A MULTILEVEL FRAMEWORK AND META-ANALYTIC TEST OF GENDER DIFFERENCES IN TASK PERFORMANCE AND ORGANIZATIONAL REWARDS

ABSTRACT

Although it is widely acknowledged that gender inequity is a pervasive and chronic phenomenon, a close examination of cumulative research evidence suggests that gender differences in rewards and performance also vary considerably across work contexts. These variations offer an avenue to develop and meta-analytically test a multilevel framework that identifies a set of occupational, industry-, and job-level factors that either mitigate or exacerbate gender differences in performance (k = 93; n = 95,882) and reward outcomes (k = 97; n = 37,8850) at the individual level. Based on studies conducted over a thirty-year period across a variety of work settings in the management domain, we determined that the effects of gender on reward-based outcomes (*d* = .56) (including salary, bonuses, and promotions) were fourteen times larger than gender differences in task performance (*d* = .04) and differences in performance did not explain reward differences based on gender. The percentage of men in an occupation and the complexity of jobs performed by employees enhanced the male-female gap in performance and rewards. Occupational prestige increased the rewards gap but did not have a significant effect on performance differences between men and women. Higher representation of female executives at the industry level enabled women to reverse the gender gap in rewards and performance. Our analysis also found that job and industry level attributes of the work context are jointly associated with higher differences in rewards and performance.

In 1982 when Ann Hopkins was denied partnership at Price Waterhouse despite a stellar performance record, her attorneys presented compelling evidence before the Supreme Court of the United States that the decision was a direct outcome of gender-based stereotyping and discrimination in the firm (Fiske, Bersoff, Bordiga, Deaux, Heilman, 1991; Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins, 1989). Such instances of overt stereotyping and egregious gender discrimination are rare in workplaces today. Nevertheless, over two decades since the historic Supreme Court ruling in favor of Ann Hopkins, women continue to remain grossly underrepresented at the highest levels in organizations and in many settings receive significantly lower pay and promotions than men (Catalyst, 2008). Although gender inequity is one of the most pressing challenges facing organizations, scholars recognize that detecting or remedying gender-based stereotyping, bias, or discrimination poses a substantial challenge (Blau & Kahn, 2007; Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006; Reskin, 2003). Litigation pressures and the diffusion of symbolic diversity management practices obscure bias and stereotyping making it unlikely that purposive discrimination attributable to specific organizational agents can be easily detected (Oritz & Roscigno, 2009; Tilly, 1998). Therefore, rather than focusing research on detecting (often unmeasurable) psychological processes that underlie gender discrimination at work, some scholars have noted that identifying objective (often measurable) attributes of the workplace context associated with gender differences in employment outcomes offers one important avenue for building an actionable theory of gender inequity (Baron & Pfeffer, 1994; Reskin, 2003).

As a step in this direction we develop and test a theoretical framework that draws on the cumulative research evidence on the effects of gender on organizational rewards and performance spanning over three decades in the management domain. This evidence points out that although the effects of gender on various organizational rewards and performance are fairly

widespread, these effects also vary considerably across work contexts. Certainly, in many settings men outperform women and receive higher rewards such as pay and promotions (e.g., Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1993; Sackett, Dubois, & Noe, 1991). However, in some situations women do receive more favorable performance evaluations and are also able to close the gender gap in organizational rewards (e.g., Dencker, 2008; Splierman & Petersen, 1999). The varied effects of gender across work contexts offer important directions for further inquiry; they suggest that some contexts may be more susceptible and others more resilient to gender inequity. Building on this premise, our approach seeks to build a theoretical framework that identifies several structural attributes of the work context that can reinforce or mitigate gender differences in performance and reward outcomes at the individual level of analysis.

The multilevel framework developed in this article offers a substantive step forward in gender inequity research for a number of reasons. Both in micro (e.g., Cleveland, Vescio & Barnes-Farnell, 2005) and in macro (e.g., DiTomaso, Post, Parks-Yancy, 2007) domains of gender research, there have been calls to integrate across disciplinary silos to better understand the prevalence of inequity at work. Indeed, nearly a decade ago Baron and Pfeffer (1994) noted that "missing in most literature on (inequity in organizations) is any attention to the micro-macro connection, the links between social structures, institutions, and organizations on the one hand and, on the other, cognitions, perceptions, interests and behaviors at the individual or small-group level" (p: 191). To date, management research, although uniquely positioned to make this 'micro-macro connection', has not fully responded to these calls.

We aim at developing a framework that bridges the micro-macro divide in gender research and extends our understanding of how demographic attributes shape employment

outcomes in organizations. This framework unites institutional and structural perspectives on gender inequity (e.g., Stainback, Tomaskovic-Devey & Skaggs, 2010) with social-psychological perspectives on gender bias (e.g., Eagly, Makhijani & Klonsky, 1992) to identify specific aspects of the work context that are particularly relevant for understanding gender differences in task performance and organizational rewards. Based on these theoretical perspectives, we meta-analytically test the effects of occupational, industry, and job-level predictors on individual level gender differences in performance and reward outcomes among men and women performing comparable jobs. For example, our approach allows us to examine whether the level of complexity of jobs performed by investment bankers explains why female investment bankers earn significantly lower bonuses than male investment bankers. Or, whether gender parity in task performance among software developers can be attributed to a high proportion of female executives in the IT industry. Drawing on multiple strands in gender research, we propose that although gender bias or stereotyping can potentially operate in each of these contexts, factors such as job complexity or representation of female executives at the industry level can strengthen or weaken the extent to which these processes determine employment outcomes for men and women. Based on this framework we recommend directions for future research on the role that performance evaluation and reward allocation decision-making can play in shaping gender-based reward/performance differences within specific contexts.

A second important contribution of this research is that we examine the effects of contextual attributes on both task performance as well as reward differences between men and women. In order to unpack the sources of gender inequity, it is important to specify whether or not contextual factors that mitigate gender differences in performance also mitigate gender differences in pay (Blau & Kahn, 2007; Cleveland et al., 2005). It is often assumed that

psychological processes or structural attributes that drive gender differences in performance evaluations also drive gender differences in outcomes such as pay, promotions, or other organizational rewards. We posit that this assumption needs to be examined more carefully. Consider that in many contexts reward allocation decisions (e.g., promotion to equity partnership) imply zero-sum choices among a pool of qualified candidates but performance criteria (e.g., client billing hours) are not subject to such considerations. By comparing the relationship between gender and task performance versus rewards across various work settings we hope to shed light on whether various contextual variables have similar effects on pay *and* on performance. Our framework allows us to test whether in contexts where men are rewarded at higher levels than women, they also perform at higher levels than women and in contexts where women outperform men, they also receive higher rewards than men.

On a related note, we also directly test whether performance difference *explain* reward differences among men and women. Research that has examined differences in pay and promotions among men and women rarely accounts for performance differences (see Castilla, 2008; Blau & Devarro, 2007, as exceptions). However, it is often assumed that productivity differences measured as educational attainment or labor market experience drive gender differences in rewards (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993). Moreover, the educational and skill attainments that women have made since the 1980s have surpassed even average workforce level human capital gains in this period (Blau & Kahn, 2007; Bernhardt, Morris, & Handcock, 1995). These gains should enable women to close any performance gaps with their male counterparts, but the question remains - do these gains also allow them to close the gender gap in organizational rewards? Therefore, our framework combines past research on gender differences

in pay with research on gender differences in performance to examine whether performance difference mediate the effects of gender on reward differences.

Our meta-analysis is also unique in that we apply a configurational approach to supplement meta-regression procedures and identify *bundles* of occupational (prestige, demography), industry (proportion of female executives), and job (complexity) characteristics associated with instances where men are rewarded significantly more than women, or men outperform women or vice versa (Fiss, 2011; Ragin, 2008). This approach allows us to identify which contextual factors combine, complement, or act as substitutes for each other in situations in which men outperform women or men are rewarded significantly higher than women. Such an approach might also highlight less obvious combinations of contextual attributes that are associated with gender differences in performance/rewards.

MACRO-MICRO LINKAGES IN GENDER RESEARCH

The proposed framework tests the notion that gender differences in organizational rewards and task performance are a function of "what" is the nature of the work as well as "where" the work is being done (Reskin, 2003). Reskin (2003) notes that these aspects of "structure and context are fundamental concepts because they highlight the importance of (the) setting on social processes that govern (gender) inequality in the workplace" (Reskin, 2003: p. 14). Developing this logic, we focus on how job-level (i.e., what is the nature of the work) as well as occupational and industry-level (i.e., where work is being done) attributes can shape micro-level gender differences in any work context. Recognizing that organizations in the U.S. have considerable discretion in designing performance management and compensation practices (Nelson & Bridges, 1999), we propose that specific macro-level – that is, job, industry and

occupational – factors define the overall environment in which organizational agents such as human resource professionals, executives, and supervisors make evaluative and resource allocation decisions (Dobbin, 2009; Tilly, 1998). This environment constitutes specific cultural norms, stereotypic expectations, and status cues associated with gender. The overall environment also represent institutional or market pressures that define a work context and influence employment outcomes for men and women. Within this embedding context, socio-psychological perspectives explain how reward allocation and performance evaluation practices advantaging men over women can potentially take on an "everyday" or "business as usual" quality (Tilly, 1998; Hultin & Szulkin, 2003).

Occupational Effects on Gender Differences in Performance and Rewards

Traditional explanations linking occupations to gender inequity have emphasized women's job choices or the "overcrowding" of women out of male occupations (Blau & Kahn, 1981; Bergmann, 1974). These research accounts do not explain why gender inequity prevails despite women's human capital gains and a steady entry into traditionally male-dominated occupations (Gatta & Roos, 2002). Moving beyond these approaches, we propose that overall prestige and gender typing of an occupation defines normative role expectations, status cues, and stereotypic beliefs about how occupational incumbents are perceived, evaluated, and rewarded, providing important additional explanations for persistent gender differences at the individual-level of analysis.

Occupational demographic composition. From a socio-psychological perspective, the demographic make-up of an occupation can signal the "appropriateness" or "fit" of an occupation for men and for women driving stereotypic expectations of role and abilities

associated with that occupation (Eagly & Makhijani, 2002; Gorman, 2005; Heilman, 1983). Occupations that are female-dominated (such as nurses or elementary school teachers) may be considered a more appropriate "fit" for women, while occupations that are male-dominated (such as fire-fighting or production engineering) may be considered appropriate for men.

When women enter highly male dominated occupations, they do not 'fit' the stereotypic expectations of abilities expected in that occupation, and therefore, experience greater bias and discrimination (Eagly & Makhijani, 2002; Heilman, 1983). Role congruence theory, which has been primarily applied to women in leadership roles, posits that even when female leaders display high levels of performance, their efforts may be discounted by their peers and/or supervisors (e.g., Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). This theory recognizes that culturally shared beliefs about the appropriate roles and abilities of men and women in society have widespread effects in the workplace (Eagly & Karau, 1991; Eagly, et al., 1992). As such, the contributions of women who occupy roles or display abilities that are atypical relative to established cultural norms tend to be undervalued and discounted at work (Eagly & Karau, 1991; Eagly et al., 1992; Kanter, 1977). We posit that the demographic composition of an occupational category shapes cultural beliefs about which roles and abilities are appropriate for men and women.

Returning to our opening example, a factor contributing to gender bias in Ann Hopkins' performance appraisals was her lack of fit in the broad occupational category of professional accountants - an occupational category dominated by men (Fiske et al., 1991). If Ann Hopkins had been an administrative assistant (i.e., in a female-dominated occupational category) in the firm, it is less likely that she would have faced the types of barriers that she encountered. Recent

research based on survey data from scientists and engineers across twenty four major US corporations shows that in this traditionally male-typed occupation, white men received significantly more access to skill development opportunities and a 'benefit of the doubt' in supervisory ratings of 'innovation' and 'promotability to management' than any other demographic group including white women, women of color, and immigrant men (DiTomaso, Post, Smith, Farris & Cordero, 2007). Research on research and development teams also shows that gender often functions as a cue for identifying skills and expertise such that male scientists receive an "expertise advantage" compared to female scientists which further leads to greater opportunities to perform, take on leadership roles, and higher influence in team decision-making for men (Cohen & Zhou, 1991).

Across other occupational contexts as well, research shows that membership in a dominant demographic group in the occupation predicts access to important information such as changes in production schedules, availability of on-the-job training programs, and job opportunities within the organization (Tomascovic-Devey & Skaggs, 1999). Cumulatively, this research suggests that the demographic composition of the occupation, specifically the predominance of men, reflects a cultural context (i.e., gender-related norms, stereotypes, and status cues) that shapes reward allocation and evaluation behavior within any given work setting with potentially negative employment consequences for women. Therefore, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 1a: The proportion of men in an occupational category positively predicts gender differences in task performance in that occupation.

Hypothesis 1b: The proportion of men in an occupational category positively predicts gender differences in organizational rewards in that occupation.

Occupational prestige. Occupational prestige, the socio-economic value of an occupation, has been acknowledged as an important variable predicting employment outcomes because it foreshadows occupational mobility and is a proxy for social class (Hodge, Sigel, & Rossi, 1964). Scholars have also noted the importance of identifying the intersectionality between gender and class in predicting workplace outcomes; that is, they have highlighted the importance of examining whether gender differences in work outcomes vary across class distinctions (e.g., Oritz & Roscigno, 2009). Because highly prestigious occupations require higher investments in human capital (consider top executives in firms), we might expect that the men and women working these settings are similarly qualified and should not experience differential employment outcomes (Bertrand & Hallock, 2001). However, prestigious occupations exert other types of influences on gender differences in employment outcomes as well.

In highly prestigious occupations, barriers to entry and advancement are extremely high. Access to advancement in these settings is controlled via mechanisms such as licensing, formal educational requirements, certification, and sometimes through opaque performance and reward criteria (e.g., Weeden, 2002). In fact, seemingly meritocratic reward allocation and performance evaluation practices tend to advantage men rather than women in these settings. For instance, in many prestigious settings, "up or out" promotion policies drive adversarial processes that are primed towards highlighting employees' weaknesses. In these situations, evaluative decisions may draw on stereotypic information to highlight shortcomings (e.g., not forceful enough, too emotional, lacks leadership qualities) that tend to disadvantage women (e.g., Vescio, Gervais, Snyder, & Hoover, 2005). Across prestigious law firms for example, recent research shows that senior partners making promotion decisions tended to value a career strategy of aligning with a

senior partner to gain access to elite clients (i.e., an 'inheritance' strategy) among men but not among women (Briscoe & von Nordenflycht, 2014). Among women, a 'rainmaking strategy' that relied on bringing in new clients was more likely to predict a favorable promotion decision (Briscoe & von Nordenflycht, 2014). Interpreting this finding through a social-psychological lens, we surmise that women who followed an inheritance strategy were viewed as lacking in leadership and personal initiative and those that followed a rainmaking strategy were able to overcome this bias. Yet a rainmaking strategy could be more challenging and risky, imposing a higher burden on incoming associates. Indeed, reflecting these challenges, several studies in the context of law firms report that promotion rates are significantly lower and turnover rates significantly higher among women than among men (Gorman, 2006; Kay & Hagan, 1998; Spurr & Sueyoshi, 1994). These findings illustrate the types of subjective biases that might permeate ostensibly meritocratic yet opaque decision-making in prestigious contexts, advantaging men over women.

One important reason for why these barriers exist for women is that the prestige context of an occupation primes powerful organizational agents within these contexts to maintain hierarchies present in the broader society (Sidanius & Pratto, , 2003). In prestigious contexts organizational agents in positions of power are motivated to limit opportunities for women. In general, powerful individuals in these settings are likely to display a social dominance orientation that is a preference for hierarchical and power differences and a desire to maintain social distinctions (Sidanius & Pratto, 2003). Such an orientation is likely to predispose these individuals to maintain the dominance of men in line with broader societal status distinctions between men and women. The net effect of these psychological processes is that women are

likely to experience higher bias and discrimination in more prestigious occupations. Building on these insights, we propose:

Hypothesis 2a: The prestige associated with an occupational category positively predicts gender differences in task performance.

Hypothesis 2b: The prestige associated with an occupational category positively predicts gender differences in organizational rewards.

Industry Effects on Gender Differences in Performance and Rewards

The industry context in which a firm operates refers to aspects of the business environment such as the regulatory framework, number and size of competitors, and level of growth and globalization. The industry setting serves as an embedding context for firms because firms within an industry compete within similar labor markets and face common institutional pressures that lead to the diffusion of employment practices across firms (Stainback et al., 2010). We propose below that within industry categories, the ascendance of women to managerial and executive levels reflects these institutional, labor market, and cultural pressures and is, therefore, an important context to consider.

Research finds that the proportion of women in higher ranks of an organization serves as a significant constraint on gender inequity (e.g., Cohen, Broschak, & Haveman, 1998; Ely, 1994; Huffman, Cohen, & Pearlman, 2010). Women's representation in executive positions drives positive outcomes for junior women (Ely, 1994; 1995); senior women also pave the way for greater access to organizational power structures for other women (Huffman et al., 2010; Hultin & Szulkin, 2003). The demographic composition of managerial levels also has been found to

reduce the gap in salary and in objective performance outcomes between men and women (Joshi, Liao, & Jackson, 2006). The key logic underlying these findings is that the presence of women in positions of power in organization has symbolic value – that is, it signals greater status attainment among women. The presence of women at higher levels also provides more junior women access to career related advice and mentoring (Ely, 1994; 1995). Finally, the presence of women at higher levels might also imply greater scrutiny of wage setting, bonus allocation and performance evaluation practices within organizations (Joshi et al., 2006; Huffman et al., 2010).

Although this research is focused at the organizational level, the growing role and visibility of industry-level professional women's networks (e.g., Women on Wall Street, National Council for Women in Information Technology) suggests that these arguments will also hold across firms within specific industry categories. These industry-wide network groups often organize conferences and workshops meant expose women to visible symbols of success in the industry and to develop personal strategies to achieve career success. Thus, the proportion of women in an industry can serve as a cultural context shaping status cues and role expectations associated with gender. Moreover, within a specific industry category (consider healthcare versus automobile retailing) competitive, mimetic, or normative pressures to adopt more equitable employment practices will likely lead to greater representation of women at higher levels across firms (Dobbin, 2009; Stainback et al., 2010). These attributes of the context should also facilitate equitable employment outcomes for men and women. Based on these arguments, we propose the following:

Hypothesis 3a: The proportion of women at the executive and senior managerial levels within a specific industry negatively predicts gender differences in task performance.

Hypothesis 3b: The proportion of women at the executive and senior managerial levels within a specific industry negatively predicts gender differences in organizational rewards.

Job-level Effects on Gender Differences in Performance and Rewards

We posit that the job context encompasses a number of mechanisms by which male-female differences in employment outcomes manifest in organizations. For instance, the structure of jobs drives how incumbents relate to each other and compare their employment circumstances. The structure of jobs also drives the definition and weighting of criteria for evaluating and rewarding incumbents (Lansberg, 1989). We focus on job complexity, that is extent to which jobs involve a high level of problem solving skills, discretion, and autonomy, as an important facet of the job context (Auster, 1999).

Research suggests that in complex job settings, the cognitive demands placed on supervisors when evaluating performance and rewarding employees are fairly high; in these contexts, cognitive biases and stereotyping are more likely to play a role in supervisory performance evaluations and reward allocation (Auster, 1989; Fiske et al., 1991). In addition, discrimination and bias in evaluation is more likely to occur when information about evaluating a job cannot be easily collected and documented (Heilman, 1995; Nieva & Gutek, 1980; Pheterson, Kiesler, & Goldberg, 1971). Some researchers note that employers may be more likely to behave stereotypically when there is limited, deniable, and ambiguous information regarding an individual's performance (Dovidio, Brown, Heltman, Ellyson, & Keating, 1988; Gerdes & Garber, 1983; Mobley, 1982; Wentworth & Anderson, 1984). Complex jobs represent such settings. For instance, Mobley (1982) studied the performance appraisals of non-management

employees in a large supply organization and found that evaluations of females in non-professional and non-managerial jobs are less likely to be affected by systematic gender bias due to the lower complexity of non-managerial jobs.

Although the ambiguity or subjectivity of job performance criteria and the related propensity to stereotype against women is one important mechanism by which job complexity might enhance gender differences in performance evaluations, quantitative and narrative reviews suggest that ambiguous and subjective performance evaluation criteria alone do not always disadvantage women (Bartol, 1999; Roth, Purvis, & Bobko, 2000). Therefore, we posit that the ambiguity or subjectivity of the evaluation criteria may not be the only mechanism by which gender differences in task performance emerge in complex jobs. Rather the complexity of the job context may shape less obvious forms of gender bias that lead to systematic gender differences in task performance *and* rewards. For instance, complex jobs often involve more varying and demanding work schedules as well as expectations that employees will put in 'face time' after working hours. It is possible that although women are not necessarily disadvantaged in terms of performing core tasks of the job, other intangible requirements of complex jobs might not work in their favor (Cleveland et al., 2005). Moreover, complex jobs are also jobs with higher status and span of control in organizations (e.g., managerial and executive positions). Following the role congruence perspective outlined earlier (e.g., Eagly et al., 2002), it is also likely that women in these jobs are considered atypical and face reward penalties.

Finally, job complexity is also associated with greater role autonomy, discretion and idiosyncratic bargaining by incumbents leading to an additional mechanism by which job complexity drives gender inequity – the opportunity for incumbents to compare objective

employment conditions (Baron & Pfeffer, 1994). In complex jobs because specific roles and terms and conditions of employment are less generalizable across incumbents, individuals are less likely to detect or report unequal treatment (Lansberg, 1989). Together these perspectives suggest that job complexity is an important embedding context governing reward allocation and evaluative decisions in organizations. Therefore, we propose:

Hypothesis 4a: Job complexity positively predicts gender differences in task performance.

Hypothesis 4b: Job complexity positively predicts gender differences in organizational rewards.

Performance Differences as Explanations for Reward Differences Between Men and Women

Although we have argued that gender differences in rewards and performance are primarily a function of "where" and "what" work is being performed, we also acknowledge that gender-based differences in performance may explain gender differences in organizational rewards. In field settings, studies that have accounted for performance differences in explaining reward differences are rare. Past research has shown that women receive fewer rewards in organizations even after accounting for attributes that might underlie performance differences such as educational level and labor market experience (Lyness & Thompson, 1997; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Stroh, Brett, & Reilly, 1992).

More recently, some researchers have directly accounted for performance differences as explanations for reward differences among men and women. In the context of sales employees working for a single firm, Joshi and colleagues (2006) found that objective sales performance

(i.e., sales targets achieved) partially mediated the effects of gender on annual salary after accounting for the gender composition of the work unit (Joshi et al., 2006). In a more recent longitudinal analysis of personnel practices in an organization in the service industry, Castilla (2012) reported that gender and race differences in salary increases persisted after controlling for performance evaluations received by employees (see also Elvira & Town, 2001). In fact, researchers have found that reward systems that are tied to performance evaluations tend to exacerbate (rather than explain) inequity based on demographic attributes (Castilla, 2012; Castilla & Benard, 2010). Contrary to these findings, however, across employment settings, Blau and Devarro (2007) found that after controlling for performance differences, gender did *not* predict wage growth. In order to empirically examine whether these performance differences explain gender inequity in organizations across multiple job contexts and to resolve discrepancies in prior findings, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 5: Differences in performance mediate the effects of gender on rewards.

Bundles of Contextual Factors Associated with Gender Differences in Performance and Rewards

So far based on extant research we have proposed the independent effect of each occupational, industry, and job-level variables on performance and reward differences between men and women. Based on past research, it is not clear whether two or more of these contextual attributes might operate together to explain gender differences in work-related outcomes. In order to develop a unified framework, it may also be worthwhile to consider whether these various attributes jointly influence gender differences in employment outcomes. For example, do gender balanced occupation *and* industries with a high proportion of female executive operate

jointly to enable women to close the gender gap in organizational rewards? Do occupational prestige and job complexity jointly explain gender differences in performance and rewards? In order to examine whether bundles of industry, occupational, and job level context combine or complement each other to yield gender differences in performance/rewards, we also conducted an exploratory qualitative comparative analysis described below.

METHODS

Literature Search

Computerized database searches of PsycINFO, JSTOR, EBSCO, and ProQuest were used to generate a pool of potential articles. To identify all of the articles that investigated gender and our outcomes of interest, we used combinations of following search terms: *gender (sex, male/female) difference* in *task, job, in-role performance,* or reward outcomes such as *pay, promotion, salary, wages, rewards,* or *bonus*. We manually searched major management journals in the field (Gomez-Meija & Balkin, 1992) as well as disciplinary journals that focus on organizational research to supplement the electronic search (e.g., *American Journal of Sociology*, *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*). To find unpublished sources such as dissertations and convention presentations, we searched the Dissertation Abstracts International and the programs of the annual meetings of the Academy of Management and the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology. Researchers in related areas were also contacted to obtain current and unpublished studies that might fit our criteria for inclusion.

Several inclusion criteria were used to select studies in the meta-analysis. First, we included studies that examined individual-level gender differences in performance and rewards.

To calculate the standardized mean difference (*d*) between male and female groups, a study had to report the mean, standard deviation, and sample size for each group (male and female). If no such information was available, an appropriate statistic such as zero-order correlation, *t*, or *F* had to be provided to allow the computation of the standardized mean difference using formulas detailed by Lipsey and Wilson (2001). We also included studies that considered gender as a control variable as long as they reported relevant information with respect to performance and rewards (e.g., correlations) and transformed into the standardized mean difference. Because our study examined the moderating effects of occupation, industry, and job-level context on gender inequity, we focused primarily on studies that were conducted in field settings (i.e., employees within organizations) where the effects of these variables were likely to manifest in the relationship between gender and performance and rewards. We did not include studies that relied on student samples, used experimental designs, or involved tasks in artificial environments (e.g., simulations) in our dataset. Using all of the processes described above, the final sample set of our analyses yielded a total of 190 effect sizes and 474,732 individuals from 142 studies (73 for task performance and 69 for organizational rewards) conducted between 1985 and 2013[1]. This time period covers almost thirty years of research on the topic of gender differences in performance and rewards in the management domain and also represents the era following the Civil Rights legislation and the feminist movement during which time women have made substantial gains in education but still faced challenges with respect to gender parity in the workplace (Blau & Kahn, 2007; Reskin, 2003). From a practical standpoint, the reporting of correlations and other descriptive statistics was sparse in the research prior to the 1980s.

[1] A brief summary of studies included in the analysis is available from the first author upon request.

Coding and Variables

All studies included in the sample were thoroughly examined and coded based on a coding protocol (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). We collected relevant information regarding effect size (*d*), moderators (occupation titles, industry, job titles), and control variables from sample studies. We also collected data from secondary sources for our moderating variables (see below for more explanation). Given that we used objective data for all of the variables included in the analyses, subjectivity or inter-coder unreliability was not a concern; however we also crosschecked our coding with all of the coders several times throughout the coding process.

Task performance. Measures of task performance indicated a rater (supervisor or peer)'s evaluation of an employee's overall effectiveness and performance in fulfilling his or her everyday roles and responsibilities (e.g., Wayne & Liden, 1995; Williams & Anderson, 1991). We focused on job, task, or in-role performance (Borman & Motowidlo, 1997) and excluded studies that measured other dimensions such as contextual performance, citizenship behavior, or creative performance. When multiple measures of task performance were available from a single study, we calculated a composite effect size by averaging all effect size information. We also coded the reliabilities of the measurement instruments whenever available. When the reliabilities were not reported, we used the average reliability of the same variable from all of the other studies in our data set. The average reliability of the performance measure was .89.

Organizational rewards. Consistent with the conceptualization of tangible or actual rewards in the previous meta-analyses on this topic (Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005; Podsakoff, Whiting, Podsakoff, & Blume, 2009), in our study we defined organizational rewards as extrinsic forms of reinforcement offered by an organization (Byron & Khazanchi, 2012).

Specific measures included salary level and increases, bonuses and incentive payment, and number of promotions. All of the studies in our data set provided objective organizational rewards measures.

Occupational gender composition. To obtain data about the occupational gender composition, we referred to the Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS], 2012). We first coded relevant information (occupations involved in the samples) based on sample descriptions of primary studies; then we obtained the occupational gender composition data from the BLS data set and assigned this information to the occupations included in the studies as close to the year in which the primary study was conducted. For studies that included multiple occupations, we found gender composition data for each occupation category from the BLS and then calculated a composite value by averaging information on all participating occupations. However, studies that involved multiple occupations with differently distributed gender compositions (e.g., accounting, engineering, and production occupations in the same sample) or were unclear about the samples were excluded from the analysis (N = 38). Same coding rules were applied to coding other moderator variables. Among the studies included in our analysis (N = 104), the percentage of males in various occupations ranged from 12% (bank tellers) and to 88% (automotive dealers) and 97% (firefighters), with an average of 61%.

Occupational prestige. Occupational prestige refers to the consensual rating of an occupational category with respect to its worthiness based on several socio-economic factors such as income and education levels of incumbents (Hauser & Warren, 1997). The prestige of an occupation may be related but also operates independently from the gender composition of the

occupation in predicting income differences based on gender (England, 1979; England & McLaughlin, 1979; Siegel, 1971). Indeed, some highly prestigious occupations such as dentist or psychologist are fairly gender balanced whereas others such as astronaut or physician tend to be male-dominated. Occupational prestige hierarchies are not only extremely stable across time but there is widespread consensus within societies regarding which occupations are more or less prestigious (Hodge et al., 1964). To code and obtain information for occupational prestige, we relied on the Nakao-Treas Socioeconomic Index (Nakao & Treas, 1994), which is based on a nation-wide survey done by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). It provides prestige scores of a wide range of more than 500 occupation titles ranked on a scale of 1 to 100. Specifically, it uses socioeconomic indices such as occupational education and income levels that are standardized for full-time incumbents' age distributions. Then the prestige scores are calculated based on age-weighted average of education and income levels for each occupation. We first coded occupation titles based on the sample descriptions in primary studies and then assigned the corresponding occupational prestige score from the index. The mean of the Nakao–Treas prestige scores in our sample was 53.2, equivalent to a middle class occupational prestige level. Examples of less prestigious occupations in our sample were seasonal sales clerks and warehouse workers with scores of 27.7 and 22.1, respectively. Examples of the most prestigious occupations in our sample were executives and primary care physicians with scores of 64.2 and 71.79, respectively.

Proportion of women at executive/senior manager levels within industry. To code this industry-level context variable, we consulted the upper-level (executives and senior managers) female representation data for each industry available at the U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) survey (*Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private*

Industry Survey; EEOC, 1997-2012). Drawing on detailed information on the EEOC survey, which was based on the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) two digit industry code, we obtained data about the female representation in upper-level positions for the industries identified and included in the sample. Once again we obtained data as close to the timing of the primary studies as possible. Examples of industries with fewer high-ranked women were utility (13%) and manufacturing (18%); on the other hand, the healthcare industry employed about 54% of upper-level female managers which was the highest female representation at executive levels in the sample. Overall, between 1997-2012, we noted very small (< 1%) changes in upper-level female representation in the industries in our sample.

Job complexity. Job complexity score was obtained using scores available at the Occupational Network (O*Net) database, a source that contains information on standardized and job-specific descriptions of the work activities, content, characteristics, and skills required for 975 job titles. Based on operationalizations in past research (Auster, 1999; Campbell, 1988), job complexity was assessed with the O*Net skill variable labeled "complex problem solving", which indicates the abilities needed to solve novel, ill-defined problems in complex, real-world settings and is typically higher for jobs that are characterized by greater discretion and autonomy. The O*Net values for complex problem solving skill ranged from 0 to 100, with higher scores indicating the skill's greater importance to the job. Our sample includes relatively less challenging and more routine jobs such as clerical workers (38) and bank tellers (47) as well as highly complex jobs such as senior scientists/engineers and top executives with scores of 85 and 88 respectively. Sixty-five studies were included in the analysis involving job complexity as a moderator.

Control variables. We also coded several control variables (study and sample characteristics) to enhance the robustness of the analyses. First, we used a dummy variable capturing whether the effect sizes were obtained from studies with longitudinal (coded as 1) or cross-sectional (coded as 0) designs. Publication status was also dummy coded (1 = published). To take into account a potential time effect, we coded the publication year of each primary study which particular effect sizes were derived from (Carney, Gedajlovic, Van Essen, & Van Oosterhout, 2011). We also coded individual tenure information from each study (the average number of years individuals spent in the organization) because tenure often serves as a proxy for human capital of employees included in the sample (e.g., Dipboye & Colella, 2005).

Meta-Analytic Procedures

We employed several types of analytical approaches to the meta-analysis. First, to examine gender differences in performance and rewards, we calculated effect size *d,* the standardized mean difference between female and male groups on continuous measures of task performance and organizational rewards using procedures suggested by Hedge and Olkin (1985). Measurement unreliability was corrected for subjective task performance ratings (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). Ninety-five percent confidence intervals were calculated to judge the statistical significance of the effect sizes (Whitener, 1990). To test the homogeneous distribution of the effect sizes (detecting possibilities of potential moderators), we also calculated the *Q*-statistics (Hedge & Olkin, 1985).

Testing for potential publication bias. To address potential publication bias issue, we generated contoured-enhanced funnel plots (Aguinis, Pierce, Bosco, Dalton, & Dalton, 2011; Kepes, Banks, McDaniel, & Whetzel, 2012). The funnel plots are scatterplots where the effect

sizes estimated from primary studies are displayed on the X axis and inverse of a sample's standard error (i.e., precision) along the Y axis (Kepes et al., 2012). Since the precision depicted on the Y axis increases as sample size increases, in the absence of publication bias, studies with larger (i.e., more precise) sample size are scattered toward the top, whereas studies with small sample size thus less precise are scattered widely toward the bottom of the funnel plot. If sampling error is not the only reason for variance in the sample distribution and studies with insignificant results are omitted (i.e., the presence of publication bias), it may lead to asymmetrical funnel plots (Kepes et al., 2012); on the contrary, if the funnel plot is symmetrical, we may conclude that there is no publication bias.

Moderator analysis. To test our moderating hypotheses (Hypotheses 1-4), we conducted random-effects meta-analytic regression analysis, which is a series of weighted least squares (WLS) regressions investigating the relationship between moderators (continuous measures) as independent variables and the effect estimate as the outcome variable (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). In random-effects meta-regressions, effect sizes are weighted by the differences in precision (inverse variance weights) (Hedge & Olkin, 1985); it also allows us to take into account for the residual heterogeneity not modelled by the moderators but due to unmeasured between-study differences (Higgins & Green, 2011; Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). We tested the effects of each of our four moderators with control variables in separate models. Although meta-analytic regression allows us to test the effect of multiple factors (i.e., all moderators) at the same time in a full regression equation, it is suggested that this is not often possible due to insufficient numbers of studies (Thompson & Higgins, 2002).

Monte Carlo simulations for testing robustness of estimates. To check the robustness of our regression findings, we further conducted a permutation test based on Monte Carlo simulations (Higgins & Thompson, 2004). In meta-regressions, due to relatively small sample sizes especially when multiple covariates are considered, there is an increased chance of at least one false-positive finding (type-I error) (Harbord & Higgins, 2008). In permutation tests, the covariates are randomly allocated to the outcomes many times (1,000 runs in our analyses) and a *t*-statistic is calculated each time. The true *p*-value for the relationship between a given covariate and the outcome is computed by counting the number of times these *t*-statistics are greater than or equal to the observed *t*-statistic. Thus, the adjusted *p*-value from a permutation test can be interpreted as the degree of surprise one might have about the observed result for this variable (i.e., moderator), considering that all other variables are being examined (Higgins & Thompson, 2004).

Mediation test. To test whether gender differences in rewards are mediated by performance differences (Hypothesis 5), we conducted a semi-partial correlation test based on the meta-analytic estimates calculated about X→Z, X→Y, and Z→Y (where X is gender, Z is task performance, and Y is organizational rewards; for a similar approach see Gajendran & Harrison, 2007). We first transformed our *d* (standardized mean difference) to *r* (correlation) using the equation provided by Lipsey and Wilson (2001). After controlling for the effect of task performance, we calculated a semi-partial correlation between gender and rewards using the harmonic mean as the sample size for the meta-analytic correlation (Viswesvaran & Ones, 1995). We used semi-partial correlations instead of partial correlations because the former provide a correlation such that performance (Z) is partialled out of gender (X) alone, whereas a partial correlation coefficient has performance (Z) partialled out of both rewards (Y) and gender (X)

(Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Liao, 2004). Given that we were interested in the change in X→Y after partialling out X→Z, not Z→Y, the semi-partial correlation could give us a more precise statistic for testing mediation by not holding performance constant for rewards.

Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) to identify bundles of contextual factors. We applied a crisp set version of the qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) (Ragin, 2000; 2008) that has received growing attention in management research and is ideal for identifying how multiple moderating variables can jointly influence a phenomenon of interest (see Fiss, 2007, 2011; Greckhamer, Misangyi, Elms, & Lacey, 2008). QCA is based on the assumption that the causes of organizational phenomena can be unpacked based on the presence of multiple causal attributes simultaneously. QCA relies on the principles of Boolean algebra and utilizes binary data and combinatorial logic to identify the causally relevant conditions that explain a focal phenomenon (Ragin, 2008). Rather than indicating how any given independent variable explains unique variance in an outcome, QCA identifies which specific set of causal attributes are common across all cases of an outcome. For example, the analysis could identify the combinations of occupational, industry, or job attributes that occur across cases of high levels of gender differences in rewards/performance (Greckhamer et al., 2008). We applied QCA in this study as an exploratory approach to identifying whether multiple attributes are associated with cases of high levels of gender differences in rewards/performance in the data.

A crisp set QCA is inherently dichotomous and evaluates each case in the data based on either membership or non-membership in a set (see Greckhamer et al., 2008 for details). In order to conduct this analysis, as a first step, we established breakpoints for each variable based on the distribution of the data. Cutoffs were set at median values of each of the four moderating

variables. Using the distribution of data across the two outcomes of interest as well, we set cutoff points to denote the presence or absence of a condition. For example, the average gender difference in rewards, $d = .60$, was used to set a cutoff for high gender differences in rewards. For performance differences, cases of positive '*d*'s were coded as the set of cases in which 'men outperformed women'. Each occupational, industry, and job attribute was also similarly categorized as 1, meaning the presence of a specific condition or 0 meaning non-members of this set. Once the data were organized based on this dichotomy, the second phase of the QCA approach involved the creation of truth tables that reported all of the logically possible combinations (2^n) of these causal attributes. In the current study given that there are four causal attributes (i.e., independent variables) to consider, there would be 2^4 logical configurations possible. However, not all configurations were populated with cases, so the next step in the analysis involved refining the truth table based on cutoffs for consistency and number of cases per configuration. In the current analyses, configurations that yielded at least three cases with more than a 1.00 consistency within the configuration were included in the final analysis. A causal condition was considered to always sufficient for an outcome to be present if it passed the benchmark of 1.00 in terms of the consistency of the cases represented by that condition (Ragin, 2000).

RESULTS

Gender Differences in Performance and Organizational Rewards

Using the meta-analytic techniques described above, we first tested gender differences in task performance and organizational rewards. Table 1 presents the results. For task performance, the mean effect size corrected for unreliability was positive (i.e., men outperformed women) but

the confidence interval included zero (d = .04, k = 93, 95% CI = -.12 to .20), indicating that there was no significant gender differences in task performance evaluations. For organizational rewards, results indicated that men received more pay and promotions than women and this pattern was statistically significant (d =.56, k = 97, 95% CI = .45 to .65). The mean gender difference in rewards was fourteen times larger than the mean gender difference in task performance. Table 1 also shows that there is considerable heterogeneity among the effect sizes as indicated by the Q statistic. The Q values for both performance and reward outcome measures were highly significant (ps < .01), indicating that the effect sizes vary across the studies and that potential moderators might exist.

To check potential publication bias in our results, we also plotted contoured-enhanced funnel plots for both performance and reward outcomes. In the plot, the white area is where statistically insignificant effect sizes are located. The darkest and thinnest area is where marginally significant effect sizes lie (.05 < p < .10). The thin and dark grey shaded area and the large light grey shaded areas are where statistically significant effect sizes are found (Kepes et al., 2012). For performance, the plot is symmetrical (see Figure 1); also the dots, which represent studies included in the analysis, are evenly distributed across shadowed area (i.e., regions of statistical significance) as well as white area (i.e., area of non-significance). For rewards (see Figure 2), the dots are also allocated across regions of statistical significance as well as regions of non-significance. Further, potentially "missing" studies are more likely to be located on the bottom left-hand-side of the plot which is the region representing statistical significance but lower sample sizes/higher standard errors (note that there are almost no dots in that area). However, studies reporting close to zero or non-significant gender differences in rewards are

well represented in our sample suggesting that there is no apparent publication bias for the gender-performance/rewards analyses.

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Tables 1-3 and Figures 1-2 about here

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Moderator Analysis: Meta-analytic Regressions

Table 2 summarizes results from a series of meta-analytic regressions for performance (models 1-4) and reward differences (models 5-8). Overall we found general support for the hypotheses. Hypotheses 1a and 1b predicted that gender differences in performance and rewards would increase as the proportion of men in an occupational category increased. In support for the hypotheses, we found significant positive relationships between the proportion of men in an occupation and performance differences (model 1: $b = 1.62$, $p < .01$) as well as reward differences (model 5: $b = 3.10$, $p < .01$) between men and women. Both regression models are statistically significant (ps $< .01$) and adjusted R^2 also indicated that more than 20% of between-study variance can be explained by the influence of occupational male composition and other control variables. Our second set of hypotheses (H2a and 2b) predicted that gender differences in performance and rewards would increase as the prestige level of the occupational context increases. Models 2 and 6 present the regression results testing these hypotheses. Contrary to our expectations, we did not find a significant relationship between occupational prestige and gender differences in task performance (model 2: $b = .01$, $p > .10$); however, gender differences in organizational rewards increased with occupational prestige (model 6: $b = .05$, $p < .01$), rendering support for Hypothesis 2b.

Hypotheses 3a and 3b predicted that gender differences in performance and rewards would be smaller in industries with a higher representation of women at the executive and senior managerial levels. Models 3 and 7 in Table 2 represent these findings. Providing strong support for our hypotheses, results revealed that there are significant negative relationships between the representation of women at higher levels within industry with performance differences (model 3: b = -2.80, p < .01) as well as reward differences (model 7: b = -3.34, p < .01). Both regression models are significant (ps < .01, adjusted R^2 = .18 and .23 for models 3 and 7 respectively). As hypothesized we found that job complexity had a positive effect on gender differences in performance and rewards (Hypotheses 4a and 4b). Findings indicated that men received higher performance evaluations as job complexity increased (model 4: b = .02, p < .01). The relationship between job complexity and reward differences between men and women also reveals a similar pattern (model 8: b = .05, p < .01). Both regression models are also statistically significant (ps < .01, adjusted R^2 = .17 and .23 for models 4 and 8 respectively).

Results of Monte Carlo simulations. Based on Monte Carlo simulations we conducted permutation tests to ascertain the robustness of the results described above. After 1,000 random runs based on Monte Carlo simulations, adjusted p-values for all significant moderators remain significant (p < . 05 for industry upper-level female composition with performance differences; ps < .01 for all others) after accounting for multiplicity (multiple testing), indicating the robustness or low probability of type-I error in our findings. For example, the adjusted p-value of .008 for occupational prestige with reward differences (more conservative than p = .003 in model 6) indicates a lower than 1% probability of false positive error; the adjusted p-value for industry upper-level female composition with performance differences increases from .006 to .024 after 1,000 random runs but it still remains significant (p <.05).

Mediation Test: Semi-partial Correlation

To test whether gender differences in performance mediate gender-based differences in rewards (Hypothesis 5), we conducted a semi-partial correlation test. Table 3 reports a semi-partial correlation between gender and organizational rewards after controlling for gender differences in task performance. Results indicated that gender differences in task performance did not appear to mediate the effect of gender on organizational rewards when comparing the semi-partial correlation (r =.27, p < .01) with the original correlation (r = .27, p < .01). Gender differences in rewards remained significant after partialling out the effects of performance.

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Table 4 about here

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Results for Qualitative Comparative Analysis

Tables 4 presents the findings based on a crisp set QCA. The configurations are based on conventions developed in recent research in this area (see Fiss, 2011; Greckhamer et al., 2008) and represent the parsimonious and intermediate solutions provided by the algorithm. Central contextual attributes found in both the parsimonious and intermediate solutions are represented by if present and if absent. Peripheral attributes found only in the intermediate solution are represented by if present and if absent. Each solution is associated with multiple configurations of attributes and 'coverage' of each configuration shows the proportion of cases that display that particular configuration of attributes. Unique coverage is the proportion of cases that display only that particular configuration. In addition, the analysis also provides the overall

consistency and coverage for all of the configurations in a particular solution. As Table 4 shows, two configurations (Configurations 1 and 2) are sufficient for men outperforming women. Across both configurations, we note that the presence of job complexity is sufficient for men outperforming women. Across the two conditions, it also appears that the absence of women at executive levels and absence of gender balance in the occupation operate as *substitutes* of one another – that is, the absence of one of the two attributes, is sufficient for men outperforming women. One configuration (Configuration 3) was associated with high levels of reward differences between men and women. Other configurations did not meet the bar for consistency and number of cases per configuration. High levels of job complexity and absence of women in executive positions were central and sufficient conditions while high occupational prestige was a peripheral condition associated with high levels of reward differences based on gender. Across both outcomes it appears that job complexity and the proportion of women at upper levels in the industry emerged as a common bundle of contextual factors associated with high levels of gender differences in rewards and performance.

DISCUSSION

Nearly five decades after the passage of the Civil Rights Act, gender inequity in the workplace remains a focal concern for academics and for policy makers. Although gender differences in employment outcomes are widely prevalent, a close examination of the research evidence on gender differences in performance/rewards in the management domain indicates that these effects vary considerably across work contexts. We propose that these variations offer fruitful avenues to build an actionable theory of gender inequity in organizations. Across occupations ranging from bank tellers to accountants, industries ranging from information

technology to healthcare, and jobs ranging from mundane to challenging, we were able to identify the conditions under which the magnitude of differences in the rewards and performance of men and women varied. By identifying these conditions, we hope to inform future primary studies on the reward allocation and performance evaluation mechanisms that shape gender differences in employment outcomes within specific work contexts.

Overall, our results indicate that the effects of gender on reward-based outcomes were far larger in magnitude than on task performance. Across all research settings, the effects of gender on reward-based outcomes (including salary, bonuses, and promotions) were almost fourteen times larger than gender differences in task performance. Moreover, performance differences did not explain reward differences between men and women. The percentage of men in an occupation and the complexity of jobs performed enhanced the male-female gap in performance and rewards. Occupational prestige increased the rewards gap but did not have a significant effect on performance differences between men and women. In industries with a higher proportion of female executives, women reversed the gender gap in performance and rewards.

Theoretical Implications: Identifying Pathways to Gender Inequity in Organizations

Our meta-analysis provides broad insights into the extent to which reward and performance differences vary based on various macro-level attributes of the work context and we theorize below how future primary studies can further unpack pathways through which these contextual factors shape the allocation of rewards and the evaluation of performance among men and women.

A noteworthy macro-micro linkage in our findings is represented by the effects of fairly distal occupational attributes – demographic composition and prestige - on individual-level gender differences in task performance and rewards. Management researchers have often examined the effects of proximal work group gender composition on individual level work outcomes such as satisfaction, performance, or intention to turnover (e.g., Riordan, 2000). In general, these findings have been equivocal and have not provided a clear picture of how work group demographic composition translates into important work outcomes. At the macro end of the spectrum, research in economics (e.g., Blau & Kahn, 1981) and in sociology (e.g., Tomaskovic-Devey & Skaggs, 1999) has viewed the segregation of women into low-paying occupations as a primary explanation for the overall gender gap in wages and earnings. But this research also cannot fully explain why women's entry into prestigious occupations and higher educational attainment since the early 1980s has not translated into gender parity in wages and earnings (Budig, 2002; Gatta & Roos, 2005). Delving into the intersections between these varied research streams highlights additional explanations for the barriers women continue to face at work.

Our findings suggest that women's experiences at work may be a function of the overall cultural context driven by the composition of the occupations they inhabit rather than the proximal work group composition. For example, in male-dominated occupations such as off-shore drilling or fire-fighting, overall cultural norms are likely to favor men and status is likely to be confounded with gender. These cultural norms and status cues can have a powerful influence on interactions between men and women regardless of gender composition of the proximal work group. Women's entry and skill attainment in these occupational domains is also unlikely to offset the overall wage gap because the cultural context of these occupations may not allow

women to translate human capital gains into greater rewards at work. Therefore, future research should focus on specific occupational contexts to further explicate the mechanisms by which gender differences translate into significant work outcomes. Specifically, interactional patterns with peers and supervisors and the linkage of these interactions to performance evaluations and reward allocation need closer examination. The socio-psychological perspectives we reviewed point out that the extent to which women's skills are recognized and utilized by their peers and supervisors can be particularly consequential for further career advancement opportunities (Eagly et al., 1992; Ridgeway, 1991). Given that an increasing number of organizations are adopting 'high involvement' performance management systems that rely on peer-peer evaluations (360 degree feedback systems) and are also tied to reward allocation (e.g., bonuses or promotions), interpersonal evaluations driving these practices need to be unpacked further. Indeed, scholars have noted that these 'strategic' or 'high involvement' performance management and compensation practices serve to enhance rather than reduce gender inequity in organizations (e.g., Cappelli, 1999; Castilla, 2012). We also join these researchers in calling for more research into the role that practices that rely on subjective peer appraisals and tie performance appraisals to reward allocation play in driving gender differences in performance/rewards in traditionally male-dominated versus relatively gender integrated settings.

A particularly striking pattern in our findings is that in highly prestigious occupations, women did not perform at lower levels than men and yet men were rewarded significantly higher than women. We propose that in these settings, it is particularly important to disentangle reward allocation decisions from performance evaluation decisions. In prestigious settings, psychological mechanisms driving decision-making among occupational gatekeepers (i.e., individuals who control access and advancement) can reinforce negative consequences for

women (Oritz & Roscigno, 2009). Occupational gatekeepers may be predisposed to maintaining social hierarchies that support male dominance in these settings (Sidanius & Pratto, 2003). Therefore, we propose that future research examine decision-making by occupational gate-keepers in response to high performing female employees. Indeed, professions such as academia and law offer particularly interesting avenues for further inquiry. In these high prestige settings, performance criteria tend to be objective (client billing hours or research productivity), yet reward allocation decision-making is highly subjective, opaque, adversarial, and involves high stakes (consider that many such settings have up-or-out promotion norms). We surmise that this discrepancy in the nature of performance evaluations and reward allocation related decision-making in prestigious contexts may be an important theme for future research to unpack further.

Findings with regard to job complexity and percentage of women at higher levels provide additional avenues for future research. These two factors emerged as a 'bundle' of contextual attributes associated with high levels of performance and reward differences between men and women. It appears that common mechanisms may explain the joint effects of these variables on gender differences in rewards and performance. Both factors relate to the extent to which evaluative and reward criteria are amenable to scrutiny by employees and employee groups. We proposed that job complexity can enhance gender differences in rewards and performance because complex jobs often entail ambiguous performance criteria and idiosyncratic roles that make these jobs less open to public scrutiny. Past research shows that contexts that have a higher propensity for scrutiny from employee groups or external regulatory bodies are also more likely to be equitable (Hirsh & Konrich, 2008). We propose that future research examine whether the level of job complexity shapes social comparisons and scrutiny among incumbents to predict gender differences in employment outcomes.

Our findings with respect to the proportion of female executives in specific industry categories further highlights the importance of scrutiny and monitoring for gender differences in performance/rewards. We found that women were rewarded at higher levels than men and received higher performance evaluations in only one setting: industries with a high proportion of female executives. We argued that the industry environment, specifically, the proportion of female executives, reflects institutional pressures driving the diffusion of egalitarian practices that also support greater monitoring of wage setting and performance related practices within firms (Dobbin, 2009). We propose that future research focus on the effects of industry level representation of women on board of directors and higher level executive positions on gender differences in promotion and turnover rates within firms. Another mechanism that explains the effects of the proportion of female executives on male-female differences in performance/rewards is the access to social capital that women receive in these industries. While past research has primarily focused on women's exclusion from social networks within organizations (e.g., Ibarra, 1992), we propose that future studies also examine whether extra-organizational networks can facilitate women's advancement in specific industry settings.

Strengths and Limitations

Our research question focused on identifying how multiple occupational, industry, and job level contextual factors influence the effects of gender on task performance and organizational rewards including pay and promotions. We applied a meta-analytic approach to answer this question because no single primary study could provide an understanding of how individual-level gender differences are shaped by variations in the workplace context. Our approach provides a comprehensive overview of the effects of gender on employment outcomes

during an approximately thirty-year period and presents unique insights into the effects of various contextual factors on gender-based outcomes.

Despite these strengths, our meta-analytic approach has several limitations. First, although the overall sample size was fairly large, the moderator analyses involved relatively small samples. Thus, we could not test an overall model of the effects of various contextual factors on gender differences in rewards and performance. Second, we were also limited in testing the influence of other potentially important contextual variables on gender-based inequity in work outcomes. For example, organization-level variables such as culture, business strategy, or overall human resources management (HRM) policies have an important influence on gender-based differences in performance and rewards as they can shape employees' gender-based perceptions and the discretionary behaviors of managers (see Gelfand, Raver, Nishii & Schneider, 2005, for a review).

Moreover, new structuralist perspectives in sociology have examined specific organizational features such as the formalization of procedures (e.g., Elvira & Graham, 2002), implementation of merit-based pay plans (Castilla, 2012), and restructuring (Dencker, 2008) in relation to reward differences between men and women. These studies, unlike ours, focus on single organizational contexts, and provide more granular insights into mechanisms governing gender inequity. We could not incorporate these variables in the present model due to the lack of consistent information across the primary studies. Certainly one avenue for future research may be to examine the effects of organizational practices and other attributes within a broader context such as in highly prestigious occupational settings or in specific industry contexts.

An important limitation of our study is that given our meta-analytic approach we were also unable to include fine grained human capital controls such as labor market experience or educational level of the sample. Although we find that gender differences in rewards persisted even after accounting for performance differences and we controlled for the overall tenure of the sample, this is a critical gap. We note that the duration of studies included in our meta-analysis involves a period in which women have more than closed the gap in education and skills attainment. Therefore, we hope that our findings provide additional explanations for continued gender inequity in the workplace. Finally, future research may extend the argument developed here to other types of work outcomes, for example, contextual performance, creativity, or withdrawal behaviors such as turnover. We could not include those variables in the current study due to data limitations as well as theoretical parsimony.

Implications for Diversity Management

Despite the growing adoption of diversity management practices, research has found that many of these practices (such as mentoring, network groups, or diversity training) have no direct benefits for enhancing access for underrepresented demographic groups within firms and in fact that some diversity management practices are even detrimental for the advancement of underrepresented groups (Kalev et al. 2006). Our findings offer some practical insights that might mitigate gender-based inequity issues across various work settings and also help tailor diversity management practices to the specific attributes of the workplace context. We propose that diversity management practices focus on three issues broadly –integrating accountability structures into performance management and compensation practices, designing jobs to promote

greater interdependence among incumbents, and implementing industry-wide mentoring programs for women.

It appears that the potential for scrutinizing performance management and reward allocation processes is one mechanism by which various contextual factors may influence gender differences in rewards/performance. We propose that accountability structures be built into performance management and reward allocation processes to formalize the scrutiny of these practices particularly in contexts that are more susceptible to gender inequity. Research shows that the presence of compliance or affirmative action officers has positive effects on the hiring and promotion of women minorities in organizations (e.g., Edelman, 1992). We propose that these findings be extended to other practices as well. Although it may not be possible to make evaluative or compensation-related decision-making fully transparent to employees in many work settings, the presence of neutral third-party observers or advisors can introduce checks and balances to avoid any systematic differences based on gender. For example, in many organizations managers hold 'calibration meetings' to allocate performance ratings to all their direct reports and allocate bonuses according to these ratings. Trained neutral observers or advisors during these meetings may be able to direct the discussion in these meetings away from decision-making based on stereotypes or biases to performance related information.

A second implication from our findings regarding the effects of the job context is that organizations seeking to address inequity introduce interdependence among incumbents in jobs categories that are more complex or ambiguous in their structure. Although task interdependence among employees within jobs is common, outcome interdependence, such as bonuses based on each other's performance may be critical in these contexts. This type of

interdependence could motivate employees to seek individuating information regarding underrepresented groups thereby avoiding reliance on stereotype-based cues of expertise or competence (Fiske, 1998). Complex jobs can also be designed to factor in the time spent in after-hours socializing or face time with clients so that employees with dependent care responsibilities (men and women) are not disadvantaged. Consider the experience of a major professional accounting firm that found that changing the requirements for being present at the client site from five days a week to three days a week led to greater engagement and lower turnover among men and women in the firm without any detrimental effects on firm revenues (McCracken, 2000). Finally, our finding with regard to the effects of industry-wide female representation at executive levels is also noteworthy. Given that mentoring programs restricted to organizational boundaries have been unsuccessful in bringing about women's advancement (Ibarra, Carter, & Silva, 2010), we propose that industry-wide mentoring groups supplement ongoing career development among women. These network groups can be a source of mentoring and advice from senior level women industry-wide as well as direct women towards opportunities for further skill and personal leadership development.

Conclusion

This meta-analysis provides some important heuristics to identify contexts in which gender differences in performance and rewards are more or less likely. In an era where gender bias or discrimination is rarely overt or even intentional, identifying the sources of gender inequity offers a compelling agenda for management research. We call for further theoretical developments in the management domain to identify how seemingly neutral organizational practices shape the structure of work, the definition and evaluation of performance, and the

allocation of rewards to reinforce gender inequity in specific contexts. By identifying the broad contextual factors associated with gender differences in task performance and rewards we hope to set the stage for more research into the mechanisms through which differences in gender translate into important employment outcomes.

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Table 1

Gender Difference in Performance and Organizational Rewards [a]

Outcomes	*k*	*n*	Effect size *d*	95% CI	*Q*
Task performance	93	95,882	.04	-.12, .20	53545.10**
Organizational rewards	97	378,850	.56	.45, .65	207187.50**

[a] *k* indicates the number of effect sizes; *n* is the total number of individuals counted by effect sizes; effect size *d* is sample size weighted mean effect size corrected for unreliability; 95% CI indicates 95% of confidence interval of *d*; *Q* is the effect size heterogeneity statistic indicating the possibility of moderators.

**$p < .01$

Table 2

Moderator Analysis: Results of Meta-analytic Regression [a]

	Task performance				Rewards			
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 5**	**Model 6**	**Model 7**	**Model 8**
Constant	-.61 (.36)†	-.30 (.53)	.82 (.43)†	-1.29 (.49)*	-.69 (.47)	-1.98 (.85)*	1.45 (.38)**	-2.50 (.76)**
Controls [b]								
Study design (1=longitudinal)	-.06 (.24)	-.09 (.27)	-.14 (.26)	-.06 (.25)	-.04 (.20)	-.06 (.21)	-.03 (.18)	-.07 (.19)
Publication year	-.02 (.01)	-.00 (.01)	-.00 (.01)	-.01 (.01)	-.03 (.01)†	-.01 (.01)	-.00 (.01)	-.01 (.01)
Average individual tenure	.02 (.02)	.03 (.03)	.03 (.03)	.02 (.02)	-.03 (.03)	-.01 (.03)	-.01 (.02)	-.02 (.03)
Predictors								
Occupational male composition	1.62 (.39)**				3.10 (.65)**			
Occupational prestige		.01 (.01)				.05 (.01)**		
Proportion of women in executive/senior manager levels within industry			-2.80 (.74)**				-3.34 (.85)**	
Job complexity				.02 (.01)**				05 (.01)**
k	61	61	54	61	74	74	44	74
Adjusted R^2	.21	-.02	.18	.17	.22	.13	.23	.23
Model *F*	4.93**	.66	3.79**	3.90**	6.15**	3.78**	4.13**	6.49**

[a] Unstandardized regression coefficients are presented; numbers in parentheses are standard errors; *k* is the total number of effect sizes involved in the analysis.

[b] Publication status (1= published) dummy was dropped from the analysis due to multicollinearity.

†$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$

Table 3

Mediation Test: A Semi-Partial Correlation [a]

Outcome	Estimated *r*	Semi-partial correlation after controlling for task performance
Organizational rewards	.27** (378,850)	.27** (60,259)

[a] Estimated *r* indicates a correlation corrected for unreliability; the significance of a semi-partial correlation was evaluated against the harmonic mean of sample sizes (in parentheses).

***p* < .01

Table 4

Results of Qualitative Comparative Analysis [a]

	Men Outperform Women		High Reward Differences between Men and Women
	1	2	3
Occupational Context			
Balanced occupation			
High Prestige occupation			
Industry Context			
Proportion of women in executive/senior manager levels			
Job Context			
High job complexity			
Consistency	1.00	1.00	1.00
Raw Coverage	0..06	0.06	0.14
Unique Coverage	0.06	0.06	0.14
Overall Solution Consistency		**1.00**	**1.00**
Overall Solution Coverage		**0.13**	**0.14**

[a] Note: Central conditions are represented by (presence) and (absence) and peripheral conditions are represented by (presence) and (absence). Minimum threshold for consistency was .1.00, frequency = 3 cases/configuration

Figure 1

Funnel Plot for Studies Testing Gender Difference in Task Performance

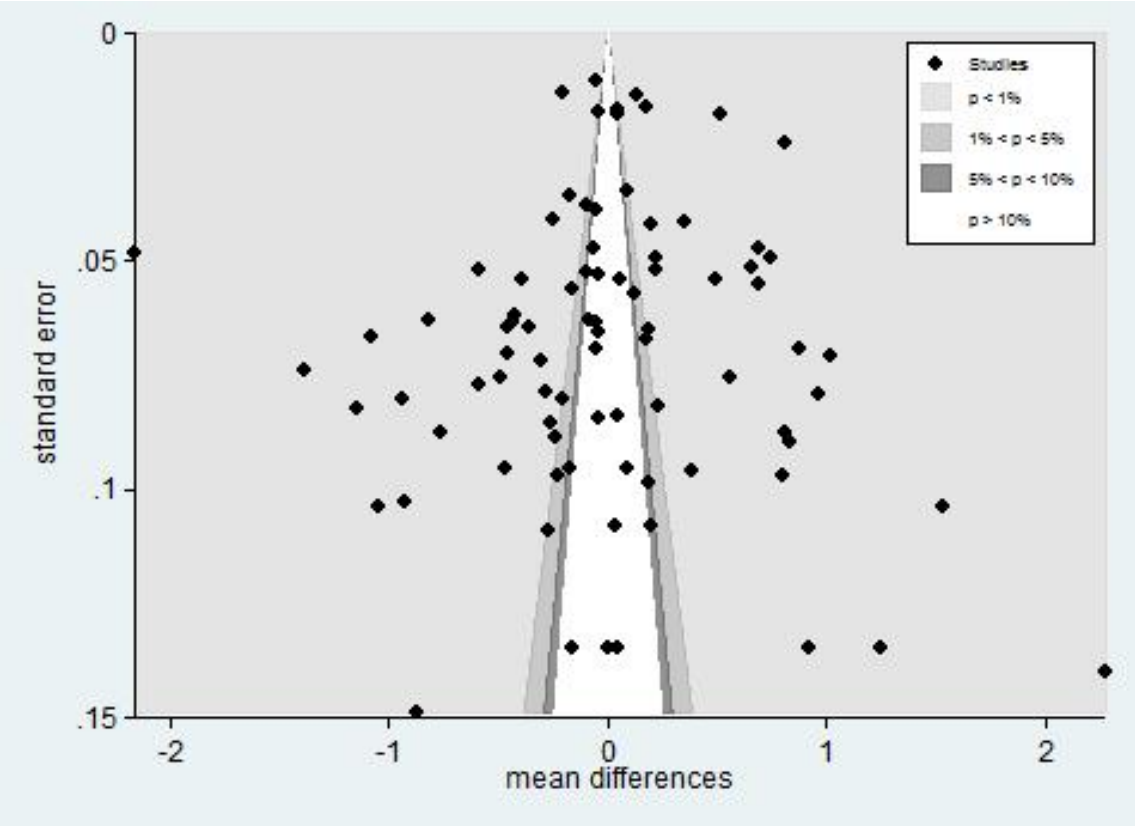

Figure 2

Funnel Plot for Studies Testing Gender Differences in Organizational Rewards