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The Effects of the Proportion of Women in a Work Role and Tenure on Performance

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THE EFFECTS OF THE PROPORTION OF WOMEN IN A WORK ROLE AND
TENURE ON PERFORMANCE

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

By

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ABSTRACT

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Token theory (Kanter, 1977) suggests that being a token individual in an organization can cause that individual to experience discrimination, increased pressure to perform, isolation from the majority group, negative stereotyping, and can interfere with performance. The purpose of this research was to determine if varying percentages of females in a work role do indeed influence the likelihood that these negative outcomes will occur by using performance data from an applied sample. By using both supervisor ratings and objective sales figures from a sales organization, this research filled a gap in the current research, in which token theory is often referred to but rarely empirically tested with actual performance data. The influence of tenure and its effect on both percentage of women in the work role and performance was also examined. Results indicated that there is a small but consistent token effect for lower-tenure female employees. Lower tenure women were more likely to have higher supervisor ratings as the percentage of women increased. Objective performance in the form of sales dollars tended to increase as the percentage of women increased. Tenure influenced this relationship such that higher tenure employees had a positive relationship between percentage of women in the work role and sales figures, whereas lower tenure employees

had a negative relationship between percentage of women in the work role and sales figures. There was also a fairly strong relationship between percentage of women in a work role and tenure. There were no significant differences between men and women in supervisor ratings, but there were moderate differences in sales figures, in that men had higher sales figures compared to women. Implications and future research are discussed.

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INTRODUCTION

Over the past several decades, research regarding sex differences in performance evaluations in employment settings has become increasingly prevalent, underscoring its negative and expensive implications for selection and company performance as a whole. Previous researchers have found that a pro-male bias exists on performance evaluations, particularly when the job in question is a traditionally male occupation and when the raters are male (Halpern et al., 2007). Inequitable performance evaluations based on non-performance related factors pose many potential problems, including a company's inability to capitalize fully on talent, as well as vulnerability to discriminatory lawsuits.

Though precise figures regarding the costs are elusive, improperly evaluating employees based on extraneous features can cost an organization in losses of productivity, employee morale, and communication (Pettijohn, Parker, Pettijohn, & Kent, 2001), to name a few negative outcomes. Furthermore, improper performance appraisals or employment practices could potentially lead to exorbitant legal fees. For example, in 2003 retail giant Abercrombie & Fitch was accused of "violat(ing) Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by maintaining recruiting and hiring practices that excluded minorities and women and adopting a restrictive marketing image, and other policies, which limited minority and female employment" (EEOC, 2004, p. 1). This lawsuit resulted in a fifty million dollar settlement for the plaintiffs. Furthermore, Wal-Mart was recently party to a large sex discrimination lawsuit. The approximately 1.5 million

plaintiffs alleged that they were the target of unfair pay and promotions due to their gender and owed billions. Although the Supreme Court ultimately overturned the lawsuit, citing that the women did not have enough in common to join together in a single lawsuit, it would have been the largest class action discrimination suit in history and many of the plaintiffs are still exploring other avenues to have their allegations addressed. Clearly, improper appraisal based on factors that are not related to potential performance could lead to drastic financial harm to organizations.

This research focused on the dynamics associated with the gender makeup of the organization, particularly in regard to how it might influence performance evaluations. Despite great strides in both numbers of women in the workplace and the preparation of women for the workplace, there is still a great disparity in the upper echelons of management (Department of Labor Women's Bureau, 2005). Insights into the progressions that both breed and sustain workplace discrimination are of indispensable value. Perhaps the experiences of the minority workers (e.g., women in more male-dominated fields), as well as how long they remain at their jobs provide important insight as to how organizations view these individuals' performance. For decades, many researchers have studied how majority or minority composition of a group can influence the group as a whole (e.g., Asch, 1951, Kanter, 1977). Typically, the majority will exert more influence in a group than minorities do (Asch, 1951) and minorities can be marginalized as a result. There are a variety of theories postulated regarding an individual's experience as a minority in the workplace and how that shapes his or her experience.

One of these such theories is Kanter's (1977) token theory, which surmises that being a "token", or minority individual in an organization (typically 15% or less of the group, such as an upper-level female manager) can cause that individual to face discrimination, to experience increased pressure to perform, isolation from the majority group (or "dominants"), and negative stereotyping. These negative effects can result in the perception of barriers to exerting influence on decisions in the group. Moreover, being (or being perceived as) a token can interfere with performance (Powell, 1993).

This theory is often discussed in the relevant literature (e.g., Sherman & Rosenblatt, 1984; Fløge & Merrill, 1986; Jackson, Thoits, & Taylor, 1995). However, although this theory provides important insight into potential experiences and lays the groundwork for future study, there is currently a bewildering lack of empirical research investigating how these differences translate to actual performance ratings in an up-to-date white-collar, applied sample. Performance ratings obviously shape the success of the company, but also affect individuals' promotions, tenure, pay increases or decreases, and termination decisions. Moreover, there are many benefits to a well-qualified, diverse workforce, including innovation and novel problem solving (Krishnan, Miller, & Judge, 1997). Thus, one of the central purposes of this research was to examine how being a gender minority in a profession influences performance ratings and tenure. Furthermore, does token theory hold water in actual organizations and how do the experiences of men and women differ in tenure, objective performance, subjective performance, and variability in performance?

This research made several contributions to the academic literature on women in the workplace. It addressed the significant gap in the literature on studies testing the idea

of token theory and answered the question of whether tokens did indeed experience decreased performance ratings. There are very few empirical studies investigating this relationship that utilize actual performance data. In fact, there is a great disconnect between the amount of research that calls for further elucidation on the subject (e.g., Bearman & Ajjawi, 2013; Heilman, 1983; Kanter, 1977) and the amount of research that empirically tests it (i.e., Strohshine & Brandl, 2011; Sackett, DuBois, & Noe, 1991). Furthermore, the researchers that have empirically tested tokenism have done so in rather narrow populations. For example, there has been research performed in multiple fields, including police work (Strohshine & Brandl, 2011; Gustafson, 2008), firefighting (Yoder & Aniakudo, 1997), female enlisted soldiers (Rustad, 1982), elementary school teachers (Cognard-Black, 2004), West Point cadets (Yoder, Adams, & Prince, 1983), state legislators (Bratton, 2005), social workers (Kadushin, 1976), scientists (Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, Neuschatz, Uzzi, & Allonzo, 1994), child care workers (Schrieber, 1979), physicians and nurses (Floge & Merrill, 1986), corporate executives (Lyness & Thompson, 2000), clerical workers (Seifert, 1973), Wall Street professionals (Roth, 2004), flight attendants (Young & James, 2001), academic faculty (Yoder, Crumpton, & Zipp, 1989), steel workers (Deaux & Ullman, 1983), engineering students (Ott, 1978), union representatives (Izraeli, 1983), transit workers (Swerdlow, 1989), auto workers (Gruber & Bjorn, 1982), and coal miners (Hammond & Mahoney, 1983). Thus, a broader sample of employees was needed. Moreover, virtually none of the previously-mentioned studies have used actual performance data, with the exception of Sackett et al. (1991), which analyzed supervisor ratings data that were collected from 1972-1987 and

contained predominantly blue-collar workers. In the majority of studies, the outcome variables were obtained primarily by surveys, interviews, or observation.

Although the previous research is undoubtedly informative, using real performance data might be more advantageous when attempting to discern if the composition of women in the work role can negatively affect tangible workplace outcomes. Moreover, much of the previous research was done in the 1970s or early 1980s. As the studies were at a minimum of two and a half decades ago, attitudes toward women in the workplace might have changed. Therefore, this research provided a much-needed update as well as extended the test of token theory by using a related variable of percentage of women in a work role to a predominantly white-collar/sales sample. This research also examined how tenure can influence the relationship between performance and percentage of women in the work role. Based on this research, the field can further grasp how these variables can influence real workplace outcomes that affect employees and organizations. The literature lacked a study using modern, actual on-the-job performance data.

The following introduction reviews the extensive previous research concerning sex differences in the workplace and how a host of workplace outcomes can be influenced by sex, including tenure, salary, promotions, work-family conflict, management styles, negotiation, and communication. Next, I investigated some of the various theories and issues that attempt to elucidate why those differences exist, including historical factors, social roles theory, and the glass ceiling. Finally, I considered how performance data can be influenced by extraneous factors, including rater and ratee characteristics. I then presented a new test of tokenism theory, which included

actual performance data from a large applied sample of salespeople and explored the various relationships between percentage of women in the work role, performance, and tenure.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Sex Differences in the Workplace

Because this research is based on the perception that there are many disparities in the workplace, an overview of where these differences lie is appropriate. There is no shortage of research exemplifying the host of sex differences in the workplace (e.g., Guadagno & Cialdini, 2007; Segal, 1992; Stroh, Brett, & Reilly, 1992). Women comprise 49.8% of the workplace and economists anticipated that women, for the first time in history, would comprise more than half of the labor force by the end of 2009 (Gibbs, 2009), making women no longer minorities in the workplace. This increase is partially due to the late 2000s recession, in which 82% of job losses affected men, particularly those men in manufacturing and construction jobs (Rampell, 2009). Despite women no longer being a numeric minority, women only occupy one-third of management positions (Department of Labor Women's Bureau, 2005), 13.5% of executive officer positions, and only 15.2% of the board of director positions (Kotrba & Castano, 2011). Moreover, women run only 13 of Fortune 500 companies (less than 3%; Jones, 2009). Women are systematically underrepresented in science and math fields despite receiving more Bachelor's degrees than men every year since 1982 (Halpern et al., 2007), more Master's degrees, and an equal number of Doctoral, Law, and Medical degrees (Gibbs, 2009). Clearly, there are prevalent sex disparities in the workplace that do not stem from a lack of education or preparation.

Despite similar educational pursuits, in equivalent jobs women and non-whites make 25% less than their male and white counterparts (Census, 2006) and women and non-Whites are twice as likely to be unemployed or underemployed than white males (National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, 2002). Cleveland, Stockdale, and Murphy (2000) suggested that the assumption that sexism might occur is dissuading women from entering more rigorous fields. Moreover, the fact that women and minorities will possibly not attain as high of a salary or position could additionally contribute to this disparity. This is unfortunate on several levels, as qualified and talented individuals should be encouraged to enter competitive fields to keep the fields evolving and forward-looking, not relegated to subject areas that they are not only overqualified for, but from which they might not garner as much fulfillment.

Salary and promotions. Giscombe and Mattis (2002) suggested that the major barriers to career advancement seem to be at the promotion stage, as opposed to the recruitment or job entry stage. Therefore, deciphering the dynamics of barriers to promotions is of central importance to this research. Men's salary progression is more accelerated, even when they are matched to female counterparts on both education and experience (Stroh et al, 1992). Women currently earn \$0.77 for every \$1.00 that men earn, and although men did bear the brunt of the recent recession's layoffs (Rampbell, 2009), women's earnings fell two percent in 2008, twice as much as men's earnings (Gibbs, 2009). This salary discrepancy is consistent across male-dominated, female-dominated, and gender-mixed occupations (Budig, 2002). There is a possibility that men are simply overpaid, as opposed to women being underpaid. However, regardless of

whether men are overpaid or women are underpaid, the end result remains that there is an inappropriate discrepancy when it comes to salary.

Thacker (1995) found that salary discrepancies are the most pronounced at the highest levels of a given organization, suggesting that small differences can become larger differences over time. Stroh et al. (1992) found that women senior leaders lagged behind comparable males in salary and frequency of job transfers, but not lag behind in number of promotions and proposed that an explanation for this discrepancy is that women tend to be in more of support positions, rather than more visible, decision-making positions. Lyness and Thompson (1997) conducted research comparing men and women, both at high executive levels. The researchers found that women had less authority, received fewer stock options, and had less international mobility than men. Often, even when women are in management positions, they are more likely to be in lower-paid management positions (e.g., human resources managers typically make less money than marketing managers; Hesse-Biber & Carter, 2005).

Overall, there seems to be a disconnect between hiring or promoting a woman to a middle manager/management position that maintains the status quo and hiring or promoting a woman to be in an actual position that dictates and directs how the organization will run. There is a perception that women are placed in less visible positions and are more “behind-the-scenes builders” because they are better at cultivating and maintaining relationships. But when women do seek out more visible, higher profile positions they are often criticized as being too ambitious (Ely & Meyerson, 2000).

Women and men have essentially the same educational attainments, yet their career progressions differ. Eagly and Carli (2007) describe women’s career progressions

as a labyrinth, as opposed to men's career progressions, which tend to be much more linear and predictable, suggesting that women might change employers more often or take lateral transfers rather than work their way up the traditional hierarchy (Leasher & Dean, 2009). Lyness and Thompson (2000) also found confirming evidence that men and women differ in their career stages by examining the barriers and facilitators to advancement perceived by men and women. Consistently, women reported more barriers, as well as an increased emphasis on track records and relationships as compared to their male counterparts.

In a promotion simulation by Martell, Lane, and Emrich (1996), the researchers projected that if sex differences explained 1% of the differences in performance ratings, markedly lower long-term promotion rates for women could result if promotions were frequent. In their simulation, equal numbers of women and men were hired into entry-level positions in an eight-level organizational hierarchy. However, their projection concluded with only 35% of women in senior management. From simulations like this, Eagly and Karau (2002) stated "slight prejudice that is consistently acted on greatly reduces women's chances of rising to high-level positions in organizations" (p. 589). Moreover, even at the hiring level, Valian (1998) found that small differences in salary can compound to much more substantial differences later on (also see Thacker, 1995). Thus, if there are small differences within the selection process, those small discrepancies can intensify to larger differences in who gets hired or promoted.

Lyness and Judiesch (2001) found that recently promoted women were less likely to leave than recently promoted men. The researchers suggested that this was potentially due to men regarding a promotion as making them more marketable, and thus attractive

to more enticing job opportunities. Women, on the other hand, potentially were more likely to view a promotion as a vote of confidence and therefore felt more embedded in their work and more committed to their organization. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that women with more promotions would have a higher degree of tenure than their male counterparts and potentially more organizational commitment.

Similarly, Scandura and Lankau (1998) found that women who perceived their organization as offering flexible work hours reported higher levels of organizational commitment and job satisfaction than women who did not. Moreover, flexible work hours were associated with higher organizational commitment and job satisfaction for those having family responsibilities. Perhaps women are more sensitive to the relationship between benefits and organizational commitment than men. In fact, Bellou (2009) found that women tend to expect more from their employment relationship and Northcutt (1991) found that women place a greater emphasis on achieving personal goals, receiving recognition from others, and enjoying their work, as opposed to men who place more emphasis on status, position, and salary as markers for professional success. These differences between men and women in the level of expectation and commitment could have the markings for why there are so many marked dissimilarities in the workplace promotions and salary.

However, although employees typically view promotions are something to strive for and a positive event, this attitude can vary depending on the industry. For example, in the sales arena, promotions are often not as valued as promotions are in other industries. Lopez, Hopkins, and Raymond (2006) found that increased commissions and pay raises were the most preferable reward, whereas promotions and recognition were the least

preferred by salespeople, potentially even prompting higher turnover rates. Thus, perhaps in the sales industry, a promotion might actually be a negative event if it is used as a replacement for other monetary rewards. However, when sales firms hire from the entry level and promote from within, the firms experienced increased mutual trust and less opportunistic behavior (Ganesan, Weitz, & John, 1993).

Tenure. In much of the research, there is a common assumption that women quit more than their male counterparts. Light and Ureta (1992) even stated that women and “quitter” are synonymous in many organizations because they have higher turnover rates. Lack of career advancement and turnover intentions are indeed related (Campbell & Campbell, 2003). Due to the previously mentioned discrepancies in career progression and salary, perhaps women become frustrated with their predicament and quit to pursue potentially better opportunities. Female managers who are frustrated with their career opportunities are more likely to quit than their similarly frustrated male counterparts (Campbell & Campbell, 2003). Frustration with career mobility was one of the main catalysts that female entrepreneurs reported prompted them to start their own businesses (Center for Women’s Business Research, 2001). Given the previous research, perhaps women are more likely to leave out of frustration whereas men are more likely to leave for better opportunities.

Turnover is a problem for organizations, resulting in increased hiring and training costs, in addition to lost productivity (Cascio, 1991), which underscores the need for understanding the motivations of those good employees that are choosing to leave. However, there are many different methods of examining this relationship and much of the prior research results have been mixed. For example, in large-scale meta-analyses,

Hom, Roberson, and Ellis (2008) found that women were more likely to quit than their male counterparts, whereas Griffeth, Hom, and Gaerter (2000) found that the turnover rates of women were the same as the turnover rates of men. Moreover, there is a difference between women in professional versus non-professional settings and turnover that is voluntary versus involuntary. Cotton and Tuttle (1986) found that the gender-turnover relationship was more pronounced in professional settings. However, Lyness and Judiesch (2001) suggested that much of the prior research is perhaps outdated and found the opposite to be true- that women were less likely to quit than their male counterparts in professional settings. Stroh, Brett, and Reilly (1996) found that higher turnover rates among women were not attributable to family obligations and that only a very small sector of executive women leaves their jobs due to familial reasons (Morrison, 1994). Women are more likely to remain in a job that they feel appreciated and those women that have stayed might be more productive than men with the same tenure.

But is tenure always a positive attribute? Trevor, Gerhart, and Boudreau (1997) found that those employees that were more likely to leave tended to be either low performers or high performers. Average performers were less likely to leave. Employees were particularly more likely to leave if they were both high performers and had low salary growth, whereas high performers with high salary growth were more inclined to stay. However, the researchers did not investigate if this relationship was true for both men and women.

Age is often overlapped with tenure, so for some of these relationships, it is difficult to assert if the relationships are a function of tenure or a function of age. Age and tenure are correlated at .70, but when age was controlled for, tenure still predicted

performance (.09; Ng & Feldman, 2010). In fact, age is often a moderator of the relationship between tenure and job performance, such that the relationship is weaker for older workers than for younger workers (Ng & Feldman, 2010). This confirms the idea that burnout or decreased motivation might be occurring as employees age. For sales positions, tenure and performance are correlated .39 (Bluen, Barling, & Burns, 1990).

Wright and Bonett (2002) examined the relationships between organizational commitment, performance, and the moderating effect of tenure in a large-scale meta-analysis. The researchers found that employees with low tenure had a much stronger commitment-performance relationship. On the other hand, employees with high tenure had a much weaker commitment-performance relationship. They suggested further that this relationship exists because of a honeymoon effect. This phenomenon occurs when individuals come to a work environment with a high level of commitment expecting that his or her new workplace will fulfill his or her needs. If his or her organization fulfills these needs, that high level of commitment is maintained or enhanced. If his or her organization does not fill these needs, the honeymoon ends and this might lead to a decrease in commitment and/or performance (Cropanzano, James, & Konovsky, 1993; March & Simon, 1958; Veninga & Spradley, 1981). These findings support the notion that tenure might not always be a positive attribute for every workplace setting.

Hom et al. (2008) found that women do quit more than their male counterparts, at a 52% higher rate. Schwartz (1989) researched women's departure from corporate America, with a turnover rate 2.5 times the rate of men. Some potential reasons for this included environmental discomfort and a lack of organizational attachment (Riordan, Schaffer, & Stewart, 2005). Although Schwartz (1989) surmised that women were

leaving at a higher rate than men because of family concerns such as number of children, Stroh et al. (1996) found that women were leaving more often because they did not feel that there was as much opportunity.

Another somewhat obvious difference would be women's differing family responsibilities and career interruptions, which might or might not be supported by their employers. These responsibilities tend to pull women away from their work more than men (Dalton, Hill, & Ramsay, 1997). This issue is more pronounced in more traditionally male-dominated industries (Valian, 1998), although the research is mixed concerning women in other professional industries. Women with graduate degrees who took family leave were no more likely to leave their jobs than their manager counterparts that did not take family leave (Lyness & Judiesch, 2001). This suggests that in more professional settings, women having children or other family responsibilities are no more likely to leave than their counterparts whom did not have these considerations.

Stroh et al. (1992) found that female and non-Caucasian employees often experience less fulfilling work environments, plagued with more difficulty getting hired and promoted. Ng and Feldman (2010) found that the tenure-performance relationship was actually stronger for women than it was for men, particularly when women were the majority. More specifically, when women made up less than 50% of the participants, the tenure-performance relationship was significantly weaker than when women made up 50% or more of the participants. Moreover, the relationship between tenure and performance was stronger for non-Caucasians, particularly when they were members of a more diverse organization. This finding suggested that perhaps if workplaces were more diverse in general, more employees would be not only more likely to stay at their jobs

longer, but also to perform better. Additionally, a directionality issue might be at work. If someone is particularly good at their job, they are more likely to stay. Overall, contrary to some research, the relationship between tenure and performance is stronger for women and non-Caucasians. Moreover, Lyness and Judiesch (2001) found that women in professional settings were actually less likely to quit than their male counterparts, particularly when they had received a recent promotion.

Another issue with tenure is the directionality issue. Antiquated as it might seem, there is still a common attitude that a young women will leave the organization if she gets married or has children. Almer, Hopper, and Kaplan (1998) found that managers perceived female candidates or married candidates with children as more likely to resign than male or single and childless candidates. Similarly, Kennelly (1999) found that managers were more likely to question the absenteeism and lateness of female applicant than those of male applicants, assuming her potential tardiness was due to personal obligations. Perhaps organizations do not offer as many promotional or training opportunities for women because they think that either they are more likely to leave or they are not as equipped to handle more challenging assignments.

In fact, there are sex differences in on-the-job training. Corcoran and Duncan (1979) found that white males had completed double the job training as their female counterparts, explaining 11% of the wage gap between men and women. Wellington (1994) found that training differences accounted for 9.2% of the gender gap in earning in 1976. By 1985, this percentage grew to 10.2%. Barron, Black, and Lowenstein (1982) found that men participated in both longer (28 versus 14 weeks) and more expensive training (\$42,900 versus \$13,600) than women. Perhaps the lags in promotion are due to

the training not equipping women to succeed in highly visible positions as well as their male counterparts who have received significantly more training. Or, perhaps men are more often identified as “rising stars” than women, especially if management thinks a woman will not remain at her job long-term. These inactions and discrepancies thus prompt more women to leave or seek employment elsewhere, thus becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Tenure does tend to predict performance, both in core-task behaviors and citizenship behaviors (.10 and .08, respectively; Ng & Feldman, 2010), although this relationship seems to be curvilinear, suggesting that long-term employees lose motivation after a long time period or that perhaps an injection of new employees and therefore new styles and ideas can invigorate an organization. This tenure-performance relationship is stronger for women, younger workers, minorities, and college-educated workers (Ng & Feldman, 2010), but this relationship was not tested for sales positions and the researchers did not investigate quantitative performance.

Theories examining tenure. Researchers have proposed several theories positively relating organizational tenure to job performance. Apart from potentially good employees leaving, this also hampers an organization’s diversity, which fosters creativity and innovation (McLeod, Lobel, & Cox, 1996), and will eventually leave a gap in the future due to baby boomers’ retirement (Albright & Cluff, 2005). Although there is some debate as to how desirable tenure is, determining the relationships between employees, performance, and tenure is significant. Human capital theory surmises that employees that have been at the organization longer will be better employees because they have accumulated more job-knowledge (Becker, 1964). The labor market therefore rewards

long-term workers with financial incentives, further prompting those individuals to perform well in the future. Because organizational tenure enhances both declarative knowledge (what to do) and procedural knowledge (how to do it), long-term employees are more likely to be better employees (Ng & Feldman, 2010).

Schneider's (1987) Attraction, Selection, and Attrition (ASA) Model

hypothesized that organizations will attract and retain individuals that fit within the organization. In turn, these individuals are more likely to remain with the organization, thereby making the organization more homogenous to a certain type of person with values and skills that match those of the organization, thus increasing their tenure. Individuals that do not fit with the organization will select out, thus intensifying the number of employees with the organization's preferred skill set and temperament. Thus, the employees that have been on the job longer are more likely to have a higher degree of job performance than new employees. Conventional wisdom would postulate that if low performers are more likely to quit, then that is not much of an issue for organizations, exemplifying the Attraction-Selection-Attrition Model (Schneider, 1987). However, if the high performers are quitting out of frustration, which did seem to be the case, at least in part, in Trevor et al.'s (1997) research, then this would certainly be a problem for employers and one that could be potentially mitigated.

Job embeddedness theory examines how not only person-organization fit and tenure influence job performance, but also how these variables interact with work activities, colleagues, and work-family balance. Essentially, the degree to which an employee is invested in the profession will dictate his or her job performance and the likelihood that the individual will quit (Mitchell, Holtom, Lee, Sablinski, & Erez, 2001).

The longer an employee is at his or her job, the more benefits he or she will accumulate typically (i.e., pension, work friendships). Moreover, job embeddedness theory also postulates that, over time, the embeddedness of an employee will have a negative relationship with their mobility. Subsequent researchers have confirmed this relationship (i.e., Halbesleben & Wheeler, 2008; Harman, Blum, Stefani, & Taho, 2009; Mallol, Holtom, & Lee, 2007; Mitchell et al., 2001). However, it is plausible to suggest that this might be a two-way relationship. Yes, individuals are less likely to leave their jobs when they are more embedded in it, but they are also more likely to become more involved in their jobs if they do not plan on leaving anytime soon. Someone who views their job as merely a temporary way to make money will be less likely to socialize, join teams, and the like than someone who views their position as a long-term commitment. Furthermore, as people age, for some it becomes more difficult to change jobs and/or locations with the added considerations of children, friends, mortgages, and so on, whereas a young, single renter can transfer jobs with relative ease.

Lazear (1998) agreed with job-embeddedness theory, but furthered it by suggesting that there is eventually a leveling-off point of this relationship, when the benefits garnered by the employee flattens. Therefore, perhaps tenure is not always a positive attribute and that the positive relationship with tenure and various other desirable employee outcomes is presumptuous. Wright and Bonett (1997) suggested that workers with higher tenure have an increased propensity for burnout and decreased motivation, merely going through the motions of their job until retirement. However, despite the findings that the tenure/performance relationship is not perfectly linear, overall turnover is costly to organizations and organizations should attempt to avoid extraneous turnover

(Cascio, 1991). Furthermore, because tenure is often found to be positively related to performance, I controlled for tenure in my analyses.

Negotiation and expectations. Naturally, individuals who negotiate their salaries at the onset of their employment earn more than those who do not (Gerhart & Rynes, 1991), so perhaps some of these discrepancies stem from sex differences in the salary negotiation process. Some researchers have found that men have consistently higher pay expectations than women (e.g., Keys, 1985; Latham, Ostrowski, Pavlock, & Scott, 1987). This is true even after women underwent training in negotiation techniques (Stevens, Bavetta, & Gist, 1991). This might result from men expecting more advanced jobs and larger salaries long term than women when men had no information on which to base estimations (Kamen & Hartel, 1994). However, despite this possible explanation, Gerhart and Rynes (1991) found that both male and female MBA graduates used the same negotiation techniques, but that the men still earned more.

Although just as many females as males now work, women tend to have lower expectations of their jobs for promotability and salary (Avery, 2010). Spade and Reese (1991) found that although both men and women undergraduates predicted they would give equal commitment to family and work, women were less likely to see themselves as able in the workplace, even when they had higher grade-point-averages than males. Moreover, Spade and Reese (1991) found that women tend to underestimate their abilities, whereas men overestimate their abilities, suggesting that perhaps some women are not as confident in workplace arenas, despite having the appropriate qualifications. Men also viewed work and family as separate spheres, whereas women viewed them as

interdependent and in need of balance and/or tradeoffs. Thus, overall it seems that many women expect less from their workplace experience than men in terms of their worth.

Work/family conflict. Regarding family, several researchers (e.g., Lyness & Thompson, 1997; Westwood & Turner, 1996) found that for many prestigious positions, a man having a family is acceptable, perhaps even an asset. On the other hand, a woman having a family is often perceived as a liability. Executive women were less likely to be married or have children than the male executives and experienced less job satisfaction with their future opportunities (Lyness & Thompson, 1997). Similarly, female military officers are less likely both to marry and to have children (Westwood & Turner, 1996). Among Army general officers, 98% of the men were married, as opposed to 40% of the women and 82% of the men had children, as opposed to 0% of the women (Westwood & Turner, 1996). However, Heilman and Okimoto (2007) found that women who were mothers were viewed as more likable (although not necessarily more effective), although the researchers did not examine upper-level management positions.

Men and women also differ on their levels of work-family conflict. Many dual-earning professionals with children experience conflict over balancing their work lives with their family lives, but because family roles have not yet been redistributed to match more egalitarian work responsibilities (termed psychosocial lag), the burden more often falls on the female. Women in academia were more likely than male faculty members to report that their role as parents negatively affected their career prospects (Gunter & Stambach, 2003) and Romanin and Over (1993) found that women in academia had relocated geographical areas more frequently to benefit their partners' careers. Overall,

there were large differences between men and women with family expectation and family conflict (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991).

Although there does not seem to be clear evidence that an organization's effectiveness is influenced by family-friendly policies, there does seem to be a more circuitous route of happy employees and attracting high-caliber applicants. Bloom, Kretschmer, and Van Reenen (2011) found that firms with a higher proportion of skilled workers and firms that are better managed did tend to implement more family-friendly policies. Moreover, family-friendly policies positively influence affective commitment, even in employees whom did not directly benefit from these policies (Grover & Crooker, 1995). Similarly, Darcy, McCarthy, Hill, and Grady (2012) investigated how life stages overlap with career stages (early, developing, consolidating, pre-retirement) for both men and women. The researchers found that work-life balance was not only important for those in the early or developing career stages, but was important for all employees at every stage.

Affective commitment denotes an emotional attachment to the organization, whereas continuance commitment denotes the perceived costs of leaving an organization and normative commitment signifies a perceived obligation to remain with the organization. Affective commitment had the strongest relationships to job satisfaction, job involvement, and organizational commitment, and had the strongest negative correlation with turnover, compared to continuance and normative commitment (Meyer, Stanley, Herscovitch, & Topolnytsky, 2002). Moreover, affective commitment was also the strongest predictor of attendance, performance, and organizational citizenship behavior (Meyer et al., 2002). Taken together, these findings underscore the notion that

inciting affective commitment in employees is advantageous for organizations. The use of family-friendly policies is related to women's increased job satisfaction (Hammer, Neal, Newsom, Brockwood, & Colton, 2005) and on-site child-care increased self-efficacy in employees (Cleveland et al., 2000). Many organizations are reluctant to finance an influx of family-friendly policies. However, the above research does suggest that these implementations would be beneficial. Kush and Stroh (1994) found that the implementation of flexible work hours improved motivation and morale and also enabled employees to better balance work and family life and Osterman (1995) found that this flexibility might also relate to improved productivity.

Actual differences in assessments. Schmitt, Clause, and Paulakos (1996) investigated adverse impact in ability tests and assessments between males and females. They found that women scored slightly higher in general/cognitive ability tests ($d = 0.09$), personality tests ($d = 0.07$), and accomplishments record ($d = 0.03$) and scored one-quarter standard deviation higher in verbal ability ($d = 0.24$). Men, on the other hand, scored significantly higher in job sample/job knowledge ($d = 0.38$), math ability ($d = 0.27$), and clerical/speed/accuracy ($d = 0.59$). Generally speaking, Cohen's standardized means difference test for d , commonly known as an effect size, is considered small if it is equal to 0.2 or less, moderate at 0.4, and large if it is equal to 0.8 or larger (Cohen, 1988). These results underscore the notion that, although there are some differences in skills between men and women generally, there is not a significant lack of skills in either group that would justify such exorbitant disparities in position and compensation.

Management styles. Determining differences in male and female management styles is complicated by the simple fact that comparable women and men could act in exactly the same manner and their behavior would be perceived differently by their coworkers. However, female managers provide an important insight for determining why these differences in position exist. Oftentimes, employees perceive women leaders differently than male leaders (e.g., an assertive male is often viewed by employees as positive, whereas an assertive female is often viewed negatively). Perceptions of female leaders are more often context dependent on the level and gender type of the job. This is important because selection in upper levels is often less rigorous than lower levels and is based more on perceptions (Eagly, 2007). Thomas-Hunt and Phillips (2004) found that a woman possessing expertise was viewed as less influential by her peers, whereas the opposite was true for males. Moreover, Lyness and Thompson (1997) discovered that women's achievements in the workplace often are not attributed to ability, skill, or talent, but are more often attributed to luck, effort, or some other extraneous reason.

Research questioning the efficacy of women as leaders has unearthed some interesting findings. Senior managers perceived women as engaging in more effective leadership behaviors and as being more effective overall than men (Castano & Kotrba, 2011). Cahoon and Rowney (2001) found that women were more democratic, whereas men were more directive in their management styles. Although differences do indeed exist between men and women and their leadership capabilities, many of these differences are not necessarily preferential to the other. In other words, it is not definitively better to be democratic as opposed to directive and vice versa. However, one leadership style might be more valued depending on the organization and its goals.

Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, and van Engen (2003) found that women leaders engaged in more transformational leadership, whereas men engaged in more transactional and laissez-faire leadership styles. Men also tended to use more contingent rewards with their employees. Moreover, Lauterbach and Weiner (1996) found that women leaders were more likely to act out of an organization's best interest, include others in planning, and consider other viewpoints. Men, on the other hand, were more likely to act out of self-interest, plan alone, and show less concern for others' feelings.

The issue of sex differences in leadership is further complicated by how self-promotion is viewed by co-workers. The exact same self-promotional behaviors do not have the same degree of success for men and women (Budworth & Mann, 2010). Self-promotional behavior violates social roles and, thus, can have negative implications for a woman who lacks modesty about her accomplishments. Self-promotion for men, on the other hand, does not violate their social role so it is viewed as appropriate or, at minimum, acceptable. However, Eagly and Chin (2010) suggested that non-traditional leaders, including women and members of underrepresented groups, offer the opportunity for excellent leadership due to their different backgrounds, offering alternative methods of solving problems.

Communication styles. Men and women also differ in their communication styles. Men tend to talk more in meetings and there is a positive relationship with verbal participation and leadership (Cahoon & Rowney, 2001). Men tend to initiate conversation, interrupt, and talk more than women, adhering to a hierarchy of dominance (Cleveland et al., 2000). That is, generally men are more focused on one-upping their conversation partners, whereas women are more focused on establishing common ground

with their conversation partners (Tannen, 1994), which can sometimes complicate the supervisor-subordinate relationship. Women tend to ask more questions and are more concentrated on letting everyone talk and taking turns speaking. Women hold more tension in their bodies to take up less space, whereas men tend to spread their bodies out more to establish dominance (Cleveland et al., 2000).

Men and women also differ on their tone preference. LaPlante and Ambady (2002) found that females were more satisfied and productive when their supervisor delivered positive content in a negative tone, whereas men were more satisfied and productive when the tone was positive and the content of the message was negative. In essence, men might be more concerned with how the message is delivered, rather than what is actually said, with the opposite true for women.

Finally, men and women also differ in their communication according to their audience. Steckler and Rosenthal (1985) found that females sounded more competent when speaking to bosses and subordinates than when speaking to peers, whereas men sounded more competent when speaking to peers and subordinates than when speaking to bosses. Steckler and Rosenthal hypothesized that this might be because women want to sound more competent to those individuals that might doubt their competence, whereas men might be inherently more competitive and thus want to appear more competent to their peers.

Theories Examining Sex Differences in the Workplace

Given the previous research, there is nothing to indicate concretely any reason why women's workplace experience is so different from men's workplace experience.

Thus, investigating some of the theories proposing why these differences are present is appropriate.

Token theory. Of paramount importance to this research is Kanter's (1977) token theory. As stated earlier, a token is a person in a minority group (typically making up less than 15% of the total workplace population). Kanter (1977) theorized that, "the life of women in the corporation is influenced by the proportions in which they find themselves" (p. 207). Tokens experience a higher degree of scrutiny from their coworkers and supervisors and they are often the targets of stereotypes from the majority group. Moreover, tokens might feel there is pressure to mute their performance, thereby not outperforming anyone in the dominant group. Thus, the tokens could be viewed not as individuals, but as the representatives of their particular group. Kanter (1977) further breaks these issues down into the three terms: heightened visibility, contrast, and assimilation.

Heightened visibility occurs due to the tokens' rarity, prompting them to encounter increased pressure to perform. Tokens are more visible if their group membership is both physically obvious (e.g., sex or race) and a novelty to the setting of the majority of the group. Therefore, the most highly visible tokens would be those with some sort of physical marker (e.g., sex, age, or race) and in a group where not many members have encountered someone of that group. Often any mistakes made by tokens in these situations are attributed not to the individual, but to their entire group.

Contrast refers to a gradual process in which the dominant group can "become more aware both of their commonalities and their difference from the token, and to preserve their commonality, they try to keep the token slightly outside, to offer a

boundary” (Kanter, 1977, pp. 210-211). Finally, assimilation can also occur. Because the token group is small, uniqueness from each other in that group is often not recognized by members of the dominant group. The majority group often implements stereotypes, some which are, at times, exaggerated. Tokens will often conform to those stereotypes, as it provides them with an easily accessible identity. When this occurs, Kanter (1977) refers to this as encapsulation, a condition that thrusts tokens into limited and caricatured work roles.

Because this process often involves the minority/majority members becoming more polarized (even if they began as quite similar), these differences become increasingly magnified and can lead to exclusion. For instance, in an equally mixed group of men and women, there might be many dissenting opinions or ideas, independent of sex. However, in a more male-dominated or female-dominated group, the men might become more “male-like” and the women might become more “female-like.” Another behavioral possibility is that the token might champion that they are the exception to the rule by disguising some aspect of themselves to assimilate.

Kanter (1977) has been criticized (see Yoder, 1991) for adhering too ardently to numerical proportions, being gender and racially neutral, and for not incorporating other social contexts into the potential situation. Zimmer (1988) affirmed that in a society that is racist and/or sexist, gender-neutral and race-neutral theories of tokenism do not make any sense. Although Kanter’s (1977) original theory purported that gender should not make a difference, females in male-dominated fields seem to experience tokenism much more often than males in female-dominated fields, who tend to report lesser negative effects or none at all. Moreover, women who are not necessarily tokens still report levels

of prejudice in the workplace. This perchance suggests that men are simply regarded more favorably than women in the workplace by many. A male in a more female-dominated field might be regarded as even more positive as they must be exceptional at their job to risk working in a female-dominated profession (and will likely make less money).

For example, Floge and Merrill (1986) examined how men and women are perceived in hospital settings. Although both male nurses and female physicians had to contend with tokenism, the male nurses reported more positive experiences than the female physicians. Male nurses were more often mistaken for doctors, were considered to be more knowledgeable about the inner workings of the body, and were more often given leadership roles than female nurses.

At the other end of the spectrum, Hirshfield and Joseph (2012) studied women and their experiences in academic settings. They found that women were regarded as less competent, described feelings of increased pressure, and felt that men challenged their intellectual capacity. Women in academia reported that they felt they were only sought after to serve on committees in order to diversify the panels and that they were expected to act as exemplars for the females coeds (thereby decreasing their individuality).

Williams (1992) found that men working in fields traditionally female-dominated, such as social work, librarianship, nursing, and elementary school teaching, not only did not face discrimination, but actually enhanced their careers. Williams (1992) even coined the term “glass escalator” to describe male tokens rising to the top.

Social roles theory. Social roles theory suggests that men and women possess different positions in society, translating to behavioral differences in the workplace.

Eagly (1987) discovered that men typically possess agenic qualities (i.e., assertive, independent, controlling), whereas women normally behave in a more communal fashion (i.e., emotionally expressive, sensitive, concerned for others). Therefore, if a male behaves in an assertive way, his coworkers view his behavior as congruent with sex roles. However, if a female acts in an assertive manner, it is a violation of typically female roles. That female can suffer also a backlash effect, meaning her peers might view her as competent, yet do not like her personally. So even when women do adopt this assertive management style, they are often not seen as effective.

Social learning theory. Social learning theory is a perspective that people learn within their individual social context, chiefly through modeling and observational learning. Cahoon and Roney (2001) proposed that because of this phenomenon, women experience increased difficulty gaining managerial expertise because of differences in social systems and a lack of other female role models.

Attraction, selection, and attrition. Men are, not surprisingly given the data, more concentrated in more high-ranking and high-paid positions (e.g., managers and executives). On the other hand, women are more represented in lower-paid and lower-ranking positions (e.g., secretaries, teachers, child care providers). This causes these given occupations to become, over time, sex-typed. As discussed previously, Schneider's (1987) Attraction, Selection, and Attrition (ASA) framework states that the kinds of individuals that are initially attracted to a given organization are thereby selected. Thus, those individuals begin to define and shape an organization, thereby making the employees more homogenous. For example, many women might have been attracted to elementary education, as it affords some flexibility (shorter work days, summer vacation)

that is desirable for many women with young children. This high volume of women are then selected for the jobs and then stay with the job longer than someone who, perhaps, is looking to further their career or interested in a competitive salary. The end result is that by nature of the applicants seeking a flexible environment, elementary education is now known as a more flexible and family-friendly field. This is independent of the actual job attributes, but is instead defined by the people in the field.

Gender role orientation. Gender role orientation, which is the beliefs concerning what occupations are suitable for both men and women, also can play a role in what occupation a person chooses. Gender role orientation can be either traditional or egalitarian. Men possessing a traditional gender role orientation tended to have higher earning, whereas women possessing a traditional gender role orientation were associated with lower earnings (Judge & Livingston, 2008). In all fairness, as discussed, women often choose jobs based on factors other than pay (e.g., health care, scheduling, and safety). An important inquiry to make is if women even want these jobs that are more high-ranking and visible. Women do tend to take more time off and work fewer hours, often because of increased responsibility of childcare (Lukas, 2007). Surprisingly, Wallace and Young (2008) found that childless women work the most hours compared to their counterparts, including both women with children and men with or without children.

Although any conflict with work and family life predicted guilt, individuals with traditional gender role orientation felt more guilt with family interfering with work, whereas individuals with egalitarian gender role orientations felt more guilt with work interfering with family (Judge & Livingston, 2008), perhaps underscoring what their principle priorities are. Perhaps these traditional viewpoints are reinforcing or even

rewarding males that possess and uphold a more traditional gender role orientation.

Dobbins, Cardy, and Truxillo (1988) argued that any sex biases in performance more likely stem from the raters' social cognitive processes (traditional versus non-traditional sex roles), and not necessarily the sex of the ratee.

Of course there are other elements that can potentially account for these differences that are less theoretical, including historical and workplace factors, as well as customer bias. A review of the relevant literature of these factors is included below.

Historical context

Sex differences in the workplace are an ever-evolving field, fraught with changing dynamics. Because this type of research is so intertwined with the historical context surrounding it, it is often necessary to update and enhance previous research to evolve with the changing times. As such, a brief overview of some of the historical contexts that have shaped the current climate is necessary, as many of the extenuating circumstances involved in these complex gender/workplace relationships have evolved since the late 1970s and early 1980s. Cahoon and Rowney (2001) offered a history of the circumstances that have led to the current predicament of women's roles in the workplace. Women initially entered the workforce for several reasons including newly mandated schooling for children, World War II, and decreasing fertility rates. However, women also entered the workforce then for the same reason that employees largely enter the workforce today- for income and an opportunity to use their skills.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 made it illegal to discriminate against an individual on the basis of sex. The 1970s brought the first studies of gender issues in the workplace, followed by the slightly more optimistic outlooks of the 1980s (Cahoon & Rowney,

2001). There was a large influx of women in the workforce in the 1980s, but the largest increases of working women were Caucasian. Women of other racial groups had been working for many years and their participation in the workforce was virtually unchanged (Cleveland et al., 2000). During this time, women were still the minorities in the workplace and the management model was much more masculine (i.e., assertive, competitive, directive). This management model did begin to shift, with individuals realizing that a more agenic (female) model of management might be beneficial (i.e., concern for others, flexibility, creativity). Whereas women's attitudes were indeed changing, by and large men's attitudes were not. Thus, overall, this time frame did not garner as much change as anticipated.

By the 1990s, retrenchment and increased global competitiveness seemed to sideline many competent women from senior management positions. Organizations have become more flattened, prompting more middle-management positions and fewer upper-level management positions. Organizational leaders placed more of an emphasis on smaller organizations, technology, and more specialized knowledge. There was a renewed emphasis on longer hours and commitment to the organization, which often inadvertently discriminates women with children. Because of these changes, putting a woman in a leadership role was now seen as a risky move (Cahoon & Rowney, 2001). Unfortunately, not much has improved in recent years. Essentially the percentage of women in entry-level, middle, and top management has held steady and organizations do not seem particularly motivated to change.

Sexism and customer bias.

Though Mills (2002) attributed many of the previously-mentioned workplace differences to outright sexism, other contributing factors such as sex-specific behavior are also at work (Guadagno & Cialdini, 2007). Because customer satisfaction is often a benchmark for performance evaluations, investigating whether customers possess inherent biases toward sex groups is worthwhile. Some researchers and business people alike have lauded the use of customer feedback as an important tool for determining an employee's performance (i.e., Bracken, Timmreck, & Church, 2001; Salam, Cox, & Sims, 1997). However, customer satisfaction is based on the subjective judgments of the customer as well as their own experience (of which the employee might or might not have control over). Extraneous factors examples such as cleanliness, availability or speed of technology, and the weather can all influence a customer's experience.

Hekman et al. (2010) found that customers reported higher levels of customer satisfaction when assisted by a white man in a store, as opposed to a woman or non-Caucasian employee, and even rated the store as more clean. The researchers suggested that Caucasian men make more money than their female and non-Caucasian counterparts simply because companies are paying more money for a Caucasian man based on customer preference. Hekman et al. (2010) additionally found that this pro-Caucasian male tendency also extended to doctors, with participants finding Caucasian male doctors to be more approachable and competent than their female or non-Caucasian counterparts.

Customer satisfaction does undeniably translate to organizational success. A 1% increase in customer satisfaction can lead to an increase in value of \$275 million (Anderson, Fornell, & Mazvancheryl, 2004), \$55 million gain or loss in cash flow for the year (Gruca & Rego, 2005), and a 5.03% change in Return on Investment (Anderson &

Mittal, 2000) for the average Fortune 500 company. Based on these figures, companies have a financial incentive to favor male and/or Caucasian employees because of the relationship to customer preference and the majority of senior executives agreed that customer satisfaction was their main focus (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2005). More than two-thirds of organizations utilize customer satisfaction surveys to establish employee compensation. Thus, earning potential is partially based on customer satisfaction surveys, which are subject to a plethora of biases and are the judgments of raters that are typically not held accountable for their assertions or their accuracy (Pulakos, White, Oppler, & Borman, 1989). Furthermore, according to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the preferences of the client are supposed to be irrelevant regarding employment decisions (Cascio & Aguinis, 2005).

Hekman et al. (2010) equates a customer's experience to white flight (Gladwell, 2000). In both situations, some non-Caucasians are tolerated or even encouraged in a workplace or neighborhood. However, once a certain threshold of non-Caucasians is reached, the neighborhood or workplace is "contaminated" and thus, will prompt either Caucasians to move out of the neighborhood or, in this situation, customers to perceive their experience as negative once the makeup of the group achieves a critical mass. Because of these findings, Hekman et al. (2010) suggested that organizations should not rely on customer ratings to determine pay and/or promotion opportunities, as they are simply too subjective and vulnerable to unfairness. Similarly, Torchia, Calabro, and Huse (2011) explored the notion of critical mass of women with seats on boards of directors. Going from only one or two women to three brought them from token status to consistent minority status. Consequently, the firms that had at least three women on their

board of directors experienced an enhanced level of innovation as compared to the firms with fewer women on their board of directors.

Other workplace decisions can also be vulnerable to bias or non-work-related aspects. Goldin and Rouse (2000) found that in an orchestra audition process, if the applicant's sex was known, the evaluators were more likely to select men than if the applicant's sex was not known. Greenwald and Banaji (1995), using the implicit association test, found that participants were more able to associate negative words with non-Caucasian or female faces than with Caucasian or male faces and vice versa. Anonymity and the use of global ratings, as is often the case in many customer satisfaction surveys, tend to increase biases as well. Furthermore, customers are not trained when making ratings or warned of common rating mistakes, as performance raters often are, which can negatively affect the ratee in question (Hekman et al., 2010).

Theories examining bias. Researchers have postulated how these stereotypes can lead to bias via several theories. One is role congruence theory. This is the idea that certain people should occupy certain roles and adherence to these roles is rewarded and therefore reinforced and vice versa. This theory states that sex differences are context-dependent and these differences depend on the sex ratio of the organization (Eagly & Diekmann, 2005). Eagly and Karau (2002) found that certain aspects of the work environment that make a person's sex more salient are likely to enhance bias. For example, being the lone man in a woman-dominated industry can cause that person's sex to be more prominent, which could potentially change how that person experiences the work environment. Salient to this research, in the sales arena Rappaport and Hackett (1977) found that males perceived female saleswomen as more emotional, apprehensive,

reserved, and having weaker sales technique. However, McMurrian and Rhey (2002) investigated how customers perceive women in the sales industry in terms of gender stereotyping and found that the business landscape is much more accepting of females in the sales industry than in the past and there was no significant gender stereotyping occurring between men and women.

Eagly and Karau (2002) stated that female leaders would endure more prejudice due to inconsistencies between those eccentricities that make a female a female and a leader a leader. Caplan and Caplan (1994) furthered this notion by asserting that characteristics associated with being a woman (nurturing, warm, supportive) were not consistent with those characteristics of leadership (assertive, directive, and knowledgeable). When the roles are not congruent, biases emerge.

Another theory is implicit prejudice theory. Greenwald and Banaji (1995) conjectured that prejudiced behavior that past experience shapes is often unconscious and can be present even when an individual might both consciously and staunchly support equal treatment. Social dominance theory speculates that certain individuals possess more of a preference for a hierarchy and dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In short, the researchers positing this theory champion that groups based on some definable characteristic (e.g., age, sex, race) establish hierarchies with other groups. The theory also predicts that men tend to have a higher degree of social dominance orientation, thus reinforcing the hierarchy by performing acts of discrimination toward women.

Several theories have also been posited as to why employees and managers alike somehow seem to perceive women differently. This is obviously a complicated relationship and can encompass many diverging points of view. Social identity theory,

proposed by Turner (1982), states that people use demographic information to categorize themselves into social groups. Groups that are the most similar to their social identities will be viewed positively. This impression might prompt women to hold more negative perceptions of their work environments as the minority group member.

Finally, ambivalent sexism theory proposed that there is increased hostility toward women that challenge (or attempt to challenge) the status quo (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Thus, the reinforcement of traditional gender roles and a patriarchal society are the end result. Hostile sexism results in outright discrimination, harassment, and degradation. Glick and Fiske's theory also surmised that there is both hostile and benevolent sexism. Benevolent sexism can emerge when an individual feels that to maintain the traditional female role, the women in a workplace must be patronizingly protected. This can lead to the ostracizing of women in, for example, important group discussions in the name of safeguarding her. Glick and Fiske suggested that both types of sexism could result in negative implications for all parties involved and for the organization.

Glass ceiling. The term glass ceiling refers to “the unseen, yet unbreachable barrier that keeps minorities and women from rising to the upper rungs of the corporate ladder, regardless of their qualifications or achievements” (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995, p. 1). This metaphor describes unseen (glass) obstructions through which females can see the top-most positions within their organizations but are unable to reach them (ceiling; Davies- Netzley, 1998). There is also a glass cliff, referring to when women are promoted to risky upper-level management positions in which failure is likely (Ryan & Halsam, 2007). McDowell, Singell, and Ziliak (1999) found that this

phenomenon also extended to academia. Female professors were significantly less likely to be promoted, even controlling for pertinent factors such as age, quality of training, and publishing proclivity. In fact, female science faculty members were just as productive as their male counterparts (Gunter & Stambach, 2003).

Cotter, Hermsen, Ovadia, and Vanneman (2001) propose that there are four conditions that determine if a glass ceiling exists: that inequalities are not explained by other job-relevant characteristics, that inequalities are greater at higher levels of the organization, an inequality in advancement prospects, and that inequalities increase over the course of a career. Using these criteria, Cotter et al. (2001) determined that the glass ceiling is a sex-specific phenomenon and that racial groups do not follow the same pattern. Although this certainly does not suggest that various racial groups are immune to workplace discrimination, the main focus of this research extends to sex specifically.

Elacqua, Beehr, Hansen, and Webster (2009) devised a model to explain the factors that contribute to the glass ceiling. The researchers found that interpersonal issues and situational issues led to perceptions of differential treatment, which in turn led to the belief that the glass ceiling did indeed exist. The interpersonal issues included having a manager serve as a mentor, perceptions of the existence of a boys' network, and having friends at work who make personnel decisions. Situational issues included how objective the hiring process was and time in the pipeline. Finally, the perceptions of differential treatment explored the gender disparity at the organization and special programs present to combat the glass ceiling. Although the model was true for both men and women, there was a stronger relationship for women. The authors suggested that perhaps both men and

women acknowledge the existence of a glass ceiling, but that women feel more strongly about it.

The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission of the United States Department of Labor (1995) identifies a plethora of barriers that reinforce the glass ceiling. These obstacles can stem both from the organization and the government, as well as other factors. Some of the business-based barriers include a lack of outreach/recruitment programs, a corporate culture that intentionally or not alienates women, lack of mentoring, lack of management training, lack of career development, little or no access to critical and visible assignments, little or no access to networking opportunities, biased rating/testing systems, and different standards for performance evaluation. Governmental barriers include lack of consistency in monitoring and law enforcement, inadequate reporting, and flaws in the collection of employment-related data, making it difficult to determine the status of groups at the higher levels of the organization. Finally, other barriers associated with this problem include harassment in the workplace and lack of family-friendly workplace policies.

Mentorship. One common barrier to women attaining the same status as men is a lack of mentors for women. Lyness and Thompson (2000) found that successful women were less likely than successful men to report that a mentor facilitated their advancement. De Janasz, Sullivan, and Whiting (2003) stated that, “Simply put, mentors matter (p. 78).” Mumford (1993) found that traditional mentorship programs might not be as effective for women, as they follow a more disjointed path than men typically do. In fact, 48% of executive women and minorities reported that the mentorship experience was an especially important component to their career development (CLC, 2002).

Vinnicombe and Singh (2003) suggested that mentorship programs often are built upon networking. Because men tend to be more skilled at networking and workplace politics, this might be why women encounter more difficulty with finding a proper mentor. It is important to note that being a successful employee is not necessarily the same thing as being an effective employee. Interestingly enough, the most politically savvy employees who spent the most time networking were the least effective managers (Cahoon & Rowney, 2001).

Allen et al. (2000) found that women leaders often will select protégés based on potential or perceived ability, rather than need. Thus, potential protégés must project a level of confidence in order to secure a mentor in some cases, which, as stated previously, women are not usually encouraged to project. Eyring and Stead (1998) found that companies that ensured that managers were accountable for the development and advancement of women were the most successful in shattering the glass ceiling.

Overall, there are many workplace outcomes that differ between men and women, for a variety of reasons. Because one of the dependent variables for this particular research is performance ratings and because raters can vary in their motivation and purpose of appraising their employees (Tziner & Kopelman, 2002), a review of how raters and ratees interact, as well as how performance is measured and contextualized, is fitting.

Performance

Overview. Organizations use performance appraisals to increase organizational productivity by identifying potential developmental opportunities for the employees (Tangen, 2003). Organizations often use various markers to determine an employee's

performance. This includes promotions, supervisor ratings, salary, sales data, mobility, and peer ratings, to name a few. Fecteau and Craig (2001) found that ratings from different sources (peer, supervisory, subordinate, and self) were comparable, although self-ratings, not surprisingly, tend to be the highest, whereas subordinate ratings tend to be the lowest.

There are also differences between subjective performance and objective performance, which unfortunately do not correlate very well (.39; Bommer et al., 1995), suggesting that both types of performance are not interchangeable and subject to a variety of biases. However, it is important to establish that although objective and subjective measures of performance should be related, there are other factors other than bias, such as sex composition in the workplace and tenure, that theoretically influence both and this research further examined these intricacies as well. Overall, performance is likely a function of multiple dimensions.

Raters can also examine both task performance (core technical activities of the job) and/or contextual performance (non-core activities that enhance the organization), although task performance is more likely to be on evaluations (Borman & Motowidlo, 1997). Cognitive ability predicts task performance better than contextual, whereas personality predicts contextual performance better than task performance (Borman & Motowidlo, 1997). How organizations form and use performance data depend largely on the organization's goals and can be a cornucopia of behaviors, different from the more objective criteria of effectiveness, utility, and productivity (Campbell, McCloy, Oppler, & Sager, 1993). Individual differences on these factors are determined by declarative

knowledge, procedural knowledge, skill, and motivation, all preceded by previous experience, education, and training.

Campbell et al. (1993) proposed that there were eight factors of performance, including job-specific task proficiency, non-job specific task proficiency, written and oral communication task proficiency, demonstrating effort, maintaining personal discipline, facilitating peer and team performance, supervision/leadership, and managerial/administration. Therefore, ultimately each organization must determine what sort of behaviors that they want to classify as performance variables. Furthermore, each organization must allow for certain performance parameters, such as whether they value, for example, speed or accuracy, peak or typical performance, or automatic or controlled processing. Tett and Burnett (2003) proposed that performance is largely a function of situational factors. Thus, each organization could value (or devalue) certain characteristics that are independent of the specific rater. Moreover, Viswesvaran and Ones (2000) argued that performance does encompass several variables, one such being a general factor of performance determined by ability and personality (which theoretically the rater's sex should not influence). The motivations of the rater will also influence how the employee is rated. For example, perhaps a supervisor does not want to jeopardize their own position or wants to motivate their employee(s) by rating them lower than they deserve. Or perhaps the supervisor wishes to maintain harmony throughout their employees and will rate all positively (Wong & Kwong, 2007).

In regard to reliability of performance ratings, Viswesvaran, Ones, and Schmidt (1996) found the meta-analytic interrater reliability of supervisor ratings was .52. Moreover, they found that quality was the most reliable performance dimension, whereas

communication competence was the least reliable performance dimension. There are several performance ratings issues to be aware of, including halo, leniency, and central tendency. Woehr and Huffcutt (1994) found that rater error training, which educates raters on common rating errors (e.g., central tendency, halo), was not particularly effective.

The rating format might also influence the reliability of ratings. Graphic rating scales, behavioral observation scales, and behaviorally anchored response scales are all commonly used to appraise employees. Of the three, behavioral observations scales had a greater reliability and validity than graphic rating scales and behaviorally anchored response scales (Latham & Wexley, 1981). Moreover, behavioral observations scales also increased the perception of fairness and satisfaction from the ratees (Tziner & Kopelman, 2002).

Ratee/rater characteristics. Female raters tend to be more lenient than male raters (Landy & Farr, 1980), although increased leniency was also associated with intelligence, sensitivity, and agreeableness (Bartels & Doverspike, 1997). Raters are also more lenient when the performance appraisal is the basis of personnel decisions, such as promotions, rather than administrative purposes and more accurate if the appraisal is used for developmental purposes (Den, Hartog, Boselie, & Paauwe, 2004). Arvey and Murphy (1998) examined performance evaluations in the workplace. Regarding the rater/ratee dynamic, they found several noteworthy findings. Caucasians rated other Caucasians higher, whereas African American raters rated other African Americans higher. When there were only a small proportion of African Americans in the workplace, this relationship was further intensified. Thus, in the case of race, the token effect was

true for Caucasian raters (they were rated less favorably), but the opposite was true for African American raters. Furthermore, this effect was larger in field studies, as opposed to lab studies. In another larger sample, Arvey and Murphy (1998) found that both Caucasian and African American raters rated African Americans lower in performance, although there was a smaller effect for African American raters. These differences in ratings diminished, but did not disappear when researchers controlled for job relevant variables.

In regard to sex differences for performance ratings, the authors discovered that peer ratings resulted in higher ratings for males, compared to females. All of these rating differences were improved when raters participated in frame of reference training (Arvey & Murphy, 1998). As far as ratee characteristics are concerned, the sex stereotypes of the particular occupation interacted with the sex of the ratee (i.e., males receive better evaluations when they are in masculine occupations, as compared to females; Landy & Farr, 1980), although as previously discussed, a more up-to-date test of this relationship is warranted and much of the previous research has been mixed. Hebl, King, Flick, Singletary, and Kazama (2007) found that this relationship intensified when a pregnant female attempted to apply for a masculine job. She experienced more hostile reaction, perhaps because her “femaleness” was more on display due to her pregnancy.

Sackett, et al. (1991) also found evidence of a token effect on performance ratings. They found that the lower the proportion of women in the workplace was, the lower their performance was rated. Additionally, they did not uncover the same relationship for men and found consistently lower ratings for African Americans, regardless of the percentage of the total group makeup. Thus, token status alone was not

enough to produce a performance rating differential. Yoder (1994) also confirmed that numbers alone were not enough to cement a true token effect and that only women were likely to experience the negative effects associated with being in the minority (Yoder, 1991).

Landy and Farr (1980) summarized many of the dynamics that occur with performance ratings, including rater/ratee roles, contexts, vehicles of ratings, processes, and results. Although many of their results were mixed, they found that raters gave higher ratings to ratees of the same race. However, this relationship was moderated by degree of contact. Furthermore, the relevancy of the interactions was more important than the frequency of the interactions. Again, this could perchance be the same situation with sex. Deutsch and Saxton (1998) found that, after controlling for education and experience, mothers were less likely to be evaluated as competent, although coworkers might like her, providing additional support for social roles theory and underscoring the notion that in the workplace, women encounter difficulty being perceived as both competent and likable.

When evaluating performance, organizational leaders tend to examine women's track records, looking for confirmation of past accolades. On the other hand, when evaluating men's promotional possibilities, organizational leaders tend to look more at potential. This insinuates that women have to prove themselves concretely in order to obtain a promotion, whereas men merely need the potential to do so.

Sex differences in performance. After all this talk about differences between men and women, they are actually rather boringly similar on many work-related performance dimensions. Where they do differ is potentially negotiation styles (perhaps

due to differential expectations and/or confidence as previously discussed), absenteeism, and a preference for flexible schedules (Cahoon & Roney, 2001), the latter two variables of which are connected and due to more child-rearing responsibility. It is entirely possible that men who bear the brunt of childcare responsibilities might encounter some of the previously mentioned barriers (i.e., salary, promotion) discrepancies and although that is a noteworthy avenue for future research, it is beyond the scope of this research. Williams and Walker (1986) investigated sex differences in performance and essentially found few differences, although men did have slight advantages over women, as rated by their supervisors.

In light of the fact that some women might need or, at minimum, appreciate a more flexible work environment, it is noteworthy to examine how other populations that might require some form of accommodation fare in the workplace. Kregel (1999) discovered that employees with disabilities tended to have a very positive effect on the workplace. Employees with disabilities have increased productivity, had high performance (Kregel, Parent, & West, 1994), and have had a high degree of organizational commitment, regardless of the employee's level of disability. The authors suggested that this positive experience of employees with disabilities is due to the gratefulness toward their employer at the accommodation of their needs and hiring them for their job. Furthermore, the authors suggested that workers with disabilities take their duties seriously and overall get along well with their coworkers. Therefore, if organizations either continue or begin to accommodate a desire for a more flexible schedule, it is logical that those employees that have benefitted from that will respond in kind with increased commitment and performance.

THE CURRENT STUDY: PURPOSE AND CONTRIBUTION TO THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this particular research was to address and fill gaps in the current literature on sex differences in the workplace and performance. As the previous discussion of sex differences in the workplace has demonstrated, there was sufficient reason to hypothesize that the percentage of women in the workforce might help explain why these differences exist. No study in the past several decades has investigated the effects of percentage of women in the work role and tenure and their effect on performance, despite that token theory was a common subject of discussion for many researchers (e.g., Bratton, 2005; Yoder, 1991). The commonality of the discussion of the phenomenon, underscored by a gross lack of empirical data on the subject made this a rich area of further exploration. The results of this research advanced the field by attempting to answer such complex questions regarding the interplay of men and women in the workforce and how this interplay influences performance.

I further examined the nuances of percentage of women, tenure, and their performance trajectories, examining both subjective and objective performance. Given the previous literature review, I tested if several relationships were at work in my sample. Namely, I tested 1) if the percentage of women in a work role was positively related to performance, 2) if the percentage of women in the work role predicted tenure, and 3) if high-tenure women's performance ratings differed from their high-tenure male counterparts. Many researchers have called for further elucidation on this subject (e.g., Kanter, 1977; Sackett et al., 1991; Yoder, 1991). This research extended the work of

Sackett et al. (1991) and Ng and Feldman (2010) by using a predominantly white-collar/sales sample and combining the various aspects of both percentage of women and tenure while examining both objective and subjective performance. I tested token theory by examining the proportion of women and men in the relevant work role in the organization, not the entire organization. The results provided greater understanding of how these variables can influence workplace outcomes.

Hypotheses

The measure of tokenism was the percentage of women in the relevant work group. It should be noted that this is not entirely as Kanter (1977) defined tokenism. Kanter envisioned a non-ratio type approach, meaning the difference in two workforces that had 5% and 10% women was not the same as two workforces that had 55% and 60% women. It would be most accurate to report that the main research variable was percent of women in the relevant job title, which is how I operationalized tokenism., I tested if the percentage of women in a given occupation was positively related to performance supervisor ratings, after controlling for tenure. In other words, I hypothesized that the fewer women there are in an occupation, the lower their supervisors would rate their performance. Furthermore, I investigated this relationship both controlling for tenure and not controlling for tenure. As previously stated, tenure might not always be a desirable asset. Thus, both controlling for tenure and not allowed me to ascertain how tenure influences the percentage of women in the work role-performance relationship and provided evidence as to the desirability of tenure. Moreover, previous tokenism researchers (i.e., Martin, 1994; Bellknap & Shelley, 1992; Wertsch, 1998) have found that controlling for tenure made a meaningful difference.

To my knowledge, only Sackett et al. (1992) have examined this relationship more than two decades ago and they used a predominantly blue-collar sample. Given that token theory is a commonplace theory that is so often made reference to in the literature, this relationship was in desperate need of exploration in a more current setting, as there are very few empirical tests of this relationship. Thus, proper appraisal was necessary given that this theory informs so many researchers' hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. The percentage of women in a given occupation is positively related to performance supervisor ratings.

To my knowledge, there was no prior research investigating the relationship between the percentage of women in the work role and objective performance. Perhaps objective performance data was not as susceptible to the token effect, should it exist. Therefore, I further investigated this relationship in Research Question 1. Again, I investigated this relationship both controlling for tenure and not controlling for tenure.

Research question 1. Is the percentage of females in a work role related to objective sales performance?

Given the previous research regarding the sex differences in tenure, I also hypothesized that the proportion of women in the work role would predict tenure, independent of performance (both objective and subjective). Based on Kanter's (1977) theory, suggesting that tokens are more likely to suffer increased scrutiny and exclusion and are therefore less likely to stay in their jobs than non-tokens, it is reasonable to suggest that women might be more likely to remain in a job longer if there is a higher percentage of other women. No previous research had tested this relationship while using hierarchical regression to control for both objective and subjective performance. This

hypothesis attempted to determine if percentage of women in a work role predicted tenure when performance is controlled for.

Hypothesis 2. After controlling for performance (both objective performance and subjective performance), the percentage of women in a given role will account for unique variance in tenure.

I also expected that, both due to Cleveland et al. (2000)'s assertions that there are fewer gender stereotypes with age, that women in high tenure tend to be particularly good at their jobs, and that males in a male-dominated industry, like sales, would receive higher performance ratings (Arvey, 1998), I predicted that there would be a difference between high-tenure men and women in the tenure and performance ratings relationship. More specifically, high-tenure men would receive higher supervisor ratings than high-tenure women, but high-tenure women would receive higher objective performance than high-tenure men.

Hypothesis 3a. For high-tenure employees, men will receive higher supervisor ratings relative to women.

I also hypothesized that the idea that high-tenure women are not as competent in their work as their high-tenure male counterparts would not be indicative of their performance when examining the objective sales data. Given that objective sales data is theoretically less susceptible to biases, it was more likely to provide support for the notion that high-tenure women were either particularly good at their jobs and/or resilient enough to have survived any potential tokenism-related backlash that might have occurred earlier in their position. Moreover, women might have been more likely to stay not only if they are good at their jobs, but also if they feel their employment situation fits

them and their priorities particularly well. As previously stated, women do have a stronger preference for family-friendly policies and flexible schedules and are more likely to have more attendance issues than their male counterparts (Cahoon & Rowney, 2001).

Hypothesis 3b. For high-tenure employees, women will have higher objective performance relative to men.

Additionally, because I hypothesized high-tenure women would be higher objective performers, I anticipated that women will have less variability in both their subjective performance and their objective performance. High-tenure men would be more likely to have both average and high performers, whereas high-tenure women would likely have more stable ratings in both objective and subjective performance, even if supervisor ratings were potentially susceptible to the token effect.

Hypothesis 3c. High-tenure men will have greater variability in their subjective performance relative to high-tenure women.

Hypothesis 3d. High-tenure men will have greater variability in the objective performance relative to high-tenure women.

METHOD

Participants

I used archival data for this research, compiled from a private management and Sales consulting firm located in the Midwest. The firm performs web-based assessments for multiple client organizations for the purposes of selection and employee development. The data represented all available data from validation studies for which both objective performance in the form of sales dollars and subjective performance in the form of supervisor ratings were available. The total sample comprised of 1,894 participants.

The jobs studied were all higher-level or professional-level sales jobs. Most of the positions required previous sales experience and/or a college degree. The jobs were representing products sold Business to Business (B2B). The sample included multiple companies from the Telecommunications and Finance & Banking Industries, as well as companies in the Computer and Information Processing, Office Supplies, Construction, Industrial Equipment, Pharmaceutical, and Building Management Industries. There was some representation of the retail sales sector in the form of banking services (banking and investment), but overall little representation from the retail sector. Some of the jobs were organized to sell specific products across multiple industries whereas some were organized to sell multiple products to a specific industry. It should be noted that most of the companies had products or business strategies that would best be described as fitting in multiple industries, so although the sample was primarily business to business products

rather than retail sales from the above listed industries, a simple listing of primary industries does not tell the complete story.

Measures

Demographics. The demographic measure contained self-reported information regarding age, sex, race, industry, educational attainment, and tenure. Tenure was calculated by number of months in current job and this variable was standardized to a z score.

Objective performance. Objective performance was measured as the average sales output over a one-year period. I standardized objective performance within each organization within each year to z scores, as I expected sales output across organizations would vary considerably and there were multiple years of data.

Subjective job performance. I measured subjective job performance as the global ratings compiled annually by supervisors as part of subordinate appraisal. I also standardized subjective performance into z scores within each year and within each organization, as not all organizations used the same performance rating scales.

Percentage of Women in the Work Role. I defined percentage of women in the work role as the percentage of women in that role in the respective industry. I primarily used the percentage of women in a given role, although there were some instances where I utilized a male variable (the percentage of males in a role) as well, noted as such. Unfortunately, the data did not provide the overall percentage of women in the entire industry or company, just the percentage of women in a given role. For coding purposes, a negative d would indicate that women scored higher, whereas a positive d would indicate that men scored higher.

Table 1 displays the eight organizations' percentages of women in the work role, the average supervisor ratings for both men and women, and the difference scores between men and women. As shown, although the organization that had the smallest percentage of women had the largest differences in supervisor ratings between men and women ($d = .800$), the remaining organizations did not follow a similar or predictable pattern. Table 2 displays the eight organizations' percentage of women in the work role, average sales data for both men and women, and the difference scores between men and women. Similar to Table 1, a predictable pattern did not emerge between percentage of women and sales data. Table 3 displays the eight organizations' percentage of women in the work role, average tenure, and the correlations between supervisor ratings and sales dollars for each organization.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Participants included 1,894 employees who completed the web-based assessment. 36.6% of the participants were female (693) whereas 63.4% were male (1,201). The demographic racial distribution was 78% Caucasian, 9.9% African American, 5.3% Hispanic, 2% Asian American, and 4.9% Other. The average age of the participants was 34.8 years old. Tenure ranged from 0 months to 606 months (50.5 years) with a mean of 47 months (3.9 years). Percentage of women in a work role varied from 8.2% to 75.5% with a mean of 35.28%. Table 4 displays the differences between men and women on age, tenure, supervisor ratings, and sales data for the overall group. Women had significantly higher tenure, as compared to their male counterparts, ($t(1696) = 9.88, p < .001, d = 0.459$), and were significantly older than their male counterparts ($t(1076) = 5.71, p < .001, d = 0.364$).

Before controlling for tenure, I tested the linearity of tenure and performance ratings and found that indeed the relationship was linear ($F(1) = 43.843, p < .000$). A scatter plot of tenure and supervisor ratings standardized across all companies for all employees, women only, and men only is displayed in Figure 1, Figure 2, and Figure 3, respectively. Table 5 displays the distribution of men and women, as well as average age, supervisor ratings, sales dollars, and ages for the three levels of tenure. As tenure

increases, age and sales dollars also increase. However, supervisor ratings are highest for those at medium levels of tenure.

Tests of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. Hypothesis 1 predicted that the percentage of women in a given occupation would be positively related to supervisor performance ratings. In order to test this hypothesis, I conducted both a correlation and hierarchical regression. The relationship between percentage of women in a given role and supervisor ratings was not significant ($r = -.009$, $p = .689$) for the overall group. With only female or only male participants, the relationship was still not significant ($r = .029$, $p = .460$; $r = -.022$, $p = .464$), for females and males, respectively. Table 6 displays all correlations of percentage of women in the work role, tenure, supervisor ratings, and sales dollars for all employees. Table 7 displays all correlations of percentage of women in the work role, tenure, supervisor ratings, and sales dollars for just female participants. Table 8 displays all correlations of percentage of women in the work role, tenure, supervisor ratings, and sales dollars for only male participants.

In order to see if the relation between percentage of women and supervisor ratings varied by tenure, I ran a 2-step hierarchical multiple regression in which supervisor ratings was regressed on values of percentage of women in the work role and mean-centered values of tenure (at step 1) and the interaction between values of percentage of women in the work role x tenure (at step 2). At step 1, percentage of women in the work role and tenure together did not account for significant variance in supervisor ratings ($R = .037$, $R^2 = .001$, $F(2, 1838) = .310$, $p = .578$). At step 2, the interaction between percentage of women in the work role x tenure did not account for significant variance in

supervisor ratings ($R = .049$, $\Delta R^2 = .001$, $F(3, 1837) = 1.927$, $p = .165$). Thus, Hypothesis 1 was not supported.

In order to see if the relation between percentage of women and supervisor ratings varied by tenure for women only, I ran a 2-step hierarchical multiple regression in which supervisor ratings was regressed on values of percentage of women in the work role and mean-centered values of tenure (at step 1) and the interaction between values of percentage of women in the work role x tenure (at step 2). At step 1, percentage of women in the work role and tenure together accounted for a statistically significant 1.3% of the variance in supervisor ratings ($R = .112$, $R^2 = .013$, $F(2, 633) = 5.965$, $p < .05$). At step 2, the interaction between percentage of women in the work role x tenure accounted for an additional and significant 2.8% of the variance in supervisor ratings ($R^2 = .040$, $\Delta R^2 = .028$, $F(3, 632) = 18.301$, $p < .001$).

I interpreted the interaction by tests of simple slopes in which the relation between percentage of women and supervisor ratings was assessed at three levels of tenure: one standard deviation above the mean, at the mean, and one standard deviation below the mean for female employees only. At one standard deviation above the mean of tenure, the unstandardized partial regression coefficient between supervisor ratings and the percentage of women in a work role for women was $-.012$, $t(632) = -2.267$, $p < .05$. At the mean of tenure, the unstandardized partial regression coefficient between supervisor ratings and the percentage of women in a work role for women was not significant ($-.002$, $p = .611$). Finally, at one standard deviation below the mean of tenure, the unstandardized partial regression coefficient between supervisor ratings and the percentage of women in a work role for women was $.015$, $t(632) = 4.430$, $p < .001$. Thus,

although small, the relationship between percentage of women in the work role and supervisor ratings was positive for those women with relatively lower tenure, but negative for those women with slightly higher tenure. In other words, for those with higher tenure, supervisor ratings were lower as the proportion of women increased, whereas for those with lower tenure, supervisor ratings increased as the proportion of women increased.

In order to see if the relation between percentage of women in the work role (which is also the percentage of men in the work role, or more specifically the additive inverse) and supervisor ratings varied by tenure for male employees, I ran a 2-step hierarchical multiple regression in which supervisor ratings was regressed on values of percentage of women the work role and mean-centered values of tenure (at step 1) and the interaction between values of percentage of females in the work role x tenure (at step 2). At step 1, percentage of women in the work role and tenure together did not account for significant variance in supervisor ratings ($R = .028$, $R^2 = .001$, $F(2, 1059) = .392$, $p = .531$). At step 2, the interaction between percentage of women in the work role x tenure did not account for significant variance in supervisor ratings ($R = .029$, $\Delta R^2 = .001$, $F(3, 1058) = .035$, $p < .851$).

Thus, the percentage of women in the work role was not significantly related to supervisor ratings in the overall group or for men only. For women only, there was a small link between percentage of women in the work role and supervisor ratings after controlling for tenure such that the relationship was negative for higher tenure women and positive for lower tenure women. In other words, the more women in the work role, the lower the supervisor ratings were for those with higher tenure. For those with lower

tenure, the more women in the work role, the higher the supervisor ratings. Figure 4 displays this relationship. Thus, the percentage of women in a work role was positively associated with higher supervisor ratings only for females with lower tenure.

Research question 1. Research Question examined whether percentage of women in the work role was related to objective sales dollars. The correlation between percentage of women and objective sales dollars was not significant ($r = .002$, $p = .927$). For women only, there was a significant correlation between percentage of women and sales figures ($r = .086$, $p < .05$). However, there was not a significant correlation between percentage of women in the work role and sales dollars for men only ($r = -.058$, $p = .055$).

In order to see if the relation between percentage of women in the work role and objective sales dollars varied by tenure for all participants, a 2-step hierarchical multiple regression was run in which objective sales dollars was regressed on percentage of women in the work role and mean-centered values of tenure (at step 1) and the interaction between values of percentage of women in the work role x tenure (at step 2). At step 1, percentage of women in the work role and tenure together accounted for a significant 2.8% of the variance in objective sales dollars ($R = .168$, $R^2 = .028$, $F(2, 1838) = 53.053$, $p < .001$). At step 2, the interaction between percentage of women in the work role x tenure accounted for an additional and significant 12.1% of the variance in sales dollars ($R = .387$, $\Delta R^2 = .121$, $F(3, 1837) = 261.909$, $p < .001$).

I interpreted the interaction by tests of simple slopes in which the relationship between percentage of women and sales dollars was assessed at three levels of tenure: one standard deviation above the mean, at the mean, and one standard deviation below

the mean for male employees only. At one standard deviation above the mean of tenure, the unstandardized partial regression coefficient between supervisor ratings and the percentage of women in a work role was .033, $t(1837) = 11.826$, $p < .001$. At the mean of tenure, the unstandardized partial regression coefficient between sales dollars and the percentage of women in a work role was -.006, $t(1837) = 3.477$, $p < .01$. Finally, at one standard deviation below the mean of tenure, the unstandardized partial regression coefficient between supervisor ratings and the percentage of women in a work role was -.022, $t(1837) = -12.420$, $p < .001$. Thus, although small, the relationship between percentage of women in the work role and sales dollars was positive for those with relatively higher tenure, but negative for those with relatively lower tenure. In other words, for those with higher tenure, as the percentage of women in the work role increased, sales dollars increased. For those with lower tenure, as the percentage of women in the work role increased, sales dollars decreased.

In order to see if the relationship between percentage of women in the work role and objective sales dollars varied by tenure for women participants only, a 2-step hierarchical multiple regression was run in which objective sales dollars was regressed on values of percentage of women in the work role and mean-centered values of tenure (at step 1) and the interaction between values of percentage of women in the work role x tenure (at step 2). At step 1, percentage of women in the work role and tenure together did not account for significant variance in objective sales dollars ($R^2 = .119$, $\Delta R^2 = .000$, $F(2, 633) = .068$, $p = .795$). At step 2, the interaction between percentage of women in the work role x tenure accounted for a significant and additional 11.5% variance in sales dollars ($R = .359$, $\Delta R^2 = .115$, $F(3, 632) = 83.492$, $p < .001$).

I interpreted the interaction by tests of simple slopes in which the relation between percentage of women and sales dollars was assessed at three levels of tenure: one standard deviation above the mean, at the mean, and one standard deviation below the mean for female employees only. At one standard deviation above the mean of tenure, the unstandardized partial regression coefficient between sales dollars and the percentage of women in a work role for men was .037, $t(632) = 7.843$, $p < .001$. At the mean of tenure, the unstandardized partial regression coefficient between sales dollars and the percentage of women in a work role was .011 $t(632) = 3.99$, $p < .01$. Finally, at one standard deviation below the mean of tenure, the unstandardized partial regression coefficient between sales dollars and the percentage of women in a work role was -.015, $t(632) = -4.829$, $p < .001$. Again, although small, the relationship between percentage of women in the work role and sales dollars was positive for those women with relatively higher tenure, but negative for those women with slightly lower tenure. In other words, for those with higher tenure, as the percentage of women in the work role increased, sales dollars increased. For those with lower tenure, as the percentage of women in the work role increased, sales dollars decreased.

In order to see if the relationship between percentage of females in the work role and objective sales dollars varied by tenure for male participants only, a 2-step hierarchical multiple regression was run in which objective sales dollars was regressed on values of percentage of women in the work role and mean-centered values of tenure (at step 1) and the interaction between values of percentage of women in the work role x tenure (at step 2). At step 1, percentage of women in the work role and tenure together accounted for a significant 5.8% of the variance in objective sales dollars ($R = .224$, $R^2 =$

.058, $F(2, 1059) = 64.922, p < .001$). At step 2, the interaction between percentage of women in the work role x tenure accounted for an additional and significant 9.9% of the variance in supervisor ratings ($R = .397, \Delta R^2 = .099, F(3, 1058) = 124.351, p < .001$).

I interpreted the interaction by tests of simple slopes in which the relation between percentage of women and sales dollars was assessed at three levels of tenure: one standard deviation above the mean, at the mean, and one standard deviation below the mean for male employees only. At one standard deviation above the mean of tenure, the unstandardized partial regression coefficient between supervisor ratings and the percentage of women in a work role for male employees was .030, $t(1058) = 7.332, p < .001$. At the mean of tenure, the unstandardized partial regression coefficient between sales dollars and the percentage of women in a work role was not significant ($r = .003, p = .219$). Finally, at one standard deviation below the mean of tenure, the unstandardized partial regression coefficient between supervisor ratings and the percentage of women in a work role was -.024, $t(1058) = -10.102, p < .001$. Thus, similar to the overall group and the women only group, the relationship between percentage of women in the work role and sales dollars was positive for those men with relatively higher tenure, but negative for those men with slightly lower tenure. In other words, for those with higher tenure, as the percentage of women in the work role increased, sales dollars increased. For those with lower tenure, as the percentage of women in the work role increased, sales dollars decreased. Therefore, for the overall group, women only, and men only, there was a significant interaction between percentage of women in the work role and tenure, such that those with higher tenure had a positive relationship between percentage of women in the work role and sales dollars and those with lower tenure had a negative relationship

between percentage of women in the work role and sales dollars. This relationship is displayed in Figure 5.

Hypothesis 2. In order to test Hypothesis 2, I conducted both a correlation and hierarchical regression and used only the female participants. The relationship between percentage of women in a work role and tenure was both positive and significant ($r = .626, p < .001$) for women only, indicating that increased tenure is associated with more women in the work role.

In order to see if the relationship between percentage of women in the work role and tenure varied by performance, I ran a 2-step hierarchical multiple regression in which tenure was regressed on the percentage of women in a work role and mean-centered values of both supervisor ratings and sales dollars (subjective and objective performance). In the first step of the analysis, the control variables of both supervisor ratings and objective sales dollars were entered. Tenure was the dependent variable. The second step of the analysis included the addition of percentage of women in the work role as a predictor. The results determined that percentage of women in the work role did indeed predict 38.6% unique variance in tenure for women, after controlling for performance ($R = .635, R^2 = .404, \Delta R^2 = .386, F(3, 632) = 409.188, p < .001$). Thus, Hypothesis 2 was supported.

I also investigated this relationship further to determine if the same association also held true for men. I used only male participants and I computed a variable measuring the percentage of men in the work role and performed similar correlational and hierarchical regression analyses determining if percentage of men in a work role was predictive of tenure, after controlling for both subjective and objective performance.

Percentage of men in the work role and tenure were significantly related ($r = -.375$, $p < .001$). Percentage of men in the work role did predict an additional 14.8% of the variance in tenure after controlling for both types of performance ($R = .438$, $R^2 = .192$, $\Delta R^2 = .148$, $F(3, 1058) = 193.364$, $p < .001$).

Hypothesis 3a. For Hypothesis 3, I used only the participants in the top 15% of tenure as a cutoff for high tenure (76 months, or 6.33 years, or more). The average tenure for the high-tenure group was 199.02 months (16.585 years). The high-tenure employees were 171 females and 110 males. I conducted a t-test, and Cohen's d to determine if men received higher supervisor ratings relative to women. Generally speaking, d is considered small if it is equal to 0.2 or less, moderate at 0.4, and large if it is equal to 0.8 or larger (Cohen, 1988). The results of Hypothesis 3a are displayed in Table 9, showing the differences between high-tenure men and high-tenure women in tenure, age, supervisor ratings, and sales dollars. There were no significant differences between men and women in their supervisor performance ratings. Thus, Hypothesis 3a was not supported ($d = 0.041$).

Table 10 displays the differences in sales dollars, age, tenure, and supervisor ratings between the high-tenure group and the overall group. A positive Cohen's d indicates that the higher tenure group scored higher on that particular measure. The high tenure group was significantly older ($t(1076) = 5.939$, $p < .001$, $d = .888$) and had moderately higher sales dollars ($t(1839) = 17.925$, $p < .001$, $d = .395$). However, the high-tenure group had slightly lower supervisor ratings ($t(1839) = 4.647$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.203$).

Hypothesis 3b. In order to test Hypothesis 3b, I used only the participants in the top 15% of tenure as a cutoff for high tenure (76 months, or 6.33 years, or more). Then, I conducted a t-test, and Cohen's *d* to determine if women had higher objective performance relative to men. The results indicated that men actually had a significantly higher objective performance, $t(279) = -2.707, p < .01$. For sales data, $d = -.331$, indicating that high-tenure males obtained higher sales figures relative to high-tenure women, a small to moderate difference. Thus, Hypothesis 3b was not supported. The results of Hypothesis 3b are also displayed in Table 9.

Hypothesis 3c. In order to test Hypothesis 3c, I used only the participants in the top 15% of tenure as a cutoff for high tenure (76 months, or 6.33 years, or more). Then, I conducted a Levene's Test for Equality of Variances. The results indicated that there were not significant differences between high-tenure men and high-tenure women in supervisor ratings, $F = 0.120, p = .729$. Thus, Hypothesis 3c was not supported.

Hypothesis 3d. In order to test Hypothesis 3d, I used only the participants in the top 15% of tenure as a cutoff for high tenure (76 months, or 6.33 years, or more). Then, I conducted a Levene's Test for Equality of Variances. The results indicated that there were not significant differences between high-tenure men and high-tenure women in objective sales dollars, $F = 0.167, p = .683$. Thus, Hypothesis 3d was not supported.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this research was to explore how percentage of women in a work role influences subjective performance, objective performance, and tenure. The overall results of this study were surprising in several ways. Firstly, percentage of women in the work role does not seem to evoke the outcomes that Kanter (1977) specifically proposed, particularly in the precise proportions anticipated. However, there is a small effect in that the fewer women there are in a work role, the lower performance is typically rated for women for those with lower tenure. Thus, although it is not a strong effect, it is persistent and workplace managers should be aware of it and its potential ramifications. Small differences might compound over time. A small 1% difference due to bias can grow to as large as 35% difference in outcomes due to the bias being compounded over multiple decisions (Martell, Lane, and Emrich (1996). Similarly, small differentials due to minority status have the potential to intensify over time, making the disparities between men and women much more pronounced eventually for reasons that are not attributable to experience or talent.

The tests of hypotheses also yielded some unanticipated results. Hypothesis 1 predicted that the percentage of women in a given occupation would be positively related to supervisor performance ratings. No significant relationship was found for the overall group, men only, or women only. However, the interaction between tenure and percentage of women in the work role accounted for nearly 2.8% of the variance in

supervisor ratings for women only. Furthermore, that relationship, although small, was positive for women with lower tenure, yet negative for women with higher tenure. In other words, a higher percentage of women in the work role was associated with higher supervisor ratings in women with lower tenure, whereas a higher percentage of women in the work role was associated with lower supervisor ratings for those women with higher tenure.

Some potential explanations for the interactive effect of tenure and percent of women in the work group include higher-tenure women might need to distinguish themselves more once they are established employees. Furthermore, there might be greater competition among high-tenure employees. Moreover, if an established employee is only one of few females, perhaps she might be more of a novelty and receive special treatment in the form of higher ratings, whereas a lower tenure token might have to prove herself more than a low-tenure non-token. Or, perhaps supervisor ratings for low tenure employees are simply less reliable and as employees' tenure increases, so does the accuracy of their supervisors' ratings. Also, perhaps because this particular sample included a disproportionate amount of high tenure women, that might have led to the surprising results.

Research Question 1 proposed a similar relationship as Hypothesis 1, although it focused on objective sales dollars as the dependent variable, as opposed to supervisor ratings. Again, the correlation between percentage of women in the work role and objective sales dollars was not significant for the overall group. However, it was significant for women only in that there was a positive relationship between percentage of women in the work role and objective sales dollars ($r = .086, p < .05$) in that the more

women in a role, the higher sales figures were. Similar to Hypothesis 1, tenure and percentage of women in the work role together accounted for 2.8% of the variance in objective sales dollars for the overall group and 5.8% for men. Thus, controlling for tenure does seem to be an important step in tokenism research in that higher tenure did have a strong relationship with performance, particularly objective performance.

The interaction between tenure and percentage of women in the work role seemed to have a much bigger effect on sales dollars than on supervisor ratings. For the overall group, women only, and men only, the interaction term accounted for significant variance in sales dollars such that those with high tenure had a positive relationship between percentage of women in the work role and sales dollars, whereas those with lower tenure had a negative relationship between sales dollars and percentage of women in the work role. All of these relationships were rather small, but consistent throughout the overall group, women only, and men only.

Some potential explanations, similar to those for Hypothesis 1, include higher tenure women might need to distinguish themselves out of a larger crowd of established employees and there might be great competition among high-tenure employees. Moreover, if a lower-tenure employee is only one of few females, perhaps she might have an increased ability to stand out and make an impression on new clients, whereas a higher tenure non-token's novelty might have tarnished over time. Also, again because this particular sample included a disproportionate amount of high tenure women, that might have led to the surprising results.

With Hypothesis 2, I investigated if percentage of women in the work role predicted tenure, when performance was controlled for female participants. Percentage

of women in the work role seemed to predict tenure much better than it predicted performance. Percentage of women in the work role and tenure was significantly and fairly strongly related for women. Moreover, the relationship between percentage of women in the work role and tenure did vary by performance for female employees, such that performance accounted for 38.6% of the variance in percentage of women in the work role. It seems that, for women, if there are a higher proportion of women in the work role, women are more likely to stay at their jobs longer. Although not as salient, a similar pattern emerged for men, suggesting that the more same-sex coworkers, the longer employees will remain in their jobs.

Hypothesis 3 explored how high-tenure individuals might vary in their values and variability of performance. These individuals had been in their work roles for at least 6.33 years or more and comprised of 276 participants. Peculiarly, although women participants were only 36.6% of the entire population, women were 60.5% of the high-tenure sample. This coincides with the finding that women perhaps feel more organizational commitment and thus might stay at their jobs longer.

As in the overall group, there were no significant differences between males and females in the high-tenure group in supervisor ratings. For objective performance (sales dollars), men had achieved a higher degree of sales dollars with a $d = -.331$, a moderate difference. There were also no significant differences between high-tenure men and women in the variances of supervisor ratings or sales dollars. Thus, contrary to previous researchers finding that many high-tenured females are exceptional performers (Cleveland et al., 2000), this did not seem to be the case in this sample. Cleveland et al. (2000) suggested that women must be exceptional performers in order to last and attain

higher tenure, particularly in a male-dominated environment. In the high-tenure condition, there were many more women than would be expected. However, the high-tenure women were not particularly higher performers than would be expected. High-tenure individuals tended to score lower in average supervisor ratings, but scored higher in average sales dollars. This could potentially be due to repeat or established business that perhaps high-tenure individuals rely on, rather than seeking out new business. In essence, high-tenure employees might not be as “hungry.”

Additionally, tenure had a stronger relationship with objective sales dollars than supervisor ratings, particularly for male participants. For all groups, there was no relationship between tenure and supervisor ratings, but both male and female employees had a positive relationship between tenure and sales dollars (.20 and .118, respectively). Potentially, this relationship could be caused by the fact that many salespeople rely heavily on repeat business, as previously mentioned. Therefore, a salesperson could still be yielding a respectable sales figure output, although they are not particularly aggressive in regard to generating new business, resulting in lower than expected supervisor ratings. It may be that the supervisor is rating them lower because they are not reaching their potential, even though they have relatively strong sales figures.

Another interesting finding was that there were not significant differences in performance between men and women in the overall group. Sales is often perceived as a male-dominated field, yet women seem to fare at least as well as their male counterparts. Lepore (2011) suggested that this might be because women in the sales industry are often expected to be attractive. Moreover, there is perhaps some degree of chivalry at play in that men might feel discomfort over saying no to a saleswoman (particularly an attractive

one), but not to a salesman. In the sales industry, where simply getting in the door is half the battle, this might give women an advantage over men that might alleviate some of the performance differentials due to working in a male-dominated industry. Overall results indicated that tenure seemed to matter more for men than for women in sales success. Thus, although contrary to stereotypic thinking, perhaps women's performance simply does not pale in comparison to men and they are equal or better performers than men overall.

The relationship between supervisor ratings and sales dollars (subjective and objective performance) was also unexpected. Theoretically, these variables should have a reasonably strong relationship, given that both variables are measuring an aspect of performance. However, the correlation between supervisor ratings and sales dollars was only .139 ($p < .001$) for the overall group, .175 for male participants ($p < .001$), and it was essentially non-existent for women ($r = .009$, $p = .820$). Moreover, the relationship between supervisor ratings and sales dollars significantly varied by organization, with some organizations even having both strong negative and strong positive relationships. Previous researchers found objective and subjective performance to be correlated .39 in sales (Bluen, Barling, & Burns, 1990). Thus, researchers should continue to examine this relationship to determine what variables influence this relationship, making it stronger or weaker.

Implications

This research attempted to reconcile many of the inconsistent or theoretical previous findings and assertions. Overall, I found little concrete evidence to support the notion that females in the minority of an organization suffer increased scrutiny in their

performance merely for the fact that they are in the minority or tokens. Differences in performance ratings are more likely to be due to differences in performance, rather than token status specifically. However, because the relationship between percentage of women in the work role and performance was positive in high-tenured employees and negative in low-tenure employees, practitioners should have increased awareness that high-tenure tokens could potentially have lower performance ratings than expected or that low-tenure tokens might have higher performance ratings than expected. Possible reasons for this could be comfort level that translates to indolence or to a vulnerability to increased scrutiny. Thus, practitioners should be aware of potential biases that might occur when rating all employees, as there might be a disconnection between their objective performance and supervisors' impression of performance. They should strive toward a more unified determination of performance, particularly when performance reviews involve monetary consequences.

The theoretical implications for this research could potentially include continued research on tokens and what attributes might make them more susceptible to negative workplace outcomes. Previous empirical researchers, including Sackett et al. (1991) found similar results, but this research offered an updated, more modern sample, as well as the concrete performance data that was not available in previous studies. Thus, this research provided more material evidence that the proportions of a workplace are not necessarily the catalyst for workplace discrimination.

Although token theory is oft discussed and cited, much of the previous research, including this, has not found solid evidence to support it. Thus, perhaps the theory should evolve in more practical and multi-faceted avenues. The practical implications of

these findings echo in current legislation. For example, although the Supreme Court ultimately overturned the Wal-Mart sex discrimination case, they did so on the basis that the 1.5 million female plaintiffs were not able to be part of a single suit, not on the basis that the sex discrimination did not occur. Prior to this ruling, the plaintiffs turned to sociologist William Bielby, who specializes in social framework analysis to provide evidence that discrimination had occurred. Bielby concluded that the disparities in pay/promotion were due to both a centralized personnel policy and managers' subjective decisions, leading to a contamination of employment decisions and a susceptibility to gender bias (Liptak, 2011). Bielby came to these conclusions using social framework analysis, and although controversial in its use in litigation, social framework analysis does seek to provide a context for some event. Based on this, along with previous research, it seems that workplace sex differences are obviously quite complicated and perhaps more attributable to societal constraints and attitudes, rather than group proportional makeup or outright sex discrimination.

Limitations

Like any research, this research had several limitations. The first and likely most salient limitation was the exclusive use of salespeople. Sales is a more male-dominated field and possesses clear objective markers of some aspects of performance, so it did lend itself well to this particular research. However, sales is often dependent on a high-degree of self-promotion and outcomes are often the result of self-fulfilling prophecies, which might affect the generalizability of results to other work arenas or populations. A limitation also stemmed from this research's status as a field study. Although the use of an applied sample provided unique and important insight into an actual performance

evaluation situation, there was some loss of experimental control that would have been present in a laboratory study. This led to decreased control in some control variables and random assignment was not plausible. Additionally, although unavailable due to constraints of the data, it might have been more advantageous to define my tokenism-like variable as percentage of women in a workplace, rather than in a work role. Also unavailable was some measure of the supervisors' sex stereotype attitudes, such as gender role orientation, which would have added a helpful and layered component to the analysis.

Future Research

Determining the nuances of tenure, percentage of women in the work role, and performance is an area fraught with interesting and fruitful relationships. In order to extend or maximize this research, there are several avenues that future researchers could explore. Because the economic climate can dictate the severity of many of the relationships commonly studied in Industrial/Organizational Psychology, it would be informative to compare data of this nature with the economic index to determine if that influences participants' level of performance, tenure, or percentage of women (or any other group) in the workplace. Unfortunately, I was not able to explore this option further because the applied data was stripped of all dates and was compiled over the course of several years.

Also, further examination into women and their tenure trajectories would be informative and have practical implications. In this study, there were many more women than would have been expected in the high-tenure condition, so that is an opportunity for further study, particularly because of the interaction of proportion of women and tenure

affecting both measures of performance. Additionally, further exploration as to how both men who bear the brunt of child rearing and women who do not have children fare in these workplace outcomes. These populations would be advantageous to ascertain if some of these workplace differences are more a product of sex specifically or of child-rearing responsibilities.

Other research could also explore how racial tokenism unfolds, particularly with regard to Hispanic individuals. There have been mixed results as to whether racial tokens experience as many of the negative effects that sex tokens experience or just experience them in a different way, perhaps independent of token status. Currently, one of the only studies that investigated tokenism within Hispanic individuals was Strohshine and Brandl (2011). Because the Hispanic population of this country is rapidly increasing, this is an important subject to investigate further.

In regard to tokenism, it would be interesting to research if the personalities of tokens are different than non-tokens. There could potentially be elements to someone's character that might make them more or less likely to remain, leave, embrace, or reject a token situation. Future research could also examine if token employees are leaving for different reasons than non-token employees.

CONCLUSION

This research examined the interplay of tenure and percentage of women in the work role (or tokenism) and their influence on workplace performance, extending previous research and offering unique insights as well. Overall, I did not find strong support for a token effect for women in an applied work setting. There were some noteworthy findings that tenure and performance can have some bearing on these outcomes. The relationship between percentage of women in the work role and performance did vary according to tenure and the relationship between percentage of women in the work role and tenure varied according to performance. Men and women differed in neither supervisor ratings nor variances of ratings, but men earned moderately higher sales figures than women, both in the overall group and the high-tenure group.

Because of the lack of empirical research on token theory, this research was needed to determine how percentage of women in the work role contributed to various workplace outcomes. However, the lack of strong confirmation of token theory might lead future researchers in other directions. Namely, perhaps the inclusion of tenure in tokenism variables would add value to the subject. Although industrial/organizational psychologists tend to focus the investigation as to why sex differences exist in terms of differences in training, expectation, and employee/employer preferences, to name a few, other more sociological fields concentrate on societal-level systems of stratification (Reskin & Bielby, 2005). Sociologists refer to the sexual division of labor as sex segregation and purport that it is a product of the overstatement of biological differences,

which lead to men and women participating in different activities and labor markets.

Although there is undoubtedly merit to this viewpoint, practical knowledge of workplace politics is more constructive in assuaging these issues of inequity in the workplace.

Moreover, those that are prepared, talented, and have chosen to be in certain fields should be able to contribute their knowledge to the fullest extent to best benefit both organizations and individuals. Thus, researching how differing variables affect workplace outcomes is of continued importance.

Figure 1

Scatterplot of Tenure and Performance for all Employees

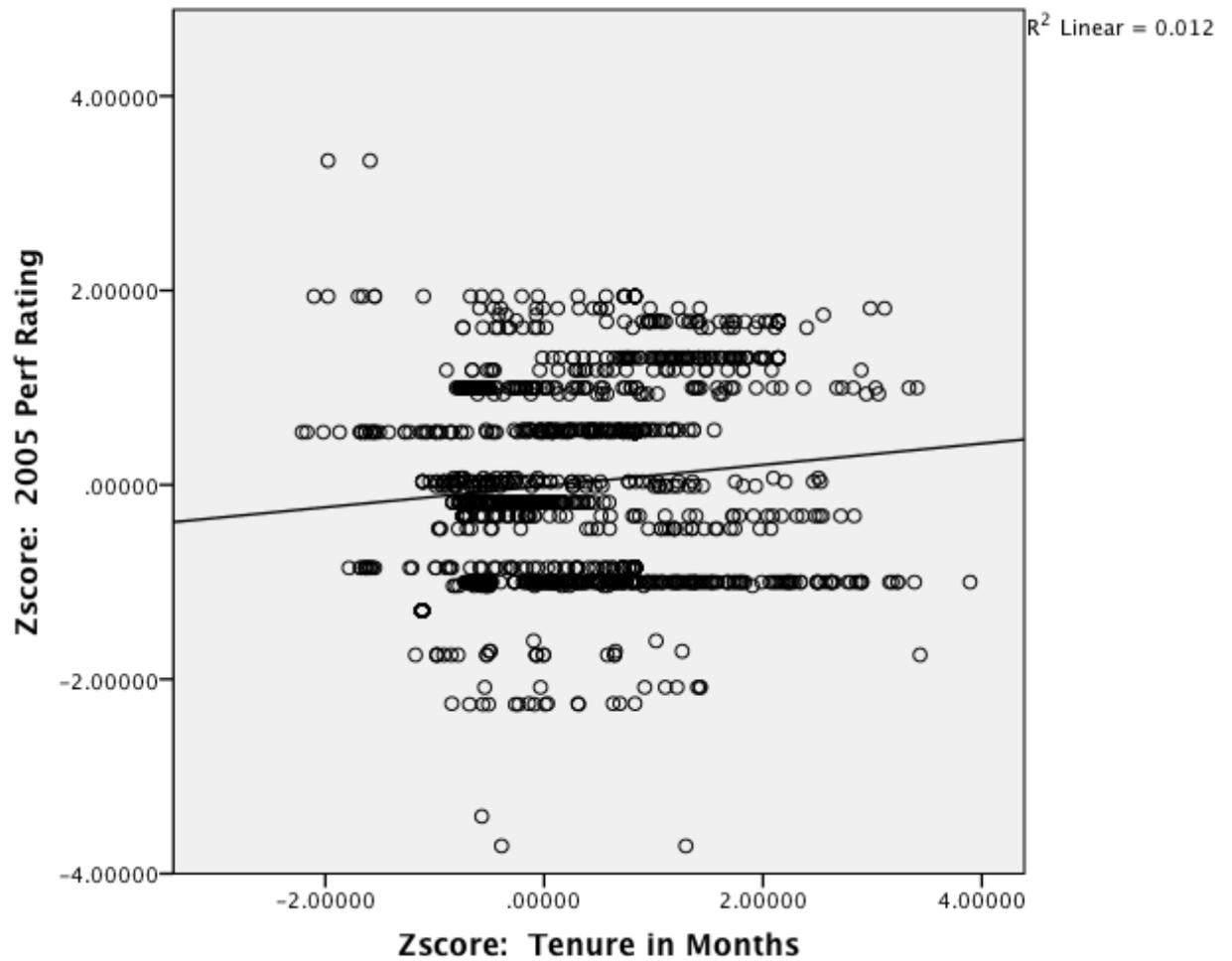


Figure 2

Scatterplot of Tenure and Performance for Female Participants Only

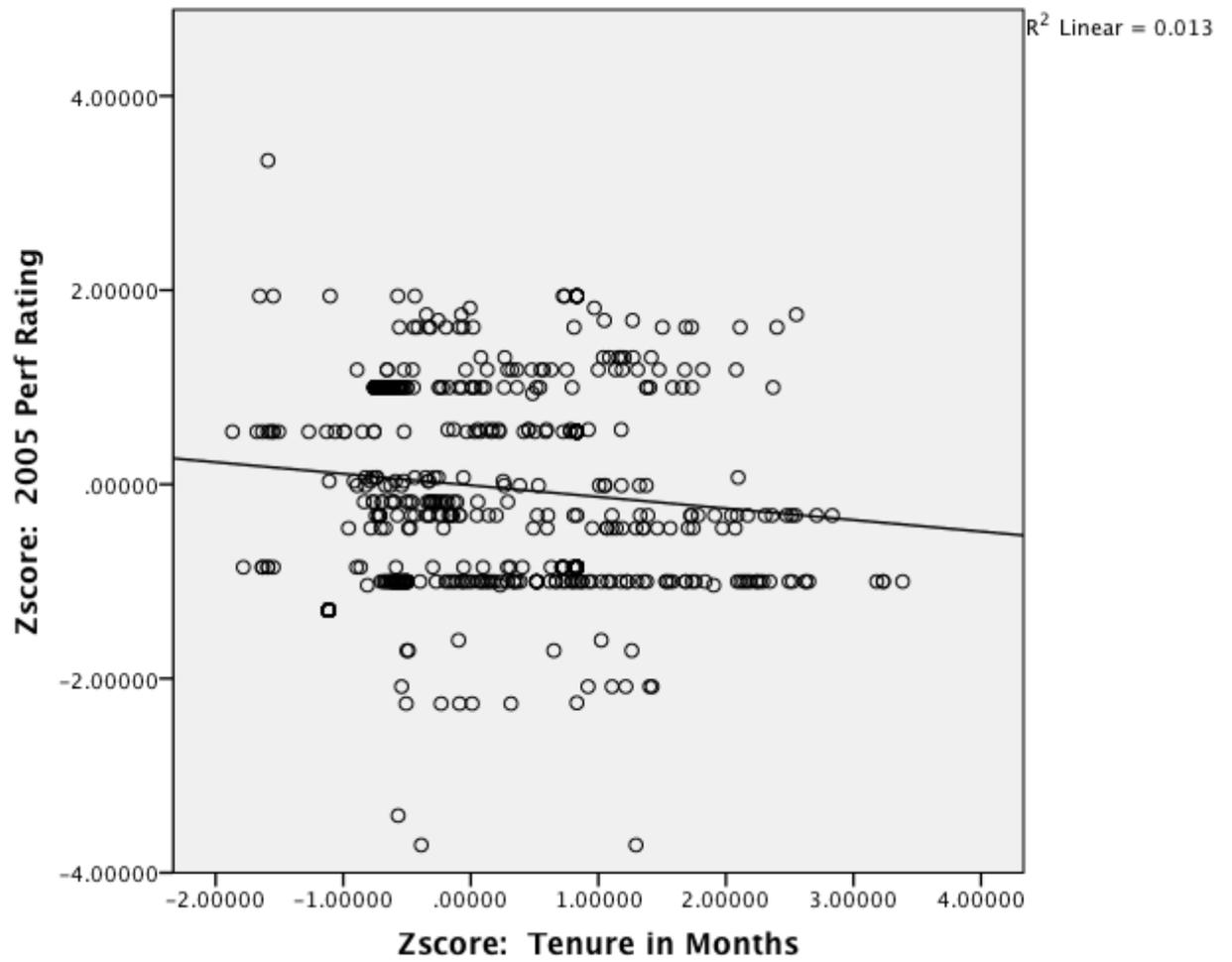


Figure 3

Scatterplot of Tenure and Performance for Male Participants Only

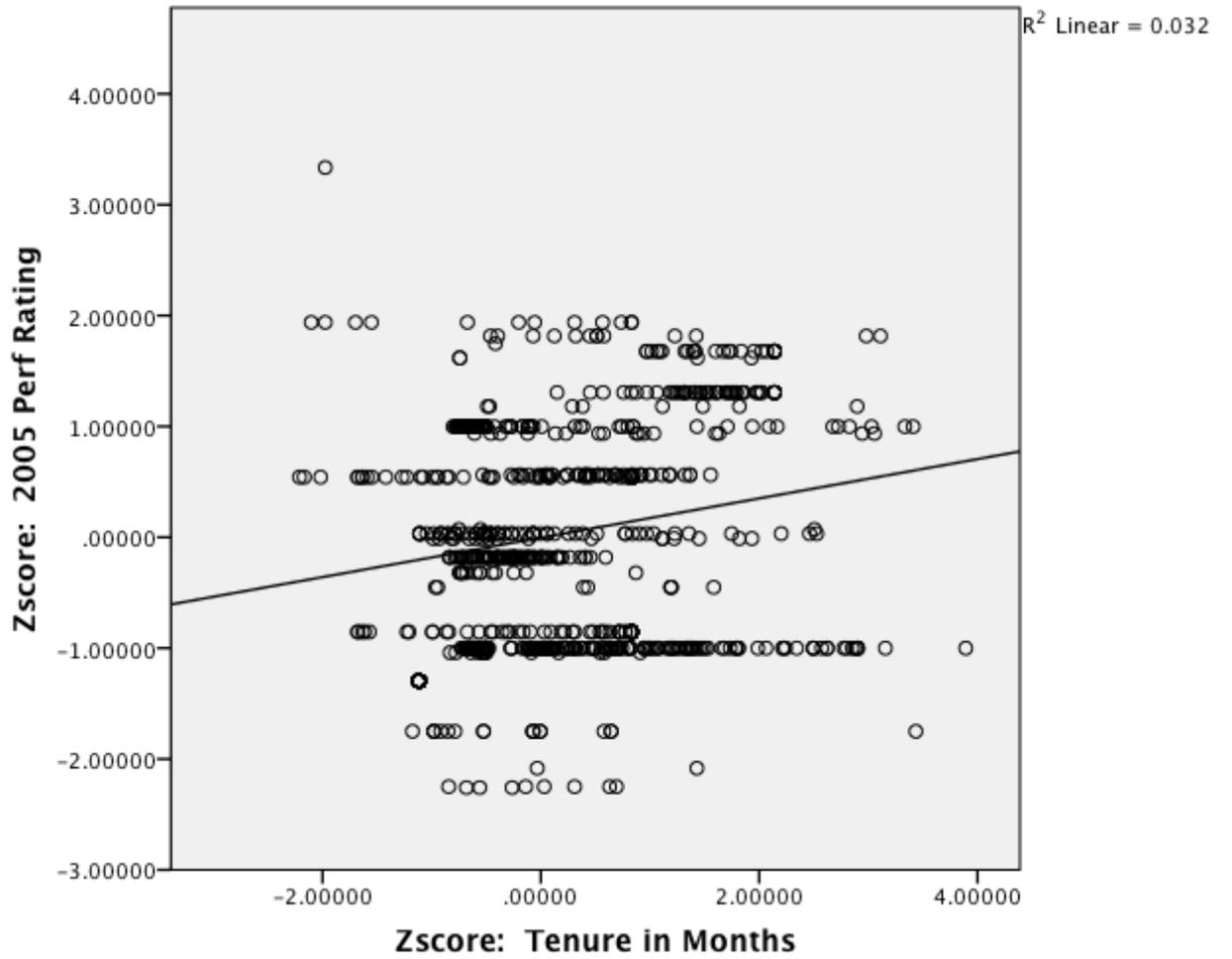


Figure 4

*Relationship Between Supervisor Ratings and the Percentage of Women in the Work Role
by Tenure*

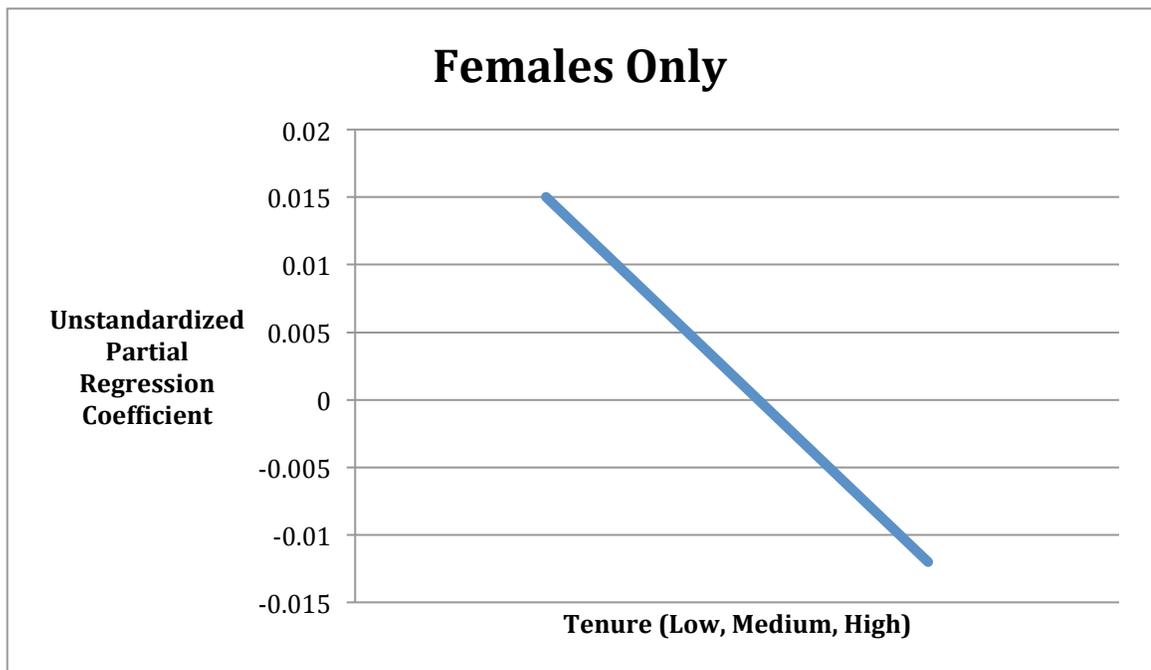


Figure 5

Relationship Between Sales Dollars and the Percentage of Women in the Work Role by Tenure

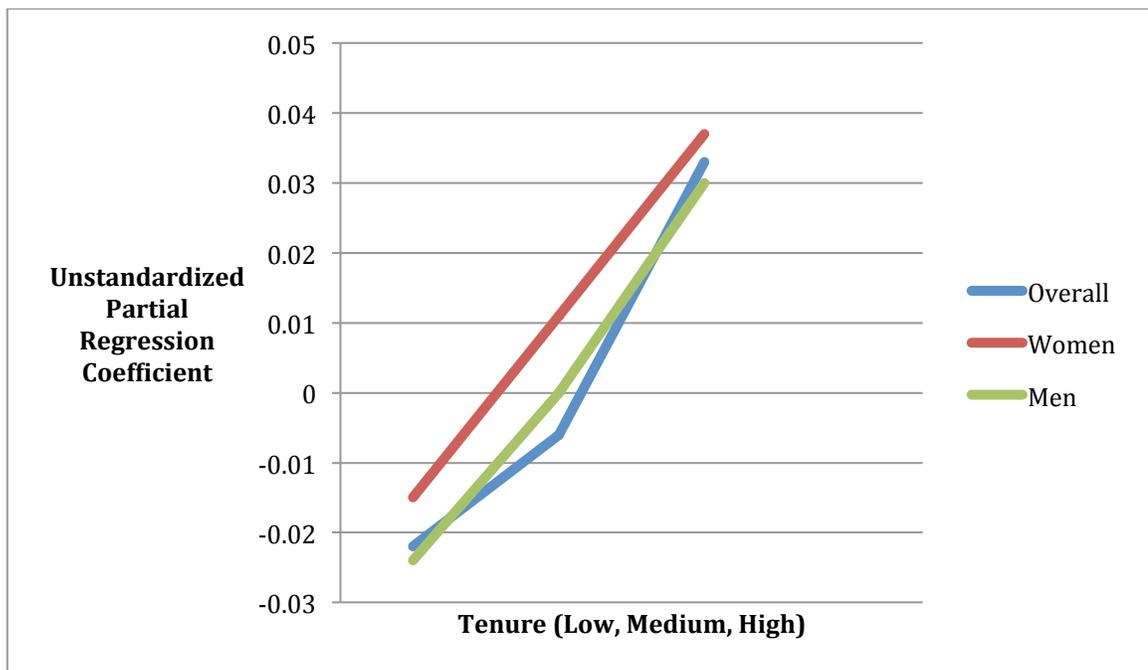


Table 1.

Differences Between Male and Female Supervisor Ratings at Various Percentages of Women in the Work Role

Percent Women in the Work Role	Total N	Male		Female		t	d
		M	SD	M	SD		
8.2%	49	-.065	.983	.736	1.02	1.558 (df = 47)	.800
9.8%	109	-.064	1.04	.389	.752	1.343 (df = 100)	.499
10.5%	38	.064	.996	-0.546	.988	-1.16 (df = 36)	-.615
19.2%	527	.069	1.05	-.327	.911	-3.041** (df = 394)	-.403
37.6%	674	.003	1.00	.006	1.00	.039 (df = 668)	.003
49.3%	278	-.081	1.03	.084	.96	1.38 (df = 276)	.166
68.8%	113	.042	.793	-.117	1.26	-.682 (df = 110)	-.151
75.5%	106	-.121	1.10	.016	1.03	.582 (df = 104)	.129

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 2.

Differences Between Male and Female Sales Dollars at Various Percentages of Women in the Work Role

Percent Women in the Work Role	Total <i>N</i>	Male		Female		<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
8.2%	49	.106	.846	-.378	.069	-1.132 (df = 47)	-.846
9.8%	109	.052	1.04	-.119	.917	-.496 (df = 100)	-.174
10.5%	38	.559	1.444	.111	.90	-.602 (df = 36)	-.372
19.2%	527	.158	1.153	-.338	.335	-3.704*** (df = 394)	-.584
37.6%	674	-.046	.980	.047	1.03	1.164 (df = 668)	.093
49.3%	278	.026	.969	.080	1.05	.442 (df = 276)	.053
68.8%	113	.135	.899	.031	.924	-.555 (df = 110)	-.114
75.5%	106	.012	.975	.079	.998	.298 (df = 104)	.068

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3.

Average Tenure for Organizations and Correlations between Supervisor Ratings and Sales Dollars

Percent Women in the Work Role	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i> (Tenure in Months)	<i>SD</i>	Correlation between Supervisor Ratings and Sales Dollars
8.2%	49	N/A	N/A	-.469***
9.8%	109	32.30	14.689	.404***
10.5%	38	64.80	48.360	.727***
19.2%	527	11.00	9.851	.699***
37.6%	674	31.71	39.379	-.576***
49.3%	278	27.00	10.022	.391***
68.8%	113	252.25	139.005	.250**
75.5%	106	160.55	146.236	.779***
Total	1849	46.67	83.228	.139***

p* < .05. *p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

Table 4

Differences Between Male and Female Outcome Variables.

Measure	Male		Female		<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Age	33.48	10.54	37.31	10.48	5.71*** (<i>df</i> = 1076)	0.364
Tenure	34.03	59.20	75.40	113.03	9.88*** (<i>df</i> = 1696)	0.459
Supervisor Ratings	.003	1.02	-0.023	1.024	-0.523 (<i>df</i> = 1749)	-0.03
Sales Figures	.062	1.05	.006	.961	-1.112 (<i>df</i> = 1749)	-0.06

p* < .05. *p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

Table 5

Outcome Variables by Tenure

Measure	Low Tenure (30.4% Female)		Medium Tenure (35.2 % Female)		High Tenure (66.9% Female)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Age	27.14	5.479	34.11	9.972	49.01	7.297
Tenure (in months)	2.55	4.610	28.15	27.056	150.39	144.877
Supervisor Ratings	-.840	.935	.114	.962	-.089	1.049
Sales Figures	-.352	.711	.045	1.021	.272	.959

Table 6

Overall Correlation Matrix of Percentage of Women in the Work Role, Tenure, Supervisor Ratings, and Sales Dollars

	1	2	3
1. Tenure			
2. Percentage of Women in the Work Role	.547***		
3. Performance Rating	-.035	-.009	
4. Sales Dollars	.146**	.002	.139**

**p < .001

Table 7

Correlation Matrix of Percentage of Women in the Work Role, Tenure, Supervisor Ratings, and Sales Dollars for Female Participants

	1	2	3
1. Tenure			
2. Percentage of Women in the Work Role	.626***		
3. Performance Rating	-.057	.029	
4. Sales Dollars	.118**	.086*	.009

*p < .05, **p < .005, ***p < .001

Table 8

Correlation Matrix of Percentage of Women in the Work Role, Tenure, Supervisor Ratings, and Sales Dollars for Male Participants

	1	2	3
1. Tenure			
2. Percentage of Women in the Work Role	.375***		
3. Performance Rating	-.021	-.022	
4. Sales Dollars	.200***	-.058	.175***

*p < .05, **p < .005, ***p < .001

Table 9

Differences Between High-Tenure Male and High-Tenure Female Outcome Variables.

Measure	Male		Female		<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Age	45.39	9.881	43.13	10.061	-1.55 (df = 196)	-0.227
Tenure (in months)	163.94	112.804	222.17	131.115	3.833*** (df = 279)	0.476
Supervisor Ratings	-.248	.980	-.204	1.15	.334 (df = 279)	0.041
Sales Figures	.630	1.01	.292	1.03	-2.707** (df = 279)	-0.331

p* < .05. *p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

Table 10

Differences Between the High-Tenure Group and the Overall Group Outcome Variables.

Measure	Overall Group		High-Tenure		<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Age	34.81	10.660	44.00	10.028	5.939*** (df = 1076)	0.888
Tenure (in months)	46.67	83.228	199.02	127.019	26.859*** (df = 1839)	1.419
Supervisor Ratings	-.003	1.01	-.216	1.084	4.647*** (df = 1839)	-0.203
Sales Figures	.026	1.00	.426	1.027	17.925*** (df = 1839)	0.395

p* < .05. *p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

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