is the exaggeration of differences between the tokens and dominants. The relatively high mean scores for OATF followed by OANTF, ONATF, OATM, OANTM, ONANTF, ONATM and finally ONANTM indicate how females irrespective of their numerical strength and job type are subjected to segregation at workplace in comparison to their male counterparts. This boundary heightening is most severe for female tokens in gender atypical jobs where they are treated as ‘encroachers’ by the dominant males. Implicit within token processes is a power component as deviation from the majority confers a lower status on tokens, and because status is usually correlated with power (Secord and Backman, 1974), tokens have less power. Indeed the presence of tokens is an uncomfortable reminder to the majority of the pressure they are under to share their power, privileges (Laws, 1975). However interestingly even in neutral jobs females didn’t fare any better when they are numerically few in number as reflected in the high mean score of ONATF in comparison to males (as depicted in Table 1). These findings are in line with Theory of Gendered Organizations (Acker, 1990) which

argues that Male Tokens benefit from being male in a working world designed to reward stereotypically masculine attributes. As per Williams (1995) the cultural beliefs about masculinity and femininity are an integral part of the structure of the work world and serve to limit women’s and enhance men’s opportunities. According to the Williams/Acker theory, women do not face difficult times at workplace simply because they lack work experience, seniority, or other forms of human capital. Instead, or in addition, women are disadvantaged because the typical woman does not belong to the disembodied category of the ideal worker: one free from non-work (e.g., family) obligations and distractions. This further leads dominant males on job to create a contrast between themselves and female employees to prevent any kind of status dilution as reflected in the high mean values for experienced contrast by females in comparison to their male counterparts.

Further the hypothesis pertaining to statistical significance of the difference amongst the eight groups on the various dimensions of experienced workplace Tokenism have also been accepted completely or partially at .05 and .01 levels of significance as depicted in Table 3.

Based on the above discussion, the quantitative data quite clearly reveals that the eight groups based on Gender, Occupational Gender Type (Gender Atypical, Gender Non Atypical) and Proportional Numerical Strength (Token, Non Token) differ with respect to experienced token dynamics. The pattern clearly reveals that workplace Token dynamics is much more than the negative experiences stemming from the compositional demography of the organization in terms of the proportional numerical strength of the two sexes. Instead the present study has revealed that it is embedded in the macro context created by socio cultural factors involving complex mosaic of status and power play between the genders and further the arena for this power play is set in the form of interactional contexts that constantly churn out these workplace experiences. Thus it is important for us to acknowledge that the way males and females are situated with respect to each other has important bearing on our attempts to achieve gender integration at the organizational level in the truest sense.

Implications

The concept of Tokenism is being used not only to understand minority group’s occupational problems, but also to suggest various policies with a focus on increasing women representation for promoting their progress (Zimmer, 1988). The work of Kanter (1977a) and others have been compelling for researchers and organizational change agents, however the sole reliance on numbers as the only theoretical cause of, and as the solution to workplace discrimination has neglected the complexities of diversity management at workplace (Yoder, 2002). The present study with its

insight into the complex interplay of interactional forces operating at **socio cultural, structural and interactional levels** has significant policy implications as it indicates that mere structural changes without any shift in socio cultural and interactional patterns will reverse the 'Transgressive change' as crossing of formal gendered boundaries will be countered by creation of '**micro boundaries**' in order to maintaining status quo.

Limitations

- The present study consisted of roughly a sample size of 30 participants in each group. This sample size does not provide a safe basis for generalization of the findings of the study.
- Generalizations are constrained since the sample was taken from few places in Delhi and NCR region only. As random sampling methods were not utilized, participants of this study are not representative.
- Data was collected from different work organisations with different size, structure and work culture.

Conclusion

The result depicts how the female participants irrespective of their numerical strength and occupation type have reported higher tokenism scores in comparison to males hinting at the overall state of women who are working. The experience of heightened visibility, assimilation and contrast seems to be even worse for women tokens in gender atypical occupations. Interestingly males of all categories have reported lower scores. Moreover even when they cross 'gendered borders', the high premium that patriarchy has attached to males, helps them compensate for their numerical minority in female typical occupations. The study offers an insight about how males and females are situated differently in our society and since workplaces are part of the larger societal structure only, there is a need to adopt a socio-organizational perspective to understand workplace dynamics.

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