"Passing the Buck": Incongruence between Gender Role and Topic Leads to Avoidance of

Negotiation

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ABSTRACT

Avoidance of negotiation is rarely investigated, and the implicit assumption guiding much of the current negotiation research is that engagement is inevitable. In addition, compensation and other monetary issues are typically examined in research on negotiation, even though recent work has shown that other topics related to both employment and family life are also negotiated in organizations. In this dissertation, I tested hypotheses about how incongruence between gender role and negotiation topic influences the likelihood of avoiding negotiation in a series of three experimental studies. I hypothesized that the prospect of negotiating over a topic that does not fit one's traditional gender role will lead to avoidance. Specifically, in the first two experimental studies, I tested hypotheses about how incongruence between gender role and negotiation topic influences the likelihood of passing off the negotiation to another party, i.e., "passing the buck." Study 1 showed that women were significantly more likely to avoid a negotiation about compensation than men, and that aversion concerning negotiation partially mediated this gender difference. Study 2 revealed a significant two-way interaction between gender and negotiation topic on avoidance. Women were significantly more likely to avoid negotiation about compensation than men; conversely, there was a trend for men to avoid negotiation about access to a lactation room. This interaction was mediated by feelings of aversion to the negotiation situation. In a third experimental study, I tested hypotheses concerning the effect of gender role incongruence on opting out of a negotiation by engaging in an alternative task. Women were significantly more likely than men to opt out of negotiating when the negotiation concerned a masculine topic, but men were not significantly more likely than women to opt out of a negotiation about a feminine topic. In addition, masculinity was a significant, negative predictor of willingness to forfeit some amount of compensation for the

study in order to avoid negotiation. The findings from these studies underscore the importance of investigating the gendered nature of negotiation topics as well as examining avoidance of negotiation.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Just as two parties in a negotiation must agree to a potential solution for it to constitute an agreement, it takes both parties to agree to negotiate for a negotiation to occur in the first place. This process typically involves one person explicitly approaching the other party with a negotiation attempt and the other party either accepting the invitation or rejecting it. This interchange is critical because it determines whether a negotiation will occur, let alone an agreement be reached. Surprisingly, very little is known about the initiation of negotiation, and even less about how people respond to negotiation attempts. Some research points to the role of gender in determining people's propensity to initiate negotiation with evidence that women are less likely than men to initiate a negotiation (Babcock, Gelfand, Small, & Stayn, 2006; Small, Gelfand, Babcock, & Gettman, 2007). However, it is not known whether gender also influences negotiators' willingness to accept a negotiation attempt.

In this dissertation, I go beyond a simple gender-differences explanation and consider how gender role incongruence with the negotiation situation, specifically in terms of the topic being negotiated, influences a person's willingness to accept or avoid a negotiation attempt. In two empirical studies, I propose and test hypotheses that, when faced with an initiation of negotiation, gender role incongruence with the negotiation situation on the part of the responder leads to a state of aversion to engaging in the negotiation, which subsequently leads to avoiding the negotiation attempt. In a third empirical study, I test hypotheses concerning the effect of gender role incongruence on the decision to enter into a negotiation versus to opt to engage in an alternative task.

Overview of dissertation

This dissertation is organized as follows: In the first chapter, I review literature related to avoidance of aversive situations, as well as research on avoidance relevant to organizations and negotiation. I then review the literature and theory on gender and negotiation, and discuss gender roles in relation to the negotiation context. I subsequently define more specifically what is meant by gender role incongruence, and explain why gender role incongruence is hypothesized to lead to avoidance. I conclude the first chapter by discussing the broader relevance of this work to the study of negotiation and organizational behavior. In chapters 2, 3 and 4, I present empirical studies that examine the relationship between gender role incongruence and avoidance. In chapter 5, I discuss the contributions and limitations of this work, as well as future directions for this research.

AVOIDANCE

When faced with a negotiation attempt from another party, an individual has several options, including engaging in the negotiation, involving a third party or avoiding the negotiation. Research in negotiation primarily has focused on the first option—engaging—with the implicit assumption that engagement is inevitable, even though avoidance is also a possible response. People may avoid negotiations for a variety of reasons – fear of failure, discomfort, or lack of skill. Any of these reasons suggest that people avoid negotiations because they find them aversive. Aversion is defined as the experience of repugnance or intense dislike that creates the impulse to move away (Merriam-Webster, 1991). More generally, aversive situations are usually considered intimidating and anxiety-provoking (Osborne, 2001; Small et al., 2007).

Avoidance of aversive situations

Avoidance is a complex phenomenon that has been examined on both the physiological and psychological levels. At its most basic, avoidance is an innate response to a threat or an aversive situation (Cannon, 1932; Thorndike, 1898). Research on the physiology of avoidance has centered on seminal work by Gray (1970) on the Behavioral Inhibition System (BIS) and the Behavioral Activation System (BAS). Avoidance is primarily associated with behavioral inhibition and inaction, which are both regulated by the BIS. However, more recent work has shown that, in addition to regulating responses to conditioned aversive stimuli, the BIS is also activated by sources of conflict among any inputs that might activate both the BAS and the "Fight, Flight, or Freeze System" (FFFS). Thus, BIS-engagement elicits search behavior designed to resolve these conflicts (McNaughton & Corr, 2004). In this way, avoidance on a physiological level is more complex than previously understood and appears to involve processes above and beyond simply regulating flight from an aversive situation.

On a psychological level, pursuing pleasure versus avoiding pain--the hedonic principleis a basic tenet of psychology (Freud & Hubback, 1922). However, similar to the recent
developments described above, the approach versus avoid dichotomy has also been found to be
more complex than as it was originally conceived. Dollard and Miller (1950) first theorized
about the ways in which goals often contain both desirable and undesirable components,
resulting in approach-avoid conflicts. Higgins and colleagues (Higgins, Roney, Crowe & Hymes,
1994) subsequently showed that the classic, hedonic principle is an oversimplification of
motivation and self-regulation, and that, within the broader goal of pursuing desired results,
people implement promotion-focused or prevention-focused strategies depending upon the
particular goal. Rather than conflate approach with pleasure and avoidance with pain, regulatory

focus takes a broader view of the ways in which people self-regulate in order to obtain both achievement and security goals (see Higgins, 1997 for a review). Beyond these classic studies, extensive empirical research on stress and coping in fields such as health psychology and psychiatry has shown that avoidance is a widely used coping mechanism in response to a stressor (Clohessy & Ehlers, 1999; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Mikulincer, Florian, & Weller, 1993; Roth & Cohen, 1986).

Avoidance in negotiation, conflict management and organizations

In the conflict literature, avoidance is characterized by complete disengagement from the conflict resolution process (de Dreu & van de Vliert, 1997). For the most part, researchers in conflict and negotiation have discounted avoidance as a strategy (Blake & Mouton, 1978; Pruitt & Carnevale, 1993; Rahim, 1985), and, according to the Dual Concerns Model (Pruitt & Carnevale, 1993), avoidance is only used under conditions of low concern for oneself and low concern for the other party. However, by essentially equating avoidance with indifference to a negotiation situation, i.e. only used when one has little concern for oneself and the other party, the conflict and negotiation literatures appear to underestimate how commonly avoidance may be used. Nonetheless, it is difficult to estimate the prevalence of avoidance given that, despite some evidence that avoidance is a commonly used strategy for conflict resolution (Best & Andreasen, 1976), empirical research in conflict and negotiation rarely addresses avoidance, with a few notable exceptions that primarily investigate the role of culture in conflict resolution styles (Morris, Williams, Leung, Larrick, Mendoza, Bhatnagar, Li, Kondo, Luo, & Hu, 1998; Ohbuchi & Takahashi, 1994; Tjosvold & Sun, 2002).

Avoidance has been conceptualized somewhat more broadly within the organizational literature than in the conflict and negotiation literatures, though avoidance has also been viewed

largely as withdrawal and examined with respect to turnover and exit, with job dissatisfaction being a significant predictor of withdrawal from organizations (Mobley, 1977; Tett & Meyer, 1993). However, withdrawal is clearly not always an option. When complete withdrawal is not an option in organizations, neglect, meaning the passive disregard of performing expected behaviors, may occur. Examples of neglect include calling in sick, coming in late and allowing errors to occur due to negligence (Farrell, 1983; Rusbult, Farrell, Rogers, & Mainous Iii, 1988).

In addition to withdrawal and neglect, researchers in OB have identified indefinite delay as another way that actors remove themselves from undesirable situations in organizations (Izraeli & Jick, 1986). Similarly, Harris and Sutton (1983) identified "task procrastination" as a common form of non-action in organizations, primarily due to the aversive nature of certain tasks, namely unappealing, difficult, ambiguous and unimportant tasks. Ashforth and Lee (1990) also argued that avoidance should not be simply equated with withdrawal. Instead, they argue that in organizations avoidance is typically manifested as "defensive behaviors" that are primarily undertaken in order to avoid blame, action and/or change. Shifting responsibility to someone else, i.e. "passing the buck," is one of the defensive behaviors identified.

Avoidance in the form of shifting responsibility has not been studied previously in relation to negotiation, most likely due to the fact that, within the negotiation literature, avoidance is considered synonymous with withdrawal. However, complete withdrawal from a negotiation is not always a realistic option, whereas shifting responsibility is a more inconspicuous and socially acceptable way to avoid engaging in an aversive task. If the prospect of engaging in a negotiation is perceived as aversive, passing off the negotiation to someone else may be a socially acceptable way to avoid engaging in the negotiation as opposed to outright disengagement. This begs the question of when engaging in a negotiation will be perceived as

aversive, which, in turn, will lead to passing the buck rather than engagement.

GENDER AND NEGOTIATION

Findings from previous research on gender and negotiation support the prediction that women are more likely than men to perceive responding to a negotiation attempt as aversive. Past research on gender and negotiation has shown that women rate negotiating as significantly more aversive than men do (Small et al., 2007), that initiation of a negotiation elicits greater nervousness on the part of women than men (Babcock et al., 2006; Bowles, Babcock, & Lai, 2007) and that men tend to slightly outperform women in distributive negotiations (Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999).

However, there is also evidence showing that, in certain negotiation situations, women outperform men. For example, when negotiating on behalf of others, women's negotiation performance was slightly better than that of men's (Bowles, Babcock, & McGinn, 2005). In addition, when told that typical feminine characteristics are associated with success at the bargaining table, women also outperformed men (Kray, Galinsky, & Thompson, 2002). These findings indicate that gender alone would not be a sufficient predictor of what determines avoidance as a response to a negotiation attempt, since the role of gender in negotiation appears to involve a complex interplay between the person-situation fit. In fact, the mixed findings concerning gender and negotiation point to the importance of gender role incongruence, meaning the fit—or lack thereof—between a person's gender and the gendered characteristics of a negotiation situation. In the following sections, I discuss gender role incongruence in greater detail, as well as relate gender role incongruence to feelings about responding to a negotiation attempt and avoidance.

Gender Role Incongruence

Roles are generally defined as a set of expectations and norms that guide behavior in a given situation (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Gender is one of the most salient roles in people's lives. Gender roles refer to a set of expectations and norms that are associated with being male or female, and the breadwinner versus caretaker role is one of the principal distinctions made between the social roles for men and women (Eagly, 1987). Similarly, Bakan (1966) identified the distinction between agency and communality, with agency, characterized by assertive and independent behavior, associated with the masculine gender role, and communality, characterized by caretaking and concern for others, associated with the feminine gender role. Bem and others researchers subsequently developed and validated scales to measure masculinity and femininity and demonstrated that they are distinct constructs as opposed to bipolar measures on a single scale (Bem, 1974; Spence, Helmreich, & Holahan, 1979).

These distinct social roles render different role expectations for men and women (Eagly, 1987) and ultimately become self-reinforcing by way of descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes. Descriptive stereotypes refer to features of a stereotype, and prescriptive stereotypes refer to beliefs about how people should behave, often leading to penalties for stereotype violation (Burgess & Borgida, 1999). In fact, violating one's gender role comes at a cost for both women and men. Assertive women, for example, are considered less likeable and less hirable than assertive men (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). Working mothers experience significant penalties compared to working fathers, both in terms of perceived competence and remuneration (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004). In both of these cases, women's behavior violates the norms for caretaking and communality associated with the feminine gender role. In contrast, one study showed that men who chose to compromise financial security to stay home

with their children received low approval ratings, whereas women who made the same choice received high approval ratings (Riggs, 1997). Likewise, according to a 2006 U.S. Census Bureau report, the number of women who are full-time caretakers, or "stay-at-home moms," is still far greater than the number of men who are at home, indicating that the caretaking role is still considered more appropriate and desirable for women than for men. Thus, similar to women who act contrary to their gender role, men also experience penalties for behaving in ways counter to the expectations of the masculine, agentic gender role.

Given the penalties for stereotype violation, behaving outside of one's gender role arouses discomfort (Bosson, Prewitt-Freilino, & Taylor, 2005). There are two primary reasons for this discomfort—*intrapersonal* discomfort, e.g. behaving outside of one's gender role takes an individual out of his or her comfort zone, and *interpersonal* discomfort, e.g. anticipating negative evaluations from others for violating one's gender role. Research concerning gender and occupations has focused on the former, demonstrating that there are psychological consequences, such as negative emotions, for gender role violation on the part of the individual acting outside of his or her gender role. Parry (1987) demonstrated that a mismatch between gender role beliefs and occupational status led to greater anxiety than when these factors match. Likewise, Luhaorg and Zivian (1995) showed that a mismatch between gender role and occupation led to greater role conflict than a match between gender role and occupation.

The mismatch that occurs from behaving outside of one's gender role also relates to sextyping, which refers to the classification of jobs, behaviors and tasks by sex. Similar to stereotyping, sex-typing pertains to the extent to which people expect someone to perform a certain task based on his or her sex. There is empirical evidence for sex-typed tasks, meaning that different tasks and behaviors are classified as masculine, feminine or neutral (Bem &

Lenney, 1976; Deaux & Emswiller, 1974). For example, preparing formula for a baby bottle is considered a feminine sex-typed task, whereas oiling a squeaky hinge is considered a masculine sex-typed task. In addition, a meta-analysis of studies concerning sex discrimination (Davison & Burke, 2000) found that both men and women experienced discrimination when applying for opposite sex-typed jobs, i.e. when a job was female sex-typed females received higher ratings than males for selection and vice versa. According to Heilman's Lack of Fit Model (1983), both stereotypes about women and sex-typing of jobs help to perpetuate sex discrimination in the workplace by contributing to perceptions of lack of fit, with these perceptions held by both the individual target as well as by others in the workplace.

In terms of negotiation research, the consequences of a lack of fit and sex-typing in negotiation situations have not been examined, but may help to explain the mixed findings discussed previously concerning the role of gender in negotiation. In the following section, I explain in more detail how gender role incongruence in a negotiation, meaning a lack of fit between one's gender role and the gendered nature of the negotiation situation, may affect behavior at the bargaining table. In terms of the gendered nature of the negotiation, I specifically focus on the topic being negotiated and the fit or lack thereof between the topic and the negotiator's traditional gender role.

Negotiation Topics and Gender Role Incongruence at the Bargaining Table

Both men and women negotiate in various domains of their lives. These negotiations may involve a range of issues such as compensation, the price of a new home, where to go on vacation or a child's bed time. Yet the findings on gender and negotiation consistently show women to be at a disadvantage at the bargaining table, particularly when negotiating about issues related to compensation (Small et al., 2007; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999). Negotiation

concerning compensation appears to be fundamentally different from other types of negotiations, and researchers have argued theoretically that negotiation over compensation and monetary issues is a particularly problematic context for women (Bowles et al., 2007; Wade, 2001). Moreover, Stuhlmacher and Walters (1999) pointed out that most experimental negotiation studies involve masculine sex-typed issues, i.e. negotiations over prices of cars, airplanes and engines, as opposed feminine sex-typed issues, i.e. negotiations related to childcare issues, with children's teachers etc. Apart from one recent study (Miles & LaSalle, 2008) showing that masculine versus feminine sex-typed negotiation situations moderated the effect of self-efficacy on negotiation performance, there is scant empirical work examining how the topic of the negotiation influences the relationship between gender and negotiation outcomes.

This lack of attention paid to the role of the topic being negotiated is surprising, especially given that it is one of the most salient pieces of information available during a negotiation. Furthermore, the negotiation topic may potentially influence the likelihood of gender differences given that topics may be sex-typed rather than gender neutral. Indeed, both children and adults have been shown to cognitively categorize information as masculine versus feminine (Bennett, Sani, Hopkins, Agostini, & Malucchi, 2000; Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, & Ruderman, 1978) and, as discussed above, there is empirical evidence that tasks and behaviors are sex-typed (Bem & Lenney, 1976; Deaux & Emswiller, 1974). In light of the traditional gender roles of homemaker versus breadwinner, negotiations concerning compensation and other monetary issues may not be gender neutral, as seems to be the implicit assumption in the literature thus far, but rather a masculine sex-typed activity. In other words, negotiation topics may be cognitively categorized as masculine versus feminine, thereby creating an experience of

incongruence between the negotiator and the topic being negotiated, depending on the nature of the topic and the gender of the negotiator.

The fact that issues typically associated with the male gender role, such as money and access to resources, are more likely to be gender role congruent for men than for women may also help to explain why negotiation over compensation is a more problematic context for women than men. To be sure, women also participate in the workforce, at a rate that is almost equal to that of men's (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008). However, stereotypes about gender roles and appropriate behavior for men and women persist (Rudman and Fairchild, 2004). Thus, the point is not to say that compensation and other monetary issues are irrelevant to women, but rather, that negotiations over issues traditionally associated with the male gender role are potentially more incongruent for women than for men. By the same logic, negotiations concerning issues related to communal attributes and caretaking, which are rarely studied in negotiation research, are more likely to be associated with the female gender role, and therefore will be more gender role congruent for women than for men.

Thus the gendered nature of negotiation topics is an important determinant of the phenomenon of gender role incongruence at the bargaining table. Put more concretely, gender role incongruence involves negotiating over a topic that is considered incongruent to one's gender role. For women, gender role incongruence involves negotiating over a prototypically masculine topic, whereas for men, gender role incongruence involves negotiating over a prototypically feminine topic. Given that gender role violation has been shown to be aversive, a logical corollary is that the anticipation of being in a gender role incongruent situation, such as responding to a negotiation concerning a gender role incongruent issue, will likewise be

considered aversive and thus lead to avoidance, especially since avoiding is a common strategy for coping with an aversive situation (Folkman & Lazarus, 1988).

In sum, the overall aim of this dissertation is to test hypotheses that gender role incongruence leads to avoidance of negotiation, and that this relationship is explained by the feelings of aversion due to being in a gender role incongruent situation. This dissertation also has two additional purposes, namely, to underscore the broader importance of the response phase of the negotiation process, particularly with respect to avoidance, and to show that negotiation topics, especially compensation, are not gender neutral.

Broader relevance to Organizational Behavior

Before presenting the specific hypotheses and empirical studies, I will briefly discuss the relevance of this research to the broader negotiation and organizational literatures. First, despite the crucial role of negotiation in the workplace (Lax & Sebenius, 1986), very little is known about what precedes engagement in negotiation. Negotiation research typically begins with the engagement phase and has not examined what precedes engagement. Yet the choice to engage versus avoid is an important one, especially for managers, who are often in the position of responding to their employees' requests. For example, in a classic qualitative study, Kotter (1986) documented how a small sample of general managers spent their days, and he found that the average general manager spent most of his or her time working with others and reacting to others' initiatives, often in an unplanned fashion. Though we would like to assume that managers can and do respond to anything, in fact, they may find certain situations aversive and choose to avoid them. This assertion begs the "So what?" question, i.e. even if managers do avoid at times, why does it matter and how does studying avoidance make a contribution to the literature?

Avoidance as a response to an initiation of negotiation, especially in an organizational context, has repercussions on several levels. A manager who chooses to pass off a negotiation may be sending a subtle message to his or her employees that the issue under negotiation is not important, or that manager is in some way not competent enough to deal with this negotiation. These subtle messages are important, since they send cues to employees about both the manager's effectiveness and what the manager does or does not value in the workplace. Regarding the latter, "family friendly" policies have been shown to increase job retention and satisfaction among female employees (Scandura & Lankau, 1997). Thus a manager who passes off a negotiation about a work-life issue, for example, could potentially lead to decreased satisfaction among his or her subordinates by sending a message that the issue is not deemed to be important. In terms of the former, passing off a negotiation about compensation or a careerrelated issue could imply that the manager does not feel confident about conducting the negotiation and/or does not value the employee's contributions. Regardless of the specific message sent and the interpretation of the avoidance behavior, the main point is that avoidance has repercussions for both the individual manager and the employee who is initiating the negotiation. Thus, avoidance as a response to negotiation attempts is an important area for further research in organizations.

CHAPTER 2

Study 1

Compensation is an important launching point for this new inquiry, given that it has been widely studied in negotiation research in the past (Bazerman & Neale, 1993; Fisher, Ury, & Patton, 1991; Gerhart & Rynes, 1991; Gist, Stevens, & Bavetta, 1991; Stoughton & Talmor, 1999), and is also a commonly used topic in studies on gender and negotiation (Barron, 2003; Gerhart & Rynes, 1991; Stevens, Bavetta, & Gist, 1993). However, as discussed in chapter 1, negotiations over issues traditionally associated with the male gender role are potentially more incongruent for women than for men. Thus, in the first study I hypothesized that women would be more likely to avoid engaging in a negotiation about compensation than men by expressing a greater likelihood to pass off the negotiation to someone else.

Hypothesis 1: Women will report a greater likelihood of avoidance as a response to a negotiation attempt about compensation than men.

Furthermore, this greater likelihood of avoidance on the part of women in the context of compensation will be explained by the aversion felt in a gender role incongruent situation. As discussed earlier, being in a gender incongruent role leads to discomfort, and past research on gender and negotiation in the context of compensation has shown that the prospect of initiating a negotiation elicits negative emotional responses in women. Specifically, support has been found for gender differences in nervousness about initiating a negotiation, with women reporting greater nervousness than men, and nervousness mediating gender differences in the propensity to initiate negotiations (Babcock et al., 2006; Bowles et al., 2007; Small et al., 2007). Women also rate engaging in a negotiation to be more aversive than men do (Small et al., 2007). Finally, self-efficacy, i.e. the belief in one's ability to succeed, also moderates gender differences in

negotiated salaries (Stevens *et al.*, 1993). Altogether, this empirical evidence paints a portrait of negotiation concerning compensation as a more aversive experience for women than for men. Given that avoidance is an emotion-focused coping strategy, meaning that it is a way of managing the experience of stress-induced emotions (Folkman & Lazarus, 1988), and passing the buck facilitates withdrawal from an aversive situation, the gender difference in avoidance predicted in hypothesis 1 will be explained by women's greater experience of aversion relative to men.

Hypothesis 2: Feelings of aversion will mediate the relationship between gender and avoidance of engaging in a negotiation concerning compensation.

Overview of study 1

In study 1, I tested hypotheses 1 and 2. Participants read a scenario concerning a hiring situation. They were asked to imagine themselves as the hiring manager and to think about how they would respond to a negotiation attempt about compensation from a job candidate.

Participants were asked to rate items concerning how they would feel responding to the negotiation attempt, as well as how likely they would be to avoid engaging in the negotiation by passing off the negotiation to someone else. In addition, given that this was an investigation of a new phenomenon—responding to negotiation attempts from others—study 1 was conducted using a sample of working professionals who reported having been on the receiving end of a negotiation. The choice of this type of sample was intentional in order to lend external validity to the investigation, as well as to provide the opportunity for a conservative test of the hypotheses.

Methods

Participants

Participants were 137 alumni (74 men and 63 women) of the business school of a private university. 1157 alumni were contacted, 107 emails bounced and 187 responded fully to the survey (response rate = 18%). Of the 187, 13 were disqualified because they reported not anticipating a negotiation after reading the scenario and an additional 37 were disqualified because they reported never having been on the receiving end of a negotiation, leaving a sample size of 137. For the purposes of external validity, it was important to survey individuals who had been on the responding end of a negotiation and for whom this scenario would be realistic. Participants were highly educated with 125 (91%) reporting their highest level of education as Master's Degree and 12 (9%) reporting their highest level of education as more than a Master's Degree, i.e. Ph.D., MD or JD. In terms of age, 86% of sample was between 30 and 44 years old. Participants in this sample were also highly experienced—22% reported 6-10 years of work experience, 45% reported 11-15 years of work experience and 33% reported 16 or more years of work experience. 98% of the sample reported having at least 1-2 years of managerial experience, with a large portion of the sample (66%) reporting between 3-10 years of managerial experience. **Procedure**

Participants were contacted via email and invited to participate in the survey as a way to contribute to research at their *alma mater*. Participants were told that the study concerned "hiring practices." Participants first read the following scenario:

You are a team leader for Pulpmark Products, a large, consumer product company. As a team leader you oversee five product managers who are responsible for managing both marketing and product development. You are currently in the process of hiring a new product manager who will report directly to you. You have a qualified candidate named David. David has five years of experience (post-MBA) as a product manager at a rival consumer products company. You have spoken with his references, and they all gave David great recommendations.

He has expressed interest in working at Pulpmark. In addition, the salary range for the position was included in the job description. During the initial interview, David mentioned that, if things move forward, you will need to discuss the salary range since it is lower than he had expected.

It is important to note that, in order to make the situation as masculine as possible the job candidate was a male named David. After reading the scenario, participants were asked to rate whether or not they anticipated a negotiation with David to make sure that they had read and understood the scenario. Participants were then asked a series of questions about their feelings about negotiating.

Subsequently, participants were told:

In the meantime, the HR manager, Steve, emails you about the status of the hiring situation. The following email exchange ensues:

Steve: What's the latest on hiring the new product manager?

You: I have a candidate, named David, but we still need to negotiate the salary.

Steve: Great. Are you doing the negotiation or should I?

Participants were asked to rate their likelihood of passing the negotiation off to Steve, as well as what they would email back to Steve. This email exchange was written to be as subtle and casual as possible. Steve simply asks, "Are you doing the negotiation or should I?" in order to give participants the option to avoid the negotiation in as inconspicuous a manner as possible.

The final portion of the survey consisted of demographic questions, such as sex, age, occupation, experience with being on the receiving end of a negotiation, and industry.

Measures

Check for understanding of scenario

Participants were asked whether or not they anticipated a negotiation with David and the response was either yes or no.

Aversion to engaging in the negotiation

Participants rated items concerning how aversive they considered the impending negotiation with David on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree. A principal components factor analysis of 6 items (see appendix for list of items) related to feeling at ease (reversed scored), pressure, nervous, confidence (reverse scored), certainty about performance (reverse scored) and dislike about negotiating produced a single factor ($\alpha = .82$). This measure is a composite of negative feelings about negotiation intended to capture a general state of aversion to negotiating. This measure was developed based on other measures of negative feelings concerning negotiation, such as nervousness, low self-efficacy and aversiveness of negotiating used in previous studies (Bowles et al., 2007; O'Connor & Arnold, 2001; Small et al., 2007).

Avoidance of negotiation

Participants rated 2 items concerning avoidance ("How likely are you to let Steve do the negotiation?"; "I would definitely want Steve to conduct the negotiation") each on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree. The indicator of avoidance consisted of these two items ($\alpha = .90$).

Results

See tables 1 and 2 for a complete list of means and standard deviations as well as a correlation matrix for all the variables.

Gender and avoidance

Hypothesis 1—that women will be more likely to avoid responding to a negotiation about compensation than men—was supported. There was a significant gender difference in avoidance,

t(135) = -2.98, p < .01, with women significantly more likely to avoid (M = 3.64, SD = 1.85) than men (M = 2.75, SD = 1.67).

Mediation of gender and avoidance by aversion

There was also a significant gender difference in aversion, t(135) = -2.40, p < .05, with women reporting significantly more aversion (M = 3.14, SD = 1.00) than men (M = 2.77, SD = .83). As per Baron & Kenny (1986), in order to test for mediation, the independent variable must be significantly correlated with both the outcome variable and the mediator. In this case, gender was significantly correlated with both avoidance and aversion. As such, a Sobel test was used to test hypothesis 2, that aversion would mediate the relationship between gender and avoidance. Results reveal that aversion partially mediated the relationship between gender and avoidance, Sobel z = 2.09, p < .05. The standardized beta for gender on avoidance was reduced from b = .25, t(135) = 2.98, p < .01 to b = .19, t(134) = 2.29, p < .05 after aversion was entered into the regression (see table 3 and figure 1).

Discussion

The results of study 1 supported the predictions that, given a negotiation about compensation, which is typically associated with the male gender role, women would report greater aversion and would be more likely to avoid than men were supported. Furthermore, the results showed that aversion about responding to negotiation attempts partially mediates the relationship between gender and avoidance. Given that the mediation by aversion was partial but not full, there may be additional emotional and/or cognitive factors that explain this gender difference in avoidance. For example, previous work has shown gender differences in feelings of self-efficacy concerning negotiation performance (Gist, Stevens & Bavetta, 1991). Though the aversion measure contained items related to self-efficacy, it could be that an unmodified self-

efficacy measure would help to explain the remaining variance in avoidance. Another possibility is that, on a cognitive level, women view salary negotiation to be under the domain of HR to a greater degree than men. Perhaps in addition to finding negotiation more aversive than men, women are also less likely to view it as part of their jobs as managers.

These results should also be considered in light of the sample from which the data was collected. The sample consisted of working, highly educated professionals who reported having been on the receiving end of negotiation attempts. This type of sample lends external validity to the research, since the results reflect the thoughts and feelings of experienced professionals as opposed to those of naïve undergraduate students. In this way, study 1 was a conservative test of hypotheses 1 and 2 given that the individuals in this sample have already self-selected themselves into the business domain, presumably with the understanding that negotiation may be part of the job. Given this self-selection bias, one would assume that participants from this type of sample would be immune to gender differences in aversion and avoidance as a response to a negotiation attempt, but the results suggest otherwise.

Though the results support hypotheses 1 and 2, the findings could also be interpreted as men avoiding less overall than women because they find negotiation less aversive in general (Small et al., 2007). In order to fully test the effect of gender role incongruence, it is also necessary to show the opposite pattern of the above results when a negotiation situation is congruent for women but incongruent for men. Thus in study 2, I varied the topic being negotiated in order to fully test the hypothesis that gender role incongruence leads to avoidance as a response to a negotiation attempt.

CHAPTER 3

Study 2

Though the focus on compensation and monetary issues in negotiation research is understandable given its relevance to the workplace, other research has shown that people negotiate a myriad of issues above and beyond compensation in the workplace, including issues more typically associated with the female gender role, such as balancing between work and family life (Rousseau, 1995). Furthermore, research has shown that when communal characteristics are elicited at the bargaining table, gender differences in negotiation performance are attenuated. More specifically, when negotiating on behalf of others—a situation consistent with women's traditional communal role—women perform slightly better than men in negotiations (Bowles et al., 2005). Likewise, when told that traditionally communal characteristics are associated with success at the bargaining table, women also outperform men (Kray et al., 2002). Thus, examining the relationship between gender and negotiation outcomes in a situation that is gender role incongruent for women but not men only tells part of the story, especially given that women have been shown to perform equally, if not better than men, in other circumstances (Bowles et al., 2005; Kray et al., 2002). In order to further the research in this area, it is also important to examine the role that gender plays when more communal issues are negotiated.

The quintessence of communality is taking care of others, and care giving, such as child rearing and eldercare, is more often performed by women than men even in dual-career couples (Berardo, Shehan, & Leslie, 1987; Brody, 1981; Condran & Bode, 1982). This sex-segregation evident in the care giving arena is also reinforced by the fact that care giving is considered to be more in-role behavior for women than for men. In fact, when engaging in feminine, role-

violating behaviors, heterosexual men tend to be classified as homosexual, and thus they often issue disclaimers about their sexuality, which have been shown to mitigate the discomfort they feel about being stigmatized for their behavior (Bosson et al., 2005). Furthermore, tasks associated with communal activities such as childcare and homemaking are consistently rated as feminine sex typed (Bem & Lenney, 1976; Deaux & Emswiller, 1974).

Access to a lactation room, i.e. a room where working mothers can pump breast milk, is an example of a feminine sex-typed issue that arises in the workplace and is subject to negotiation. Lactation rooms are increasingly common in most organizations (CDC, 2007) with 25% of companies reporting that they offer lactation rooms (Society for Human Resources Management, 2008), and access to this resource has emerged as an important work-life issue (Lepore, 2009). As such, responding to a negotiation attempt about access to this resource is presumably becoming increasingly common, and managers are increasingly faced with requests from female employees regarding lactation room access. Thus, in study 2, in addition to again hypothesizing that women are more likely to avoid a negotiation about compensation than men, I also hypothesized that men are more likely to avoid a negotiation about a feminine topic—in this case, a woman who initiates a negotiation regarding access to a lactation room—than women are.

The hypotheses for study 2 are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Women will report a greater likelihood of avoidance as a response to a negotiation attempt about compensation than men.

Hypothesis 2: Feelings of aversion will mediate the relationship between gender and avoidance of engaging in a negotiation concerning compensation.

Hypothesis 3: Men will report a greater likelihood of avoidance as a response to a negotiation attempt about access to a lactation room than women.

Hypothesis 4: Feelings of aversion will mediate the relationship between gender and avoidance of engaging in a negotiation concerning access to a lactation room.

Considered jointly, hypotheses 1 and 3 imply that there will be an interaction between gender and topic of negotiation on avoidance, such that people are more likely to avoid negotiations about gender role incongruent topics. Hypotheses 2 and 4 likewise together imply that feelings of aversion will mediate this gender by topic interaction on avoidance.

Overview of study 2

Study 2 tested hypotheses 1-4 with an experimental protocol similar to that of study 1, but also included a topic manipulation, such that participants were randomly assigned to respond to a negotiation about compensation versus a negotiation concerning access to a lactation room. In addition, the negotiation topics were first evaluated for masculinity versus femininity in a pretest in order to determine empirically that compensation and access to a lactation room indeed differ in ratings of masculinity and femininity.

Pretest

A pretest first examined whether compensation, a traditionally studied negotiation topic, is considered to be masculine sex-typed topic and whether access to a lactation room—a caretaking issue that has not been studied in the negotiation literature—is considered to be a feminine sex-typed topic. Participants read two negotiation scenarios concerning responding to a negotiation attempt; one scenario involved compensation and the other scenario involved access to a lactation room. Participants rated both of the scenarios in terms of masculinity and femininity.

Methods

Participants

The sample consisted of 18 male and 15 female undergraduate and graduate students (mean age = 24), who were native English speakers primarily from the United States and who participated in the experiment for pay.

Procedure

Participants read two versions of the following scenario. Each version of the scenario was varied only by the topic of the negotiation (compensation vs. access to a lactation room):

You are a manager in the marketing department of a consumer products company. Business has been going well, and you have decided to hire a new marketer. You advertised the position on several web sites. In the ad you included the salary and benefits information. You received several applicants, and you decided to interview a candidate named Susan. Susan has a solid resume and several years of marketing experience. In addition to her professional accomplishments, Susan is also a new mother of twins. During the interview, Susan mentioned that, if things move forward, you will need to discuss the...

...salary and bonus, because she would like an increase in both the salary and percentage yearly bonus being offered.

...access to a lactation room (a room where nursing mothers can pump breast milk for their babies), because there is not one currently available.

Note that in all four scenarios, the initiator of the negotiation was female. This was held constant for practical purposes, since only a female would initiate a negotiation over access to a lactation room. However, both male and female managers could respond to a negotiation about this topic. Furthermore, by making the initiator of the negotiation female, this study also provided the opportunity to test, in the compensation condition, whether the results from study 1 would replicate with a female initiator.

Participants rated each scenario on a scale from 1-7, with 1 = not at all, 4 = somewhat and 7 = very much, in terms of how masculine they rated the negotiation scenario and how feminine

they rated the negotiation scenario. Masculine was defined for participants as "a situation that you would typically associate with a man" whereas feminine was defined for participants as "a situation that you would typically associate with a woman." The order of the scenarios was counterbalanced.

Results

The means and standard deviations for masculinity and femininity ratings for both scenarios appear in table 4. Compensation was rated as significantly more masculine than access to a lactation room, t(32) = 8.92, p < .001, and access to a lactation room was rated as significantly more feminine than compensation t(32) = -10.28, p < .001. Though the mean ratings for masculinity and femininity for access to lactation room were much more extreme than those for compensation, which tended to fall close to the midpoint (4) of the scale, compensation was rated as significantly more masculine than feminine, t(32) = 3.13, p < .01, just as access to a lactation room was rated as significantly more feminine than masculine, t(32) = -17.97, p < .001. Having established these significant differences for masculinity and femininity for the negotiation topics, I subsequently tested the hypotheses for study 2.

Study 2

In study 2, I tested hypotheses 1, 2, 3 and 4 using in a 2 (gender of participant) x 2 (topic of negotiation: compensation versus access to a lactation room) between-subjects design. The protocol for this study was almost identical to that of study 2. Participants read a scenario concerning a hiring situation and were asked to imagine themselves as the hiring manager and to think about how they would respond to a negotiation attempt from a job candidate. Participants were randomly assigned to either read about a negotiation concerning compensation or a negotiation concerning access to a lactation room, based on the results of study 1. Participants

were asked to rate items concerning how they would feel responding to the negotiation attempt, as well as how likely they would be to avoid engaging in the negotiation, given the appropriate opportunity.

Methods

Participants

The sample for study 2 consisted of 44 male and 44 female participants with an average age of 25, who were native English speakers primarily from the United States and who participated in the experiment for pay. Participants were recruited from a university participant pool to participate in a Workplace Scenario Study.

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the two conditions. Participants in the compensation scenario read the following:

You are a manager in the marketing department of a consumer products company. Business has been going well, and you have decided to hire a new marketer. You advertised the position on several web sites. In the ad you included the salary and benefits information. You received several applicants, and you decided to interview a candidate named Susan. Susan has a solid resume and several years of marketing experience. In addition to her professional accomplishments, Susan is also a new mother of twins. During the interview, Susan mentioned that, if things move forward, you will need to discuss the <u>salary and bonus</u>, because she would like an increase in both the salary and percentage yearly bonus being offered.

Participants in the lactation room scenario read the same information except for the underlined portion, which was changed to the following:

During the interview, Susan mentioned that, if things move forward, you will need to discuss access to a lactation room (a room where nursing mothers can pump breast milk for their babies), because there is not one currently available.

The procedure following the scenario was identical to study 2. Participants were asked whether or not they anticipated a negotiation, as well as a series of questions about their feelings about negotiating.

Subsequently, participants in the compensation condition were told:

In the meantime, the HR manager, Sarah, emails you about the status of the hiring situation. The following email exchange ensues:

Sarah: What's the latest on hiring the new product manager?

You: I have a candidate, named Susan, but we still need to negotiate the salary.

Sarah: Great. Are you doing the negotiation or should I?

Participants were asked to rate their likelihood of passing the negotiation off to Sarah, as well as what they would email back to Sarah.

Participants in the lactation room condition read the exact same information as above except the line "...we still need to negotiate the salary" was changed to "...we still need to negotiate about access to a lactation room." Finally, participants answered demographic questions and were dismissed.

It is important to note that, for the purposes of this study, the HR manager was a female named Sarah, as compared to study 1 in which the HR manager was a male named Steve. This change was made in order to lend more ecological validity to the design, since passing off a negotiation about access to a lactation room to a female would most likely have more face and ecological validity for participants than passing off this type of negotiation to a male. In addition, in this study the sex of the initiator was always female, in order to facilitate the use of the access to the lactation room scenario.

Measures

Manipulation check

The manipulation check consisted of the following question: "In this study, I read a scenario about a negotiation over: compensation, start date, access to a breastfeeding room and flexible hours."

Aversion to engaging in the negotiation

Participants rated items concerning feelings of aversion toward the impending negotiation with Susan on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree. As in study 2, a principal components factor analysis of 6 items related to feeling at ease (reversed scored), pressure, nervousness, confidence (reverse scored), certain (reverse scored) and dislike produced a single factor ($\alpha = .85$).

Avoidance of negotiation

Participants then rated 2 items concerning avoidance ("How likely are you to let Sarah do the negotiation?"; "I would definitely want Sarah to conduct the negotiation") each on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree. The indicator of avoidance consisted of these two items ($\alpha = .91$).

Results

See tables 5 and 6 for a complete list of means and standard deviations as well as a correlation matrix for all the variables.

Manipulation Check

Only responses from the 88 participants (out of 98) who correctly answered the manipulation check question and who fully completed the survey were included in the analyses.

Gender by topic of negotiation on avoidance

Hypothesis 3—that men will report a greater likelihood of avoidance as a response to a negotiation attempt about access to a lactation room than women—was weakly supported. In the lactation room condition, the gender difference in avoidance trended toward significance, with men slightly more likely to avoid than women t(41) = 1.74, p < .10. Taken together, hypotheses 1 and 3 imply that there will be an interaction between gender and topic of negotiation on avoidance, a 2 x 2 ANOVA was performed in order to test for an interaction effect. Results from a 2 x 2 ANOVA revealed a significant two-way interaction between gender by topic of negotiation on avoidance, F(3, 84) = 8.82, p < .01 (see table 7 and figure 2). To better understand the nature of this interaction, the differences in the means for avoidance between topics but within sex were also compared. Men were significantly more likely to avoid in the lactation room condition compared to the compensation condition, t(42) = -2.15, p < .05, whereas women were significantly more likely to avoid in the compensation condition compared to the lactation room condition, t(42) = 2.05, p < .05. Furthermore, between sex, women were significantly more likely than men to avoid in the compensation condition, t(43) = -2.53, p < .05, which replicates the gender difference in avoidance found in study 1.

Mediation of gender by topic of negotiation on avoidance by aversion

There was no gender difference in aversion in the lactation room condition, and as a result, hypothesis 4—that feelings of aversion will mediate the relationship between gender and avoidance of engaging in a negotiation concerning access to a lactation room—was not tested since a significant relationship between the independent variable and the mediator is a prerequisite of testing for mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986). However, given that hypotheses 2 and 4 together imply that feelings of aversion will mediate the gender by topic interaction on

avoidance, further analyses were performed in order to investigate this full model. First, a 2 x 2 ANOVA was performed in order to test for an interaction effect between gender and topic of negotiation on feelings of aversion. Results from a 2 x 2 ANOVA revealed a significant two-way interaction between gender by topic of negotiation on aversion F(3, 84) = 6.99, p < .05 (see table 8). This interaction was primarily driven by women's greater feelings of aversion relative to men in the compensation condition t(43) = -2.91, p < .01.

Since the gender by topic interaction was significantly correlated with both aversion (the predicted mediator) and avoidance (the outcome measure), according to Baron and Kenny (1986), the prerequisites for testing for mediation were satisfied. In this case, the independent variable consists of an interaction term—gender by topic—and as such a mediated moderation model was tested (Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2005). As per Aiken & West (1991), aversion was first centered at the mean since the model includes an interaction term. Mediation analyses demonstrated that aversion fully mediated the sex by topic interaction on avoidance. The standardized beta for sex*topic on avoidance was reduced from b = -.54, t(84) = -2.97, p < .01 to b = -.28, t(83) = -1.74, p < .10 after aversion was entered into the regression equation, Sobel z = -2.45, p < .05 (see table 9 and figure 3).

To better understand the nature of this mediated moderation model, mediation analyses of topic on avoidance by aversion were also performed separately for men and women. Results revealed that aversion was a significant mediator of topic on avoidance for women but not for men. For women, the standardized beta for topic on avoidance was reduced from b = -.30, t(42) = -2.05, p < .05 to b = -.11, t(41) = -.846 (ns) after aversion was entered into the regression equation, Sobel z = -2.14, p < .05. For men aversion was not a significant mediator, Sobel z = 1.23, ns, although there was a moderate change in the standardized beta for topic from b = .32,

t(42) = 2.15, p < .05 to b = .21, t(41) = 1.69, p < .10 after aversion was entered into the regression equation.

Discussion

The findings from study 2 provide further evidence that people are more likely to avoid gender role incongruent situations than gender role congruent situations. Though hypothesis 3 was only partially supported, with a trend toward significance for men to be more likely than women to avoid the negotiation concerning access to a lactation room, there was a significant interaction between gender and topic of the negotiation on avoidance. Men were significantly more likely to avoid a negotiation concerning access to a lactation room than a negotiation concerning compensation, and the opposite results were true for women. Consistent with the results from study 1, women were significantly more likely to avoid a negotiation concerning compensation than men.

Also as predicted, aversion mediated the gender by topic interaction on avoidance. Moreover, aversion explained the relationship between negotiation topic and avoidance for women but not for men. It is interesting that men's avoidance differed significantly between conditions but that their feelings of aversion about the situation did not. It is possible that men's decision to avoid in the lactation condition was driven by some kind of cognitive assessment of the situation—perhaps that a woman would have greater expertise—rather than an emotional response of aversion to engaging in a negotiation about access to a lactation room. Another possible explanation is that men were less willing and/or able to self-report about their feelings of aversion to the situation than women.

The replication of the gender difference in avoidance in the compensation condition is important to note given that these studies examine a new phenomenon that has not been

investigated previously. In addition, these studies used participants from different populations, namely professional adults in study 1 and university students in study 2. Thus the findings generalize across people with and without work experience, and greater work experience does not seem to mitigate the effects of being in a gender role incongruent situation. There were also several differences in protocols between the studies—the sex of the initiator and the sex of the HR manager to whom the participant can pass off the negotiation. That the gender difference in avoidance in the compensation situation was robust enough to replicate provides additional support for the gender role incongruence predictions.

Studies 1 and 2 provided evidence in support of my hypotheses concerning gender role incongruence. However, there were several limitations involving the outcome variable and the nature of the topics being negotiated that I addressed in a third study using a different experimental paradigm. First, in studies 1 and 2, the dependent variable for avoidance was hypothetical, i.e. participants predicted their likelihood of avoidance rather than a behavioral dependent measure of avoidance. Though the sample in study 1 was limited only to individuals who reported having been on the receiving end of a negotiation attempt in order to inculcate some degree of realism, in studies 1 and 2 participants nevertheless imagined themselves responding to a negotiation attempt. Given that affective forecasting has been shown to overinflate both positive and negative emotions as compared to the emotions that are subsequently felt in real-time (Van Boven & Ashworth, 2007), participants may have overestimated how aversive they would find the situation, as well as how likely they would be to avoid. Though inflated estimations influence subsequent behavior, and an inflated assessment of feelings of aversion is likely to lead to avoidance, it was also important to examine the effect of gender role incongruence on avoidance using a behavioral outcome measure.

There were two additional limitations involving the topics chosen in study 2, particularly in terms of ecological validity and calibration of masculinity and femininity. Regarding the former, given that the sample of study 2 primarily consisted of undergraduate and graduate students, the negotiation topics—compensation and access to a lactation room—may not have had a great deal of ecological validity for participants. Presumably these participants have limited work experience and thus have had few opportunities to negotiate about compensation. Likewise, few of these participants are parents, and thus a negotiation concerning access to a lactation room may be an especially unfamiliar topic for them. Regarding the latter issue, the pretest for study 2 showed empirically that compensation was both more masculine than access to a lactation room and was rated significantly more masculine than feminine. However, the topics chosen were somewhat unbalanced in the sense that the mean rating for femininity for access to a lactation room was much more extreme than the mean rating for masculinity for compensation. Therefore, it was also important to examine gender role incongruence using topics that have more ecological validity in an experimental setting and that are better calibrated in terms of masculinity and femininity.

CHAPTER 4

Study 3

In study 3, I made significant changes to the experimental paradigm in order to address the limitations discussed above in studies 1 and 2. I also examined several additional theoretical questions, namely, to what degree cognitive assessments explain avoidance, and the role of gender identity, specifically in terms of whether gender role incongruence is more salient for individuals with strong gender identities.

Experimental Paradigm

In order to improve the experimental paradigm and to broaden this research, in study 3, I investigated a different method of negotiation avoidance. Specifically, the outcome variable of interest was whether participants chose to engage in a negotiation versus to opt out by engaging in an alternative task. Similar to passing the buck, in studies 1 and 2, this operationalization of avoidance was more subtle than the traditional conceptualization of avoidance as withdrawal, but also involved an actual behavior—making a choice—as opposed to rating a hypothetical variable.

There were a number of reasons for operationalizing avoidance in this manner. As discussed earlier in the paper, complete withdrawal from aversive situations is often impossible in an organizational context, whereas more inconspicuous forms of avoidance, such as performing an alternative task rather than engaging in an aversive one, are more feasible. In addition, on a practical level, operationalizing complete withdrawal reliably in the laboratory context is challenging. In an experimental situation, participants have every incentive to want to withdraw, since in this context outright withdrawal would mean leaving the experiment early, which would presumably be desirable to most participants and thus not a reliable test of avoidance. Finally, in study 3 I also asked participants who chose not to negotiate if they would

be willing to forfeit some portion of their compensation for the study in order to avoid negotiating. This additional measure also provided greater realism in terms of people's willingness to avoid by investigating if they would even be willing to forfeit some compensation in order to avoid.

In addition, the negotiation topics chosen in this study were designed to be more relevant to students and to be better calibrated in terms of masculinity and femininity. The masculine topic involved a negotiation concerning adding a wrestling team to the NCAA sports program at the university where the study was conducted, whereas the feminine topic involved redesigning college memorabilia to make it more fashionable, also for the university where the study was conducted. Both of these topics were deemed to have ecological validity for students since they involve campus issues relevant to student life and to be relatively calibrated in terms of degrees of masculinity versus femininity. Furthermore, though these issues are masculine and feminine in nature, they are nevertheless issues about which both male and female students could be concerned.

Thus, in study 3, using a different operationalization of avoidance (opting for an alternative task), I again hypothesized that men would be more likely than women to avoid a negotiation about a feminine topic and that women would be more likely than men to avoid a negotiation about a masculine topic (Hypotheses 1 and 2). Considered jointly, hypotheses 1 and 2 imply that there will be an interaction between gender and topic of negotiation on avoidance, such that people are more likely to avoid negotiations about gender role incongruent topics.

Emotional and cognitive explanations of the effect of gender role incongruence on avoidance

Several empirical studies on gender and negotiation have examined gender differences in emotional responses to the negotiation situation and how they relate to performance. Previous studies have shown women's overwhelming tendency to be more anxious about negotiation than men (e.g. Babcock et. al., 2006; Bowles et. al., 2007). Furthermore, Bowles et. al. (2007) found that women reported a significantly higher degree of nervousness than men when anticipating a negotiation for higher compensation with a male evaluator, and that nervousness was a significant mediator of women's lower likelihood to negotiate. Likewise, Small et. al. (2007) asked participants to rate their thoughts and feelings about negotiating, and men rated negotiating as significantly less aversive than women. The results from studies 1 and 2 in this dissertation provide further empirical support for the degree to which emotional responses explain gender differences in negotiation, since aversion significantly mediated avoidance of negotiation for women. Thus, in study 3 I again hypothesized that men would be more likely than women to find a negotiation about a feminine topic aversive and that women would be more likely than men to find a negotiation about a masculine topic aversive (Hypotheses 3 and 4) and that aversion would mediate the gender by topic interaction on avoidance (Hypothesis 5).

However, previous research in gender and negotiation has also examined more cognitive explanations for gender differences in negotiation, especially in terms of anticipated backlash and negotiation skills. Given that women express lower preferences for engaging in competitive tasks despite having abilities equal to male counterparts (Niederle & Vesterlund, 2007), avoiding competitive behavior may be a rational response to anticipated backlash. Numerous studies have shown that assertive women, though perceived as competent, pay a price in terms of likeability

(e.g. Bowles et. al., 2007; Rudman, 1998; Buttner & McEnally, 1996). Nevertheless, Bowles et. al. (2007) investigated empirically whether anticipated backlash mediated women's lower likelihood to initiate negotiation compared to men and did not find significant support for mediation. Thus, anticipated backlash in a negotiation situation did not explain women's lower rate of initiation of negotiation compared to men.

Other researchers have examined gender differences in negotiation skills as a way to explain gender differences in negotiation performance. Kaman and Hartel (1994) found gender differences in self-reported negotiation tactics such that men were more likely to report that they would use active tactics whereas women were more likely to report that they would use indirect tactics. Similarly, Renard (1992) found that, during simulated salary negotiations, men were more likely to engage in competitive tactics than women, especially when they faced a competitive negotiator, and that men engaged in a more diverse range of tactics than women. Stevens, Bavetta and Gist (1993) examined the role of self-efficacy and gender in a negotiation skills training program. Their results showed that a training program in self-management, with a predominant focus on negotiation skills and tactics, moderated sex differences in negotiated salaries.

Based on this past research and the results from studies 1 and 2, in study 3 I investigated two additional variables—self-rated expertise and perceptions of gender appropriateness—that involve cognitive evaluations of the negotiation situation. It was important to examine whether these variables also mediate gender differences in avoidance, as well as whether they would help to better explain men's avoidance, since aversion did not mediate avoidance for men in study 2. In terms of the former, expertise regarding the negotiation situation is one possible explanation that was not measured in studies 1 and 2 and that has also not been examined specifically in

previous studies. Gender differences in perceptions of expertise about the negotiation topic would be consistent with previous findings discussed above about negotiation skills. In addition, given that these previous studies examining negotiation skills were conducted in the context of negotiation over salary, it is also important to examine whether the negotiation topic influences gender differences in ratings of expertise. Thus, I hypothesized that men will rate themselves as more expert than women in a negotiation about a masculine topic, and that women will rate themselves as more expert than men in a negotiation about a feminine topic (Hypotheses 6 and 7), and that expertise would mediate the gender by topic interaction on avoidance (Hypothesis 8).

Another additional cognitive evaluation of the situation that is related to gender role incongruence and that could also mediate gender differences in avoidance is how people perceive the gender appropriateness of the negotiation situation. Gender appropriateness refers to people's beliefs about whether a particular negotiation suits a particular gender. If people believe that a negotiation violates norms for their particular gender, then they may be more likely to avoid, whereas if people believe that a negotiation involves fulfilling norms for their gender, then they may be more likely to engage in that negotiation. Put another way, a man who avoids responding to a negotiation attempt about compensation risks violating the prescriptive norms for masculinity, whereas avoiding engaging in a negotiation about access to a lactation room would not threaten the male gender role in the same way. The opposite argument can be made for women. If negotiation about compensation is less appropriate behavior for women, which is a logical assumption given the prevalence of prescriptive sex stereotypes (Rudman, 1998), then avoidance of a negotiation attempt about compensation may be more acceptable for women than for men. In contrast, avoidance of responding to a feminine issue such as access to a lactation room runs the risk of violating expectations of appropriate behavior, namely that women should

behave communally, meaning be nice and helpful, and thus engage in a situation about a prototypically feminine issue. Thus I hypothesized that for men, the higher that they rate a feminine negotiation topic to be more appropriate for women than men, the more likely that they will be to avoid a negotiation about a feminine topic, whereas for women, the higher that they rate a masculine negotiation topic to be more appropriate for men than women, the more likely that they will be to avoid a negotiation about a masculine topic (Hypotheses 9 and 10).

Gender Identity

Finally, an additional goal of study 3 was to explore the role of gender identity in addition to biological sex. Gender identity refers to the degree to which an individual identifies with masculine versus feminine characteristics, as they are circumscribed by traditional gender roles. There are several possible variations in gender identity, including individuals who rate high on either masculinity or femininity, who rate high on both, i.e. are considered androgynous, and who are not strongly identified with either masculinity or femininity (Bem, 1974). In addition, though masculinity and femininity have been shown to be correlated with being male and female, respectively (Spence & Buckner, 2000), women may rate high on masculinity and men may rate high on femininity. Thus, on a practical level, by only measuring biological sex in the previous studies, I was unable to capture the variance in identification with masculine versus feminine characteristics among both men and women.

On a theoretical level, investigating gender identity is important since previous research has shown that men who rate high on masculinity and women who rate high on femininity, i.e. individuals who rate high on the gendered characteristics for their particular sex, are more likely to avoid activities associated with the opposite sex (Bem & Lenney, 1976) and experience greater gender role conflict (Luhaorg & Zivian, 1995) than individuals who are less strongly

identified with their traditional gender role. Moreover, as discussed earlier, gender role incongruence involves negotiating over a topic that is considered incongruent to one's gender role. Based on this definition, gender role incongruence should be more salient for individuals with strong gender identities because, for these individuals, the level of incongruence between gender roles and the topic being negotiated will be greater. For example, a male who identifies highly with traditional masculine traits would experience greater gender role incongruence when negotiating over a feminine issue than a male who identifies more weakly with masculine traits. Thus, I hypothesized that masculinity will be a significant predictor of avoidance in the feminine topic condition whereas femininity will be a significant predictor of avoidance in the masculine topic condition (Hypotheses 11 and 12). I also predicted that highly masculine individuals would be the least likely to be willing to forfeit compensation in order to avoid given prescriptive and descriptive stereotypes about the masculine gender role (Hypothesis 13). Specifically, given that the masculine gender role is characterized by agentic and assertive behavior, highly masculine individuals are presumably the least likely to engage in this more extreme form of avoidance involving forfeiting pay for the experiment.

Methods

Participants

The sample consisted of 50 male and 40 female undergraduate and graduate students (mean age = 23) who participated in the study (called the "Task Process Study") for pay.

*Protocol**

Study 3 used a 2 (gender of participant) x 2 (topic of negotiation: sports [masculine topic] vs. fashion [feminine topic]) between-subjects design. The topics were chosen based on pretesting that indicated that sports are considered a masculine topic and fashion is considered a

feminine topic. Pretesting was conducted with a small sample of participants (n=8) who rated both the fashion and sports topics for masculinity and femininity. Given the small sample, statistical tests were not performed, but means indicated that participants rated fashion as more feminine (M = 4.38, SD = 2.00) than masculine (M = 3.12, SD = 1.13) and sports as more masculine (M = 4.12, SD = 2.03) than feminine (M = 2.75, SD = 1.04).

The protocol for this study was the following: Participants entered the lab and were instructed to complete the first part of the study online. They were told that when they completed the first part online, they would receive a message telling them to wait for the experimenter, and that the experimenter would move everyone on to the second part of the study together at the same time. The first part of the study (which in reality was the entire study unbeknownst to participants) consisted of reading about two different tasks – a negotiation and proofreading an essay. For the negotiation portion, participants were randomly assigned to either a read a negotiation concerning a masculine topic – adding a wrestling team to the university's NCAA sports or a negotiation concerning a feminine topic – redesigning the university's line of clothing and memorabilia to make it more fashionable. The proofreading task involved reading and editing an essay about time management (full text for all three tasks appears in appendix 2).

Participants answered questions about each task, in terms of how aversive they were, how expert they thought they would be, how appropriate the tasks were for each gender, and how masculine versus feminine the tasks were. Participants were also told that they would have an opportunity to choose in which task they would like to engage.

Participants were subsequently instructed: "Now please choose the task that you would like to engage in. We make every effort to give people their first choices, but it depends on what other people choose as well." Participants who chose to proofread rather than negotiate were also

asked the following: "We may need additional people to negotiate, even if that was not their first choice. How much of your compensation for today would you be willing to forfeit to proofread rather than negotiate?" Participants then filled out items concerning gender identity and demographics. They were then instructed to wait for the experimenter before moving on to the next part of the study. Finally, participants were debriefed and told that they would not be participating in the task that they chose because the study examines choices rather than engagement in tasks, and they were dismissed.

Measures

Manipulation check 1: Understanding of the scenario

There were two manipulation checks in this study. The first manipulation check was designed to verify that participants had read and understood the materials. This manipulation check consisted of the following question, and participants were required to choose one answer: "In this study, I read about a negotiation concerning... (1) whether CMU should redesign its line of clothing to make it more fashionable or (2) whether CMU should add a wrestling team."

Manipulation check 2: Masculinity versus femininity of tasks

The second manipulation check was to verify the masculinity and femininity of the negotiation situations. In both conditions, participants rated the negotiation for masculinity "How masculine do you consider this task? By masculine, we mean a task that you would typically associate with a man" and femininity "How feminine do you consider this task? By feminine, we mean a task that you would typically associate with a woman."

Aversion to engaging in the negotiation

Participants rated items identical to those in studies 1 and 2 concerning how aversive they would find the impending negotiation on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree. As in study 2, a principal components factor analysis of 6 items related to feeling at ease (reversed scored), pressure, nervousness, confidence (reverse scored), certain (reverse scored) and dislike produced a single factor ($\alpha = .81$).

Expertise about negotiating

Participants also rated two items about how expert they rated themselves for the negotiation on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = Not at all to 7 = Very much. The items were "How expert would you rate yourself in completing this task?"; "How appropriate do you feel it is for you to do this task? By appropriate, we mean that this task suits you and your skill sets." ($\alpha = .82$).

Gender appropriateness for women

Participants rated two items concerning whether the negotiation was more appropriate for women than men ("This task is a better fit for women than men"; "This task is more appropriate for women than for men") on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree ($\alpha = .88$).

Gender appropriateness for men

Participants also rated two items concerning whether the negotiation was more appropriate for men than women ("Doing this task just fits men better than women"; "This task suits men better than women") on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree ($\alpha = .97$).

Avoidance of negotiation

For this study, the measure of avoidance was the dichotomous indicator of whether or not participants chose to participate in the negotiation with choice to negotiate coded as 0 and choice to proofread, i.e. avoid negotiation, coded as 1.

Willingness to forfeit compensation to avoid negotiating

Given that most participants who expressed a willingness to forfeit compensation in order to avoid negotiating were willing to forfeit one dollar, a dichotomous indicator of willingness to forfeit compensation (yes / no) was created with willingness to forfeit coded as 1 and unwillingness to forfeit coded as 0.

Gender Identity: Masculinity and femininity

This measure was the shortened Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), which consists of thirty items, 10 that measure masculine characteristics (α = .90), 10 that measure feminine characteristics (α = .91) and 10 neutral, filler items (see appendix 1 for a complete list of items).

Results

See tables 10 and 11 for a complete list of means, standard deviations, frequencies, and a correlation matrix for all variables.

Manipulation Check 1: Understanding of the scenario

Only responses from the 90 participants (out of 92) who correctly answered the first manipulation check question were included in the analyses.

Manipulation Check 2: Masculine versus feminine topics

The wrestling negotiation (M = 4.27, SD = 1.86) was rated significantly more masculine than the fashion negotiation (M = 3.22, SD = 1.43; t(88) = -3.03, p < .01). The fashion

negotiation was rated significantly more feminine (M = 3.98, SD = 1.45) than the wrestling negotiation (M = 2.45, SD = 1.11; t(88) = 5.57, p < .001).

Gender by topic of negotiation on avoidance

Hypothesis 1 – that men will be more likely than women to avoid a negotiation about a feminine topic – was not supported. To test this hypothesis, I conducted a chi-square analysis crossing sex by task choice in the fashion condition. The chi-square test for sex by task choice was not significant in the fashion condition (χ 2 (1) = 1.02, n.s.; see table 12a). Hypothesis 2 – that women will be more likely than men to avoid a negotiation about a masculine topic – was confirmed. The chi-square test for sex by task choice was significant in the wrestling condition (χ 2 (1) = 5.69, p = .02; see table 12b). In order to test whether there was a significant interaction between sex and topic of negotiation on avoidance, as implied by hypotheses 1 and 2 together, I conducted a logistic regression analysis, but the coefficient for the interaction term was not significant (B = 1.05, n.s.; see table 13).

Gender by topic of negotiation on aversion

Hypothesis 3—that men would rate a negotiation about a feminine topic as more aversive than women—was not supported. Men (M = 3.05, SD = 1.11) did not rate the fashion negotiation as significantly more aversive than women (M = 3.34, SD = .93). Hypothesis 4 – that women would rate a negotiation about a masculine topic as more aversive than men was also not supported. Women (M = 3.33, SD = 1.10) did not rate the wrestling negotiation as significantly more aversive than men (M = 3.45, SD = .86). Given that the main effects were not significant, an interaction was not tested, and further tests for mediation (hypothesis 5) were not conducted.

Gender by topic of negotiation on expertise

Hypothesis 6—that men will rate themselves as more expert than women in a negotiation about a masculine topic —was not supported. Men (M = 4.13, SD = 1.38) did not rate themselves as significantly more expert than women (M = 3.93, SD = 1.15) in the wrestling negotiation condition. Hypothesis 7—that women will rate themselves as more expert than men in a negotiation about a feminine topic—was not supported. There was no significant difference between women (M = 3.89, SD = 1.11) and men's (M = 4.32, SD = 1.12) ratings of expertise in the fashion condition. Given the lack of significant results, further tests for mediation (hypothesis 8) were not conducted.

Appropriateness for men versus women by topic

The wrestling negotiation (M = 3.73, SD = 1.73) was rated significantly more appropriate for men than women than the fashion negotiation (M = 2.52, SD = 1.00; t(88) = -4.07, p < .001). The fashion negotiation was rated significantly more appropriate for women than men (M = 3.19, SD = 1.32) than the wrestling negotiation (M = 2.24, SD = 0.80; t(88) = 4.12, p < .001). Ratings of appropriateness did not differ by gender. Furthermore, ratings of appropriateness were significantly correlated with ratings of masculinity and femininity of topics. Within the wrestling condition, the masculine rating for the task was significantly correlated with the task being considered more appropriate for men than women (r = .86, p < .001). Within the fashion condition, the feminine rating for the task was significantly correlated with the task being considered more appropriate for women than men (r = .78, p < .001). However, hypotheses 9 and 10 were not supported. Logistic regression analyses revealed that, for men, there was no relationship between their rating of whether a feminine negotiation topic is more appropriate for women than men and avoidance in the fashion condition (B = 0.08, n.s.; see table 14). Likewise,

for women, there was no relationship between their rating of whether a masculine negotiation topic is more appropriate for men than women and avoidance in the wrestling condition (B = -0.05, n.s.; see table 14).

Masculinity and femininity by topic of negotiation on avoidance

Hypotheses 11—that masculinity will be a significant predictor of avoiding negotiation about a feminine topic —was not supported. In a logistic regression, the main effect for masculinity (B = -.24, n.s.) was not significant in the fashion condition (see table 15). Hypotheses 12—that femininity will be a significant predictor of avoiding negotiation about a masculine topic—was also not supported. In a logistic regression, the main effect for femininity (B = .21, n.s.) was not significant in the wrestling condition (see table 16). However, additional analyses were conducted to further explore the role of masculinity and femininity on avoidance, and further analyses revealed that masculinity was a significant predictor of choosing to negotiate in the wrestling condition (B = -.81, P < .05; see table 15).

Willingness to forfeit compensation in order to avoid negotiation

Among participants who chose to avoid negotiation (n=60), only a small number (n=8; 1 male in fashion, 2 males in wrestling, 2 females in fashion, and 3 females in wrestling) expressed a willingness to forfeit compensation in order to avoid negotiating, with most (n=52) unwilling to forfeit compensation. As predicted (Hypothesis 13) masculinity was a significant, negative predictor of willingness to forfeit compensation across conditions (B = -1.10, p < .05; see table 17). Additionally, the chi-square test for sex by willingness to forfeit compensation was not significant (χ 2 (1) = 0.31, n.s.; see table 18). Due to the small sample size of individuals willing to forfeit compensation, additional analyses were not conducted to examine interactions between sex and topic and between masculinity and topic on willingness to forfeit.

Discussion

The findings from study 3 provide mixed support for the previous studies. Women were significantly more likely to avoid a negotiation about a masculine issue than men were. In addition, masculinity was a significant, negative predictor of avoidance in the masculine condition and of willingness to forfeit compensation across conditions. However, the opposite pattern of results for men was not found in the feminine condition. Thus the two-way interaction for gender by negotiation topic on avoidance as found in study 2 was not replicated here. One explanation for this inconsistency in terms of men's behavior is that fashion is not as viscerally a feminine topic as access to a lactation room and thus did not lead to avoidance for men. Another explanation in terms of women's behavior involves the fact that women showed a consistent tendency to avoid negotiating across negotiation topics. One reason for this may be that proofreading was not a gender neutral task, but rather feminine enough that women preferred it over negotiating. An alternative explanation is that negotiating is simply more aversive for women than men no matter what the topic, though there was not a significant gender difference in aversion in either condition or when the data were collapsed across both conditions.

In addition, there was no gender difference in expertise in either condition nor was there any effect for beliefs about gender appropriateness. The aversion results also did not replicate from the previous studies. It could be that the negotiation topics chosen for this study were simply not evocative enough to elicit gender role incongruence, especially compared to the topics chosen in study 2. Though the topics in study 3 were more ecologically valid and better calibrated, negotiating about an innocuous campus issue may be less daunting than negotiating about compensation or access to a lactation room. Based on these results, in future work, it will be important to strengthen the feminine and masculine negotiation topic manipulations.

Despite these mixed findings, I believe that study 3 may lead to interesting future research in this area. Though the two-way interaction of sex by topic on avoidance was not significant, it is promising that there was a significant gender difference in the masculine condition and not in the feminine topic condition. This finding provides some indication that negotiation topics influence gender differences in negotiation. In addition, the findings concerning masculinity are also promising. The fact that highly masculine individuals were significantly less likely to forfeit compensation in order to avoid negotiating indicates that this is an important variable to consider in future research.

Future work should also disentangle the gendered nature of negotiation topics with the gendered nature of negotiation in general. Past research has shown that typical masculine traits and behaviors are associated with success at the bargaining table (Kray, Thompson & Galinsky, 2001). If masculinity is associated with success in negotiation in general, then the effect of gender role incongruence of negotiation topic may be confounded with the negotiation situation overall, which could also explain the results of study 3. In other words, for women, the masculine nature of the negotiation situation on the whole may be confounded with and overpowering the effect of the topic manipulation—indeed, there was a significant main effect for gender on avoidance across conditions. In order to address this issue, in future studies, the alternative task should be masculine, since, if both negotiation and the alternative task used to avoid negotiation are considered masculine, then the effect of the gendered nature of the topic should be more pronounced.

Finally, the fact that the masculine topic had more influence than the feminine topic on avoidance is consistent from a status perspective, i.e. the idea that a masculine situation, which is typically associated with high status, would influence gender differences to a greater degree than

a feminine situation, which is typically associated with low status and thus less threatening (Ridgeway & Bourg, 2004). In fact, previous work on gender and negotiation has argued that gender differences in initiation of negotiation about compensation are salient because compensation is a status-based resource, and women's attempt to negotiate for compensation violates status norms by making claims to a resource associated with higher-status (Bowles et. al., 2007). More generally, previous work on the psychology of gender has primarily found support for gender differences in masculine as opposed to feminine tasks. For example, gender differences in attribution style have been found in the context of a masculine task, with men more likely to attribute success to ability and failure to bad luck, and women more likely to attribute success to good luck and failure to ability, but not in the context of a feminine task (Deaux & Emswiller, 1974). Thus, the two-way interaction of gender role incongruence on avoidance may only be revealed when the feminine topic involves something that is extremely feminine, such as access to a lactation room in study 2. Moderately feminine topics do not appear to be particularly threatening to men in the same way that masculine topics may be threatening to women.

CHAPTER 5

General discussion

The relationship between gender role incongruence and avoidance of negotiation was investigated in this dissertation. The results from Study 1 demonstrated women's greater likelihood to avoid engaging in a negotiation about a role incongruent issue—compensation—as compared to men, for whom compensation is a role congruent issue. Furthermore, study 1 demonstrated that feelings of aversion to negotiating partially mediated the relationship between gender and avoidance. The results from Study 2 first established that negotiation topics are sextyped, with compensation considered a more masculine topic than access to a lactation room, and thus more gender role congruent for men than women, and access to a lactation room considered a more feminine topic than compensation, and thus more gender role congruent for women than men. Study 2 showed that gender role incongruence is salient for both men and women by providing evidence that men were more likely to avoid engaging in a negotiation about a prototypically feminine topic than a prototypically masculine topic. Furthermore, feelings of aversion partially mediated the interaction between gender and negotiation topic on avoidance. The results from study 3 showed that, using an experimental paradigm with a behavioral measure of avoidance, women are more likely than men to avoid negotiating over a masculine topic. Theoretical and practical implications

This research makes a number of contributions to the negotiation literature, as well as to the literature on organizations more generally. The findings indicate that negotiation topics are not gender neutral and that the gendered nature of negotiation topics is an area for future research. The results from study 2, in particular, provide preliminary evidence that compensation is a masculine issue, and that the implicit assumption underlying much research in negotiation that

compensation is gender neutral should be reconsidered. Much of the previous work on gender and negotiation has examined gender differences in initiation of negotiation and negotiation performance in the context of compensation and monetary issues (Babcock et al., 2006; Gerhart & Rynes, 1991; Small et al., 2007; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999). Though past researchers have argued theoretically that negotiations about compensation have different implications for women than for men (Bowles et al., 2007; Wade, 2001), this issue had not been examined empirically. The fact that compensation is a masculine issue may help to explain why negotiations concerning compensation and other monetary issues are a more problematic context for women than for men.

Likewise, this work contributes to a growing body of research demonstrating the importance of situational moderators in understanding gender and negotiation. The findings from the studies in this dissertation indicate that negotiation topic is another important moderator of the effect of gender on negotiation outcomes. Thus the topic being negotiated joins a growing array of contextual factors that have been shown to significantly moderate the relationship between gender and negotiation performance, such as situational ambiguity, representation role, salience of stereotypes at the bargaining table, and framing of the negotiation situation (Bowles et al., 2005; Kray et al., 2002; Small et al., 2007). In addition to the effect of negotiation topic on avoidance, future research should also examine the moderating effect of topic with respect to initiation of negotiation and performance.

These studies also add to a burgeoning literature in negotiation that highlights the ways in which the current paradigm for studying negotiation is incomplete. Currently, the predominant paradigm for experimental research in negotiation is to assign roles to participants and instruct them to negotiate. Both the initiation of negotiation and the response to the initiation are overlooked in this paradigm, with the implicit assumption being that it is normative for

negotiations to be undertaken. However, just as Small et. al. (2007) showed that the initiation of negotiation is not necessarily normative for women, these studies show that the likelihood of avoidance of engaging in a negotiation is heightened when people are anticipating a gender role incongruent negotiation situation. Furthermore, results from Small et. al. (2007) also showed that the baseline rate of initiation of negotiation for all participants was rather low—for example only 12% of participants negotiated in the first study reported in that paper. Similarly, in study 3, only 33% of participants chose to negotiate across conditions. Altogether, the findings reported here as well as the findings from previous work indicate that negotiation researchers may be overestimating the extent to which people negotiate, an overestimation that is reflected in the paradigm used to study negotiation.

More generally, these studies contribute to a better understanding of how people respond to aversive situations in organizational settings. Managers in organizations constantly have to respond to a variety of situations, and though we would like to assume that managers can respond to anything, in fact, they may find certain situations aversive and choose to avoid them. Furthermore, although outright avoidance such as withdrawal is often difficult in organizations, research has shown that people find other ways to work around uncomfortable situations. For example, delaying indefinitely has been identified as a tactic used by supervisors when they are in the aversive position of refusing a request (Izraeli & Jick, 1986). Thus these studies also contribute to a greater understanding of when people may be likely to avoid, albeit subtly, in organizations.

From a practical perspective, the results indicate that people need to be cognizant of how they respond when others negotiate with them, not only of how they behave when negotiating on their own behalf. Women's greater propensity relative to men of avoiding a negotiation about

compensation could be costly if passing off the negotiation is viewed negatively by peers and/or superiors in the workplace. Furthermore, men's greater likelihood relative to women of avoiding negotiations about a feminine issue such as access to a lactation room may also be costly given that "family friendly" policies have been shown to increase job retention and satisfaction among female employees (Scandura & Lankau, 1997). Passing off this type of a negotiation could potentially lead to decreased satisfaction among subordinates. Thus the findings from these studies highlight the importance of how people respond to others' negotiation attempts, thereby shedding new light on the response phase of negotiation as opposed to the prevailing focus on individual negotiation performance.

Limitations and future directions

These studies had some limitations that provide opportunities for future research. First, in both studies 1 and 2 there was a match within the scenarios between the sex of the initiator and the sex of the person to whom the negotiation could be shifted. In study 1 both roles were male and in study 2 both roles were female. It is unclear whether a mismatch between the sex of these roles, i.e. responding to a male initiator with the opportunity to pass off the negotiation to a female and vice versa, would change the results. Previous research indicates that the mismatch conditions should be investigated further. For example, Bowles et. al. (2007) found that women were more reluctant than men to initiate a negotiation about compensation when they anticipated negotiating with a male evaluator but not with a female evaluator. Thus future research should investigate the entire array of gender matches and mismatches among the initiator, the responder, and the person to whom the negotiation is shifted.

In addition, there were some inconsistencies between the results of studies 1 and 2 and the results of study 3. These inconsistencies imply that gender role incongruence may only be

salient for men with extremely feminine negotiation topics. Specifically, men did not avoid significantly more than women in study 3 in the feminine negotiation topic condition, which concerned redesigning university memorabilia to make it more fashionable, unlike in study 2, in which the feminine negotiation topic was access to a lactation room, and there was a trend for men to avoid more than women. One explanation for this, as previously discussed, is statusbased, since feminine topics may not be particularly threatening to men in the same way that masculine topics may be threatening to women.

On a more practical level, regarding the relevance of this research to work-life issues, study 2 examined access to a lactation room as a feminine issue, an issue that is particularly sextyped in that only women can lactate though, to be sure, both men and women can respond to a negotiation about this issue. Future research should also examine how people respond to other work-life issues that are often negotiated in the workplace, such as flexible work hours, leave to care for sick children and/or relatives and onsite day care arrangements. Examining these issues could help to disentangle to what degree negotiable issues related to parenthood are sex-typed, as well as whether men and women differ in terms of avoidance as a response to these other issues as well. Thus, future work should examine avoidance in the context of other masculine and feminine topics, especially those that are prevalent in the workplace, in order to better understand this phenomenon.

In sum, the findings from this dissertation contribute to a growing body of research on gender and negotiation that encompasses all phases of the negotiation process, as well as important situational moderators. All three studies demonstrate that women are more likely than men to avoid in masculine negotiation situations, and the results from study 2 showed a two-way interaction between gender and topic on avoidance, with individuals in gender role incongruent

situations more likely to avoid than those in gender role congruent situations. Future research should consider more carefully the effect of the topic being negotiated, as well as the response phase of negotiation, with special consideration paid to avoidance as a response. Overall, this area of research will help to inform a crucial and, thus far, underappreciated aspect of managers' jobs – responding to the initiation of negotiation from others in the workplace.

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Appendix 1: Measures

Aversion (Studies 1, 2, & 3) - Items rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = Strongly

Disagree to 7 =Strongly Agree.

- I dislike having to negotiate.
- I would feel at ease during this negotiation. (R)
- I would feel nervous during this negotiation.
- I would feel a lot of pressure during this negotiation.
- I would feel confident that I would do well in this negotiation. (R)
- I would feel certain that I would do well in this negotiation. (R)

Avoidance (**Studies 1 & 2**) - Items rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = Not at all to 7 = Very much.

- How likely are you to let Steve (Sarah) do the negotiation?
- I would definitely want Steve (Sarah) to conduct the negotiation.

Expertise (Study 3) - Items rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = Not at all to 7 = Very much.

- How expert would you rate yourself in completing this task?
- How appropriate do you feel it is for you to do this task? By appropriate, we mean that this task suits you and your skill sets.

Gender appropriateness (Study 3) - Items rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = Not at all to 7 = Very much.

Task more appropriate for women than men

- This task is a better fit for women than men
- This task is more appropriate for women than for men

Task more appropriate for men than women

- Doing this task just fits men better than women
- This task suits men better than women

Masculinity and femininity (Study 3)

Bem Sex Role Inventory (shortened version)

Instructions: For the items below, please indicate how well each of these words describes yourself:

- 1- Never or almost never true 2- Usually not true 3- Sometimes but infrequently true
- 4- Occasionally true 5- Often true 6- Usually true 7- Always or almost always true

Masculine items

Defend my own beliefs Have leadership abilities

Independent Willing to take risks

Assertive Dominant

Strong Personality Willing to take a stand

Forceful Aggressive

Feminine items

Affectionate Eager to soothe hurt feelings

Sympathetic Warm

Sensitive to needs of others Tender

Understanding Loves children

Compassionate Gentle

Neutral (filler) items

Conscientious Secretive
Moody Adaptable
Reliable Conceited
Jealous Tactful

Truthful Conventional

Appendix 2: Task descriptions – Study 3

Wrestling team negotiation

This task involves engaging in a negotiation role play with another participant about <u>whether or not Carnegie Mellon should add an intercollegiate men's wrestling team.</u> You will be playing the role of a concerned student and the other party will be playing the role of a representative from the Carnegie Mellon Student Government.

Currently Carnegie Mellon does not have a wrestling team as one of its NCAA Intercollegiate sports. Sports are a source of pride for the university, and many people on campus believe strongly that the sports program should keep up with the latest trends in university athletics programs.

The representative from the student government will make the case that CMU does not need to add a NCAA wrestling team, primarily for financial reasons. Your role will be to respond to that negotiation based on evidence that you will be provided in favor of adding a wrestling team, as well as your personal experience and knowledge about the athletics program at CMU. The evidence primarily consists of reports from other universities about the ways in which enhanced athletic offerings ultimately help to increase revenue and improve a university's reputation.

This negotiation will take approximately 15 minutes total time, including a preparation period, during which you will have time to read and review additional materials about the topic under negotiation.

Fashion design negotiation

This task involves engaging in a negotiation role play with another participant about whether or not to redesign Carnegie Mellon's line of clothing, meaning CMU memorabilia such as sweatshirts, tee shirts, hats etc., to make it more fashionable. You will be playing the role of a concerned student and the other party will be playing the role of a representative from the Carnegie Mellon Student Government.

Currently Carnegie Mellon sells a line of clothing that has not been updated in several years. Carnegie Mellon memorabilia is a source of pride for the university, and many people on campus believe strongly that the clothing should also keep up with the latest fashion trends so that students and alumni alike will purchase and wear the clothing.

The representative from the student government will make the case that CMU memorabilia does not need to be redesigned to be more fashionable, primarily for financial reasons. Your role will be to respond to that negotiation based on evidence that you will be provided in favor of redesigning the CMU clothing line, as well as your personal experience and knowledge about fashion and the clothing line at CMU. The evidence primarily consists of reports from other universities about the ways in which enhanced and more fashionable memorabilia ultimately help to increase revenue and improve a university's reputation.

This negotiation will take approximately 15 minutes total time, including a preparation period, during which you will have time to read and review additional materials about the topic under negotiation.

Proofreading task

Proofreading is an important skill for students and professionals. In this task you will proofread a document by noting where there are errors and correcting those errors. Errors may include spelling, punctuation and/or grammar. The errors are not always obvious, so be sure to read the document extremely carefully with an eye toward precision. Remember that proofreading is not the same as editing—though the two activities are often confused, each focuses on different aspects of the writing process. Proofreading requires close and careful reading and should ideally be done in short blocks of time in order to maximize concentration. Proofreading also requires meticulous attention to detail.

The title of the essay that you will proofing is "Effective Time Management." The essay is a total of 10 pages long, double spaced. Proofreading this essay typically takes participants 15 minutes, though times may vary. When you find an error in spelling, punctuation and/or grammar, you should place an "X" on the error and then write the correction in the space directly above the error. For example, if a sentence stated, "The bus goes their," you would place an "X" through the word "their," and directly above write the correct version, "there."

 $\label{eq:TABLE 1} TABLE~1$ Means and standard deviations by gender – Study 1

	Men	Women
Aversion	2.77	3.14*
	(0.83)	(1.00)
Avoidance	2.75	3.64**
	(1.67)	(1.85)
n	74	63

Note: * p < .05; **p < .01

Standard deviations appear in parentheses

 $\label{eq:TABLE 2} \textbf{Intercorrelations among variables} - \textbf{Study 1}$

Variable	1	2	3
1. Sex		.20*	.25**
2. Aversion			.34**
3. Avoidance			

Note: N=137; sex coded as male = 0, female =1

Pearson correlation coefficients

*p < .05

**p < .01

TABLE 3

Regression results - Study 1 – Gender and aversion on avoidance

DV:

	DV:
	Avoidance
Step 1:	
Female	.893**
	(.30)
	[.25**]
Step 2:	
Female	.67 *
	(.29)
	[.19*]
Aversion	.59**
	(.16)
	[.31**]
R ² for model	.15

Note: *p < .05; **p < .01; Unstandardized coefficient appears first, standard error in parentheses, standardized beta in brackets; sex coded as male = 0, female =1

N=137

 $TABLE\ 4$ Means and standard deviations for masculinity and femininity ratings – Pretest - Study 2

Topic of	Masculine	Feminine		
negotiation				
Compensation	4.42	3.55 a		
	(1.79)	(1.44)		
Lactation room	1.45**	6.55***a		
	(0.87)	(0.83)		

Note: N=33; ** p < .01, * p < .05; Asterisks refer to significant differences within masculinity/femininity ratings and between topics; * p < .01, * p < .05; Superscripts refer to significant differences within topic and between masculinity/femininity ratings.

TABLE 5

Means and standard deviations for aversion and avoidance by gender and topic – Study 2

	M	Men		nen
	Compensation	Lactation	Compensation	Lactation
		room		room
Aversion	3.08	3.48	4.09 ^a	3.25*
	(1.15)	(0.88)	(1.18)	(1.10)
Avoidance	3.17	4.33*	4.45 ^b	3.28* ^c
	(1.64)	(1.93)	(1.78)	(1.99)
n	24	20	21	23

Standard deviations appear on parentheses

^{**} p < .01, * p < .05; Asterisks refer to significant differences within gender between topics.

 $^{^{}a}$ p < .01, b p < .05, c p < .10; Superscripts refer to significant differences between gender within topic.

TABLE 6 $Intercorrelations\ among\ variables-Study\ 2$

Variable	1	2	3	4
1. Sex		.07	.17	.04
2. Topic			09	.00
3. Aversion				.58**
4. Avoidance				

Note: N=88; sex coded as male = 0, female =1

Pearson correlation coefficients

^{*}p < .05 **p < .01

TABLE 7

Analysis of Variance – Gender by topic on avoidance – Study 2

Source	df	Mean Square	F
topic	1	.001	.000
sex	1	.324	.096
topic * sex	1	29.656	8.823**
Error	84	3.361	

Note: N=88; sex coded as male = 0, female =1; topic coded as compensation = 0, lactation room = 1; *p < .05; **p < .01

TABLE 8

Analysis of Variance – Gender by topic on aversion – Study 2

Source	df	Mean Square	F
topic	1	1.04	.872
sex	1	3.41	2.87
topic * sex	1	8.31	6.99*
Error	84	1.19	

Note: N=88; sex coded as male = 0, female =1; topic coded as compensation = 0, lactation room = 1; *p < .05; **p < .01

 $\label{eq:TABLE 9} TABLE \ 9$ Regression results - Study 2 – Gender, topic and aversion on avoidance

	DV:
	Avoidance
Step 1:	
Female	.15
	(.41)
	[.04]
Topic	01
	(.41)
	002
Step 2:	
Female	1.29*
	(.55)
	[.34*]
Topic	1.16*
	(.56)
	[.31*]
Female x Topic	-2.33**
	(.78)
	[54**]
Step 3:	
Female	.36
	(.49)
	[.10]
Topic	.79 †
	(.47)
	[.21 †]
Female by topic	-1.20 †
	(.69)
	[28 †]
Aversion	.92**
	(.16)
	[.55**]
R ² for model	.36
K 101 III0UCI	.30

Note: N=88; sex coded as male = 0, female =1; topic coded as compensation = 0, lactation room = 1; *p < .05; **p < .01; † p < .10; Unstandardized coefficient appears first, standard error in parentheses, standardized beta in brackets

TABLE 10 Means, standard deviations and frequencies by gender and topic - Study 3

		Men	V	Vomen	
	Wrestling	Fashion	Wrestling	Fashion	
Task choice					
- Negotiation	11 (48 %)	11 (41%)	3 (14%)	5 (26%)	
- Proofreading	12 (52 %)	16 (59%)	18 (86%)	14 (74%)	
Willingness to forfeit					
- Yes	2 (17 %)	1 (6%)	3 (17%)	2 (14%)	
- No	10 (83%)	15 (94%)	15 (83%)	12 (86%)	
Aversion	3.45	3.05	3.33	3.34	
	(0.86)	(1.11)	(1.10)	(0.93)	
Expertise	4.13	4.32	3.93	3.89	
	(1.38)	(1.23)	(1.15)	(1.11)	
Appropriateness for	2.40	3.20**	2.06	3.18**	
women	(0.78)	(1.31)	(0.81)	(1.37)	
Appropriateness for	4.12	2.65**	3.30	2.33*	
men	(1.56)	(0.94)	(1.85)	(1.07)	
Masculine task	4.78	3.59**	3.71 °	2.68 b	
	(1.57)	(1.25)	(2.03)	(1.53)	
Feminine task	2.65	4.00**	2.24	3.95**	
	(1.07)	(1.30)	(1.14)	(1.68)	
Masculinity		4.89	4.56°		
	(0.95		(0.97)		
Femininity		5.07		5.21	
		(0.92)	(1.09)		
n	23	27	21	19	

Frequencies and percentages for task choice and willingness to forfeit are within sex. Standard deviations appear on parentheses

^{**} p < .01, * p < .05; Asterisks refer to significant differences within gender between topics. a p < .01, b p < .05, c p < .10; Superscripts refer to significant differences between gender within topic.

 $\label{eq:TABLE 11} \textbf{Intercorrelations among variables} - \textbf{Study 3}$

		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
1.	Topic												
2.	Sex	.07											
3.	Masculine												
	task	.31**	27*										
4.	Feminine	ታ ታ											
	task	51**	11	14									
5.	Masculinity	02	17^{\dagger}	.01	11								
6.	Femininity	13	.07	09	.07	.38**							
7.	Aversion	.11	.05	.05	.11	49**	20 [*]						
8.	Expertise	04	13	02	11	.44**	.43**	57**					
9.	Appropriate												
	for women	40**	10	10	.77**	23*	05	$.18^{\dagger}$	23*				
10.	Appropriate												
	for men	.40**	16	.81**	22*	08	12	.12	15	.07			
11.	Task choice	.03	.25*	07	.06	21**	.03	$.19^{\dagger}$	23*	.04	01		
12.	Willingness												
	to forfeit	.10	.07	.22†	11	28*	03	.23†	26*	.01	26*		

Note: N=90 except for willingness to forfeit for which n=60; topic coded as 0 = fashion and 1 = wrestling; sex coded as male = 0, female =1; for task choice, negotiation coded as 0 and proofreading coded as 1; for forfeit compensation, willing to forfeit coded as 0= yes willing and 1 = not willing; † p<.10; *p < .05; **p < .01. Pearson correlation coefficients.

No correlation was computed between Task choice and Willingness to forfeit since only individuals who chose not to negotiate were asked about their willingness to forfeit compensation.

TABLES 12a and 12b

Chi-square analysis of task choice by gender by topic – Study ${\bf 3}$

Table 12a: Fashion

	Male	Female
Negotiate	11	5
Proofread	16	14
Pearson Chi-square statistic	1.02	
p-value	.31	

Total n = 46

Table 12b: Wrestling

	Male	Female
Negotiate	11	3
Proofread	12	18
Pearson Chi-square statistic	5.69*	
p-value	.02	

Total n = 44

TABLE 13 Logistic regression results for sex by topic on task choice - Study 3

Variable	В	S.E.	Odds ratio (95% C.I.)
Step 1			
Sex	1.14**	0.49	3.13
			(1.20-8.15)
Topic	0.07	0.46	1.07
			(0.43-2.66)
Step 2			
Sex	0.67	0.65	1.93
			(.54-6.91)
Condition	-0.29	0.57	0.75
			(0.24-2.30)
Sex*Topic	1.05	0.99	2.86
			(0.41-20.05)

Note: Task choice coded as 0 for negotiation and 1 for proofreading (avoiding negotiation)

Sex coded as 0 for male and 1 for female

Condition coded as 0 for fashion and 1 for wrestling

**p<.01 N=90

 $\begin{tabular}{l} TABLE\ 14 \\ Logistic\ regression\ results\ for\ appropriateness\ of\ topic\ by\ sex\ and\ condition\ on\ task\ choice\ -\ Study\ 3 \\ \end{tabular}$

Condition	Variable	Sex	В	S.E.	Odds ratio (95% C.I.)
Fashion	Appropriate for women	Male	0.08	0.31	1.08 (0.56-1.97)
Wrestling	Appropriate for men	Female	-0.05	0.35	0.95 (0.48-1.88)

Note: Task choice coded as 0 for negotiation and 1 for proofreading (avoiding negotiation); for men in fashion, n=27; for women in wrestling, n=21.

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} TABLE~15 \\ Logistic regression~results~for~masculinity~as~predictor~of~task~choice~by~topic~-~Study~3 \\ \end{tabular}$

Topic	Variable	В	S.E.	Odds ratio (95% C.I.)
Wrestling	Masculinity	-0.81*	0.41	0.44 (0.20-0.98)
Fashion	Masculinity	-0.24	0.32	0.78 (0.42-1.46)

Note: Task choice coded as 0 for negotiation and 1 for proofreading (avoiding negotiation) **p<.01; for wrestling, n=44, for fashion n=46

TABLE 16

Logistic regression results for femininity as predictor of task choice by topic - Study 3

Topic	Variable	В	S.E.	Odds ratio (95% C.I.)
Wrestling	Femininity	0.21	0.35	1.24 (0.62-2.46)
Fashion	Femininity	-0.02	0.30	0.98 (0.54-1.78)

Note: Task choice coded as 0 for negotiation and 1 for proof reading (avoiding negotiation) For wrestling, n=44, for fashion n=46

 $TABLE\ 17$ Logistic regression result for masculinity as a predictor of willingness to forfeit compensation to avoid negotiation - Study 3

Variable	В	S.E.	Odds ratio (95% C.I.)
Masculinity	-1.10*	0.53	0.33 (0.12-0.94)

Note: Willingness to forfeit coded as 0= yes willing and 1 = not willing; $\ensuremath{^*p}\xspace<.05$ N=60

TABLE 18

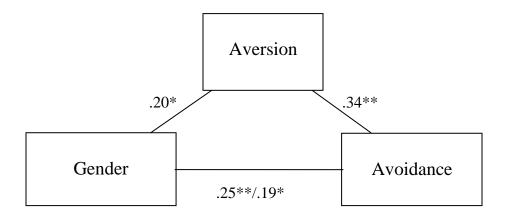
Chi-square analysis of willingness to forfeit compensation by sex - Study 3

	Men	Women
No forfeit	25	27
Yes forfeit	3	5
earson Chi-square statistic	0.31	
-value	0.58	

Total n = 60

FIGURE 1

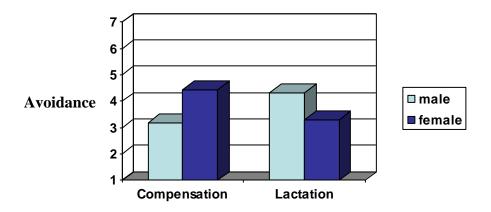
Partial mediation by aversion of gender on avoidance – Study 1



Sobel *z*: 2.09, p < .05Standardized betas shown; *p < .05; **p < .01

FIGURE 2

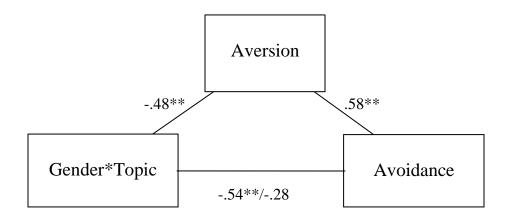
$Gender*topic \ of \ negotiation \ on \ avoidance-Study \ 2$



F(3,84) = 8.82, p < .01 for two-way interaction

FIGURE 3

Mediation of gender*topic of negotiation on avoidance by aversion-Study 2



Sobel z = -2.45, p < .05Standardized betas, *p < .05; **p < .01