

The Gendered World of Trespassing Tokens: A Glimpse

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Abstract

The present research work intended to study the effect of Gender, Occupational gender type and proportional numerical strength on the experience of Workplace Tokenism. 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 the workplace. The present study extends the framework of prior research work by examining the experience of 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 40. Results depict a complex interaction of Gender, Gender type of Occupation and Male Female proportional numerical strength on the experienced Tokenism.

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

Background

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 has 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.

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

Literature Review

Literature Review 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.

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. 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 workplace 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.

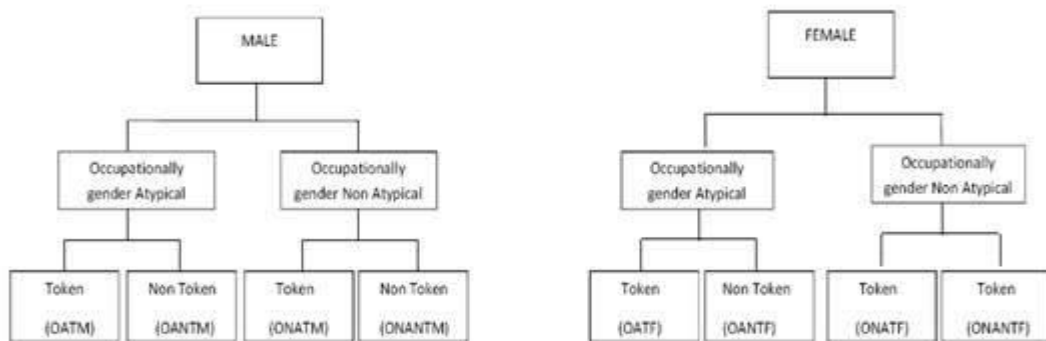
While the skilled jobs remain occupied by the males. If this process continues over time, then the unskilled female/male workers would develop a certain kind of skill in those unskilled jobs, they performed daily. Then automatically jobs get segmented by the employers at the same time by the employers, 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 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.

Method

The objective of the study is to gain a comparative insight into the experiences of different groups created based on Gender, Occupational Gender Type and Proportional Numerical Strength at workplace on the Workplace Tokenism and its dimensions (i.e. Visibility, Contrast, Assimilation). 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 40 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 based on 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. A semi structured situational interview was developed. Along with the interview, the critical incident technique was also employed, in which the respondents were probed to narrate their true experiences

related to the topic of research. The data collected was then analyzed by employing content analysis technique.

The interview schedule was based on the work of Yoder (1994) to explore the potential impact of four causal factors : proportional underrepresentation(Numerical Token status),Gender status, Job prestige, and Occupational Gender-Inappropriateness on the experienced Token Dynamics. Their Study focussed on participants' expectations for targets based on the above 4 factors. Yoder suggested that Token numbers alone would not be sufficient to produce Tokenism; subordinated gender status also contributed regardless of the gender-appropriateness or prestige of the occupation. The survey used in the study comprised 3 classes of tokenism measures. 1) Visibility items that included the attention expected to be paid to the target and consequent performance pressures. 2) Contrast items that focused on work atmosphere. This was assessed with quantitative ratings and content analyses of the respondents' opening description of the target and of their projections about coworkers' reactions to the target's promotion. 3) Role encapsulation that was measured with a single item probing expected task assignments.

To data reduction, Yoder conducted separate factor analyses (principal components with oblique rotations) for the visibility and the contrast variables. The six items designed to measure visibility produced three unit-weighted factors accounting for 66.9 percent of the overall variance: work noticed (competence and mistakes noted, $r = .40$), person noticed (general attention and attention to clothes, $r = .21$, and visibility outcomes (stress and job persistence, $r = .33$; see Table 1). The first two factors reflected different aspects of being visible; the third factor focused on outcomes of being in the spotlight, namely performance pressures and persistence. The eight contrast measures produced two unit-weighted factors accounting for 60.4 percent of the variance: social atmosphere (have lunch, general discussions, share social time, job discussions, acceptance as a person; coefficient alpha = .78) and colleagueship (reaction to promotion, encouragement, acceptance as colleague; coefficient alpha = .75. In sum, as per Yoder (1994) six measures of Tokenism processes represented the three major categories identified by Kanter (1977a, 1977b): Visibility (work noticed, person noticed, and visibility outcomes), Contrast (Social Atmosphere and Colleagueship), and Role Encapsulation. The correlations among these six measures, combined with their theoretical relevance and bases in previous research, confirmed that they assessed various aspects of overall projected Tokenism. These 6 measures of Tokenism process employed by Yoder (1994) provided the framework for the development of semi structured interview schedule for the present study, with probing focussing specifically on Visibility (work noticed, person noticed, and

visibility outcomes), Contrast (social atmosphere and collegueship), and Role Encapsulation to gain an insight into even the subtle nuances of Token Dynamics.

Result and 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 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 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 research 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. A look into the qualitative data has revealed how males and females ascribe different meanings to similar conditions to which they both have been subjected. The experiences, the meaning making process, the concerns, the struggles, and the conflicts are quite different for both males and females despite of the similar outward appearance of conditions to the outside world. Qualitative data revealed important insights into the interplay between gender status and gender typing of occupations. The insights that emerged from the responses of males and females reflected that compared to the hardships experienced by the women who enter "male fields", the males, did not report the experiences of workplace disadvantages. The men in these

professions often worked under the direct supervision of other men. Many of the men interviewed reported that they had good rapport with their male supervisors. Men in nontraditional occupations faced a different scenario as their gender is often construed as a positive difference. Therefore, they have an incentive to bond together and emphasize their distinctiveness from the female majority. Further, these personal ties can have important consequences for men's careers.

A male schoolteacher shared "I share a very good rapport with my principal. I am more like his right-hand man. I have worked hard to earn that trust and respect. He knows that I'm credible and can pull off work that my other colleagues can't." *"Saara bhaaga daudi, events organize karnaa, camps organize karne ka kaam aankh bandh karke mujhe hi milta hai. Toh ek tareeke se aapne jo visibility ke bare mein poocha uska nuksaan nai hotaa mujhe"* Interestingly men in atypical setups didn't report experience of workplace hurdles coming from their colleagues and supervisors, instead, for them the major area of concern is the constant pressure on them to "do their gender" out of the fear of feminization as is evident in the recurrent themes of "establishing territory" and "marking distinct identity" in their responses to the question on the experience of Boundary Heightening. For Males, whether they are workplace Tokens or Non-Tokens, Boundary heightening is something that comes from their own side unlike their female counterparts who are often at the receiving end of such boundary erection practices. This clearly indicates the power play involved in the experience of workplace Token dynamics. It can be seen that the Male atypical workers mostly reported experience of "awkward flow of communication" As reported by one of the OATM "Staff strength zyaada nai hai humaare school ki. Aurtein zyaadatar saath rehti hain. Aapko pata hai mentality kaisi hoti hai logon ki. Zyaada friendly hona possible nai ho pata. Kahaaniyan banaa lete hain log. Aur dhyaan bhi rakhna padtaa hai ki muh se koi baat na nikal jaaye jo koi mahilaa galat samajh le. Aadmiyon ke mazaak aur aurton ke mazaak bahut alag alag hote hain. Kuch bol do toh bura maan leti hain ek dum se. Badi umar waali teachers beta beta bolti hain. Unse salah leta hun ..khush rehti hain. Kam bolne mein hi bhalaa hai yahan." Another shared: "I think nurses(female) ko zyaada pareshaani hoti hai deal karne mein..kai baar doctor log chilla dete hain toh jhel nai paati hain..high pressure job mein toh chaltaa rehta hai yeh sab .Pressure deal karnaa aana chaahiye. Doctor logon ko bhi male staff se baat karnaa aasaan lagtaa hai. Hum log toh pressure wagarah samajh lete hain. Hum logon ki aapas mein bhi isi wajah se zyaada baatcheet nai hoti hai. carefull rehnaa padta hai..."

In the above vignette the constant use of phrases like "hum logon" by the males working in gender atypical occupations to refer to their male colleagues shows the strong need for belongingness experienced by such males who have 'crossed the gendered borders'. For male tokens in gender atypical occupations this sense of solidarity for their same sex colleagues' hints at the sense of comfort and security they

seek in their same sex affiliation. It's interesting to note how the participant considers that the term 'Nurse' automatically implies a female incumbent as mentioned in the above vignette "I think nurses(female) ko zyaada pareshaani hoti hai deal karne mein....". The statement clearly reflects how male job incumbents in a gender atypical job psychologically distance themselves from the very job they are in. They reconstruct the meaning of their job for themselves to avoid any kind of intrapsychic conflict by virtue of being in a job dominated by females. Thus, for them, only female colleagues are nurses while they are specialised medical attendants. But this communication barrier does not seem to translate into the "poisoned" work environment. However, women do treat their male colleagues differently on certain occasions. It is not uncommon in nursing, for example, for men to be called upon to help catheterize male patients, or to lift especially heavy patients. Teachers sometimes confront differential treatment as well, as described by this teacher: *"As a man, you're teaching with all women, and that can be hard sometimes. Just because of the stereotypes, you know. I'm quite into computers ..., and all the time people are calling me to get computer related work done. Not that I mind doing any of those things, but it's ... you know, it just kind of bugs me that im supposed to do that all the time, "A man should do that attitude irritate kartaa hai bahut.kai baar nai man hota fir bhi duty nibhaani padti hai. Yaa fir koi discipline issue ho toh mujhe villain ki tarah khadaa kar dete hain bacchhe ke saamne"*.

The above vignette shows the hidden pain experienced by males by virtue of the constant expectation to 'act out' a certain script of 'Hegemonic Masculinity' day in and day out. Getting assigned all the "discipline problems" can make for difficult working conditions, for example. But many men claimed this differential treatment did not cause distress. In fact, several said they liked being appreciated for the special traits and abilities (such as strength) they could contribute to their professions as evident in the themes of "being indispensable", "expert", "dependable" etc. However, the most compelling evidence of discrimination against men in these professions is related to their dealings with the public (Williams, 1992). Men often encounter negative stereotypes when they meet clients or "outsiders"-people they meet outside of work. For instance, it is popularly assumed that fashion designers, male classical dancers, male beauty experts etc. are gay. Librarians encounter images of themselves as "wimpy" a male in an atypical occupation is often type casted as "feminine" and "passive" (Budig, 2002) Elementary school teachers are often confronted by suspicions that they are paedophiles. Men are very distressed by these negative stereotypes, which tend to undermine their self-esteem and to cause them to second-guess their motivations for entering these fields.

On the other hand, Women experience a catch-22 situation, such that they may be damned if they disconfirm feminine stereotypes and damned if they do not.

Although men also suffer backlash for disconfirming masculine stereotypes, they are not required to do so to advance their careers. Thus, penalties for stereotype disconfirmation are more problematic for women than men. Gender stereotypes act as normative expectancies that contain both descriptive and prescriptive elements. When actors violate gender prescriptions, they can suffer reprisals that undermine their social influence and financial health. Because gender stereotypes define desirable traits, behaviors, and roles for men and women, they serve as a class of expectancies that contain both descriptive and prescriptive elements (Fiske & Stevens, 1993). In addition to a descriptive component reflecting how men and women are typically perceived, gender stereotypes also contain a strong prescriptive component which reflects how men and women “should be” and importantly, how they “should not be” (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Fiske & Stevens, 1993; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). There’s no denial of the fact that descriptive stereotypes are in flux, with newer conceptions of masculinity and femininity in terms of ‘alpha female’, ‘metrosexual men’ etc yet a traditional gender prescription remains intact. While individuating information can successfully undercut bias due to descriptive stereotyping, people who possess strong gender stereotype prescriptions are still likely to show bias against female job applicants even when descriptive stereotypes have successfully been thwarted. Thus, despite dramatic changes in women’s career opportunities and work roles, perceptions that women should differ from men in ways that negatively reflect on their ability to perform high-powered jobs persist as a barrier to gender equity.

In “Doing Gender,” the groundbreaking article by Candace West and Don Zimmerman, that appeared in the first issue of *Gender & Society* in 1987, it was argued that gender is not something we are, but something we do. Gender must be continually socially reconstructed considering “normative conceptions” of men and women. People act with the awareness that they will be judged according to what is deemed appropriate feminine or masculine behavior. These normative conceptions of men and women vary across time, ethnic group, and social situation, but the opportunity to behave as manly men or womanly women is ubiquitous. Thus, gender is an ongoing emergent aspect of social interaction (Deutsch, 2007). This social constructionist perspective exposed the weaknesses of deterministic structural accounts of gender which assume that gender differences arise from the different resources to which men and women have access or the different social locations they occupy. However, studies based on the gender approach demonstrate that even when structural conditions produce gender difference and inequality, these are mediated through social interactions. In the present study for example men and women respondents in atypical occupations reported how their opposite sex coworkers created differences between them and the respondents through their discourses. As

one of the Male Occupationally Atypical respondents stated, “at times I’m made to feel that I’m unsuitable for teaching small kids as I lack that “mother’s touch” in me”. A female Occupationally Atypical respondent shared “. they tell me I can’t handle de addiction cases well because its “dirty and filthy” out there and I’m a woman.”

In this study an attempt has been made to examine women and men in unconventional gender situations, occupations, or pursuits that could potentially disrupt gender relations. Nevertheless, the underlying story in the responses of the participants to the interview questions is that gender is preserved. The responses clearly showed how women in masculine occupations/atypical occupations carefully negotiated a uniquely feminine way of implementing their professional roles, thereby accomplishing gender and professional credibility simultaneously. As one of the dominant themes for occupationally atypical female tokens is the constant need to strike a balance between being “presentable” and “being professional”. Also, there is a constant reference to the fact that their presence at the job “eases out the tensions”. When probed further, the female respondents shared how they have created a different kind of relationship with older male colleagues than with young men. Among other strategies, women often joked about gender to reduce the tension of their otherwise incongruous relationship.

As shared by one of the female respondent *“Hasi mazaak karte hain hum log ek saath. Haan kai baar boys versus girls ho jaata hai but healthy spirit mein. Hasi mazaak mein karte hain. koi ego issues nai hote.”* The above vignette shows the constant stress the respondent has put on the fact that any ‘boys versus girls’ exchange is only in ‘healthy spirit’ and is not derogatory in nature. The female respondents stressed the fact that their presence makes the job environment more conducive for productive work by bleeding out competitive stress. Likewise, women respondents reported increased expectation from them to be especially compassionate and loving to which they respond by emphasizing the nurturing and caring (i.e., maternal) characteristics of their occupational role rather than its more administrative functions. Females irrespective of their numerical strength and occupational appropriateness reported these pressures however the female tokens in occupationally atypical jobs reported more distress and experience of these prescriptive forces.

The atypical female workers carved out gendered roles for themselves that entailed both concealing femininity by wearing trousers and shirts and enacting some aspects of conventional masculinity (e.g., demonstrating their ability to use technical machineries) but, at the same time, preserved their femininity, by asserting a “nurturing, communicative, and empathic” type of communication pattern. This diad of “outwardly copying of males” and “maintenance of femaleness” is evident in

almost every interview transcript of females working in a gender atypical job. A OATF reported, "Yeh sales and marketing ka kaam bhaaga daudi ka hota hai...us hisaab se dress up hona padta hai taaki log aapko seriously le. Upar se hum logon ki maximum dealing bhi corporate houses and event managers se hoti hai toh thoda professional look chhahiye. But kai baar ghar waalon ko mera ladkon ki tarah kapde daalna acchha nai lagtaa.....unki bhi galti nai hai." The above reported incident highlights the guilt that women carry when they cross the threshold. The guilt might not be due to their personal weakness but by the expectations of an ideal feminine role that has been ascribed to them repeatedly through their social interactions.

The irony lies in the fact that even their emotions are not completely their own. If they feel guilty then atleast they stand a chance of getting back into the fold of the society, for she can be treated as "sheep that got strayed from the herd" but if she is not even feeling guilty then she has lost the right to be called a woman. She is ostracized as a "deviate". On the other extreme we have "apologetics", she who may respond to the social pressures by eliminating the necessity for displays of feminine behavior. Ironically this diad of "outwardly copying of males" and "maintenance of femaleness" is evident even in the occupations that are gender neutral/gender non atypical. Pharmacy represents one such gender non atypical set up that women have entered and are negotiating. The responses of medical representatives and Lab incharges to the questions about the experience of Token dynamics of Visibility, Polarization and Role Encapsulation reveal intricate and nuanced ways women are doing gender even in a supposedly gender-neutral occupation. As reported by one of the respondents "Main business suit leke aayi apne liye take professional looks lagein and doctors thoda seriously sune meri baton ko. But selling tactics thodi soft karni padti hain taaki special treatment mile, mere male colleagues ko toh kai baar dekhte saath hi bhagaa dete hain...".

However, on the other side, many researchers have reported that Male Tokens in a female dominated job do not experience the disadvantages of their minority status. In fact, the Token Men in Nursing, Elementary Teaching, and Librarianship in her study frequently spoke of feeling advantaged at work (Williams,1995). Interviewees reported being favored as new hires, for promotions, and as colleagues. Token males also reported mostly positive treatment from their female peers. The favorable treatment of male tokens by both their superiors and coworkers prompted Williams to describe the Male Token's career as a ride on the glass escalator. Interestingly a look into the interview responses of males in the present study suggested a different story. Irrespective of their numerical status and occupational type the male participants reported a constant struggle to enact a gendered script handed down to them by patriarchy. Apparently even males are also not spared from

this ritual of doing gender, in fact even more when they have cross gendered borders. The responses of Occupationally Gender Atypical Male Tokens who are in Teaching profession reflect the conflict some of them experienced when some of them who wanted to nurture children in the ways characteristic of mothers were constrained to behave more stereotypically. Unless they adapted more distant and masculine ways of being with children, men who nurtured were under suspicion of being “NAAMARD” or impotent. As reported by one of the male respondent *“Main by nature caring hoon.apne students ka dhyaan rakhta hun,unki parvaah kartaa hun..But at times kar nai paata..Mere colleagues ek aadmi ka aisa attitude bacchon ke liye hona,bardaasht nai kar paate.mujhe pata hai kuch log peeth peeche mujhe aurat bhi kehte hain..”* After a pause he continued *“Bura lagta hai but aap doosron ki soch badal nai sakte”*

Moreover, male teachers, who might have preferred not to be disciplinarians, were often given the most difficult children, thrusting them into the role of disciplinarian and thereby creating the self-fulfilling prophecy that men discipline. Though mothers are the first agents to inculcate discipline, it doesn’t continue. They get deprived of this “imposed role” as well as the kids grow and become increasingly independent. As reported by one of the male teachers *“Koi bhi maarne peetne ka kaam ho toh humare paas le aate hain.Kabhi kabhi theek hai par humeshaa hi thodi acchha lagtaa hai.bacchihe bhi darne lag gaye hain humse.Aisa nai chaahte they hum.”* Patriarchy has always been conceived in terms of women oppression and sanctions while it’s believed that males always bask in the glory of their privileged birth. It cannot be denied that males confer certain benefits in comparison to their female counterparts owing to the patriarchal structure supporting power differentials however the picture is not all that rosy and clear for them either as they must constantly uphold the traditional hegemonic masculine values that have been bestowed upon them right from the birth. Even they are yoked like women and must carry out the patriarchal script with an unquestioning mind if they must enjoy the attached power.

This is the problem that has been a byproduct of “contractedness of male consciousness through the master narrative of sex and class” (Bhardwaj, 2008). Males do not come with the notion of superiority, but societal constructions have made their mindset hierarchical. Patriarchal society in general accords higher social status to males; consequently, the powerlessness of these Token women may be determined jointly by their societal status and the organizational numerical imbalance. This relationship prompted Laws (1975) to label female Tokens “double deviants” because females deviate from the preferred status held by their male coworkers on two relevant status dimensions: sex and work group majority. (Black men aspiring to a majority group occupation similarly would be considered double deviants because

they deviate from the preferred race and work group status held by their white coworkers).

Since organizations often reflect the culture of which they are part (Barrett and Bass, 1976), deviancy from a preferred status in the culture adds to the structuring of control within the organization (Acker and Van Houten, 1974). In the case of the female Token, the relatively higher status of males and lower status of females in society's sex hierarchy creates a power differential that augments and multiplies the numerically derived power of a male majority which is not the case with male tokens. The more "deviant" one is (in terms of work group majority, the preferred sex, race, age etc), the greater the correspondent loss of power and the more intense is the workplace Token dynamics, as can be seen in the results of the present study. The overall findings of the study clearly indicate how the experiential realities of males and females at workplace are shaped by the socio cultural, structural, and interactional forces.

Thus, any kind of intervention that fails to acknowledge the complex interplay of these forces will fail to address the workplace problems experienced by Tokens. It is important to realize that males and females are situated differently in our society and since workplaces are part of the larger societal structure only, structural issues of workplace proportional strength cannot be studied in isolation. 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. 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 organizations 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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