AN EXAMINATION OF THE EFFECTS OF TOKENISM FOR FEMALE COMMAND OFFICERS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

by

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Abstract

Women remain underrepresented in law enforcement. The theory of tokenism suggests members of the dominant group, male police officers, will engage in a variety of behaviors that restrict the mobility of the tokens within the group. Kanter (1977) identified three perceptual tendencies, visibility, assimilation, and polarization that restricted the mobility of token women. The restriction of upward mobility for women in law enforcement is illustrated in the raw numbers. Women represent less than 2% of the police chiefs in the United States (Johnson, 2013). The raw numbers suggest that the female officers experience visibility, assimilation, and polarization. Blalock's (1967) intrusiveness theory suggests that the perceived attempt by tokens to reject the constraints of their token status and achieve the privileges and power of the dominant group will result in the tokens experiencing increased negative effects of tokenism. If Blalock's postulate holds true, women entering the command rank structure in law enforcement should experience increased negative effects of tokenism. This research found that female police officers did experience visibility, assimilation, and polarization. However, there were not statistically significant differences between non-ranking female police officers and female police officers who have achieved command rank when comparing the effects of tokenism (visibility, assimilation, and polarization). The results of this research supported Kanter's (1977) theory of tokenism, but offered a divergent viewpoint to Blalock's (1967) theory of intrusiveness.

Dedication

My parents divorced when I was ten years old. After their divorce, Sundays were spent with my Grandmother. Each Sunday afternoon, Grandma gathered my siblings and me in front of the television. We faithfully watched any movie that starred Katharine Hepburn. One afternoon in typical ten-year-old fashion, I asked my Grandma why we had to watch black and white movies when she had a color television. Grandma replied, "Because I like Katharine Hepburn." I persisted with my inquiries and asked Grandma why she liked Katharine Hepburn. My Grandmother patiently answered, "Because she wears pants."

As a ten-year-old, I did not grasp the magnitude of Grandma's answer. I understand it now. In loving memory of my Grandmother, I dedicate this research to my sisters in law enforcement who proudly wear pants and unselfishly serve others.

Stay safe.

Acknowledgments

In my law enforcement agency, we affectionately refer to a safety officer during reality-based training scenarios as a *Thunder Buddy* (fans of the movie *Ted* will understand the analogy). A Thunder Buddy gently coaches you through difficult scenarios and helps push you past the inevitable mistakes. My mentor, Dr. Cyd Strickland, served as the best Thunder Buddy any doctoral student could have ever hoped for during this journey. Dr. Cyd made it safe to challenge ideas, debate theories, make mistakes and discuss experiences.

I give thanks to my dissertation committee members for their guidance. Dr. Swain narrowed the focus of my research. Without her frank input, I would still be writing. Dr. Tarlton's discussion of female military veterans offered a unique perspective I had not considered. His scrutiny helped prevent silly mistakes in my final draft.

I owe a great deal of my success to LouAnn Hamblin and Kathy Vonk, co-owners of LouKa Tactical. As always, they did not hesitate to help when asked. They strive to leave everything a little better than they found it. Their friendship and support have helped me become a better police officer, a better leader and a better person.

Linda Collier became the first female police chief in an agency's 131-year history. Not bad for a woman who was the focus of a petition signed by the male officers' wives to prevent her from becoming an officer. Chief Collier was the reason I joined the police department. She has been a tremendous mentor, role model, and friend.

Lastly, I want to thank my life partner, Diane, for possessing unending patience. Without her support, none of this would have been possible. She held my hand and believed in me even when I doubted myself.

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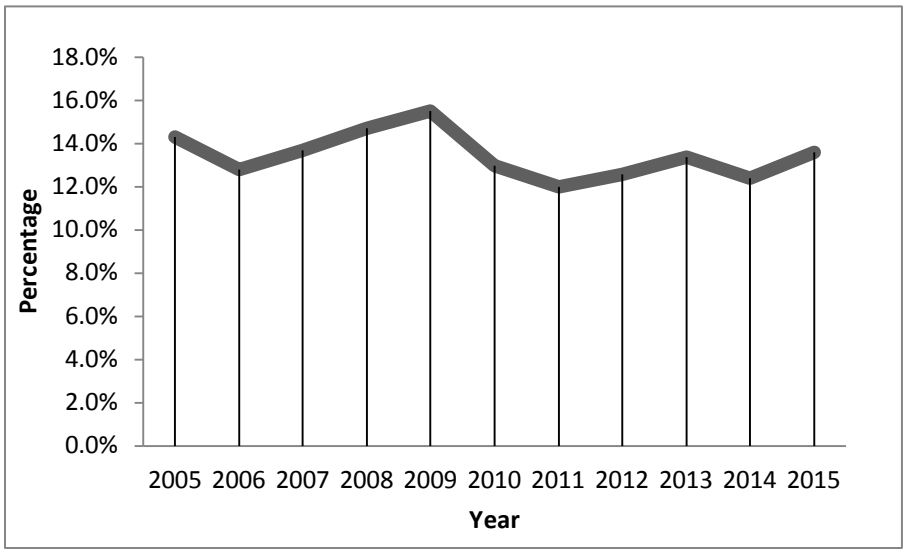
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Kanter's (1977) qualitative study of female salespeople in a large industrial corporation dominated by men helped shape tokenism as a defined construct that perpetuated negative effects upon tokens within a dominant group. Kanter (1977) conducted her research in a company dominated by men with women occupying less than 15% of the total labor force. Kanter (1977) compared the numerical representation of the dominant group members to the numerical representation of the token group members. Kanter (1977) identified four group types based upon various proportional representations of culturally and socially dissimilar people in a group. The four groups consisted of 1) uniform---all members are culturally, and socially similar, 2) skewed---85% of the group is culturally, and socially similar, 3) tilted---65% of the group is culturally and socially similar, and 4) balanced---50-60% of the group is culturally and socially similar. The group in Kanter's (1977) research represented a skewed group because the women occupied less than 15% of the total workforce.

Kanter (1977) conducted her research over 39 years ago in a company dominated by men with women occupying less than 15% of the total labor force. In the years following Kanter's (1977) research, the number of women in the workforce has substantially increased. However, the increase in numbers has been primarily restricted to the lower ranks of the labor market with leadership positions within organizations and the political arena still dominated by men (Catalyst, 2014; Vinnicombe, Doldor, & Turner, 2014). Women account for only 15.2% of the corporate board members of the Fortune 500 companies in the United States (Derks, Van Laar, Ellemers, & de Groot, 2011). Unlike the private sector, the percentage of woman in law enforcement has not substantially increased throughout the last decade. As illustrated in Figure 1, the percentage of women in law enforcement fluctuated from a low of 12.0% in 2011 to a high

of 15.5% in 2009. The numbers have not substantially increased. Thus, the percentage of



women in law enforcement still resembles Kanter's (1977) definition of a skewed group.

Figure 1. The percentage of female police officers employed in law enforcement in the United States from 2005 – 2015. Adapted from "Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey," *U.S. Department of Labor,* 2005 – 2015.

Currently, women comprise 13.6% of the 638,810 police officers in the United States and 15.3% of the first line supervisors (U. S. Department of Labor, 2015). The National Association of Women Law Enforcement Executives reported only 219 women held the position of police chief out of the 14,000 police agencies in the United States; less than 2% of the total chief executive officers (Johnson, 2013). The mathematical proportions of men versus women in law enforcement indicate men are the dominant group.

Background of the Study

Kanter's (1977) qualitative study examined the interactions between a small group of female salespeople and the larger group of male salespeople in a large industrial corporation.

Kanter's (1977) research formed tokenism as a defined construct that propagated negative perceptual tendencies of the dominant group toward token members of the group. Simmel's (1910) seminal research regarding the concept of society, and the interaction of its members, provided the theoretical framework for Kanter's (1977) research. Simmel (1910) offered that members of a society/group are not viewed as individuals, but rather as a generalized type. This generalized type is based upon a priori, an understanding of how things within the group work. Simmel believed that an individual who recognized and acknowledged the a priori found a position in the structure of the generality. In essence, the form of the group, determined the process, thus narrowing the possible interactions between the members of the group.

Kanter's (1977) research examined this "form, determines process" concept. Kanter used a group whose form (membership) contained tokens, thus skewing the form of the group. Kanter (1977) defined a token strictly in mathematical proportions; a token was any person or group that comprised less than 15% of the total population of the dominant group. The women in Kanter's (1977) study accounted for less than 15% of the total population of the corporation; the women were culturally and socially dissimilar to the men. Kanter (1977) discovered that the dominant members of the group, the men, held certain preconceived perceptions of the token women. Kanter (1977) identified three perceptual tendencies held by the dominant group toward the token women. These three perceptual tendencies included 1) visibility, 2) assimilation, and 3) polarization.

Kanter (1977) described visibility, assimilation, and polarization as perceptual tendencies held by the dominant group when interacting with the tokens. The first of these perceptual tendencies, visibility, is the result of the proportional rarity of the tokens. By virtue of their smaller numbers, tokens are viewed as more unique or different than the dominant members of

the group, thus making the tokens more visible. Visibility occurs because both the token members and the dominant group recognize the visible differences of the tokens. Tokens acknowledge the pressure to perform well because the actions of one token member are viewed as the actions of all token members (Shelley, Morabito, & Tobin-Gurley, 2011; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Yoder, Adams, Grove, & Prince, 1983). The visible difference of gender creates performance pressures. Female command officers in law enforcement experience increased visibility due to the low percentage of female command officers in law enforcement. A female officer's gender becomes increasingly noticeable when the female officer accepts a leadership position (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Derks et al., 2011; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Silvestri et al., 2013). Kanter (1977) described tokens as having "a larger awareness share." (p. 971)

A larger awareness share leads to heightened scrutiny. The dominant group members monitor the behavior of the token group members and expect the tokens to follow the descriptive norms of their gender (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). Adherence to the descriptive norms of gender results in assimilation, the second perceptual tendency. Assimilation involves preconceived beliefs about the tokens. The dominant group often distorts the conduct and characteristics of the tokens in order to ensure that the tokens fit the stereotypical role of their social category (Kanter, 1977). Tokens may be assigned tasks or responsibilities that coincide with the stereotypes. In law enforcement, female officers find themselves channeled into positions viewed as "soft" by male officers. These less desirable positions include working sexual assault investigations, juvenile crimes, school resource officers and neighborhood police officers (Garcia, 2003; McCarthy, 2012; Silvestri, Tong, & Brown, 2013). Female officers "fit" these "soft" positions due to the gender stereotypes held about these positions. Negative perceptions about female officers engaged in narcotics investigations,

Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams, and canine units are likely to manifest because of the gender stereotypes associated with these roles (Franklin, 2007; Garcia, 2003; Shelley et al., 2011).

Negative perceptions about women in specialized positions that have been traditionally held by men manifest because policing remains an intrinsically masculine institution (Burke & Mikkelsen, 2005; Corsianos, 2011; Ellemers, Rink, Derks, & Ryan, 2012; Franklin, 2007, McCarthy, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Shelley et al., 2011; Silvestri, 2007). Female officers must navigate a culture of masculinity steeped in gendered roles. Morash and Haarr (1995) posited that male and female police officers are viewed as dichotomous in abilities and character with women experiencing unique, gender-related, stressful circumstances. Stereotypes serve as the basis for denying tokens opportunities for preferred assignments as well as exclusion from leadership positions. The "think manager-think male" gender stereotype offers a negative bias against women as successful leaders (Schein, 1975; Schein, Mueller, Lituchy, & Liu, 1996; Bruckmuller, Ryan, Rink, & Haslam, 2014). A female police officer who seeks or achieves a leadership position refuses to assimilate into the social roles of her gender, thus rejecting the structure of the generality. As offered by Simmel (1910), the individual must fit the structure of the generality. A lack of fit, limits the interactions of the individuals within the group.

When the individual does not fit the structure of the generality, the dominant group may exaggerate the differences of the individual while amplifying the common characteristics of the dominant group. This phenonemon describes the third perceptual tendency, polarization. The contrast between the tokens' differences and the dominant groups' commonality results in an increase in the boundaries between the two groups (Gustafson, 2007). This boundary heightening can result in an environment steeped in discrimination and unwelcome behavior

(Fassinger, 2008; Lonsway, Paynich, & Hall, 2013). Female police officers who achieve leadership roles in law enforcement encroach upon the social role of the male officers and experience the negative effects of role incongruity (Koenig et al., 2011). The negative effects of tokenism increase when the dominant group perceives the tokens as intruding and attempting to take over the power and privilege of the dominant group (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Blalock, 1967; Franklin, 2007; Gustafson, 2007; McCarthy, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Reskin, 1988; South, Bonjean, Markham, & Corder, 1982; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Yoder et al., 1983).

Female police officers who achieve command rank positions in law enforcement enter positions of power and status. The dominant group may perceive a woman's promotion as an intrusion upon a power structure reserved for men. The men view the women as rejecting the descriptive norms of their gender (Blalock, 1967; Bruckmuller et al., 2014; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Koenig et al., 2011). This can result in the female command officers in law enforcement experiencing increased negative effects of tokenism. Tokens become isolated, often excluded from the informal and formal communications within the organization (Stichman, Hassell, & Archbold, 2010; Yoder & Sinnett, 1985). Tokens also become isolated and excluded from the social interactions of the dominant group. The police culture, as a bastion of masculinity, remains unchanged. The negative experiences of tokenism can contribute to performance problems and work-related stress (Morash & Haarr, 2012). "Visibility creates performance pressures on the token. Polarization leads to group boundary heightening and isolation of the token. And assimilation results in the token's role entrapment" (Kanter, 1977, p. 972).

Using Kanter's (1977) research results, Ott (1989) examined female tokens within the law enforcement profession and male tokens within the nursing profession. Ott (1989) discovered that the male nurses, although smaller in proportion to their female counterparts, did

not encounter the negative effects of tokenism that the female police officers had experienced in the male-dominated profession of law enforcement. Ott (1989) posited that the negative effects of tokenism appeared to be gender-specific, and not based on mathematical proportions. Work has been historically defined by gender with socially expected roles performed by both men and women (Epstein, 1970). As such, Yoder and Adams (1984) decided to study the interactions between male cadets at West Point Academy and the first women to enter West Point Academy.

The first women students at the West Point Academy entered a previously male-only culture. They experienced visibility, assimilation, and polarization through their entrance into this gender-inappropriate profession (Yoder et al., 1983). Their definition of the West Point Academy as a gender-inappropriate profession stems from the belief that gender is a master status (Epstein, 1970; Laws, 1975). The master status dictates and drives all of the social interactions of a person (Laws, 1975). A person's gender determines the person's expected social roles. A person who deviates from the socially expected roles can experience difficulty in his/her interactions with the other members of the society (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Schyns & Day, 2010).

The males within the society at West Point believed the women cadets were trying to engage in a role that deviated from their expected social roles. In essence, the women were attempting to assume the expected social role of the males. In attempting to assume the expected social role of the males, the women were perceived as intrusive (Yoder et al., 1983). As such, the female cadets experienced social isolation. Other researchers have also discovered that the negative effects of tokenism increased when the dominant group felt threatened and perceived the tokens as attempting to intrude upon their social role (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Blalock,

1967; Franklin, 2007; Gustafson, 2007; McCarthy, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Reskin, 1988; South et al., 1982; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Yoder et al., 1983).

The perceived attempt by tokens to reject the constraints of their token status and achieve the privileges of the dominant group can result in the dominant group engaging in behaviors that heighten the negative effects of tokenism. The attempts by the dominant group to block tokens from achieving the privileges of the dominant group can be found within law enforcement agencies. Historically, female police officers have been channeled into the positions viewed as undesirable by male officers such as working with juveniles and investigating sexual assault (Franklin, 2007; Garcia, 2003). This channeling reinforces the social role expectations of both female and male police officers. Both genders are expected to perform within the boundaries established by their social roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Koenig et al., 2011; Rudman & Kilianski, 2000; Rudman & Phelan, 2010).

The presence of women in a male-dominated profession (law enforcement) served as the framework for this research. Currently, women comprise 13.6% of the 638,810 police officers in the United States and 15.3% of the first line supervisors (U.S. Department of Labor, 2015). The National Association of Women Law Enforcement Executives reported only 219 women held the position of police chief in 2013 out of the 14,000 police agencies; less than 2% (Johnson, 2013). Using Kanter's (1977) definition of a skewed group where 85% of the group is culturally and socially similar, women are tokens in law enforcement. This research examined if females, in law enforcement, who achieve rank (positional power) experience increased effects of tokenism (visibility, assimilation, and polarization) as they gain access to the power structure.

Statement of the Problem

Women remain underrepresented in law enforcement. When a particular group is underrepresented within the context of the larger, dominant group, the smaller group is referred to as tokens (Laws, 1975). Tokenism, the negative interactions between the dominant group and the tokens, occurs when the dominant group feels threatened or obliged to share privilege, power or position with the tokens (Blalock, 1967; Fassinger, 2008; Kanter, 1977; Laws, 1975; Reskin, 1988; Stichman et al., 2010; Yoder, 1991). Members of the dominant group may engage in a variety of behaviors that restrict the mobility of the tokens within the group (Ellemers et al., 2012; Fassinger, 2008; Franklin, 2007; Garcia, 2003; Kanter, 1977; Kingshott, 2013; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011).

The restriction of mobility, especially upward mobility, for women in law enforcement is illustrated in the raw numbers. Women represent less than 2% of the police chiefs in the United States (Johnson, 2013). The raw numbers suggest the dominant group in law enforcement, the male officers, engage in behaviors that restrict the upward mobility of the token women; the higher the rank, the fewer the number of females. Women who promote into command rank positions in law enforcement are entering positions of power and status. The perceived attempt by the women to reject the constraints of their token status and achieve the privileges and power of the dominant group may result in the women experiencing increased negative effects of tokenism. The underrepresentation of female command officers in the male-dominated profession of law enforcement served as the basis for this current research. This research examined if females in law enforcement who achieve command rank (positional power) experience increased negative effects of tokenism as they engaged within the power structure of the dominant group.

Purpose of the Study

The number of women in the workforce has substantially increased, yet the increase in numbers has been primarily restricted to the lower ranks of the labor market with leadership positions within organizations and the political arena still dominated by men (Catalyst, 2014; Vinnicombe et al., 2014). Unlike the private sector, the percentage of woman in law enforcement has not substantially increased throughout the last decade. The percentage of women in law enforcement still reflects Kanter's (1977) definition of a skewed group. In addition, the number of women decreases as women promote into the command ranks. At the line level, women comprise 13.6% of the 638,810 police officers in the United States. At the first line supervisory level, the number of women increases slightly to 15.3% (U.S. Department of Labor, 2015). At the executive level of leadership, the number of women dramatically decreases to just 2% of 14,000 police chiefs in the United States (Johnson, 2013). The numbers illustrate the decrease in the number of women as the command rank increases.

An increase in command rank results in an inverse relationship to the number of women holding that command rank. As the dominant group, men will block the attempts of female tokens to gain the privilege and power of the dominant group (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Blalock, 1967; Reskin, 1988; South et al., 1982; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Yoder et al., 1983). This survey research sought to examine whether or not female officers in law enforcement experience increased negative effects of tokenism when they achieved command rank (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Blalock, 1967; Ellemers et al., 2012; Epstein, 1970; Gustafson, 2007; Jonsen, Maznevski, & Schneider, 2010; Kanter, 1977; Laws, 1975; Morash & Haarr, 2012; Stichman et al., 2010; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). This research examined the relationship between the independent variable of command rank and the dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization, as moderated by age, education, and tenure, in a sample of female police

officers throughout the United States. This survey research determined if there are statistically significant differences between non-ranking female police officers and female police officers who have achieved command rank when comparing the effects of tokenism (visibility, assimilation, and polarization).

Rationale

Law enforcement remains an inherently masculine institution (Burke & Mikkelsen, 2005; Corsianos, 2011; Ellemers et al., 2012; Franklin, 2007, McCarthy, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Shelley et al., 2011; Silvestri, 2007). Women in law enforcement participate in a culture that supports gendered roles. Female officers find themselves working in "gender-appropriate" positions within the law enforcement culture (Garcia, 2003; McCarthy, 2012; Silvestri, et al., 2013). Leadership manifests as a gendered role and remains stereotypically masculine (Bruckmuller et al., 2014; Cames, Vinnicombe, & Singh, 2001; Haslam & Ryan, 2008; Koenig et al., 2011; Mihail, 2006; Schein et al., 1996). Women entering leadership positions find themselves facing role incongruity between their social role as a woman and their professional role as a leader (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Hoyt, Simon, & Reid, 2009; Laws, 1975; Martin, 1978; McCarthy, 2012).

Women working in male-dominated professions deviate from gendered, social roles and further deviate by aspiring to masculine roles, such as leadership within the profession. Laws (1975) argued women in male-dominated professions experienced tokenism due to their violations of social norms and gender roles. Laws (1975) described women in male-dominated professions as "double deviants." The double deviance occurs when females or minorities violate the social norms and gender roles established by the dominant group. Blalock (1967) offered that when dominant group members view the minority group members (tokens) as

serious, competitive threats, the discriminatory behaviors of the dominant group increase to restrict or eliminate the competition. This may explain why female officers would experience increased negative effects of tokenism as they achieve command rank and is the focus of this research.

The research question in this study sought to examine the relationships between the independent variable, command rank, and the dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization. The independent variable in this research design was a categorical variable (no rank = 0, rank =1). The dependent variables, visibility, assimilation, and polarization were continuous variables. Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to examine these relationships. MANOVA allows for the simultaneous examination of the relationship between two or more continuous, dependent variables and categorical, independent variables (Cooper & Schindler, 2011). MANOVA also provided data about the interrelationships that might exist between variables. MANOVA can detect whether groups differ along a combination of variables (Cooper & Schindler, 2011; Maxwell & Delaney, 2004). The use of MANOVA helped prevent the inflation of familywise error rate by examining multiple dependent variables simultaneously (Field, 2009).

Research Question

The research question in this study sought to examine the relationships between the independent variable, command rank, and the dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization.

Research Question:

Are there statistically significant differences between non-ranking female police officers and female police officers who have achieved command rank when comparing the effects of tokenism (visibility, assimilation, and polarization)?

Hypotheses

$H1_o$ There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to visibility.

$H1_a$ There is a significant difference between police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to visibility.

$H2_o$ There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to assimilation.

$H2_a$ There is a significant difference between female officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to assimilation.

$H3_o$ There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to polarization.

$H3_a$ There is a significant difference between female officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to polarization.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this research was to contribute to the existing scientific body of literature in the field of organizational management and leadership by examining whether female police officers experience increased effects of tokenism (visibility, assimilation, and polarization) when they achieve command rank. Previous researchers discovered females experience the effects of tokenism due to their membership in a male-dominated profession (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Blalock, 1967; Franklin, 2007; Gustafson, 2007; McCarthy, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Reskin, 1988; South et al., 1982; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Yoder et al., 1983).

This research addressed a gap in the literature by exploring whether female police officers experience increased negative effects of tokenism when they achieve command rank. Research conducted by Stroshine and Brandl (2011) determined race was more predictive of the negative effects of tokenism than gender. Previous research has not examined whether command rank was predictive of the negative effects of tokenism. Blalock (1967) offered that the dominant group would engage in more discriminatory behavior as tokens attempted to gain the power and privilege of the dominant group. If Blalock's (1967) postulate holds true, women entering the command rank structure should experience increased negative effects of tokenism. This research addressed this gap in the literature.

This research contributes to the existing scientific body of literature in two contexts. First, the research examined whether female police officers experience negative effects of tokenism due to their membership in a profession that is considered to be gender-inappropriate (Epstein, 1970; Laws, 1975; Yoder et al., 1983). Second, the research examined whether female

police officers experience increased negative effects of tokenism when they achieve command rank.

Definition of Terms

Age

Defined as the biological age of the respondent at the time the respondent completed the survey instrument.

Assimilation

The means by which the dominant group twists the characteristics of a female officer to fit the stereotypical roles deemed appropriate for a woman (Archbold & Schulz, 2008).

Command rank

Rank is defined as formal, positional power within a law enforcement agency as recognized within the law enforcement profession ranging from the rank of corporal up to and including police chief/sheriff (Wyllie, 2010). Respondents indicated their current position (highest rank) at the time they completed the survey instrument.

Education

Education is defined as the highest level of formal education completed by the respondent.

Length of service

Length of service is defined as the amount of chronological time served within the respondent's law enforcement agency

Polarization

Polarization occurs when the similarities of the tokens and the dominant group are minimized, and the differences are exaggerated (Yoder & Sinnett, 1985).

Visibility

Visibility refers to the belief of the token that she is different, and stands out, from the dominant group (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011).

Assumptions

This research study contained two theoretical assumptions. First, there is an assumption that gender exists as a master status that determines and conditions all of the social interactions of a person (Laws, 1975). Second, there is an assumption that work has historically been defined by gender so female police officers would be in a *gender-inappropriate* profession (Epstein, 1970; Laws, 1975; Yoder & Adams, 1984).

This research study contains one methodological assumption. The dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization were treated as interval data even though data obtained from a Likert scale is, prima facie, ordinal data. Although the presumption of equal intervals cannot be made, robustness is not always affected. Parametric tests of central tendency, like analysis of variance (ANOVA), are highly robust to skewness and non-normality (Norman, 2010).

Limitations

The research was temporal and not longitudinal. Thus, data was captured at a single point in time from each respondent. This researcher has over 34 years of law enforcement

experience and remained neutral and unbiased in data analysis and when reporting the findings. Quantitative statistical analysis was employed in order to remain objective. Using quantitative research methodology allowed the researcher to use statistical analytical techniques to explain, confirm, predict or test theories (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). The collected data was analyzed using the Statistical Software Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

Nature of the Study

Simmel's (1910) seminal research identified the a priori of group membership within a society. Simmel (1910) marginalized the uniqueness of individuals within a group. Instead, individuals were viewed as a generalized type. This generalized type forms around a priori, an understanding of how things within the group work. Individuals who acknowledge and accept the a priori find a position in the structure of the generalized type (Simmel, 1910). In essence, the form of the group determines the process, thus limiting the breadth and depth of the interactions between group members.

Simmel's (1910) "form, determines process" postulate served as the basis for Kanter's (1977) research. Kanter (1977) examined the interactions between a small group of female salespeople situated within the larger group of male salespeople in a large industrial corporation. The form (membership) of the group in Kanter's (1977) qualitative study contained an unequal number of men and women. This imbalance skewed the form of the group.

Kanter (1977) examined the interactions that occurred between the men and women in this skewed group. The women (tokens) in the study comprised less than 15% of the total population of the dominant group (male salespeople). Kanters's (1977) research formed tokenism as a defined construct that propagated negative perceptual tendencies of the dominant group toward the token members of the group. Kanter (1977) discovered the dominant group

held three perceptual tendencies about the token women. These three perceptual tendencies included 1) visibility, 2) assimilation, and 3) polarization.

Kanter (1977) described visibility as the result of the mathematical rarity of the tokens. The smaller proportion of tokens increases the visibility of the tokens. Visibility occurs because both the dominant group members and the token members recognize the visible uniqueness of the tokens. Tokens acknowledge the pressure to perform well because the actions of one token member are viewed as the actions of all token members (Shelley et al., 2011; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Yoder et al., 1983).

Kanter (1977) discovered increased visibility resulted in heightened scrutiny of the tokens by the dominant group members; the men established descriptive norms for the female tokens based solely on gender. Descriptive norms based upon gender require each gender to demonstrate behavior consistent with the descriptive norms of their respective gender (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Koenig et al., 2011). Adherence to the descriptive norms of gender results in assimilation, the second perceptual tendency. Assimilation involves preconceived beliefs about the tokens. Kanter (1977) discovered that the dominant group distorted the characteristics and behavior of the women in order to ensure that the women aligned with the descriptive norms of the gender.

When the individual does not fit the structure of the generality, the dominant group may exaggerate the differences of the individual while amplifying the common characteristics of the dominant group. Unifying the commonalities of the dominant group while overstating the differences of the tokens describes polarization, the third perceptual tendency (Kanter, 1977). Illustrating a stark contrast between the tokens' differences and the dominant groups' commonality results in an increase in the boundaries between the two groups (Gustafson, 2007).

This boundary heightening can result in an environment steeped in discrimination and unwelcome behavior (Fassinger, 2008; Lonsway et al., 2013).

Blalock (1967) acknowledged environments steeped in discrimination and filled with unwelcome behavior when he examined the entrance of minority groups into predominantly White male work environments. Blalock (1967) offered that the dominant group (White males) would perceive the movement of minority groups into the workplace as intrusive. The dominant group would view this intrusion of tokens into the membership of the dominant group as indicative of the tokens trying to reject the constraints of their token status (Blalock, 1967). Tokens who refuse to remain within the constraints of their token status experience negative effects of tokenism (Blalock, 1967; Kanter, 1977).

In addition to experiencing negative effects of tokenism, tokens experience increased negative effects of tokenism when they attempt to gain power within the dominant group (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Blalock, 1967; Franklin, 2007; Gustafson, 2007; McCarthy, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Reskin, 1988; South et al., 1982; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Yoder et al., 1983). Female police officers who achieve leadership roles in law enforcement encroach upon the social role of the male officers and experience the negative effects of role incongruity (Koenig et al., 2011). Female police officers who achieve command rank positions in law enforcement enter positions of power and status. If Blalock's (1967) postulate regarding intrusiveness holds true, women entering the command rank structure in law enforcement should experience increased negative effects of tokenism.

Blalock's (1967) theory of intrusiveness and Kanter's (1977) theory of tokenism served as the framework for this research. This research examined the correlation between command rank (independent variable) and three dependent variables (visibility, assimilation, and

polarization) while controlling for age, length of service, and education. Both Kanter's (1977) tokenism theory and Blalock's (1967) intrusiveness theory offered support for a positive correlation between the independent variable of command rank and the three dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization. As female police officers (tokens) achieve command rank and enter the power structure of the dominant group, the female command officers will experience increased effects of tokenism (visibility, assimilation, and polarization). The relationships between the variables in this study are illustrated in Figure 2.

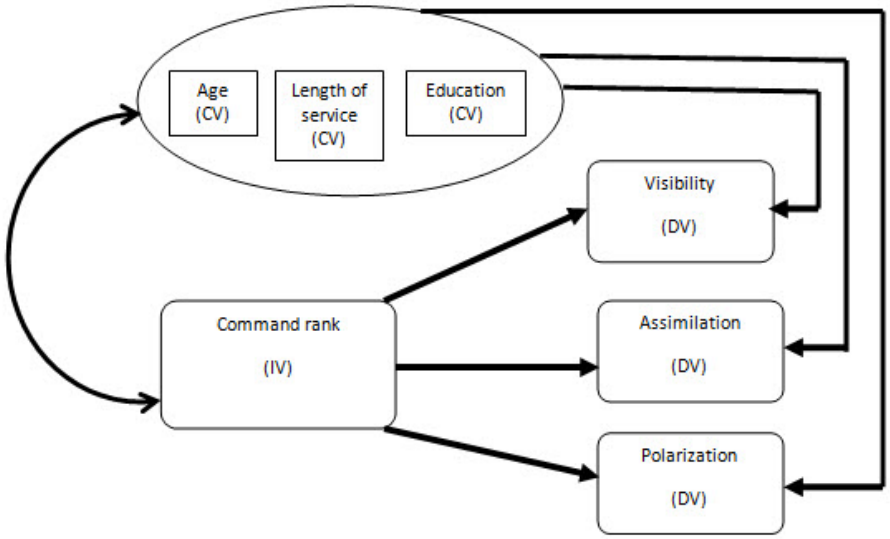


Figure 2. The relationships between the dependent, independent and control variables in this study

Organization of the Remainder of the Study

The remainder of this study encompasses four additional chapters. Chapter two provides a review of the literature surrounding social roles, the gendered institution of law enforcement, and tokenism. A description of the research design, the sample size, an explanation of the survey instrument, the data collection methods and the statistical, analytical techniques employed in this

quantitative research study are all contained in Chapter three. Chapter four summarizes the data analysis and the research results. Chapter five objectively provides a description of the limitations of this research. Chapter five also contains recommendations for future research and a conclusion about this research.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Over 39 years ago, Kanter (1977) examined the interactions between the male and female salespeople in a large, private sector corporation. The women in the group comprised less than 15% of the group membership. The men perceived the women as culturally and socially dissimilar to them. Based upon the dissimilarities and the proportional representation of the women versus the men, Kanter (1977) defined the women as tokens. Kanter's (1977) research helped shape tokenism as a defined construct that perpetuated negative effects upon tokens within a dominant group.

Women within the law enforcement profession mirror Kanter's (1977) definition of tokens. Men continue to dominate the law enforcement profession. As tokens, female police officers participate in a culture that supports gendered roles. Law enforcement remains a gendered institution. The law enforcement culture provides the potential for female police officers to experience the negative effects of tokenism.

A review of the literature uncovered a burst of research after Kanter's published theory of tokenism in 1977. Not surprising, law enforcement served as the basis for much of the early research due to the low number of female police officers within the male-dominated profession. In 1995, Morash and Haarr developed an instrument to measure the effects of tokenism. They used the instrument within the Milwaukee Police Department and published their findings.

The research examining tokenism in law enforcement tapered after 2000 until Stroshine and Brandl (2011) modified the instrument designed by Morash and Haarr (1995). Stroshine and Brandl (2011) again used the Milwaukee Police Department as the site for their research. The research conducted by them generated some additional interest in the theory of tokenism. Morash and Haarr (2012) conducted qualitative research within two police agencies in the Southwest. Lewis and Simpson (2012) conducted the most recent research that specifically revisited Kanter's (1977) theory while examining the construct of power within gendered institutions. Lewis and Simpson (2012) did not specifically address the law enforcement profession. In 2013, Kingshott examined the law enforcement profession but focused on gender issues within the profession. Tokenism served as the backdrop for Kingshott's (2013) discussion.

A review of the literature offered some insight into the theoretical framework of tokenism. Social role theory and intrusiveness theory surfaced as important constructs within tokenism. Visibility, assimilation, and polarization emerged as underlying negative effects experienced by tokens. In addition, the literature offered some understanding of the experiences of female police officers and female police officers who achieve command rank.

Theoretical Framework of Tokenism

Tokenism, as a defined construct, situates within a social constructivist perspective. This social constructivist perspective posits that reality is socially constructed through human activity (Wilson & Tagg, 2010). A male-dominated profession, like law enforcement, constructs a reality where men determine the group membership and the roles of the members of the group. The men also determine the type, extent, and level of interactions between the group members.

Social Role Theory

In the early 18th century, Simmel (1910) offered a philosophical discourse focused upon group membership, the roles of members of the group, and the resulting interactions. Simmel (1910) posited that members of a group or society do not manifest as unique individuals. Instead, each individual belongs to a generalized type, and as such, becomes one with the group. This generalized type is based upon a priori, an understanding of how things within the group work. An individual who recognized and acknowledged the a priori found a position in the structure of the generality. The a priori of sustained groups or societies required group members to make sacrifices on behalf of the group, engage in reciprocal relationships within the group and maintain the relationships within the group (Papilloud, 2004). The form of the group determined the a priori (Simmel, 1910). In essence, the form determined the process.

This "form determines process" concept offers an explanation for the existence of socially constructed roles and role expectations. The dominant members of a group establish the structure, the a priori, of the group. Reciprocity, sacrifices, and sustainable relationships become prescriptive norms, and group members must learn and demonstrate the expected behavior (Papilloud, 2004). The group membership determines the behavior, and the learned behavior sustains the group membership. In policing, the group membership consists predominantly of male law enforcement officers. In policing, the expected behavior demarcates along gender lines (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Silvestri, 2007).

Gender roles create preconceived ideas about how men and women should behave. Research conducted by Tajfel (1969) determined that even young children used socially constructed roles to classify others and sort people into groups. Although young, the children possessed keen sensitivity to social roles and would categorize people and then engage in expected behaviors to assimilate into the desired category. Categorization serves as a powerful

device used by group members to determine who belongs in the group and who does not (Tajfel, 1969; Llewllyn, 2004; Reskin, 1988).

To gain membership into the desired group, a person must demonstrate behavior consistent with the expected behaviors of the group. Accepting membership into a group requires the member to conform to the social roles of the group. According to social role theory, a person can belong to a variety of groups within an organization (Ryan & Haslam, 2007). The groups represent the social structures. The social structures place people into certain categories. Reskin (1988) described the practice of distinguishing categories based on some attribute as differentiation. Gender represents a visible, easily distinguishable attribute, thus a distinct differentiation.

Differentiating along gender lines provides distinct categories. Each category consists of socially constructed roles with prescribed norms of behavior associated with each role. Eagly and Karau (2002) defined these socially constructed roles as the collective, shared expectations that pertain to all members of a particular social category or all members who occupy a particular social position. An example of a social category would be all police officers. An example of a particular social position would be all police officers who have achieved command rank. The social category and social position require people to behave in certain ways within certain roles and structures within an organization (Franklin, 2007; Jonsen et al., 2010; Kingshott, 2013; Pounder & Coleman, 2002; Shelley et al., 2011). For example, patrol officers must dress in clean, pressed uniforms while undercover officers must dress in plainclothes that resembles the street level people with whom they interact. Gender roles emerge through patterned activity and social interactions. Male officers are expected to demonstrate aggressive, competitive behavior with a focus on crime fighting. Female officers are expected to demonstrate passive, cooperative

behavior with a focus on social work (McCarthy, 2012; O'Neill & McCarthy, 2014; Shelley et al., 2011).

Different behavioral expectations exist for men and women due to the prescribed norms of their gendered social roles. Gender serves as a master status that determines all social interactions (Epstein, 1970; Laws, 1975; Yoder; 1991). At birth, gender determines the categorical assignment of each person. Sex differentiation describes the category, male or female, each person is placed in at birth. Sex differentiation results in differential treatment. Most adults treat boys differently than they treat girls. Girls learn to be passive and are encouraged to cooperate when interacting with playmates. In stark contrast, boys learn to be assertive and are encouraged to compete and win (Ayman, Korabik, & Morris, 2009; Bass & Avolio, 1994; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Pounder & Coleman, 2002). The socialization process defines the social roles men and women are expected to play within a society.

The social roles and their corresponding expectations may limit opportunities for both genders. Alexander and Thoits (1985) studied male and female college students and the roles they accepted within skewed and balanced groups. They discovered that the female students in the skewed groups (15% or less female) earned significantly lower grades than the females in balanced groups. The male students in the skewed groups (15% or less male) did not underperform because of their token status. The male students in the skewed group performed as well academically as males in balanced groups. Alexander and Thoits (1985) posited that the female students in the skewed groups performed to the expected standards of their token status.

Angrist (1969), through a 4-year phenomenological study of college women's role aspirations, identified how role expectations generated learned behavior for the respective genders. Even though the women strove to obtain college degrees, the majority of women in the

study identified marriage as their primary contingency. "As the key contingency, preparation to fit the unknown spouse leads girls to tailor their behavior for maximum eligibility" (Angrist, 1969, p. 226). The young women engaged in assimilation to fit the desired, socially constructed role, thus limiting the potential to engage in other roles.

Researchers examining the law enforcement culture also discovered clearly defined, socially constructed roles for male and female officers. In 1978, Martin conducted a field study in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department. Martin observed the interactions between 370 male police officers and 30 female police officers in one of the agency's patrol districts. The male officers engaged in behaviors that accentuated male dominance and sexualized the work environment. Male officers assigned roles to the female officers based upon the behavior exhibited by the female officer. The male officers assigned the role of "dyke" or "bitch" to female officers who acted "like men." The male officers assigned the role of "sex object" or "weak" to female officers who acted "like women" (Martin, 1978).

Martin (1978) witnessed female police officers acting in dichotomously opposed roles. Martin described this juxtaposition as POLICEwoman and policeWOMAN. According to Martin (1978), a POLICEwoman described a female officer who focused upon being perceived as a "good cop" and downplayed her feminine characteristics. PoliceWOMAN described a female officer who sought to maintain her gender identity and downplayed the masculine characteristics associated with being a "good cop." Female police officers find themselves faced with two opposing social roles; they can either be a woman or a police officer, but not both. Female police officers must choose between defeminizing themselves or deprofessionalizing themselves in order to resolve the conflicting social roles (Corsianos, 2011; Robinson, 2013). Neither option affords a female police officer the opportunity to fully integrate or be accepted

into the role of police officer. During in-depth interviews, female police officers described the disrespect, disdain, and discrimination they received from their male counterparts merely because of their gender and their presence in policing (Rabe-Hemp, 2008). The role of police officer holds a gendered, social identity. A consistent theme in the literature describes police work as a "man's job" and as "no place for a woman" (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Belknap & Shelley, 1992; Burke & Mikkelsen, 2005; Chan, Doran, & Marel, 2010; Cordner & Cordner, 2011; Franklin, 2007; Lewis & Simpson, 2012; Martin, 1978; Morash & Haarr, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Shelley et al., 2011).

Intrusiveness Theory

Law enforcement remains a gendered institution with socially constructed roles for each gender. Men comprise the dominant group. According to intrusiveness theory, the dominant group (men) will resist the efforts of women to gain the position and privilege of the dominant group (Blalock, 1967; South et al., 1982; Yoder, 1991). Blalock's (1967) seminal research discussed the discriminatory practices of White males as African-American workers began entering work environments dominated by White males. Blalock (1967) discovered giving the token group equal status with the dominant group threatened the position of the dominant group. This threat, perceived or real, resulted in the dominant group committing overt acts to obstruct the entrance of African-American workers into White work environments.

Blalock's (1967) intrusiveness theory examined the negative effects of being a token (African-American) in a group dominated by White males. Blalock's (1967) intrusiveness theory can be extended to include the overt acts committed by male police officers to keep female police officers from entering the law enforcement profession. Policing remains a profession where men continue to overtly and actively resist the entrance and presence of women

(Kern & Lundman, 2012). Race defined the token status in Blalock's (1967) research. Gender defined the token status in Kanter's (1977) research.

Gender as a token status predetermines the socially constructed roles for each gender. Men and women construct gender through continual, dynamic interactions. In law enforcement, gender conventions become constructed through social interactions that emphasize masculinity and femininity (Chan et al., 2010). If Simmel's (1910) postulate holds true, then the a priori of a male-dominated profession, like law enforcement, would reflect descriptive and prescriptive norms of masculinity, thus establishing men as the dominant group. Descriptive behaviors consist of agreed upon expectations about what the members of a social category or group actually do. Prescriptive behaviors consist of agreed upon expectations about what the members of a social category or group should do (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Jonsen et al., 2010; Koenig et al., 2011; Portillo & DeHart-Davis, 2009; Ryan & Halsam, 2007).

Schein (1975) examined the descriptive and prescriptive behaviors assigned to each gender when asking participants to assign characteristics as either male or female when describing a manager. The list of characteristics formed along the dichotomy agentic (masculine) versus communal (feminine). When asked to describe a manager, the respondents provided the prescriptive norms consistent with the characteristics of masculinity (Schein, 1975). The prescriptive norms of a police officer also align with agentic, masculine character traits. Police officers should demonstrate aggressiveness, display decisiveness, strictly follow the chain of command and avoid displaying emotions. In contrast, police officers who display emotions, demonstrate empathy, engage in proactive problem solving and utilize interpersonal communication skills are seen as "feminine," "soft," or "weak" (Chan et al., 2010; Corsianos,

2011; Morash & Haarr, 2012; O'Neill & McCarthy, 2014; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Robinson, 2013; Shelley et al., 2011; Silvestri, 2007).

The prescriptive and descriptive norms of masculinity outline accepted behaviors for male and female police officers. Blalock (1967) found that the dominant group predetermined the behavior expectations for the tokens. These behavior expectations generally reinforced stereotypes of the tokens. The use of stereotypes ensured a sharp contrast would exist between the dominant group and the tokens (Blalock, 1967). This sharp contrast between the tokens (women) and the dominant group (men) exists within the law enforcement profession. A cult of masculinity exists within the police culture (Franklin, 2007). The cult of masculinity favors the myth of "real police work" filled with crime-fighting activities requiring physical strength and violence. Both men and women buy into the myth of "real police work" (Chan et al., 2010). The socially constructed reality of police work remains centered in masculinity. The police culture supports stereotypical, masculine values, exaggerated heterosexual orientations, strict in-group regulation, and misogynistic and paternalistic attitudes toward women (Corsianos, 2011; Shelley et al., 2011).

Misogynistic attitudes can manifest when a woman first enters the law enforcement profession. As a "man's job," policing is seen as a gender-inappropriate profession for women (Epstein, 1970; Garcia, 2005; Krimmel & Gormley, 2003; Laws, 1975). An occupation defined as a "man's job" provides an uncomfortable social context for women entering the occupation. Women entering a male-dominated profession ignore the constrained, prescribed norms of their gender.

Epstein (1970) described women who entered gender-inappropriate professions as deviants. Laws (1975) expanded upon the deviant description and used the term "double

deviant" to define a woman who refuses to follow the constraints of her gender and tries to achieve the privilege and position of the dominant group. For example, the term deviant would describe a female entering law enforcement because she deviated from the prescribed norms of her gender by entering a male-dominated profession. The term double deviant would describe a female police officer who seeks, or gains, any role or position traditionally reserved for men.

Historically, female police officers met extreme resistance whenever they attempted to expand their roles beyond those deemed gender-appropriate by the police culture (Franklin, 2007; Martin, 1978). Blalock (1967) offered that the resistance occurs because the dominant group perceives the token group as attempting to obtain the position and privilege of the dominant group. In law enforcement, the resistance manifests in the form of sexual harassment, sexual discrimination, isolation, name calling, lack of mentoring, and blocking promotional opportunities (Franklin, 2007; Kingshott, 2013; Morash & Haarr, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). The use of obscene, profane, sexually explicit language reinforces the masculine in-group and further segregates female officers into an unwelcomed out-group (Shelley et al., 2011). Females experience an unwelcome environment rich in hyper-gendered roles where masculinity is applauded, and femininity is devalued. This devaluation of "female" supports a hegemonic masculinity that marginalizes women.

Marginalization prevents women, and some men, access to the privilege of the dominant group (Kingshott, 2013). Marginalization ensures that tokens do not achieve equal status with the dominant group (Blalock, 1967). Marginalization occurs with job and task assignments. The culture ensures role regulation and marginalization by assigning low-status group members to the least desirable jobs. Male officers traditionally occupy the positions on Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams, narcotics teams, and canine teams while female officers occupy the

positions of sexual assault investigator, school resource officer, and neighborhood police officer (Chan et al., 2010; Franklin, 2007, Garcia, 2003). Female police officers labeled these low-status assignments as the "pink ghetto" and described the detrimental effects these assignments had on their career aspirations (Wertsch, 1998).

Assignment to low-status jobs serves to block female police officers from advancing their careers (Chan et al., 2010; Corsianos, 2011; Franklin, 2007; Kingshott, 2013; Shelley et al., 2011; Wertsch, 1998). Female police officers in leadership positions represent a double threat to the men in law enforcement; they are women in a male-dominated profession, and they are women in charge of men (Silvestri, 2007). Blalock (1967) argued that the dominant group would feel increasingly threatened as the token group's numerical size increased or the token group achieved power within the dominant group. Maintaining gendered leadership within law enforcement removes the double threat presented by women because gendered leadership requires women to fulfill their prescriptive, stereotypical gender roles. Stereotypical gender roles serve to keep women in their subordinate place within the patriarchal system found in law enforcement. Law enforcement remains a social system that is male-centered, male dominated and male identified; power, authority and decision-making rests with the men (Franklin, 2007).

Research conducted by Hassell and Brandl (2009) supported this description of a patriarchal system with privilege and power reserved for the men. They conducted research within the Milwaukee Police Department. Males comprised over 80% of the officers in the police department and 62% of the men were White. Hassell and Brandl (2009) concluded that the officers with the greatest representation in the police department (heterosexual, White, male) reported the most favorable work experiences; the officers with the least representation in the

police department (female, persons of color, gay/bisexual) reported the least favorable work experiences.

Law enforcement remains a social system with White men holding power. Schein (1975) offered that women contributed to the concept of subordinate women within the social system by concurring with the stereotypical roles assigned to the female gender. Schein (1975) surveyed 167 female middle managers within 12 insurance companies throughout the United States. Schein (1975) discovered that the women assigned feminine characteristics such as helpful, intuitive, and cheerful to women in general. The women did not assign these same characteristics when describing successful middle managers. The women described successful middle managers with characteristics such as aggressive, forceful, ambitious, and self-confident. The characteristics affiliated with success were those characteristics most commonly aligned with masculinity. Schein (1975) coined the phrase "think manager, think male" to describe this phenomenon.

Twenty-one years later, Schein worked with other researchers to extend the "think manager, think male" research to a worldwide platform (Schein et al., 1996). The researchers conducted quantitative research using Schein's (1975) original 92-item descriptive index. Their sample consisted of 361 males and 228 females in Japan and China. They compared the survey results in Japan and China with previous surveys collected in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. They discovered the "think manager-think male" existed as a universal phenomenon (Schein et al., 1996). Their research revealed support for a global, implicit belief that men should occupy leadership positions.

The existence of an implicit belief that men should occupy leadership positions may create difficulties for women attempting to achieve leadership positions. The biggest obstacle

for women to overcome may be the persistent stereotype of leadership as male. Eagly and Karau (2002) discovered that the implicit belief that men should occupy leadership roles was stronger with those persons who endorse traditional gender roles. The meta-analysis conducted by Koenig et al. (2011) discovered that gender influenced the demonstration of friendly, empathetic and unselfish behavior; that gender being female. Through socialization, men learn to compete and lead. As a result, masculine traits denote leadership. Through socialization, women learn to cooperate. As a result, feminine traits are not associated with leadership (Sanchez-Hucles, & Davis, 2010).

Rudman and Kilianski (2000) examined the socialization process and reviewed implicit and explicit levels of gender roles and gender stereotypes. In their study, the male respondents associated with high authority. Conversely, female respondents associated with low authority. They offered that both genders believe men are expected to hold positions of power and authority. A strong endorsement of traditional gender roles provides difficulty for women in leadership positions. This difficulty increases for women who hold leadership positions within male-dominated professions. When women hold leadership positions, especially within male-dominated professions, others may view this as a lack of fit (Cames et al., 2001; Hoyt et al., 2009; Pounder & Coleman, 2002; Rudman & Kilianski, 2000; Rudman & Phelan, 2010).

This lack of fit between the gender role and the leadership role creates obstacles for women in male-dominated professions. This lack of fit proves harmful to female leaders because gender role stereotypes are more likely to come into play (Jonsen et al., 2010). In essence, the underlying implicit belief prescribes to the construct that men are leaders and women are not. When women violate this social construct and hold positions of power, they are likely to be viewed unfavorably and be devalued by male subordinates (Ayman et al., 2009).

Male subordinates may devalue female leaders because the men subscribe to stereotypical schemas and scripts to define and predetermine appropriate, expected behaviors for both genders. The devaluation arises because female leaders violate the script or schema assigned to their gender (Ayman et al., 2009; Bruckmuller et al., 2014; Hoyt et al., 2009). The schema or script provides the structure and context of the role. For example, structure and context would discourage a police officer from driving a marked patrol car while intoxicated.

The structure and context of a role restrict the choices of a person holding that role (Koenig et al., 2011; Mihail, 2006). A person is expected to conform to the schema or script of their respective role. If the person violates the schema or script of the role, role incongruity occurs. Ryan and Haslam (2007) offered,

> In this way, women leaders are often in a lose-lose situation. If their behavior confirms the gender stereotype, they are not thought to be acting as a proper leader, but if their behavior is consistent with the leader stereotype, they are not thought to be acting as a proper woman (p. 551).

The person who sees a woman in a leadership position, and concurrently cannot see the woman in a leadership position, experiences confusion because of the conflict between the expectations of the woman's gender role and the expectations of the leadership role (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Schyns & Day, 2010). The perceiver can see the woman as a woman or the perceiver can see the woman as a leader. The perceiver cannot see the woman as both a woman and a leader. The perceiver's confusion arises when they view a woman demonstrating behaviors contradictory to her gender role.

Seminal research conducted by Bass and Avolio (1994) offered an explanation for the incongruity that arises within conflicting roles. They identified certain behaviors as masculine or

agentic and other behaviors as feminine or communal. Agentic characteristics, by definition, demonstrate assertiveness and dominance. Common agentic attributes include confident, ambitious, independent, and aggressive. In contrast, communal characteristics demonstrate concern for others. Common communal attributes include helpful, emotional, kind, compassionate and generous. Agentic attributes aligned with a transactional leadership style. Communal attributes aligned with a transformation leadership style. Bass and Avolio (1994) found that a transactional leader who provided contingent rewards, maintained impersonal relationships, and monitored the work environment would likely be a male. A transformational leader who preferred to collaborate, maintained interpersonal relationships, and displayed concern for the people in the workplace would likely be a female. The law enforcement culture supports hegemonic masculinity and stereotypical gender roles; the culture supports a transactional leadership style. Law enforcement leaders should be aggressive crime fighters; they should be men (Chan et al., 2010; McCarthy, 2012; Shelley et al., 2011). Female law enforcement leaders using a transformational leadership style violate the schema or script of their leadership role. The script for a law enforcement leader remains transactional and male. In order to align with a transactional leadership role, women in male-dominated professions often defeminize and behave more like men (Chan et al., 2010; Ellemers et al., 2012, Kingshott, 2013; McCarthy, 2012; Robinson, 2013).

Even though female officers may defeminize and demonstrate masculine traits to be viewed as more effective leaders, they may still be denied leadership opportunities. Women may act like men, but they are not one of the boys. Male peer support exists within law enforcement. The male bonding reinforces gender stereotypes, builds barriers to upward mobility for women and keeps women in "their place" (Franklin, 2007). Gendered leadership develops in-group

favoritism. In-group favoritism maintains power and privilege within the dominant group (Blalock, 1967). In-group favoritism also creates a glass ceiling for women and prevents women from obtaining favored assignments (Ryan & Haslam, 2007). The glass ceiling ensures that women receive less desirable assignments such school resources officers or community police officers while men receive assignments on SWAT teams and undercover narcotics investigation teams (Chan et al., 2010; Franklin, 2007; Garcia, 2003). Officers who receive favored assignments enhance their promotional opportunities (Corsianos, 2011).

Promotional opportunities can diminish without working in a favored assignment. Role regulation ensures that female officers have "their place" in law enforcement. Burke and Mikkelsen (2005) found that female officers in Norway experienced role regulation. The female officers reported significantly fewer opportunities than their male counterparts. Quantitative research conducted by Stroshine and Brandl (2011) confirmed that females and minorities experienced role regulation; females and minorities perceived their opportunities for promotion as significantly decreased.

In comparison, Archbold and Schulz (2008) found that 57% of the female officers believed they were afforded the same promotional opportunities as male officers. Upon further examination, 43% of the female officers indicated they had someone push them toward promotion because the police department wanted to promote a woman. As a result, the female officers experienced a decrease in the desire to promote because they felt they were being pushed to promote because they were women and not because the administration felt they were qualified (Archbold & Schulz, 2008). In the past, the female officers had been denied promotional opportunities because of their gender. In an effort to diversify the police department, the female officers received promotional opportunities because of their gender. The token females obtained

access to the power and privilege of the dominant group. However, access does not equal acceptance.

Tokenism

Social role theory and intrusiveness theory provide a framework for the theory of tokenism. Early researchers examined the social construction of gender roles, prejudicial beliefs and discriminatory practices (Angrist, 1969; Epstein, 1970; Tajfel, 1969). A shift in the literature occurred in the mid-1970s when Laws (1975) directed her attention to the effects of being a few among the many. Laws, like previous researchers, acknowledged the social construction of gender roles. However, Law's (1975) research moved beyond sex roles and role expectations and focused upon the category membership of a group. This shift in focus paralleled Simmel's (1910) proposition of "form determines process." The category membership of a group determined the process. Category membership in a group can be defined in terms of race, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, or along any other stratified dimension. Once the group members define the category membership, all persons underrepresented in the group membership are considered tokens. Laws (1975) offered that tokenism is a form of patterned activity generated by the social system; tokenism can exist in any situation where the dominant group controls the participation of the underrepresented group.

The dominant group controls the participation of the underrepresented group. When the group membership is defined along gender, the membership is determined at birth. Gender is a master status that predicates all other interactions within a gendered society (Epstein, 1970; Laws, 1975). In male-dominated professions, gender dictates the group membership, thus men

regulate the behavior of token women. Men control the behavior of token women in a variety of ways. Men hold the power and privilege of the dominant group. As such, men control the number of women who are allowed into the organization. Women gain access, but they are not allowed to change the system they enter. Token women must abide by the constraints of their ascribed status as women (Ayman et al., 2009; Derks et al., 2011).

Women experience constraints within a gendered system. A token woman can successfully work within the constraints of a gendered system if a member of the dominant group chooses to sponsor the token woman (Krimmel & Gormley, 2003; Laws, 1975). This concept of sponsorship resembles the theory of leader-member exchange whereby a reciprocal relationship between a leader and a member results in a high degree of trust, mutual respect and loyalty (Schyns & Day, 2010). Sponsorship of a token by a dominant group member resembles the dyadic relationship between the leader and the subordinate in the leader-member exchange theory in the respect that there is a dyadic relationship and it is between a leader (dominant group member) and a subordinate (token). The resemblance fades beyond the dyadic relationship. The sponsorship of a token by a dominant group member ensures that the boundaries between the token and the dominant group remain intact; a token can never really become a member of the dominant group (Kingshott, 2013; Laws, 1975).

Although a member of the dominant group may sponsor a token, the boundaries between the two groups remain clearly established. In fact, the dominant group may try to heighten the boundaries between the two groups. This boundary heightening (polarization) exists when the dominant group attempts to block the token members from achieving the privilege, power, and status of the dominant group (Epstein, 1970; Laws, 1975; Kanter, 1977). Kanter (1977) described polarization as one of the negative effects of tokenism; she also identified visibility

and assimilation as two other negative effects of tokenism. Visibility, assimilation, and polarization manifest when the dominant group members, hold preconceived perceptions of the tokens. These preconceived perceptual tendencies can result in tokens experiencing negative consequences due to their token status. Kanter (1977) defined these three perceptual tendencies as part of her research surrounding the experiences of a small group of female salespeople in an industrial organization dominated by men. Kanter's (1977) identification of the perceptual tendencies held by the dominant group about the token members helped shape tokenism as a defined construct with the resulting negative effects on token members.

Kanter's (1977) examination of female salespeople in a male-dominated profession prompted research into the theory of tokenism. In fact, the title of three of the articles written since Kanter's (1977) publication, contain the words, "a test of Kanter's theory" (Gustafson, 2007; Izraeli, 1983; Stichman et al., 2010). Researchers examined the theoretical constructs of tokenism within different environments. The research included environments with men as the dominant group and women as the token members. These environments included female leaders (Blum & Smith 1988; Lyness & Thompson 2000; Maddock, 1999), female politicians (Bratton, 2005; Childs & Krook, 2008; Crowley, 2004), female trade union officials (Izraeli, 1983) and female police officers (Belknap & Shelley, 1992; Gustafson, 2007; Martin, 1978, McCarthy, 2012; Ott, 1989; Shelley et al., 2011; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Stichman et al., 2010). Research included environments, where women were the dominant group and men, were the token members. These environments included male flight attendants (Young & James, 2001) and male nurses (Heikes 1991; Ott, 1989).

The dominant group in law enforcement remains male. Women working in law enforcement work in a gender-inappropriate occupation. The occupation prescribes masculinity

and the role of police officer holds a gendered, social identity. A consistent theme in the literature describes police work as a "man's job" and as "no place for a woman" (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Belknap & Shelley, 1992; Burke & Mikkelsen, 2005; Chan et al., 2010; Cordner & Cordner, 2011; Franklin, 2007; Lewis & Simpson, 2012; Martin, 1978; Morash & Haarr, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Shelley et al., 2011).

Female police officers exist as tokens in a gender-inappropriate occupation. According to Kanter (1977), because female police officers are tokens, they are likely to experience visibility, assimilation, and polarization. The literature contains a variety of quantitative, qualitative and mixed-methods studies conducted to examine the experiences of token female police officers. The remainder of this literature review describes the findings of some of these studies with regards to visibility, assimilation, and polarization.

Visibility

Kanter's (1977) work focused upon three negative effects of tokenism that occurred for women in a male-dominated profession. Kanter (1977) defined one of these negative effects as visibility; the token's belief that she is different and stands out from the dominant group members. The visible differences between the genders serve to sharpen the contrasts between the tokens and the members of the dominant group. A woman entering a male-dominated profession violates the stereotypical norms for a woman. Tokens who violate group norms become increasingly visible (Blalock, 1967; Epstein, 1970; Laws, 1975; Kanter, 1977). Gustafson (2007) found that token female officers and minority male officers reported greater visibility and criticism than non-token White male officers; they were 1.5 to 2.5 times more likely than non-token White male officers to report feelings of visibility and criticism.

The first female cadets to enter the previously all-male military academy at West Point violated the group norms, experienced heightened visibility and received criticism. A total of 119 women entered the West Point Military Academy for the first time in 1976; a total of 1,366 men were in this same class (Yoder & Adams, 1984). Project Athena, a joint effort between the United States Military Academy and the United States Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, developed as a four-year longitudinal study to examine the 1) impact the admission of women had on the academy, 2) individual experiences of these female cadets, and 3) effectiveness of the training in preparing the female cadets for leadership roles within the military (Yoder et al., 1983). The visible differences between the male and female cadets served as a constant, obvious phenomenon. The researchers offered,

> No one can deny that the admission of women into West Point received a great deal of news coverage. Photographers repeatedly were singling out women for pictures, reporters were seeking women for personal interviews, and military VIPs always were close by as obtrusive observers to this change to West Point's tradition…it was a common sight for the dominants to observe some high ranking official or media representative talking to a token about her early experiences or adjustment (Yoder et al., 1983, p. 327).

Everyone acknowledged the increased visibility of the first female cadets, including the female cadets.

Like the female cadets, female police officers often receive additional media attention. Archbold and Schulz (2008) conducted face-to-face, structured interviews with 14 female officers in a Midwestern police agency that employed 129 police officers (19 female and 110 male). Over 60% of the female respondents described being "paraded around" in front of the

public during media events so everyone could see that the police department had female officers (Archbold & Schulz, 2008). Some of the additional attention comes from within the police agency itself.

Martin's (1978) field study conducted within the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Police Department highlighted the increased visibility experienced by the female officers. Environmental cues emphasized the differences between the male and female officers. Certain physical spaces such as bars, barbershops, and pool halls maintained a "men only" atmosphere. Female officers entering these "men only" environments reported increased visibility and discomfort (Martin, 1978). The female officers also experienced verbal cues that emphasized the differences between them and the male officers. Supervisors and co-workers routinely referred to the female officers as girls, broads, sweethearts, and babes; the male officers did not receive labels based on their gender (Martin, 1978). Sexualizing the workplace heightened the visible differences between men and women while marginalizing the women.

Heightened visibility causes the token to feel she is under constant scrutiny especially from the dominant group. The constant scrutiny results in pressure to perform well because the actions of one token reflect upon all other tokens (Shelley et al., 2011; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Yoder, 1991). The female cadets at West Point reported increased performance pressure due to their visibility (Yoder et al., 1983). One-third of the female respondents in a study conducted by Belknap and Shelley (1992) described being visible or very visible during training sessions; their increased visibility during training sessions resulted in heightened performance pressure.

Heightened performance pressure occurs because the dominant group and the token members both recognize the visible differences of the tokens. In a study conducted by Morash

and Haarr (2012), 38% of the female officers surveyed reported that the males in their workplace consistently defined the performance of any female officer as a collective reflection of all female police officers. This collective reflection included the belief that female officers were not as capable as male officers.

Male officers may perceive female officers as not as capable as men of performing police work. However, many female police officers believe the performance standards for token women differ from the performance standards for men. Token women perceive they must work twice as hard to be seen as half as good as their male counterparts (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Belknap & Shelley, 1992; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Gustafson, 2007; Krimmel & Gormley, 2003; Shelley et al., 2011). In an early study, Wertsch (1998) conducted open-ended, semi-structured interviews with 16 female police officers in a police department employing 301 (277 men and 24 women) officers in the Pacific Northwest. The female officers described their work environment as consisting of an in-group and an out-group. The male officers belonged to the in-group and the female officers belonged to the out-group.

Wertsch (1998) found that 69% of the female officers felt they had been labeled as members of the out-group. As members of the out-group, the female officers believed they had to work twice as hard in order to be seen as half as good as the male police officers. Over half of the female respondents said they worked twice as hard in order to gain acceptance from their male peers. Every woman interviewed said she felt obligated to prove herself to her male peers who doubted that women could do real police work (Wertsch, 1998).

Working twice as hard in order to be seen as half as good also surfaced as a theme in the research conducted by Archbold and Hassell (2009). Over 75% of the female officers reported they believed they had to work harder than their male peers in order to be viewed as competent.

The female officers described working hard in order to gain acceptance from their male peers and be seen as capable of doing police work. Tokens must work hard, but they cannot outperform the members of the dominant group. A great deal of pressure exists to work hard without outperforming members of the dominant group (Gustafson, 2007).

Women in law enforcement who attain leadership positions may be perceived as outperforming the dominant group members. Female command officers gain the privilege and power of the dominant group (Franklin, 2007). However, female command officers become even more visible than non-ranking female police officers due to the lower number of female command officers. In order to avoid increased visibility, female police officers may avoid seeking leadership positions. Archbold and Hassell (2009) found that 86% of the respondents felt they were qualified to be a sergeant, but over half of the respondents said they would not seek promotion because the agency so badly wanted to promote a female that any woman would get promoted whether she was qualified or not. By not seeking leadership opportunities, female police officers avoid situations that spotlight their gender and increase their risks of failure (Archbold, Hassell, & Stichman, 2010; Derks et al., 2011; Duguid, 2011; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Silvestri et al., 2013).

Assimilation

Attempts to block female officers from gaining the power and privilege of the dominant group can happen long before a female officer seeks promotional opportunities. Robinson (2013) found that some women opted not to enter law enforcement because they perceived the culture as too unwelcoming and as blocking their potential to achieve. If a woman enters the law enforcement profession, her mere presence as a token amidst the members of a dominant group can trigger the second negative effect of tokenism.

Kanter (1977) defined the second negative effect of tokenism as assimilation and described it as the preconceived, stereotypical beliefs held by the dominant group members about the tokens. Males in law enforcement distort the characteristics and behaviors of the female officers as a means of ensuring that the female officers fit the feminine, stereotypical roles of their gender and not the masculine, stereotypical roles associated with being a police officer (Franklin, 2007; Garcia, 2005). Because of their gender, female police officers face a dichotomous role. The dichotomous role manifests because male and female police officers are perceived to be in juxtaposition to one another in abilities and character (Morash & Haarr, 1995). A female police officer can choose to exhibit behavior consistent with her role as woman or she can choose to exhibit behavior consistent with her role as a police officer. A female police officer must choose to deprofessionalize in order to be perceived as more feminine or defeminize in order to be perceived as more professional (Ayman, et al., 2009; Chan et al., 2010; Ellemers, et al., 2012; Kingshott, 2013; McCarthy, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

The social role of a woman remains rooted in communal characteristics while the social role of a police officer remains imbued with agentic characteristics (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Chan et al., 2010; Franklin, 2007). Thus, a female viewed as an effective police officer because of her agentic behavior could be disliked because she is not seen as feminine. A female police officer may attempt to demonstrate androgynous behavior to reach a compromise between defeminizing and deprofessionalizing (Koenig et al., 2011). However, this will not prevent the dominant group from distorting the characteristics of the female officers to fit the preexisting generalizations about their gender.

Kanter (1977) found that the dominant group continually leveled the status of the female salespeople to fit their gender role. In the office, the dominant group assumed the female

salespeople were secretaries. In the field, male customers assumed the female salespeople were wives, dates or mistresses. Even when the male salespeople knew their female counterparts were also salespeople, the men treated the women like they were assistants (Kanter, 1977).

Status leveling preserves the preconceived stereotypes and allows dominant group members to interact with tokens in a manner that is familiar and more comfortable. Izraeli (1983) found that the women resorted to behaving in line with more feminine scripts to alleviate some of the discomforts their presence created for the men. Kanter (1977) found that the dominant group members assigned one of four roles to the female salespeople to maintain familiarity and comfort when interacting with the tokens. These four roles included the mother, the seductress, the pet and the iron maiden.

By assigning roles of mother, seductress or pet, the dominant group effectively deprofessionalized the female salespeople. The role of mother contained prescriptive behavior of emotional nurturer. The role of seductress sexualized the female salespeople and prescribed behavior consistent with a whore or a lover. The role of pet contained prescriptive behavior associated with a cheerleader or mascot. By assigning the role of iron maiden, the dominant group effectively defeminized the female salespeople. The role of iron maiden contained prescriptive behavior associated with a bitch or a dyke. Like the male salespeople, Martin (1978) found that male police officers also assigned the role of bitch or dyke to female police officers they perceived as acting like men. The male police officers also sexualized or denigrated the female police officers they perceived as acting like women; the women were seen as sex objects or as weak.

Assigning roles based solely on gender stereotypes results in role entrapment for female officers (Franklin, 2007; Garcia, 2003; Kingshott, 2013; Shelley et al., 2011). Task

differentiation assigns work according to group membership. Groups with low status receive the least desirable jobs (Reskin, 1988). The dominant group members often strive to ensure token females receive assignments or responsibilities that align with the stereotypes of their token status. Sixty-four percent of the women reported supervisors gave them certain assignments because the supervisor felt the assignment was more "appropriate" for a female officer (Archbold & Schulz, 2008).

Policing remains a gendered institution and suffused in masculinity (Burke & Mikkelsen, 2005; Corsianos, 2011; Ellemers, et al., 2012; Franklin, 2007, McCarthy, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Shelley et al., 2011; Silvestri, 2007). Hegemonic masculinity ensures role entrapment by assigning female police officers (low status) to the least desirable jobs. Men perceive these jobs as least desirable because the jobs are viewed as social work and not "real" police work (O'Neill & McCarthy, 2014). Female officers traditionally occupy the positions of juvenile detective, sexual assault investigator, school resource officer, and neighborhood police officer. These assignments include sexual assault investigations and pat-searching female suspects. Wertsch (1998) discovered that female police officers labeled these low-status assignments as the pink ghetto.

Male police officers rarely receive assignments to the pink ghetto. Male police officers (high status) receive assignments to the most desirable jobs. Men perceive these jobs as most desirable because the assignments consist of aggressive, crime fighting tasks (Kingshott, 2013; O'Neill & McCarthy, 2014; Silvestri et al., 2013). Male officers consistently get assigned to narcotics teams, canine units, and Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams (Chan et al., 2010; Franklin, 2007, Garcia, 2003; Silvestri et al., 2013). Assignment to these high-status

teams creates more promotional opportunities due to increased visibility (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Archbold et al., 2010; Corsianos, 2011; Franklin, 2007).

A shift away from aggressive, crime fighting tasks toward community policing has resulted in a greater emphasis on problem solving and collaboration within law enforcement. The movement toward community partnerships challenges the machismo culture of policing (McCarthy, 2012). Morash and Haarr (2012) found that over 75% of the female respondents in their study rejected the concept of "valued" masculine roles and "devalued" feminine roles. Some of the respondents reversed the traditional hierarchy and described feminine characteristics (compassion, good communicator, listener) as more effective than masculine characteristics (aggressive, competitive, physical strength) in policing.

If the findings in the aforementioned study hold true, male officers may find they must denounce the social roles of their gender in order to engage in "soft" policing. In order to be effective in collaborative, problem solving partnerships, a male officer must engage in a form of emasculation. For the male officer, emasculation also results in deprofessionalizing. The male officer moves away from the high status, traditional role of a police officer toward a lower status, less traditional role (Kingshott, 2013; O'Neill & McCarthy, 2014). When a female officer defeminizes, her behavior becomes more like the high status, traditional role of a police officer.

Female officers who refuse the constraints of their gendered role in order to gain access to the privilege and power of the dominant group engage in role distance (Llewellyn, 2004). Role distancing does not always result in success or acceptance. Certain social identities and social roles may be preferred or promoted by persons in authority (Llewellyn, 2004; Portillo & DeHart-Davis, 2009; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Shelley et al., 2011; Wertsch, 1998). Women and persons of color may be unable to distance themselves from the socially accepted role of their

gender or their race. Hassell and Brandl (2009) found that Latino and African American males and African American females perceived fewer opportunities for promotion or preferred assignments compared to White males. In contrast, research conducted in a police department in the Midwest revealed that both genders felt they had at least as much opportunity for promotion and preferred assignments (Stichman et al., 2010). Stroshine and Brandl (2011) found that tenure was predictive of role entrapment; the longer an officer had been in the department, the greater the perception of fewer opportunities.

Role distancing does not ensure an escape from role entrapment. A female police officer may attempt to distance herself from her gendered role. A female police officer who seeks or achieves a high-status assignment or a promotion demonstrates her refusal to assimilate into the social roles of her gender and remain trapped in her gendered role. Women entering high status positions encounter more difficulties because of the distinct differences that exist between the descriptive and prescriptive norms for the two conflicting roles of low status woman versus high status leader (Koenig et al., 2011; Shelley et al., 2011). In early research conducted by Rosen and Jerdee (1974), they offered that women must change their behaviors in order to meet the organizational expectations of leadership. Tokens must change their behaviors to resemble the behaviors of the dominant group especially in male-dominated professions (Bruckmuller et al., 2014; Cames et al., 2001; Kingshott, 2013; McCarthy, 2012; Portillo & DeHart-Davis, 2009; Yoder, 1991).

Polarization

Tokens may try to change their behaviors to resemble the behaviors of the dominant group, but this does not mean the dominant group will accept the tokens. Even when female officers try to blend in, male officers may draw attention to, and exaggerate, the differences

between the genders. When challenged, men cite the differences between the genders to maintain their power and privilege (Reskin, 1988). Exaggerating the differences between the tokens and the dominant group while amplifying the common characteristics of the dominant group describes polarization (Kanter, 1977).

Polarization creates boundaries between the tokens and the dominant group. The heightened boundaries between the two groups create a chilly environment for tokens (Fassinger, 2008). Organizational practices that favor men create cultures of internal oppression. Internal oppression manifests through isolation, disrespect, sexual harassment and sex discrimination (Fassinger, 2008; Lonsway et al., 2013).

The dominant group may use isolation as a means by which to exaggerate the differences between them and the token members. Female officers find themselves barred from the formal networks and the social interactions. Kanter (1977) discovered that the dominant group members would often move conversations and social interactions away from public domains easily accessed by tokens to more private settings that tokens could not access. In law enforcement, female tokens cannot access the men's locker room. Male officers participate in private conversations that exclude female officers. Martin (1978) found that much of the informal gossip that occurred in the police station occurred in the men's locker room. Thus, female officers lacked access to the inside information and the informal gossip that served as an important source of both sociability and socialization.

The female cadets in the West Point Military Academy avoided repeated associations with any of the male cadets to ensure there was not a hint of impropriety; the women remained isolated from the informal, social networking that proves helpful for cadets (Yoder et al., 1983). Ott (1989) discovered that 42% of the female officers in the study felt the male officers on their

patrol team did not accept them. Wertsch (1998) found that 63% of the female officers reported they did not get invited to have lunch or coffee with their male coworkers. Another 45% of the female officers reported they did not get invited to participate in social activities after work.

In the qualitative study conducted by Archbold and Schulz (2008), 29% of the female officers reported they had very little, or no, interaction outside of working hours with their male counterparts. The results of research conducted by Stroshine and Brandl (2011) determined that minority males and females and White token females all reported feeling more isolated and more polarized than the White male respondents. Guajardo (2016) examined promotional practices of the New York City Police Department and found the male-dominated culture isolated females and discouraged them from seeking promotion.

Male officers may socially isolate female officers, thus heightening the boundaries between the genders. Male officers may also engage in disrespectful behavior intended to remind female officers of their place. Martin (1978) noted the frequent use of "permitted disrespect" in the interactions between male and female officers. Permitted disrespect involves asymmetrical sexual comments and ritualistic insults. The permitted disrespect occurs in limited public environments. Men maintain the right to engage in permitted disrespect; women do not possess this right. Martin (1978) observed male officers make frequent sexual remarks about the anatomy of the female officers and make gender stereotypical remarks about the female officers. Archbold and Schulz (2008) found that half of the female respondents reported dealing with disrespect directed toward them by their male peers. One female officer interviewed by Rabe-Hemp (2008) stated, "I think at one time it was referred to as the Estrogen Mafia. I was head of investigations. I had a female sergeant and a female detective in the unit with me, but it was called the Estrogen Mafia" (p. 258).

The sexual remarks and gender stereotypical remarks directed toward female officers results in work-related stress. Morash and Haarr (1995) collected data through a survey of 1,191 police officers throughout the United States. They discovered the female police officers also experienced stress due to language harassment and gender bias. In fact, language harassment and gender bias created an additional 5% of the variance in the stress encountered by the female police officers (Morash & Haarr, 1995).

The variance in the stress experienced by female police officers caused by gender bias and language harassment served as the focus of a follow-up study conducted by Hassell and Brandl (2009). Hassell and Brandl (2009) used the instrument originally developed by Morash and Haarr (1995). A total of 920 male officers and 229 female officers completed the survey instrument. All female officers, regardless of age, race, sexual orientation or ethnicity, reported more negative experiences with sexually offensive behaviors at work than White male officers (Hassell & Brandl, 2009).

Female police officers experience work-related stress due to language harassment and gender bias, but they routinely fail to report such incidents (Lonsway et al., 2013). Lonsway et al. (2013) used a mixed-methods approach in two different studies. In the first study, they used the Sexual Experience Questionnaire (SEQ) and distributed the survey to male and female officers in a large police department. They received an 84% response rate. The second study involved interviewing a sample of 531 female police officers from the police department. The research examined the perception, frequency, and impact of sexual harassment in law enforcement.

In the first study, 89.7% of the female officers and 80.6% of the male officers said they had been exposed to dirty stories or jokes, pornographic pictures or statements that denigrated

women in the past year. Co-workers perpetrated the behavior most of the time. During the qualitative interviews in the second study, many of the female respondents indicated that the dirty stories or jokes or derogatory comments about women occurred during roll call or briefing with a sergeant usually conducting the roll call or briefing. Less than 2% of the female officers interviewed in the second study filed a complaint about the dirty stories, jokes or derogatory comments about women (Lonsway et al., 2013).

It appears a tolerance for dirty stories or jokes or derogatory comments about women existed in the study. The female officers simply did not report the behavior. Surprisingly, more serious behaviors also went unreported. The researchers found that 47.6% of the female officers in the second study did not report incidents of quid pro sexual harassment, unwanted sexual attention or gender harassment (Lonsway et al., 2013). Although female officers may not report incidents of gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention or quid pro quo sexual harassment, they do report less job satisfaction because of these incidents. Female officers who experienced higher incidents of sexual harassment reported statistically significant less job satisfaction and lower quality of leadership (Burke & Mikkelsen, 2005).

Sexual harassment, sex discrimination, disrespect, and isolation all serve to heighten the boundaries between female police officers and male police officers. A work environment marked by dirty jokes or stories, gender discrimination, and sexual harassment sends a reminder to women that they are trying to do a "man's job" and they do not belong in the workplace (Garcia, 2003). The boundaries increase in height when female police officers achieve leadership roles. Female command officers encroach upon the position and privilege of the dominant group. The dominant group perceives the female command officers as intruding upon the power structure of the dominant group. When this occurs, polarization increases as the

dominant group engages in greater discriminatory behavior in order to block the female command officers from gaining access to the position and privilege of the dominant group (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Blalock, 1967; Franklin, 2007; Gustafson, 2007; McCarthy, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Reskin, 1988; South et al., 1982; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Yoder et al., 1983).

Male Tokens / Women Dominant Group

If female tokens change their behaviors to resemble the behaviors of the dominant group to avoid the negative effects of tokenism, then male tokens working with women as the dominant group should also change their behaviors. Ott (1989) examined the effects of tokenism experienced by female tokens within law enforcement and male tokens in nursing. Ott (1989) used a mixed methods design and conducted a comparison of four groups: 1) skewed with female tokens-less than 15% female, 2) tilted with female tokens-less than 35% female, 3) skewed with male tokens-less than 15% male, and 4) tilted with male tokens-less than 35% male. Law enforcement served as the environment for the examination of female tokens and nursing served as the environment for the examination of male tokens. The sample consisted of 50 teams of 15 police officers per team and 49 teams of 9-23 nurses per team. Each discipline contained two skewed groups and two tilted groups. The researchers conducted semi-structured interviews with three people, two subordinates, and one supervisor, from each of the 99 teams. The researchers coded the results and quantitatively examined the themes that emerged.

Ott's (1989) findings contradicted Kanter's (1977) proposal that numerical imbalance will lead to negative effects of tokenism regardless of gender. Ott (1989) discovered that the numerical imbalance is not gender-neutral; a relationship between gender and status existed. The female police officers in the skewed groups experienced more negative effects of tokenism than

the female police officers in the tilted groups. However, the male nurses in the skewed groups experienced greater advantages than the male nurses in the tilted groups. Ott (1989) posited that the status of the token member impacted the interactions between the tokens and the dominant group members. The male nurses, high-status tokens, gained an advantage when working with female nurses, low-status majority. Also, the female nurses treated the male tokens favorably. In contrast, the female police officers, low-status tokens, experienced resistance from the male police officers, high-status majority. The male police officers protected the power and privilege of their position while the female nurses shared their power and privilege with the male nurses (Ott, 1989).

Heikes (1991) also discovered that status impacted the interactions between tokens and the dominant group. Heikes (1991) conducted in-depth interviews with a nonprobability sample of 15 male nurses in Texas. In contrast to Ott's (1989) study, the high-status minority, male nurses created the boundaries between themselves and the low-status majority, female nurses. The male nurses did not want the stigma associated with being a nurse. When tokens consist of higher status members than the dominant group members, the tokens may differentiate themselves from the dominant group members to avoid social stigma and improve their overall social status (Heikes, 1991). The token members avoided sharing the power and privilege of their higher social status.

By not sharing the power and privilege of their social status, the token male nurses engaged in boundary heightening. Boundary heightening, or polarization, is one of the negative effects of tokenism (Kanter, 1977). In one aspect, the male nurses distanced themselves from the female nurses to avoid the stigma associated with men doing a job stereotypically associated with women. In another aspect, the female nurses isolated the male nurses from formal and

informal communication. The male nurses did not get invited to social events such as bridal showers or baby showers. The female nurses did not include the male nurses in the day-to-day, social communication and the half of the respondents felt isolated and alone (Heikes, 1991).

In addition to experiencing polarization, 13 of the 15 male nurses reported being more visible because of their gender. Like the female tokens in Kanter's (1977) study, one respondent found the increased visibility stressful. The other 14 respondents saw the increased visibility as a positive influence; it served as a way to be recognized and as a motivator to achieve (Heikes, 1991). Visibility as a positive influence contradicts the findings of researchers that have examined female tokens in male-dominated professions (Archbold et al., 2010; Bruckmuller et al., 2014; Chan, et al., 2010; Corsianos, 2011; Gustafson; 2007; Kanter, 1977; Kingshott, 2013; Lewis & Simpson, 2012; Martin, 1978; Morash & Haarr; 2012; Silvestri, 2007; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). These other researchers found that women in male-dominated professions report negative experiences and stress associated with the visibility that comes with being one or a few among many.

As one or a few among many, the male nurses in Heikes' (1991) study experienced assimilation and the role encapsulation that often accompanies assimilation. During their interviews, the male nurses described four role traps 1) ladder climber, 2) trouble maker, 3) he-man, and 4) homosexual. The ladder climber described a role whereby the male nurse was expected to excel at work and seek promotion. The troublemaker described a role whereby the male nurse was expected to be assertive, voice opinions and refuse to be treated poorly by doctors. The he-man described a role whereby the male nurse was expected to do the heavy lifting and help the female nurses through brute strength. The homosexual described a role whereby the male nurse was perceived to be homosexual because he was a man doing a woman's

work. The first three roles described behavior consistent with the stereotypical gender role of a male. The fourth role, homosexual, attached a feminine stereotype to the token male. The token male nurses did not object to the stereotypes associated with the first three roles. However, the token male nurses openly objected to the stereotypes associated with the homosexual role; the token males found the homosexual role as highly stigmatizing (Heikes, 1991).

The highly stigmatizing role trap of being labeled feminine or a homosexual also created job dissatisfaction and stress for the male flight attendants studied by Young and James (2001). Young and James (2001) conducted a quantitative study within a major United States airline. Their sample consisted of 80 female flight attendants and 49 male flight attendants. Their survey measured the dependent variables of work attitudes, commitment, and intent to quit. Male flight attendants perform work perceived to be highly feminine. Thus, role incongruity exists between their role as a flight attendant and their gender role as a male. The male flight attendants experienced role encapsulation that resulted in less commitment to the job, negative feelings about the job and a higher intent to quit (Young & James, 2001).

The male flight attendants in the study conducted by Young and James (2001) experienced the role encapsulation that correlates with assimilation just like the women in Kanter's (1977) study. The male flight attendants also experienced polarization. The male flight attendants saw themselves as different from the dominant group, the female flight attendants. This perceived difference between the token males and the dominant females resulted in lowered self-esteem, poor job fit, and increased role incongruity for the token males (Young & James, 2001). Like the male respondents in Heikes' (1991) study, the male flight attendants engaged in boundary heightening between them, the token group, and the women in the dominant group.

The male flight attendants perceived the female flight attendants as a group with a lower social status than them and distanced themselves from the female flight attendants.

The male flight attendants did not wish to be associated with the female flight attendants. The visible differences between the token men and the dominant women helped distinguish the two groups. The male flight attendants possessed an awareness of the visibility of their presence in the female-dominated profession. The male flight attendants, as men, traditionally held a social status as a dominant group member. The male flight attendants reduced their social status when becoming a visible token in a female-dominated profession. This reduction in social status lowered the males' self-esteem and increased their intent to quit (Young & James, 2001).

Summary

Over 39 years ago, Kanter (1977) discovered that token women working in a male-dominated profession experienced negative effects due to their token status. Token women experienced visibility, assimilation, and polarization. A review of the literature demonstrated that women in law enforcement currently experience these same negative effects to varying degrees. Kanter (1977) offered that greater numerical representation of token females would result in a decrease in the negative effects of tokenism. Other researchers have found that numerical representation alone did not lessen the negative impacts of tokenism (Frisbie & Neidert, 1977; Gustafson, 2007; Heikes, 1991; Ott, 1989; South et al., 1982; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Young & James, 2001).

Blalock (1967) offered that an increase in numerical representation of the minority group would result in an increase in the discriminatory behaviors directed toward the minority group by the dominant group. Research provides support for Blalock's hypothesis. When tokens attempt to achieve the power and privilege of the dominant group, the dominant group engages in greater

discriminatory behaviors in order to block the intrusion by the tokens (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Blalock, 1967; Franklin, 2007; Gustafson, 2007; Kingshott, 2013; Lewis & Simpson, 2012; McCarthy, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Reskin, 1988; South et al., 1982; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Yoder, 1991; Yoder et al., 1983).

Research demonstrated that female dominant group members did not engage in increased discriminatory behavior to block token males. Males in female dominated profession experienced some of the negative effects of tokenism. However, the research demonstrated that token males do not experience these same negative effects in the manner that token females experience them (Heikes, 1991; Ott, 1989, Young & James, 2001).

The research suggests a distinct divergence between the experiences of token women and token men. If female tokens experience the negative effects of visibility, assimilation, and polarization, but male tokens do not, then Kanter's (1977) offer of numerical balance to overcome the negative effects of tokenism needs to be revisited. The research demonstrated that women experienced greater resistance to their attempts at achieving the power and privilege of the dominant group, thus supporting Blalock's (1967) theory of intrusiveness. Further support for the negative effects of intrusiveness and tokenism can be found within the labor data for female police officers. Currently, women comprise 13.6% of the 638,810 police officers in the United States. A dramatic decrease occurs at the police chief level where only 219 women held the position of police chief out of the 14,000 police agencies in the United States; less than 2% of the total police chiefs (Johnson, 2013).

The number of women in law enforcement and leadership positions within law enforcement has remained static throughout much of the last decade. What Kanter (1977) perceived as merely a numerical imbalance is much more than mathematics. Numbers do not

create nor discourage the social and cultural factors that value and privilege masculinity while devaluing and debasing femininity. Until the hegemonic masculinity of law enforcement is challenged, and the negative effects of tokenism are reduced, the number of women in law enforcement and law enforcement leadership positions will likely remain the same.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

Scholars conduct research with the intent to contribute to the existing scientific body of knowledge; it involves the intersection of philosophical paradigms, planned strategies for inquiry and specific research methods (Creswell, 2009). This research contributed to the existing scientific body of knowledge that has examined tokenism theory. This research examined the effects of tokenism experienced by female police officers. This research correlated the effects of tokenism experienced by non-ranking female police officers with those female police officers who have achieved command rank. A postpositivist philosophical paradigm served as the foundation for this research. Postpositivism focuses upon organizational and contextual variables that cause organizational actions (Swanson & Holt, 2005). Postpositivism was appropriate for this research because this research examined the relationship between female police officers who achieve command rank and the effects of tokenism.

The purpose of this quantitative, correlational study was to examine whether or not female officers in law enforcement experience increased negative effects of tokenism when they achieved command rank (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Blalock, 1967; Ellemers et al., 2012; Epstein, 1970; Gustafson, 2007; Jonsen et al., 2010; Kanter, 1977; Laws, 1975; Morash & Haarrr, 2012; Stichman et al., 2010; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). The underlying theory of this study was the theory of tokenism as offered by Laws (1975). Laws (1975) offered that American society is a class system where group membership is categorized by a variety of factors such as age, race, ethnicity, gender, etc. When a group is underrepresented within the context of the dominant, larger group, the smaller group is referred to as tokens (Laws, 1975). This study examined the relationship between the independent variable of command rank and the dependent

variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization, as moderated by age, education, and tenure, in a sample of female police officers throughout the United States. The quantitative research determined if there are statistically significant differences between non-ranking female police officers and female police officers who have achieved command rank when comparing the effects of tokenism. Specifically, this study was guided by the research question that sought to examine the relationships between the independent variable of command rank, and the dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization.

The guiding research question and the respective hypotheses were:

Research Question: Are there statistically significant differences between non-ranking female police officers and female police officers who have achieved command rank when comparing the effects of tokenism (visibility, assimilation, and polarization)?

$H1_o$: There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to visibility.

$H1_a$: There is a significant difference between police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to visibility.

$H2_o$: There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to assimilation.

$H2_a$: There is a significant difference between female officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to assimilation.

$H3_o$: There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to polarization.

$H3_a$: There is a significant difference between female officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to polarization.

Research Design

The strategy of inquiry for this research was a quantitative, non-experimental design that addressed the research question and tested the offered hypotheses. The use of a quantitative research methodology allows a researcher to use statistical analytical techniques to explain, confirm, predict or test theories (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Through the analysis of cross-sectional data collected using a survey instrument, the researcher was able to explore the theory of tokenism. The study consisted of a non-experimental, correlational design. The use of a correlational research design allowed for the examination of the differences, if any, between two groups, segregated by the independent variable of command rank. This between-groups comparison examined the relationships between the independent variable of command rank, and the three dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization. The selected approach afforded the researcher the opportunity to determine if there were statistically significant differences between non-ranking female police officers and female officers who achieved command ranked when comparing the effects of tokenism (visibility, assimilation, and polarization. Random sampling was used to generate the study sample from a database of approximately 1,520 female officers. This type of sampling was appropriate for this research because the research question focused on the experiences of female police officers.

The research question in this study examined the relationships between the independent variable of command rank, and the dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization. The independent variable in this research design was a categorical, binary variable (no rank = 0, rank = 1). The dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization, are continuous variables. Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to examine these relationships. MANOVA allows for the simultaneous examination of the relationship between two or more continuous, dependent variables, and categorical independent variables (Cooper & Schindler, 2011). MANOVA also provides data about the interrelationships that might exist between variables. MANOVA can detect whether groups differ along a combination of variables (Cooper & Schindler, 2011; Maxwell & Delaney, 2004). The use of MANOVA helps prevent the inflation of familywise error rate by examining multiple dependent variables simultaneously (Field, 2009).

Sample

The population that was the focus of this research was females currently employed as sworn police officers in law enforcement agencies in the United States. The sample frame consisted of 1,520 sworn female officers currently employed in a law enforcement agency in the United States. This sample was drawn from a list of contact information contained in a database owned by LouKa Tactical. LouKa Tactical is a for-profit company owned and operated by two female police officers. LouKa Tactical specializes in delivering training aimed at female police officers within local, county, state, and federal law enforcement agencies. The owners of LouKa Tactical gave permission to access and use their database for the purpose of soliciting female officers to participate in this research. All female police officers in the database were asked to participate in this research. In order to be included in this study, a respondent had to be 1)

female, and 2) currently working in a law enforcement agency. Males who responded and non-law enforcement personnel were excluded from this research.

A power analysis using the G*Power 3.1.9 software was conducted to determine the minimum required sample for the study with MANOVA as the statistical test. Three elements were considered in the computation of the minimum required sample size: the level of significance, the effect size, and the power of the statistical test. The first of these elements, the level of significance, or p-value, refers to the degree that the data contradicts the null hypothesis. The conventional cutoff is 5% to minimize Type I errors (Vogt, 2007). A 5% level of significance was used for this research. The second element considered was the effect size. The effect size measures the strength of the relationship between the variables in the study (Murphy, Myors, & Waloch, 2014). According to Cohen (1988), the standard small effect for statistical MANOVA tests is .10. As such, .10 was used for the effect size. The third element considered was the power of the statistical test. Statistical power is the ability to reject the null hypothesis when the null hypothesis is false (Swanson & Holt, 2005). The conventional level of power that is widely accepted is .80. A level of .80 was used for the statistical power.

The above parameters were considered when computing the recommended sample size. The statistical test of MANOVA, with its special effects and interactions, was also considered when computing the recommended sample size. The computed recommended sample size was determined to be 176 (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). Thus, a sample size of at least 176 female police officers was needed for the statistical test to have a power of at least 80%.

Instrumentation/Measures

The survey instrument used was a modified version of the 63-item questionnaire developed by Morash and Haarr (1995). Morash and Haarr (1995) developed their instrument

through several stages. The instrument developed through qualitative interviews of female police officers over a seven-year period. Morash and Haarr (1995) conducted a pilot study. They determined that the survey questions were valid measures of the experiences of female police officers. A total of 100 female police officers in three different police departments responded to the initial instrument. Using factor analysis, Morash and Haarrr (1995) identified items that appeared to measure the same concepts. Some of these concepts included 1) visibility, bias, sexual harassment, stress, and lack of support.

Stroshine and Brandl (2011) modified the instrument developed by Morash and Haarr (1995). The modified instrument was used in this study. Written permission to use this instrument was received. The survey items examined a comprehensive array of workplace experiences. The responses were measured on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 as "strongly disagree" to 4 as "strongly agree." Stroshine and Brandl (2011) identified specific survey questions from the original instrument to measure three dependent variables 1) visibility, 2) assimilation, and 3) polarization.

Specific questions in the current survey instrument were used to measure the three dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization. The reliability of each question had been determined by the previous researchers, Morash and Haarr (1995) and Stroshine and Brandl (2011). Tables 1, 2, and 3 provide the question number from the survey instrument, the narrative question, and the Cronbach's alpha for each question for each of the three dependent variables. Tables 1, 2, and 3 were used as a guide for computing each dependent variable from the data collected through the survey questionnaire, with reversed coded items marked as 'R'

(Table 1: Visibility, Table 2: Assimilation, and Table 3: Polarization).

Table 1

Measures of Dependent Variable: Visibility

Question #	Question	Cronbach's alpha
12	Coworkers often commend me when I do good work. (R)	.689
13	Supervisors often commend me when I do good work. (R)	.689
25	My coworkers make jokes or comments about my looks to the point that it is offensive.	.82
26	My supervisors joke or comment about my looks to the point that it is offensive.	.82

Note. Questionnaire items are from "Race, Gender, and Tokenism in Policing: An Empirical Elaboration," by M.S. Stroshine and S. G. Brandl, 2011, *Police Quarterly, 14*(4), 344-365. © 2011.

Table 2

Measures of Dependent Variable: Assimilation

Question #	Question	Cronbach's alpha
11	I have a lot of influence over the way things are done at work.	.66
14	Compared to coworkers at or about my rank, I have had less opportunities to advance in my career.	.73
15	Compared to coworkers at or about my rank, I have had at least as much opportunity for preferred assignments. (R)	.73
16	Compared to coworkers at or about my rank, I have had at least as much opportunity for promotion. (R)	.73
29	I do not have the power to change the way work is done at my law enforcement agency.	.66
30	In the last year, when my job gets me down, I always know that I can turn to a coworker or supervisor to get the support I need to feel better. (R)	.77
31	Coworkers usually have my back when I make mistakes that are unavoidable on the job. (R)	.77

Note. Questionnaire items are from "Race, Gender, and Tokenism in Policing: An Empirical Elaboration," by M.S. Stroshine and S. G. Brandl, 2011, *Police Quarterly, 14*(4), 344-365. © 2011.

Table 3

Measures of Dependent Variable: Polarization

Question #	Question	Cronbach's alpha
17	My supervisors have tried to get me to take unnecessary, possibly dangerous, risks on the job.	.71
18	My coworkers have tried to get me to take unnecessary, possibly dangerous, risks on the job.	.71
21	There have been occasions when I have requested back-up at a call, but did not receive any (not related to radio malfunctions).	.71
22	I have received blame for actions at work that were not my fault.	.71
23	My coworkers have ridiculed me when I have asked questions about how to do my job.	.841
24	My supervisors have ridiculed me when I have asked questions about how to do my job.	.841
27	Coworkers seem to forget I'm here, for example, they do not invite me to things or they do not introduce me.	.841
28	My supervisors seem to forget that I'm here, for example, they do not invite me to things, they do not introduce me, or they leave my name off lists.	.841
42	Where I work, there is no bias against people of my sex. (R)	.79
47	Where I work, I have spent time and energy dealing with prejudice and bias that have been directed toward me.	.79
48	Where I work, coworkers and/or supervisors have spent time and energy helping me deal with prejudice and bias that have been directed toward me.	.79
49	Where I work, I have spent time and energy helping other police officers deal with prejudice and bias directed toward them.	.79
52	My supervisors joke about sex to the point that it bothers me.	.841
53	My coworkers joke or make offensive comments about my race or ethnic background.	.841
54	My supervisors joke or make offensive comments about my race or ethnic background.	.841

Note. Questionnaire items are from "Race, Gender, and Tokenism in Policing: An Empirical Elaboration," by M.S. Stroshine and S. G. Brandl, 2011, *Police Quarterly, 14*(4), 344-365. © 2011.

Field test. Because the survey instrument was a modified instrument, a field test was conducted to ensure content validity of the questions. The use of a field test provides multiple perspectives for the lines of questions to be addressed in a study to identify and change confusing, offensive or awkward questions (Cooper & Schindler, 2011). The field study consisted of a non-probability sample of five female police officers drawn from a database of 1,520 female law enforcement officers throughout the United States. Every member of the panel

was a female police officer who had at least 20+ years of experience in law enforcement. The panel consisted of someone from municipal, county, state and federal government law enforcement agencies. Two panel members had not achieved command rank. Two of the panel members were lieutenants, and one panel member was a chief of police. One panel member had an associate's degree, one panel member had a bachelor's degree, and the other three panel members had master's degrees. All of the panel members felt the questions appeared in a logical sequence and that the questions were relevant to the work experiences a female police officer may encounter.

Data Collection

This researcher obtained permission from the owners of LouKa Tactical to use their database of 1,520 female police officers. The database was used for the purpose of soliciting female police officers to participate in this research. All female police officers in the database were asked to participate. The owners of LouKa Tactical agreed to help recruit participants by sending an email to all of the female police officers in their database. This email introduced the researcher, the research topic, and the purpose of the research.

The web-based survey was hosted on Survey Monkey. Survey Monkey is an online survey tool controlled by a neutral third party who has no vested interest in this research (Survey Monkey, 2008). When the respondents opened the hyperlink, they had to review the terms of the informed consent form. The informed consent form provided the respondents with information about the scope, purpose, and limitations of the study. The informed consent form also explained that participation was voluntary and respondents would not receive any incentive to participate. Respondents were informed that their responses were confidential. Respondents were only allowed access to the survey instrument if they accepted the terms of the informed

consent form by checking "I agree and accept the terms" on the informed consent form. The web-based survey took approximately 10 – 15 minutes to complete. The survey responses were saved and stored on-line in the researcher's account with Survey Monkey. General demographic information, such as the respondent's age, years of police service, etc., were collected. Personal identifying information data were not collected to ensure the anonymity and privacy of all respondents. To further ensure confidentiality, the on-line account was password protected and could only be accessed by this researcher. The survey remained accessible during the data collection period of 30 days. The survey was no longer accessible after the data collection period ended. Incomplete surveys were not used in the data analysis. Surveys were considered incomplete if they had missing data for the study variables.

Once the data collection period ended, the data were collected and stored in the researcher's Survey Monkey account. The data were downloaded and saved in a password-protected computer file. Only the researcher has access to this file. The collected data were transferred to Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software for data analysis. The electronic files will be securely maintained for seven (7) years. After seven years, the electronic files will be deleted and any hard copies will be destroyed.

Data Analysis

The hypotheses consisted of three, continuous dependent variables, and one, categorical independent variable. As such, multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was the appropriate statistical test for all of the hypotheses in this research. MANOVA is an appropriate statistical test because it can be used to simultaneously assess the relationship between two or more continuous dependent variables and categorical independent variables (Swanson & Holt,

2005). Using MANOVA, instead of conducting a separate analysis of variance (ANOVA) for each dependent variable, helped prevent the inflation of familywise error rate by examining the relationship between dependent variables simultaneously (Field, 2009). In addition to reducing the inflation of familywise error rate, MANOVA also allowed for the examination of the relationship between the dependent variables. MANOVA provided information about the interrelationships that existed between variables. MANOVA can detect whether groups differ along a combination of variables (Cooper& Schindler, 2011).

MANOVA is a two-part test. The first part is an omnibus test that examined whether or not there are significant differences between groups on the combined dependent variables (Swanson & Holt, 2005). Examining the differences between the variates provided direction for further analysis in order to ensure test power and robustness. The second part of the MANOVA test consisted of a follow-up analysis of the data. This research employed the use of discriminant analysis for follow-up. Discriminant analysis finds the linear combination(s) of the dependent variables that discriminates the groups from one another (Field, 2009). Like MANOVA, discriminant analysis simultaneously examines the interdependent relationship between the variables.

Validity and Reliability

When examining the validity of a survey instrument, it is necessary to ensure the inclusion of complete and appropriate items, examine the measurement accuracy of the instrument, and determine the appropriateness of participants' responses. Content validity describes and examines the inclusion of complete and appropriate items (Hinchliffe, 2014). Construct validity describes and assesses the measurement accuracy of an instrument (Vamsi &

Kodali, 2014). Criterion validity describes and assesses the appropriateness of the participants' responses (Voon, Abdullah, Nagarajah, & Kueh, 2014). Internal consistency examines a survey instrument's reliability. Internal consistency measures how well a set of questions or items measure a specific variable. Cronbach's alpha checks the internal consistency of an instrument (Drost, 2011). In quantitative research, Cronbach's alpha inspects the strength of the reliability coefficient to determine the internal consistency of a survey instrument (Zhang, Xie, Huang, & Le, 2014). Higher Cronbach's alpha scores indicate stronger measurement of the survey instrument (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). Stroshine and Brandl (2011) reported the Cronbach's alpha of the modified survey instrument to be $a = .734$. According to Tabachnick and Fidell (2013), a Cronbach's alpha value of .70 or greater indicates acceptable internal consistency reliability. With a Cronbach's alpha of .734, the survey instrument used in this study demonstrates an acceptable internal consistency.

Ethical Considerations

Research conducted with human beings must be conducted with a focus on justice, beneficence, and respect (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1979). This researcher strictly adhered to the ethical principles outlined in the Belmont Report. The existing database of 1,520 female police officers maintained by LouKa Tactical does not include the entire population of the female police officers in the United States. However, it is a sampling of the population, and all respondents who met the inclusion criteria were invited to participate in the research. This ensured the fair participation of all respondents.

Participants were asked to participate in the web-based survey via email. Participation in the survey was entirely voluntary in nature. Coercion or undue influence was not used in the recruitment of participants. In compliance with the Belmont Report, all participants were given

an opportunity to review an informed consent form before completing the survey. The informed consent form provided the respondents with information about the scope, purpose, and limitations of the study. The informed consent form also explained that participation in the study was entirely voluntary. The informed consent form also informed the participants that they would not be receiving any incentives for participating in the survey. Respondents were only allowed access to the survey instrument if they accepted the terms of the informed consent form by checking "I agree and accept the terms" on the form. The web-based survey took approximately 10 – 15 minutes to complete. The field test determined this time frame.

In order to prevent respondents from submitting multiple responses to the same survey, Survey Monkey tracked email addresses to block respondents from responding more than once to the survey instrument. In establishing a Survey Monkey account for the data collection procedures, this researcher ensured that the survey results were anonymous by prohibiting the survey results to be linked directly to an email address. This allowed the researcher to ensure the anonymity of the respondents while controlling for skewed data when a respondent submitted more than one response to the survey. Each completed survey was assigned a unique identifying number to maintain the confidentiality of the respondent.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This research sought to examine whether or not female officers in law enforcement experience increased negative effects of tokenism when they achieved command rank. The study examined the relationship between the independent variable of command rank and the dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization, as moderated by age, education, and tenure, in a sample of female police officers throughout the United States. This chapter presents the results of the multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) that was conducted to test the hypotheses and address the research question. LouKa Tactical, a for-profit company, owned and operated by two female police officers provided a database of over 1,500 female law enforcement officers. The sample was drawn from this database. The inclusion criteria for this study consisted of 1) female, and 2) currently working as a sworn police officer in a law enforcement agency in the United States. The 63-item questionnaire originally developed by Morash and Haarr (1995) and later modified by Stroshine and Brandl (2011) served as the survey instrument.in this study.

The research question in this study sought to examine the relationships between the independent variable, command rank, and the dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization.

Research Question

Are there statistically significant differences between non-ranking female police officers and female police officers who have achieved command rank when comparing the effects of tokenism (visibility, assimilation, and polarization)?

Hypotheses

$H1_o$ There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to visibility.

$H1_a$ There is a significant difference between police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to visibility.

$H2_o$ There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to assimilation.

$H2_a$ There is a significant difference between female officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to assimilation.

$H3_o$ There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to polarization.

$H3_a$ There is a significant difference between female officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to polarization.

Data Collection

This study employed the use of a survey to collect data. The study participants were recruited from a list of contact information contained in a database owned by LouKa Tactical. The database contained 1,520 females currently employed in a law enforcement agency. The survey instrument used in the data collection was the 63-item questionnaire used by Stroshine and Brandl (2011). This instrument measured the three dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization.

All 1,520 females contained in the LouKa Tactical database received an invitation to participate in the survey. A total of 461 females responded to the survey, a response rate of 30.3%. However, 11 of the females indicated they were civilian personnel working in a law enforcement agency. Four of the female police officers indicated they worked in a law enforcement agency outside of the United States. The 11 civilian personnel and the four female police officers working in a law enforcement agency outside of the United States did not meet the inclusion criteria. Thus, their responses were eliminated from the study. This left a total of 446 participants in the survey. However, some of the participants had incomplete or missing responses to the survey. After filtering and removing the incomplete responses, a total of 371 participants remained in the study. All remaining participants were female and were currently working in a law enforcement agency in the United States at the time of the survey. The minimum required sample size computed using G*Power 3.1.9 was 176. As such, the complete collected responses of 371 participants more than fulfilled the minimum required sample size for a MANOVA to have at least 80% power.

Results

Descriptive statistics provided insight into the type of law enforcement agency that employed the participants. Table 4 shows that most of the participants, 44.7% (*n* = 166) worked in city/municipal law enforcement agencies. A total of 30.5% (*n* = 113) worked in state law enforcement agencies, 17.8% (*n* = 66) worked in county/parish law enforcement agencies, 4.6% (*n* = 17) worked in federal law enforcement agencies, 1% (*n* = 4) worked in a township law enforcement agency, 0.8% (*n* = 3) worked in a law enforcement agency created within a special district or with special authority, 0.3% (*n* = 1) worked in a regional law enforcement agency, and 0.3% (*n* = 1) worked in a school district. No participants reported working in a tribal law enforcement agency.

Table 4

Frequency Table of Type of Law Enforcement Agency

Type of Agency	Frequency	Percent
City/municipal	166	44.7
County/parish	66	17.8
Federal	17	4.6
Regional	1	0.3
School district	1	0.3
Special district or authority	3	0.8
State	113	30.5
Township	4	1.0
Tribal	0	0.0
Total	371	100.0

Descriptive statistics also provided insight into the size of the law enforcement agency that employed the participants. A review of Table 5 indicates most of the participants, 23.2% (*n* = 86) worked in a law enforcement agency employing 1,000 or more law enforcement officers. A total of 21.8% (*n* = 81) worked in a law enforcement agency employing 100 – 249 law enforcement officers, 17.8% (*n* = 66) worked in law enforcement agency employing 500 –

999 law enforcement officers, 15.4% (*n* = 57) worked in a law enforcement agency employing 50 – 99 law enforcement officers, 12.4% (*n* = 46) worked in a law enforcement agency employing 250 – 499 law enforcement officers, 8.9% (*n* = 33) worked in a law enforcement agency employing 25 – 49 law enforcement officers and .5% (*n* = 2) worked in a law enforcement agency employing 0 – 1 law enforcement officers. No participants reported working in a law enforcement agency employing 2 – 4 law enforcement officers, 5 – 9 law enforcement officers or 10 – 24 law enforcement officers.

Table 5

Frequency Table of Size of Law Enforcement Agency

# of Officers	Frequency	Percent
0 – 1	2	0.5
2 - 4	0	0.0
5 - 9	0	0.0
10 - 24	0	0.0
25 - 49	33	8.9
50 - 99	57	15.4
100 - 249	81	21.8
250 - 499	46	12.4
500 - 999	66	17.8
1,000 or more	86	23.2
Total	371	100.0

Descriptive statistics provided information about the location of the participants' law enforcement agency. The survey divided the United States into five geographical regions. The Northeast region included Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Vermont. The Southeast region included Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. The Midwest region consisted of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri,

Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin. The Southwest region consisted of Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas. The West region consisted of Alaska, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, and Oregon. Table 6 provides frequency data for the geographic location of the participants' law enforcement agency. Over half of the participants, 53.1% (*n* = 197), worked in a law enforcement agency in the Southeast region. A total of 26.4% (*n* = 98) worked in a law enforcement agency in the Midwest region, 9.7% (*n* = 36) worked in a law enforcement agency in the West region, 8.1% (*n* = 30) worked in law enforcement agency in the Southwest region, and 2.7% (*n* = 10) worked in a law enforcement agency in the Northeast region.

Table 6

Frequency Table of Geographic Region

Region	Frequency	Percent
Northeast	10	2.7
Southeast	197	53.1
Midwest	98	26.4
Southwest	30	8.1
West	36	9.7
Total	371	100.0

Descriptive statistics also provided information about this study's control variables. The control variables consisted of age range, educational attainment, and tenure (years in law enforcement). The information outlining the control variables of age range, educational attainment, and tenure is contained in Tables 7, 8, and 9 respectively.

Table 7 indicates that the age of the participants ranged from under 25 years old to 65 years old. The majority of the participants, 80.3% (*n* = 298), belonged to the age range of 31 to 50 years old. A total of 4.9% (*n* = 18) of the participants were under 25 years old, 11.6% (*n* = 43) of the participants were 26-30 years old, 16.7% (*n* = 62) were 31-35 years old, 15.6%

(*n* =58) of the participants were 36-40 years old, 18.6% (*n* = 69) of the participants were 41-45 years old, 17.8% (*n* = 66) of the participants were 46-50 years old, 10.8% (*n* = 40) of the participants were 51-55 years old, 3.5% (*n* = 13) of the participants were 56-60 years old, and 0.5% (*n* = 2) of the participants were 61-65 years old.

The educational attainment of the participants varied from having a high school degree to having a doctoral degree. Table 8 illustrates that half of the participants (*n* = 187, 50.4%) had bachelor degrees. There was 4% (*n* = 15) of the participants who only had high school degrees or equivalent, 15.9% (*n* = 59) had some college education, but no degree, 10.2 % (*n* = 38) had associate degrees, 50.4% (*n* = 187) had bachelor degrees, 18.1% (*n* = 67) had master degrees, and 1.3% (*n* = 5) had doctoral degrees.

Table 7

Frequency Table of Age Range

Age	Frequency	Percent
Under 25	18	4.9
26-30	43	11.6
31-35	62	16.7
36-40	58	15.6
41-45	69	18.6
46-50	66	17.8
51-55	40	10.8
56-60	13	3.5
61-65	2	0.5
Total	371	100.0

The tenure of the participants in law enforcement ranged from less than a year to 26 years or more. Only a few of the participants (*n* = 7, 1.9%) had tenure in law enforcement of less than one year. Table 9 shows that 19.1% (*n* = 71) had tenure ranging from 1-5 years, 18.6% (*n* = 69) had tenure ranging from 6-10 years, 15.1% (*n* = 56) had tenure ranging from 11-15 years, 19.4%

(*n* = 72) had tenure ranging from 16-20 years, 14.3% (*n* = 53) had tenure ranging from 21-25 years, and 11.6% (*n* = 43) had tenure for 26 years or more.

Table 8

Frequency Table of Educational Attainment

Educational Attainment	Frequency	Percent
High school degree or equivalent (e.g., GED)	15	4.0
Some college, but no degree	59	15.9
Associate degree	38	10.2
Bachelor degree	187	50.4
Master degree	67	18.1
Doctoral degree	5	1.3
Total	371	100.0

Table 9

Frequency Table of Tenure

Tenure	Frequency	Percent
less than 1 year	7	1.9
1 - 5 years	71	19.1
6 - 10 years	69	18.6
11 - 15 years	56	15.1
16 - 20 years	72	19.4
21 - 25 years	53	14.3
26 years or more	43	11.6
Total	371	100.0

The independent variable of the study was rank. Participants were categorized as non-ranking and command ranking. Data contained in Table 10 shows that more than half of the participants (*n* = 236, 63.3%) were non-ranking female officers, while 36.4% (*n* = 135) were command ranking female officers.

Table 10

Frequency Table of Rank

Rank	Frequency	Percent
Non-ranking	236	63.6
Command ranking	135	36.4
Total	371	100.0

The dependent variables of the study included visibility, assimilation, and polarization. For each of the three variables, a higher score denotes a more negative perspective, while a lower score denotes a more positive perspective. Table 11 provides the descriptive statistics for the dependent variables. For the variable of visibility, the scores ranged from 1 to 3.5, with an average of 2.27 (*SD* = 0.39). For the variable of assimilation, the scores ranged from 1.57 to 3.29, with an average of 2.62 (*SD* = 0.26). For the variable of polarization, the scores ranged from 1 to 2.93, with an average of 1.88 (*SD* = 0.42).

Table 11

Descriptive Statistics of Study Variables

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Visibility	1.00	3.50	2.2743	.38610
Assimilation	1.57	3.29	2.6246	.26495
Polarization	1.00	2.93	1.8834	.42348

MANOVA

The research question asked if there are statistically significant differences between non-ranking female police officers and female police officers who have achieved command rank when comparing the effects of tokenism in the variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization. To address this research question, a MANOVA was conducted with rank as the independent variable, and visibility, assimilation, and polarization as the dependent variables.

The demographic variables of age, education and tenure were included as control variables. Table 12 below shows the result of the omnibus test. For the independent variable of rank, there was no statistically significant difference in the combination of the dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization, between non-ranking female police officers and female police officers who have achieved command rank, $F(3, 364) = .366$, $p = .778$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .997$, partial $\eta^2 = .003$. However, statistically significant differences were found in the combination of the dependent variables between the different groups of age range, $F(3, 364) = 2.84$, $p = .038$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .977$, partial $\eta^2 = .023$. This significance will be discussed later in this chapter in the discussion outlining the second MANOVA that was conducted.

Table 12

Multivariate Test Results

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Noncent. Parameter	Observed Power
Intercept	.118	907.237	3.000	364.000	.000	.882	2721.710	1.000
Rank	.997	.366	3.000	364.000	.778	.003	1.097	.122
Age range	.977	2.840	3.000	364.000	.038	.023	8.521	.680
Educational attainment	.987	1.573	3.000	364.000	.195	.013	4.720	.414
Years in law enforcement	.991	1.090	3.000	364.000	.353	.009	3.271	.294

Table 13 shows the results of the tests of between-subjects effects. The results of the tests of between-subjects effects show how each of the dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization differ between the groups of non-ranking and command ranking female officers. The results of the MANOVA indicate that rank does not have a statistically significant effect on any of the three dependent variables. Rank does not have a statistically significant effect on visibility ($F(1, 366) = .5$; $p = .48$; partial $\eta^2 = .001$). Rank does not have a statistically significant effect on assimilation ($F(1, 366) = .073$; $p = .788$; partial $\eta^2 = .000$).

Rank does not have a statistically significant effect on polarization ($F(1, 366) = .275$; $p = .6$; partial $\eta^2 = .001$).

The results of the MANOVA found no statistically significant effect between the independent variable of rank and the three dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization. This quantitative study did not find enough evidence to reject the three null hypotheses. As such, each of the three null hypotheses must be accepted as proposed. The findings from the statistical tests are:

1. There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to visibility.
2. There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to assimilation.
3. There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to polarization.

Table 13

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Source		Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Noncent. Parameter	Observed Powerd
Corrected Model	Visibility	1.495	4	.374	2.548	.039	.027	10.193	.719
	Assimilation	.694	4	.173	2.512	.041	.027	10.046	.712
	Polarization	1.839	4	.460	2.608	.035	.028	10.431	.730
Intercept	Visibility	81.895	1	81.895	558.564	.000	.604	558.564	1.000
	Assimilation	110.897	1	110.897	1605.617	.000	.814	1605.617	1.000
	Polarization	43.740	1	43.740	248.141	.000	.404	248.141	1.000

Rank	Visibility	.073	1	.073	.500	.480	.001	.500	.109
	Assimilation	.005	1	.005	.073	.788	.000	.073	.058
	Polarization	.049	1	.049	.275	.600	.001	.275	.082
Age range	Visibility	.966	1	.966	6.585	.011	.018	6.585	.726
	Assimilation	.132	1	.132	1.911	.168	.005	1.911	.281
	Polarization	.032	1	.032	.183	.669	.000	.183	.071
Educational attainment	Visibility	.131	1	.131	.895	.345	.002	.895	.157
	Assimilation	.137	1	.137	1.981	.160	.005	1.981	.289
	Polarization	.185	1	.185	1.047	.307	.003	1.047	.175
Years in law enforcement	Visibility	.419	1	.419	2.857	.092	.008	2.857	.392
	Assimilation	.002	1	.002	.026	.871	.000	.026	.053
	Polarization	.221	1	.221	1.255	.263	.003	1.255	.201
Error	Visibility	53.662	366	.147					
	Assimilation	25.279	366	.069					
	Polarization	64.515	366	.176					
Total	Visibility	1974.063	371						
	Assimilation	2581.551	371						
	Polarization	1382.333	371						
Corrected Total	Visibility	55.157	370						
	Assimilation	25.973	370						
	Polarization	66.354	370						

First Discriminant Analysis

Discriminant analysis was conducted as a follow-up analysis of the data to find the linear combination(s) of the dependent variables that discriminates the groups from one another. Two discriminant analyses were conducted. The first discriminant analysis considered all three variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization. The second discriminant analysis used a stepwise analysis to determine which combination of variables best discriminated between non-ranking and command ranking female police officers.

Tables 14 to 16 present the results of the first discriminant analysis. Table 14 shows the means on each of the three variables for each of the rank categories. As observed, the means of the variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization, do not differ much between the rank categories.

Table 14

Group Statistics

Rank		Mean	Std. Deviation	Valid N (listwise)	
				Unweighted	Weighted
Non-ranking	Visibility	2.2913	.36705	236	236.000
	Assimilation	2.6368	.27338	236	236.000
	Polarization	1.8506	.43833	236	236.000
Command ranking	Visibility	2.2444	.41706	135	135.000
	Assimilation	2.6032	.24907	135	135.000
	Polarization	1.9407	.39117	135	135.000
Total	Visibility	2.2743	.38610	371	371.000
	Assimilation	2.6246	.26495	371	371.000
	Polarization	1.8834	.42348	371	371.000

Table 15, the eigenvalues, provides information on the discriminate function produced. The canonical correlation value of .137 suggests that the model with the three variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization explains 1.88% of the grouping variable, whether a respondent is non-ranking or command ranking.

Table 15

Eigenvalues

Function	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical Correlation

1	.019	100.0	100.0	.137

Table 16 shows the goodness of fit statistic. Table 16 shows that the multivariate test is not a good fit for the data (p = .074). The Wilks' lambda value of .981 indicates that the model does not explain 98.1% of the total variability. Table 17 shows the discriminant function coefficients table. Based on the table, the discriminant function can be written as:

DF = -.688*Visibility - .021*Assimilation + .936*Polarization

Table 16

Wilks' Lambda

Test of Function(s)	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	.981	6.942	3	.074

Table 17

Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients

	Function 1
Visibility	-.688
Assimilation	-.021
Polarization	.936

The group centroids in Table 18 show the cut score. If the discriminant function score, as computed using the discriminant function formula, is closer to -.104, the participant is probably a non-ranking female police officer. If the discriminant function score is closer to .182, the participant is probably a command ranking female police officer. Table 19 provides the classification results. The overall percentage of correct classification was 58%, with a sensitivity of 58.5% and specificity of 57%.

Table 18

Functions at Group Centroids

Rank	Function 1
Non-ranking	-.104
Command ranking	.182

Table 19

Classification Results

Rank			Predicted Group Membership		Total
			Non-ranking	Command ranking	
Original	Count	Non-ranking	138	98	236
		Command ranking	58	77	135
	%	Non-ranking	58.5	41.5	100.0
		Command ranking	43.0	57.0	100.0

Note. 58% of original grouped cases correctly classified

Second Discriminant Analysis

The second discriminant analysis was conducted using a stepwise analysis to determine which combination of variables could best discriminate between non-ranking and command ranking female police officers. The stepwise analysis examined the combination of all three dependent variables. The stepwise analysis revealed a statistically significant discriminator in the dependent variable of polarization. Only polarization discriminated between the two groups.

Table 20 shows the results of the stepwise procedure where polarization was entered as a dependent variable. Table 20 shows the model is a good fit for the data (p = .048). However, the Wilks' lambda value of .989 indicates that the model does not explain 98.9% of the total variability. Table 21 shows the canonical correlation value of .103. This suggests that the

model with only polarization explains 1.06% of the grouping variable, whether a respondent is non-ranking or command ranking.

Table 20

Variables Entered/Removed

Step	Entered	Wilks' Lambda							
		Statistic	df1	df2	df3	Exact F			
						Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
1	Polarization	.989	1	1	369.000	3.925	1	369.000	.048

Table 21

Eigenvalues: Polarization

Function	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical Correlation
1	.011	100.0	100.0	.103

Second MANOVA

When conducting the omnibus test during the first MANOVA, statistically significant differences were found in the combination of the dependent variables between the different groups of age range, $F(3, 364) = 2.84$, $p = .038$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .977$, partial $\eta^2 = .023$ (see Table 12). In order to explore this significance, a second MANOVA was conducted with age range as the independent variable, and visibility, assimilation, and polarization as the dependent variables. Table 22 shows the result of the omnibus test. For the independent variable of age range, there was a statistically significant difference in the combination of the dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization, between the different age ranges, $F(24, 1044.711) = 1.823$, $p = .778$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .888$, partial $\eta^2 = .039$.

Table 22

Multivariate Test Results: Age Range

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Noncent. Parameter	Observed Power
Intercept	.018	6583.632b	3.000	360.000	0.000	.982	19750.895	1.000
Age	.888	1.823	24.000	1044.711	.009	.039	42.260	.988

Table 23 shows the results of the tests of between-subjects effects. The results of the tests of between-subjects effects show how each of the dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization differ between the age range categories. As observed, age range does not have a statistically significant effect on the variable of visibility ($F(8, 362) = 1.713$; $p = .094$; partial $\eta^2 = .036$). Age range does not have a statistically significant effect on the variable of assimilation ($F(8, 362) = .1.668$; $p = .105$; partial $\eta^2 = .036$). However, age range does have a statistically significant effect on the variable of polarization ($F(8, 362) = 2.178$; $p = .029$; partial $\eta^2 = .046$).

Table 23

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Source		Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Noncent. Parameter	Observed Powerd
Corrected Model	Visibility	2.012a	8	.252	1.713	.094	.036	13.705	.743
	Assimilation	.923b	8	.115	1.668	.105	.036	13.344	.730
	Polarization	3.047c	8	.381	2.178	.029	.046	17.424	.857
Intercept	Visibility	573.370	1	573.370	3905.565	.000	.915	3905.565	1.000
	Assimilation	754.166	1	754.166	10898.761	.000	.968	10898.761	1.000
	Polarization	411.918	1	411.918	2355.416	.000	.867	2355.416	1.000

Age	Visibility	2.012	8	.252	1.713	.094	.036	13.705	.743
	Assimilation	.923	8	.115	1.668	.105	.036	13.344	.730
	Polarization	3.047	8	.381	2.178	.029	.046	17.424	.857
Error	Visibility	53.145	362	.147					
	Assimilation	25.049	362	.069					
	Polarization	63.307	362	.175					
Total	Visibility	1974.063	371						
	Assimilation	2581.551	371						
	Polarization	1382.333	371						
Corrected Total	Visibility	55.157	370						
	Assimilation	25.973	370						
	Polarization	66.354	370						

Tukey's HSD post-hoc tests were conducted to examine the significant differences in polarization between the age ranges. Table 24 shows the results of the multiple comparisons. The only statistically significant differences in polarization were between the age range categories of 41-45 and 51-55 (p = .017). The estimated marginal means graph in Figure 3 demonstrates that the mean polarization is higher for the age range of 51-55 as compared to 41-45, and the difference is statistically significant (p = .017).

Table 24

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Polarization	under 25	26-30	.0761	.11740	.999	-.2902	.4425
		31-35	.0372	.11197	1.000	-.3123	.3866
		36-40	.0515	.11283	1.000	-.3006	.4036
		41-45	.0934	.11068	.995	-.2520	.4388
		46-50	.0003	.11120	1.000	-.3467	.3474
		51-55	-.1954	.11869	.779	-.5658	.1750
		56-60	-.1293	.15221	.995	-.6043	.3457

		61-65	-.3704	.31170	.959	-1.3431	.6023
	26-30	under 25	-.0761	.11740	.999	-.4425	.2902
		31-35	-.0390	.08299	1.000	-.2980	.2200
		36-40	-.0247	.08416	1.000	-.2873	.2380
		41-45	.0173	.08125	1.000	-.2363	.2708
		46-50	-.0758	.08196	.991	-.3316	.1800
		51-55	-.2715	.09186	.079	-.5582	.0152
		56-60	-.2055	.13236	.830	-.6185	.2076
		61-65	-.4465	.30250	.866	-1.3905	.4975
	31-35	under 25	-.0372	.11197	1.000	-.3866	.3123
		26-30	.0390	.08299	1.000	-.2200	.2980
		36-40	.0143	.07639	1.000	-.2241	.2527
		41-45	.0562	.07318	.998	-.1721	.2846
		46-50	-.0368	.07396	1.000	-.2676	.1940
		51-55	-.2325	.08481	.137	-.4972	.0321
		56-60	-.1665	.12757	.929	-.5646	.2316
		61-65	-.4075	.30044	.913	-1.3451	.5300
	36-40	under 25	-.0515	.11283	1.000	-.4036	.3006
		26-30	.0247	.08416	1.000	-.2380	.2873
		31-35	-.0143	.07639	1.000	-.2527	.2241
		41-45	.0419	.07450	1.000	-.1905	.2744
		46-50	-.0511	.07527	.999	-.2860	.1837
		51-55	-.2468	.08595	.099	-.5151	.0214
		56-60	-.1808	.12833	.894	-.5813	.2197
		61-65	-.4218	.30076	.896	-1.3604	.5167
	41-45	under 25	-.0934	.11068	.995	-.4388	.2520
		26-30	-.0173	.08125	1.000	-.2708	.2363
		31-35	-.0562	.07318	.998	-.2846	.1721
		36-40	-.0419	.07450	1.000	-.2744	.1905
		46-50	-.0931	.07200	.933	-.3178	.1316
		51-55	-.2888*	.08311	.017	-.5481	-.0294
		56-60	-.2227	.12644	.707	-.6173	.1718
		61-65	-.4638	.29996	.833	-1.3998	.4723

Table 24

Multiple Comparisons (continued)

Dependent Variable			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Polarization	46-50	under 25	-.0003	.11120	1.000	-.3474	.3467
		26-30	.0758	.08196	.991	-.1800	.3316
		31-35	.0368	.07396	1.000	-.1940	.2676
		36-40	.0511	.07527	.999	-.1837	.2860
		41-45	.0931	.07200	.933	-.1316	.3178
		51-55	-.1957	.08380	.324	-.4572	.0658

	56-60	-.1297	.12689	.984	-.5257	.2663
	61-65	-.3707	.30015	.948	-1.3074	.5660
51-55	under 25	.1954	.11869	.779	-.1750	.5658
	26-30	.2715	.09186	.079	-.0152	.5582
	31-35	.2325	.08481	.137	-.0321	.4972
	36-40	.2468	.08595	.099	-.0214	.5151
	41-45	.2888*	.08311	.017	.0294	.5481
	46-50	.1957	.08380	.324	-.0658	.4572
	56-60	.0660	.13351	1.000	-.3506	.4827
	61-65	-.1750	.30301	1.000	-1.1206	.7706
56-60	under 25	.1293	.15221	.995	-.3457	.6043
	26-30	.2055	.13236	.830	-.2076	.6185
	31-35	.1665	.12757	.929	-.2316	.5646
	36-40	.1808	.12833	.894	-.2197	.5813
	41-45	.2227	.12644	.707	-.1718	.6173
	46-50	.1297	.12689	.984	-.2663	.5257
	51-55	-.0660	.13351	1.000	-.4827	.3506
	61-65	-.2410	.31764	.998	-1.2323	.7502
61-65	under 25	.3704	.31170	.959	-.6023	1.3431
	26-30	.4465	.30250	.866	-.4975	1.3905
	31-35	.4075	.30044	.913	-.5300	1.3451
	36-40	.4218	.30076	.896	-.5167	1.3604
	41-45	.4638	.29996	.833	-.4723	1.3998
	46-50	.3707	.30015	.948	-.5660	1.3074
	51-55	.1750	.30301	1.000	-.7706	1.1206
	56-60	.2410	.31764	.998	-.7502	1.2323

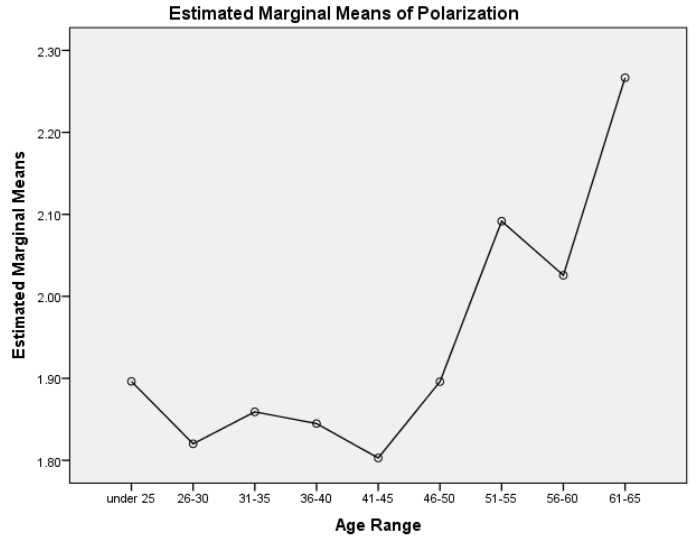


Figure 3. Estimated marginal means of polarization with age range categories

Summary

A MANOVA was conducted to determine whether there are statistically significant differences between non-ranking female police officers and female police officers who have achieved command rank when comparing the effects of tokenism in the variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization. The results of the statistical test showed that there was not enough evidence to reject the three null hypotheses. As such, there are no significant differences between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to visibility, assimilation, and polarization. The discriminant analysis conducted showed that no combination of visibility, assimilation, and polarization, can discriminate the groups of rank from one another, but rather, a single variable, polarization, is the best discriminator of the rank categories. The next chapter contains a discussion of the findings, their implications, and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This study served as an extension of previous research that examined the construct of tokenism. Laws (1975) formed tokenism as a defined construct that propagated negative perceptual tendencies of the dominant group toward token members of the group. Tokenism results in negative interactions between the dominant group and the tokens. These negative interactions may increase especially when the dominant group feels threatened or obliged to share the power and privilege of their dominant position with the tokens (Blalock, 1967;

Fassinger, 2008; Kanter, 1977; Laws, 1975; Reskin, 1988; Stichman et al., 2010; Yoder, 1991). Kanter (1977) discovered that tokens experienced visibility, assimilation, and polarization. Using Kanter's (1977) work as the foundation of their research, Morash and Haarr (1995) developed a survey instrument and conducted research within the Milwaukee Police Department. Their research confirmed Kanter's (1977) findings; female police officers experienced visibility, assimilation, and polarization. Stroshine and Brandl (2011) modified the instrument developed by Morash and Haarr (1995) and again conducted research within the Milwaukee Police Department. Their research also confirmed Kanter's (1977) findings. This current research used the 63-item questionnaire originally developed by Morash and Haarr (1995) and later modified by Stroshine and Brandl (2011) to examine the work experiences of female police officers in the United States.

Currently, women comprise less than 15% of the total police officers in the United States; thus women remain tokens within law enforcement. The number of women decreases as the rank increases. Women represent less than 2% of the police chiefs in the United States (Johnson, 2013). The raw numbers suggest the dominant group in law enforcement, the male officers, engage in behaviors that restrict the upward mobility of the token women. The underrepresentation of female command officers in the male-dominated profession of law enforcement served as the basis for this current research. Previous research had not examined whether rank served as a predictor of the negative effects of tokenism (visibility, assimilation, and polarization).

Women who achieve command rank positions in law enforcement enter positions of power and status. The perceived attempt by the female officers to reject the constraints of their token status and achieve the privileges and power of the dominant group may result in the female

officers experiencing increased negative effects of tokenism. Blalock (1967) posited that the dominant group members would increase the discriminatory behaviors directed toward the minority group members (tokens) if the dominant group viewed the tokens as serious, competitive threats. The increase in discriminatory behaviors would be an attempt to restrict or eliminate the competition. This research examined if females in law enforcement who achieve command rank (positional power) experience increased negative effects of tokenism as they engaged within the power structure of the dominant group.

Summary of the Study

This study compared the experiences of non-ranking female police officers with the experiences of ranking (command) female police officers. The independent variable in this research design consisted of a categorical, dichotomous variable (no rank = 0, rank = 1). The dependent variables, visibility, assimilation, and polarization, were continuous variables. This study employed the use of MANOVA to simultaneously examine the relationship between the continuous, dependent variables, and the categorical, independent variable. MANOVA provided data about the interrelationships that existed between the variables.

This study revealed support for Kanter's (1977) research surrounding the construct of tokenism. The female police officers, both non-ranking and ranking, reported experiencing visibility, assimilation, and polarization. For each of the three dependent variables, a higher score indicated greater negative effects of tokenism. The Likert scale consisted of a 1 – 4 measurement with 1 as "strongly disagree" and 4 as "strongly agree. Some survey items were reverse coded. For the dependent variable of visibility, the scores ranged from 1 to 3.5 with an average of 2.27 (SD = 0.39). For the dependent variable of assimilation, the scores ranged from 1.57 to 3.29 with an average of 2.62 (SD = 0.26). For the dependent variable of polarization, the

scores ranged from 1 to 2.93 with an average of 1.88 (*SD* = 0.42). The small standard deviations for all three dependent variables indicated the mean described all the scores for both non-ranking and ranking participants. This cluster of the means between the two groups challenged Blalock's (1967) postulate that tokens attempting to gain the power and privilege of the dominant group would experience increased negative effects of tokenism.

The MANOVA results offered additional challenges to Blalock's (1967) postulate. The MANOVA revealed no statistically significant differences between non-ranking and ranking female police officers with regards to any of the three dependent variables (visibility, assimilation, and polarization). Rank did not have a statistically significant effect on visibility ($F(1, 366) = .5$; $p = .48$; partial $\eta^2 = .001$), assimilation ($F(1, 366) = .073$; $p = .788$; partial $\eta^2 = .000$) or polarization ($F(1, 366) = .275$; $p = .6$; partial $\eta^2 = .001$). This quantitative study did not find enough evidence to reject the three null hypotheses. As such, each of the three null hypotheses must be accepted as proposed. The findings from the statistical tests are:

1. There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to visibility.

2. There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to assimilation.

3. There is no significant difference between female police officers who have achieved command rank and those female police officers who have not achieved command rank with regards to polarization.

Although there was not enough statistical evidence to reject the three null hypotheses, some statistically significant differences were discovered during a stepwise discriminant analysis and the omnibus test of the first MANOVA. The stepwise discriminant analysis revealed polarization was the best discriminator between the groups of non-ranking and command ranking female police officers. The stepwise analysis revealed that the model was a good fit for the data (p = .048). This showed that a single variable, polarization, could statistically significantly discriminate between the two groups (non-ranking and command ranking female police officers).

The stepwise analysis revealed a statistically significant discriminator in the dependent variable of polarization. When conducting the omnibus test during the first MANOVA, statistically significant differences were found in the combination of the dependent variables between the different groups of age range, (F(3, 364) = 2.84, p = .038; Wilk's Λ = .977, partial η^2 = .023). In order to explore this significance, a second MANOVA was conducted with age range as the independent variable, and visibility, assimilation, and polarization as the dependent variables. Age range did not have a statistically significant effect on the variable of visibility (F(8, 362) = 1.713; p = .094; partial η^2 = . 036) and assimilation (F(8, 362) = .1.668; p = .105; partial η^2 = .036). However, age range did have a statistically significant effect on the variable of polarization (F(8, 362) = 2.178; p = .029; partial η^2 = .046).

Tukey's HSD post-hoc tests revealed statistically significant differences in polarization between the age range categories of 41-45 and 51-55 (p = .017). The estimated marginal means demonstrated that the mean polarization was higher for the age range of 51-55 as compared to 41-45. The difference between the two age ranges was statistically significant (p = .017). This indicated that the participants in the 51-55 age range experienced greater negative effects of polarization than the participants in the 41 – 45 age range.

Discussion of the Results and Implications

This study offered support for Kanter's (1977) research surrounding the construct of tokenism. However, this study may have offered a divergent perspective to Blalock's (1967) theory of intrusiveness. Blalock (1967) posited that the discriminatory behaviors of the dominant group members toward the minority group members (tokens) would increase if the dominant group viewed the tokens as serious, competitive threats. The dominant group would increase the discriminatory behaviors in an effort to restrict or eliminate the competition offered by the tokens. This study did not discover an increase in discriminatory behaviors (visibility, assimilation, and polarization) directed toward female police officers who had achieved command rank. This may be because the dominant group (male police officers) does not view the female command officers as "serious, competitive threats" as described by Blalock (1967). If tokens are not viewed as a threat, there would not be a need to increase the discriminatory behaviors to eliminate or reduce the threat.

In a male-dominated profession, like law enforcement, gender dictates the group membership. Men hold the power and privilege of the dominant group. As such, men control the number of women who are allowed into the organization. The number of female police officers in the profession is still less than 15%. Women gain access, but they are not allowed to change the system they enter. Token women must abide by the constraints of their ascribed status as women (Ayman et al., 2009; Derks et al., 2011). The literature review and previous research indicated the police culture, as a bastion of masculinity, remains relatively unchanged.

Law enforcement remains imbued in masculinity and supports gendered roles (Burke & Mikkelsen, 2005; Corsianos, 2011; Ellemers et al., 2012; Franklin, 2007, McCarthy, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Shelley et al., 2011; Silvestri, 2007). Female police officers find themselves

assigned to roles considered appropriate for their gender. These gendered roles consist of low-status jobs considered undesirable by male officers. These roles include juvenile detective, sexual assault investigators, neighborhood police officer, and school resource officer (Chan et al., 2010; Franklin, 2007; Garcia, 2003). A culture steeped in gendered roles ensures role regulation and marginalization.

These gendered roles marginalize female officers. Marginalization prevents female officers from advancing their careers (Kingshott, 2013). Low-status assignments place female officers in the pink ghetto. Once assigned to the pink ghetto, female officers find it difficult to achieve upward mobility (Wertsch, 1998). Gendered roles reinforce gendered leadership. Women find it difficult to access the power and privilege of the dominant group.

The difficulty occurs because female officers in leadership positions in law enforcement represent a double threat to the men; they are women in a male-dominated profession, and they are women in charge of men (Silvestri, 2007). Maintaining gendered leadership within law enforcement reduces the double threat presented by women. Women gain access to the organization, but the dominant group requires them to maintain their prescriptive, stereotypical gender roles. Stereotypical gender roles keep women in their subordinate place within the patriarchal system. The power system within law enforcement remains male-centered, male-dominated and male-identified (Franklin, 2007).

Men in law enforcement maintain the power and the decision-making rests with them. In order for women to gain access to the power and privilege of the dominant group, they must be able to navigate the social system. A token woman can successfully navigate the social system if a member of the dominant group chooses to sponsor the token woman (Krimmel & Gormley, 2003; Laws, 1975). This sponsorship develops a dyadic relationship based on reciprocity.

According to leader-member exchange theory, this reciprocal relationship develops a high degree of trust, loyalty, and mutual respect between the member and the leader (Schyns & Day, 2010).

This research illustrated some obstacles to the development of dyadic relationships formed around trust, loyalty and mutual respect. Item #12 in the survey instrument stated, "Coworkers often commend me when I do good work." A total of 16% (n = 38) of the non-ranking female officers disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement. This percentage increased to 28.0% (n = 38) of the female command officers who disagreed or strongly disagreed with this item. Item #13 in the survey instrument stated, "Supervisors often commend me when I do good work." The percentage of non-ranking officers who disagreed or strongly disagreed with this item increased to 24.6% (n = 58). The percentage of command officers who disagreed or strongly disagreed with this item increased to 31% (n = 42).

A lack of recognition from coworkers and supervisors when a female officer demonstrates good work helps to maintain the boundaries between the dominant group and the tokens. Heightened boundaries polarize the two groups. Both non-ranking female officers and female command officers indicated polarization. Item #27 in the survey instrument stated, "Coworkers seem to forget I'm here, for example, they do not invite me to things or they do not introduce me." A total of 27.1% (n = 64) of the non-ranking female officers agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. A total of 20% (n = 27) of the female command officers agreed or strongly agreed with this statement.

Female command officers reported feeling less polarized by their coworkers than their non-ranking counterparts. However, a greater percentage of female command officers reported feeling polarized by their supervisors. Item #28 in the survey instrument stated, "My supervisors seem to forget that I'm here, for example, they do not invite me to things, they do not introduce

me, or they leave my name off lists." A total of 27.4% (n = 37) of the female command officers agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. Only 22% (n = 52) of the non-ranking female officers agreed or strongly agreed with this statement.

Female command officers reported feeling greater polarization from their supervisors than from their coworkers. This finding offers some support for Blalock's (1967) theory of intrusiveness. Female officers who achieve command rank reject the constraints of their gendered roles and challenge the restrictions of gendered leaderships. Supervisors of these female command officers may perceive the female command officers as serious, competitive threats to the patriarchal system. This offers a possible explanation for the greater percentage of female command officers reporting polarization from their supervisors than from their coworkers.

As women achieve command rank, they reported increased feelings of polarization from their leaders. Female police officers may find themselves staring at a glass ceiling, unable to advance into the upper echelons of management within law enforcement. Men remain the primary decision makers in law enforcement and may support in-group favoritism when making promotional decisions (Bruckmuller et al., 2014). Male police leaders may unknowingly, or perhaps deliberately, engage in discriminatory practices that force female officers into low-status assignments, polarize the genders and emphasize the visible differences between the genders.

Generational Differences

Low-status assignments polarize the genders and emphasize the visible differences between them. This study revealed that polarization also existed between age ranges. This study discovered that age range did have a statistically significant effect on the variable of polarization ($F(8, 362) = 2.178$; $p = .029$; partial $\eta^2 = .046$). Tukey's HSD post-hoc tests revealed statistically

significant differences in polarization between the age range categories of 41-45 and 51-55 (p = .017). This indicated that the participants in the 51-55 age range experienced greater negative effects of polarization than the participants in the 41 – 45 age range.

The statistically significant negative effect of polarization occurred between two older age ranges, the 51 – 55 age range and the 41 – 45 age range. Surprisingly, this effect did not occur between younger participants and older participants. Item #43 on the survey instrument offered some insight into the age phenomenon. Item #43 stated, "Where I work, there is no bias against people of my age." A total of 32.6% (n = 121) of the participants reported they strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement. The discussion of possible ageism or polarization between the generations moves beyond the scope of this research and could serve as the basis for future research.

Limitations

Some limitations to this research existed. First, the research employed a non-experimental design. The use of a non-experimental design prevents the determination of causal relationships between variables (Gavin, 2008). This quantitative research consisted of an anonymous, web-based survey. Survey design research allows for an examination of the correlations between variables (Swanson & Holt, 2005). Thus, this research provided an examination of the correlation between the independent variable, command rank, and the dependent variables of visibility, assimilation, and polarization, but the research did not examine causation.

The use of an anonymous, web-based survey presented a second limitation to this research. The use of an anonymous, web-based survey relies upon the survey participants to provide honest responses to the items contained in the survey instrument. An anonymous survey can reduce social desirability bias, but anonymity does not guarantee participant truthfulness (Vogt, 2007). As a result, an assumption is made that the participants provided honest responses resulting in accurate data.

The participants provided responses at a single point in time. The temporal nature of this research offered a third limitation. Collecting data at one point in time provides a cross-sectional examination of the variables. In essence, cross-sectional data collection provides a snapshot of the examined phenomenon. In comparison, a longitudinal study elicits information about the same variables over long periods of time and may provide greater insight into the correlations between the variables (Cooper & Schnidler, 2011).

Greater insight into the construct of tokenism may have been obtained with a larger sample size, the fourth limitation of this research. Three elements were considered when determining the sample size for this research; 1) level of significance, 2) effect size, and 3) power of the statistical test. A 5% level of significance, a .10 effect size and .80 level of power was entered into a G*3 Power calculator for a MANOVA statistical test with special effects and interactions (Faul et al., 2009). The recommended sample size was determined to be 176 (Field, 2009). The survey instrumented was distributed to 1,520 female police officers. After filtering and removing the incomplete responses and those participants who did not meet the inclusion criteria, a total of 371 participants remained in the study. The 371 participants represented a response rate of 24.4%; 2.1 times greater than the number of participants needed to fulfill the power requirements. However, the 371 participants represent less than .3% of the 93,676 female

police officers in the United States making it difficult to generalize beyond the sampled population (U.S. Department of Labor, 2015).

Recommendations for Future Research

This research challenged Blalock's (1967) postulate that tokens attempting to gain the power and privilege of the dominant group would experience increased negative effects of tokenism. This quantitative study revealed no statistically significant differences between non-ranking and ranking female police officers with regards to any of the three dependent variables (visibility, assimilation, and polarization). This study did not determine rank as a predictive factor for the negative effects of tokenism (visibility, assimilation, and polarization). Female command officers reject the constraints of their gendered roles and gain access to the power, privilege and position of the dominant group. Blalock's (1967) theory of intrusiveness offers that the tokens (female command officers) would experience increased discriminatory behaviors directed at them by the dominant group. In this study, rank did not predict visibility, assimilation, and polarization. This challenge to Blalock's (1967) theory of intrusiveness could serve as the basis for future research.

This research provided cross-sectional data, thus it provided a snapshot of the examined phenomenon (tokenism). The participants in this study provided responses at a single point in time. The temporal nature of this research created a narrow examination of the variables. In comparison, a longitudinal study elicits information about the same variables over long periods of time and may provide greater insight into the correlations between the variables (Cooper & Schnidler, 2011).

One recommendation for future research would be to conduct a longitudinal study with a purposive sample of female police officers. Purposefully selecting the participants helps the

researcher understand the problem and examine the research question (Creswell, 2009). A purposive sample of female police officers would allow the researcher to examine the lived experiences of female police officers to gain an understanding of the effects of tokenism. A longitudinal study would allow for a more detailed examination of the correlations between the variables. A longitudinal study would also permit the researcher to track changes over time. This type of study would allow the researcher the opportunity to examine the effects of tokenism experienced by female police officers as they progress through their careers.

When conducting longitudinal studies, the researcher must address the issues of costs and attrition rates (Swanson & Holt, 2005). A study repeated over an extended period of time will result in higher research costs. In addition, as a longitudinal study progresses over time, respondents may drop from the study. In order to counter the effects of attrition, the researcher must employ statistical methods for correcting data error rates due to attrition. The researcher must also possess a plan to obtain responses from a subsample of the respondents and from volunteers who may have not been included in the original purposive sample (Swanson & Holt, 2005).

In an attempt to avoid problems with attrition inherent in longitudinal studies, another recommendation for future research would be to conduct a retrospective longitudinal study with a purposive sample of female police officers who have achieved mid-level or executive command rank. Using a sample of mid-level or executive female command officers would allow the researcher to examine, retrospectively, the lived experiences of the women as they progressed through their careers. A qualitative design using face-to-face interviews with the women in the sample would allow the women to discuss how they would have responded to the survey questions at various points in their careers. For example, the women could provide

responses to the survey questions from their experiences as a patrol officer, then a sergeant, then a lieutenant and so on. A retrospective longitudinal study reduces the costs associated with a longitudinal study, but relies heavily upon the remembered experiences of the respondents (Cooper & Schindler, 2011). Employing a qualitative research design allows the respondents to provide detailed descriptions of their lived experiences; more detailed descriptions may provide insight into themes and correlations between the variables (Swanson & Holt, 2005).

Conclusion

This research examined if females in law enforcement experience negative effects of tokenism. This study revealed support for Kanter's (1977) research surrounding the construct of tokenism. The female police officers, both non-ranking and ranking, reported experiencing visibility, assimilation, and polarization. The cluster of the means with their corresponding small standard deviations for all three dependent variables indicated, in essence, all the scores for both non-ranking and ranking participants.

This cluster of the means between the two groups provided insight into the research question, "Are there statistically significant differences between non-ranking female police officers and female police officers who have achieved command rank when comparing the effects of tokenism (visibility, assimilation, and polarization)?" This research challenged Blalock's (1967) postulate that tokens attempting to gain the power and privilege of the dominant group would experience increased negative effects of tokenism. This quantitative study revealed no statistically significant differences between non-ranking and ranking female police officers with regards to any of the three dependent variables (visibility, assimilation, and polarization). The findings from the statistical tests did not provide enough evidence to reject the three null hypotheses.

The three null hypotheses must be accepted as proposed. This study did not determine rank as a predictive factor for the negative effects of tokenism (visibility, assimilation, and polarization). Female police officers in command positions may not experience increased negative effects of tokenism because male police officers may not view the female command officers as serious, competitive threats as described by Blalock (1967). If the female command officers are not viewed as threats or competition, there would not be a need to increase the discriminatory behaviors in order to eliminate or reduce the threat. This challenge to Blalock's (1967) theory of intrusiveness requires additional exploration and research.

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APPENDIX A. STATEMENT OF ORIGINAL WORK

Academic Honesty Policy

Capella University's Academic Honesty Policy (3.01.01) holds learners accountable for the integrity of work they submit, which includes but is not limited to discussion postings, assignments, comprehensive exams, and the dissertation or capstone project.

Established in the Policy are the expectations for original work, rationale for the policy, definition of terms that pertain to academic honesty and original work, and disciplinary consequences of academic dishonesty. Also stated in the Policy is the expectation that learners will follow APA rules for citing another person's ideas or works.

The following standards for original work and definition of *plagiarism* are discussed in the Policy:

> Learners are expected to be the sole authors of their work and to acknowledge the authorship of others' work through proper citation and reference. Use of another person's ideas, including another learner's, without proper reference or citation constitutes plagiarism and academic dishonesty and is prohibited conduct. (p. 1)
>
> Plagiarism is one example of academic dishonesty. Plagiarism is presenting someone else's ideas or work as your own. Plagiarism also includes copying verbatim or rephrasing ideas without properly acknowledging the source by author, date, and publication medium. (p. 2)

Capella University's Research Misconduct Policy (3.03.06) holds learners accountable for research integrity. What constitutes research misconduct is discussed in the Policy:

> Research misconduct includes but is not limited to falsification, fabrication, plagiarism, misappropriation, or other practices that seriously deviate from those that are commonly accepted within the academic community for proposing, conducting, or reviewing research, or in reporting research results. (p. 1)

Learners failing to abide by these policies are subject to consequences, including but not limited to dismissal or revocation of the degree.

Statement of Original Work and Signature

I have read, understood, and abided by Capella University's Academic Honesty Policy (3.01.01) and Research Misconduct Policy (3.03.06), including the Policy Statements, Rationale, and Definitions.

I attest that this dissertation or capstone project is my own work. Where I have used the ideas or words of others, I have paraphrased, summarized, or used direct quotes following the guidelines set forth in the APA *Publication Manual*.

Learner name and date	Penny M. Phelps Mon 24 Oct 2016
Mentor name and school	Dr. Cyd Strickland School of Business and Technology