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Abstract

Women are succeeding to a lesser extent than men in organizations (Catalyst, 2017; OECD, 2014). One of the drivers of these effects can be attributable to women's relative lower performance in negotiation, that is mainly driven by how women are perceived and evaluated when they violate gender stereotypic norms and expectations. In this work, I review the key research findings on gender in negotiation. More importantly, I propose interventions - and I test one of those - to mitigate gender effects in negotiation behavior and outcomes. In particular, in Chapter 1, I explore under what circumstances women are less successful than men in negotiations as well as the barriers that seem to play a key role in those settings. I review the interventions that have been documented to be effective at leveling the playing field in negotiation, and I propose new interventions that future research can test. In Chapter 2, I specifically focus on one of the interventions that I proposed in Chapter 1 and I test it. In particular, I study the negative cognitive and emotional reactions that men experience at the prospect of working with women negotiating for higher pay and explore self-affirmation as an intervention to reduce backlash (i.e., the social and economic penalties that women face when they behave counter-stereotypically). I conclude discussing plausible recommendations for organizations.

Keywords: Gender; Negotiation; Discrimination; Backlash; Interventions

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Introduction

Women succeed to a lesser extent than men in organizations and they are underrepresented in the upper echelons (Catalyst, 2017). One of the reasons why women attain less success than men can be attributable to their lower performance in negotiations (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013a; Bowles & McGinn, 2008, Kennedy & Kray, 2015; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999). Negotiations are important ways to distribute resources (Kray & Thompson, 2004). Employees can negotiate their salary, a promotion, their career advancement, their job title, their skill development, flexible time, and so on. It is important to study whether and when gender differences in negotiation performance emerge, in order to be able to understand its impact on career outcomes.

Women's lower performance in negotiation can be attributable to the reaction they get when they initiate negotiation. The characteristics associated with leadership, advancement and success in organizations are more congruent with the male characteristics than with the female ones (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Male characteristics are associated with being agentic, competitive, and assertive (Eagly & Wood, 2012), whereas female characteristics are associated with being accommodating, communal, cooperative, and other-oriented (Bakan, 1966; Stuhlmacher & Linnabery, 2013). Gender roles create expectations about how women and men should behave (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Wood & Eagly, 2010). Gender stereotypes work as social norms and people who violate them suffer social and economic consequences (Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Rudman, 1998). For example, dominant traits (e.g., self-promoting, being assertive, and claiming resources) are proscribed for women. Women who display dominant traits are perceived as qualified for leadership roles and as competent as men (Glick, Zion, & Nelson, 1988; Rudman, 1998), but they are considered as less likeable and less hireable. In other words, they experience backlash (Rudman, 1998). Backlash is defined as the social and economic penalties that women face when they enact counter-stereotypical

behaviors. Therefore, in performance settings, women face a double bind (Rudman & Glick, 2001): they are either perceived competent but not socially attractive, or socially attractive but not competent (Eagly, 1987; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). People tend to be reluctant to counter-stereotypical behavior displays and they react in a way that punishes deviants (Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999; 2001; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). For example, Rudman and Fairchild (2004) have shown that when people lost a competition to either atypical or a typical men or women, they showed greater tendency to sabotage (i.e., undermine future success of) deviants.

Past research has proposed and tested different interventions to mitigate gender effects in negotiation outcomes. As we will see in Chapter 1, brief and relative low costs interventions focusing either on the negotiation situation, the focal negotiator, or the negotiating counterpart, have been shown to mitigate gender effects in negotiations. Chapter 1 reviews the key findings of research on gender in negotiation and describes *whether* and *when* the playing field is level. Gender effects in negotiation are not universal, but rather, they are contextually bound (Bowles & McGinn, 2008; Kugler, Reif, Kaschner, & Brodbeck, 2018; Mazei et al., 2015; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999). Specifically, Chapter 1 focuses on the cognitive and motivational factors that seem to drive gender differences in negotiation outcomes. The cognitive factors that are responsible for gender differences in negotiation outcomes are mainly driven by stereotypes. Gender stereotypes would make evaluators skeptical about women's negotiation abilities. Motivational factors can also be responsible for gender effects in negotiation behavior and performance. Those originate from the desire to believe in a just world (Lerner, 1980) and women's relative lower economic outcomes in society would not be unfair to the extent that women are performing worse in some aspect of work, such as in negotiations (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Lerner, 1980; Kennedy & Kray, 2015). In

Chapter 1, I also propose new untested interventions that could potentially level the playing field.

In Chapter 2, I explore self-affirmation as an affective and cognitive intervention to reduce gender bias in a male-dominated work environment, a context where gender differences are more likely to occur. I specifically focus on feelings of anxiety as a potential contributor to men's negative perceptions of women negotiating for higher pay. Across multiple studies, I show that a brief and low-cost intervention based on important personal values reflection would reduce men's backlash toward women negotiating for higher pay. I further provide evidence for self-affirmation to decrease men's backlash toward women by reducing feelings of anxiety, which in turn reduces perceptions of women as dominant (a behavior that is proscriptive for women). I discuss the potential implications of these findings for our understanding of gender bias and discrimination, in particular for work cultures that heighten or reduce stress and anxiety.

Gender differences in negotiation performance are often invoked as an explanation for disparities among men and women in terms of pay and organizational advancement (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013a; Nadler & Nadler, 1987). Training women on how to negotiate more like men would not solve the problem. Since women tend to be negatively evaluated when they behave counter-stereotypically, the focus of the interventions aimed at mitigating gender differences should not be on the women themselves, but rather on the evaluators, who are ultimately the perpetrators of stereotypes. There is the need to design interventions that are able to reduce the perceivers' negative reactions to women advancement attempts. Organizations could consider implementing those interventions in order to reduce gender discrimination and to ultimately benefit from the entire talent pool.

CHAPTER 1

Interventions to Level the Playing Field in Negotiations. A Review of the Literature and Avenues for Future Research

Chiara Trombini

Abstract

Gender differences in negotiation are often referred as one of the key drivers of gender gap. The present paper aims at integrating and extending extant literature to better understand the role of gender in negotiation. Gender differences are strongly dependent on the context. I discuss interventions that mitigate gender differences in negotiation outcomes. I organize those interventions according to their target: situation-focused, focal negotiator-focused, negotiating counterpart-focused. Building on the social psychological literature, I propose new interventions that future research should test. Organizations could potentially adopt those interventions to level the negotiation playing field.

Keywords: Gender; Negotiation; Interventions

**Interventions to Level the Playing Field in Negotiations.
A Review of the Literature and Avenues for Future Research**

Women in organizations succeed to a lesser degree than men. Recent data show that in the Standards & Poor's 500 companies, women hold only 5.2% of CEO positions, they represent the 11% of top earners, they hold 21.2% of board seats, and they represent the 26.5% of executive/senior-level officials and managers, 36.9% of first/mid-level officials and managers, 44.7% of total employees (Catalyst, 2017). Gender wage gap in the 34 OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries is on average 16%, meaning that for every dollar earned by a man, a woman earns \$0.84 (OECD, 2014). Among the OECD countries, South Korea has the largest gender wage gap (36.7%), whereas New Zealand's gender wage gap is the lowest (5.6%). In the United States, gender wage gap is 17.91%.

Even though men and women generally have similar career aspirations and ambitions, women are less able to realize their aspirations. In particular, they are less likely to hold senior management positions, less likely to have people directly reporting to them, and, as a result, they are less satisfied with their careers (Ely, Stone, & Ammerman, 2014). Women's relative worse performance in negotiation is often referred as one of the drivers of gender gap (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013a; Bowles & McGinn, 2008; Kennedy & Kray, 2015; Kulik & Olekalns, 2012; Nadler & Nadler, 1987; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999).

Willingness to negotiate is associated with career advancement (Greig, 2008). Employees more willing to negotiate advance more quickly in the firm than their less outspoken colleagues. Women tend to be ambiguity-averse, less confident, more risk-averse and less competitive than men (Bohnet, 2016). Moreover, women are more likely to drop their opening offer from what they originally intended (Kolb & Porter, 2015). Miles (2010)

studied aspirations, intended opening offers, actual opening offers and the actual counteroffers, and showed that while men and women set similar goals and intentions for opening offers, women's opening offers and first counteroffers were more likely to vary and be lower than those of men. This means that even when women aspire high, they can experience a gap between their intentions and the offer they actually make (Calhoun & Smith, 1999). Negotiation is a form of human interaction and an important method for distributing scarce resources such as pay and career advancements (Bowles, 2013; Kray & Thompson, 2004). Negotiation skills determine the division of labor in the home (Bowles & McGinn, 2008), which ultimately can affect the psychological resources and the time women can devote to their work (Rothbard & Edwards, 2003).

Multiple studies have shown that women do not always underperform in negotiations relative to men (Kugler, Reif, Kaschner, & Brodbeck, 2018; Mazei et al., 2015). Gender differences in negotiations are in fact contextually bound (Kugler, et al., 2018; Mazei et al., 2015). This means that the poorer performance of women in negotiations compared to men, is unlikely due to a lack of negotiation skills, and training women to negotiate more like men would not be the solution to level out the playing field.

The present work describes and discusses the factors that have been shown to mitigate gender differences in negotiation behavior and performance. I organized the interventions according to their focus: situation-focused, focal negotiator-focused or negotiating counterpart-focused. It is important to understand when and why gender differences in negotiation performance emerge, as well as their impact on career outcomes. Finally, I propose untested interventions that future research should consider in order to shed further light on possible ways organizations can level the playing field.

Overview

The work is divided into four sections. In the first section, I review the main research findings on the role of gender in negotiation behavior and outcomes. In the second section, I list and describe the interventions that have been demonstrated to moderate gender effects in negotiation performance. Specifically, I have divided this section into subsections depending on whether the moderating variable is related to the negotiation situation (“negotiation situation-focused”), to the negotiator initiator (“focal negotiator-focused”) or to the negotiating counterpart (“negotiating counterpart-focused”). In the third section, building on the extant literature in social psychology and behavioral decision making, I propose new interventions that could possibly mitigate gender differences in negotiation. Most of the research on gender in negotiation has mainly focused on the person initiating negotiation, rather than on the negotiating counterpart. More specifically, many studies focused on what women can do as negotiating employees. What seems to be underexplored is research on the negotiation evaluator (namely, the negotiating counterpart), that is the person in charge of taking the final decision in career-related outcomes (e.g., the employer or the hiring manager). Evaluators play a crucial role in negotiations and developing interventions helping de-biasing them would have great potentials for women and their negotiation success. Section four concludes, calling for greater attention to what organizations can do to create a context for women to excel at rates comparable to men.

Gender Differences in Negotiation

Negotiations are defined as social interactions in which people mutually allocate scarce resources (Thompson & Hastie, 1990, p. 99). Negotiation represents a critical management and business skill in which men often have a stereotypic advantage over women (Bowles, 2013). In a recent review of the literature, Kennedy and Kray (2015) identified three

main explanations for gender differences in negotiation outcomes: cognitive, motivational and paradigmatic. The cognitive explanation mainly refers to gender stereotypes. People use mental shortcuts and rely on stereotypes in formulating expectations and perceptions about women's negotiation abilities (Taylor & Fiske, 1978). Motivational barriers represent the desire to prevent female negotiators from excelling in a domain traditionally dominated by men. The paradigmatic barrier refers to the way negotiation is currently studied that privileges masculine characteristics and approaches.

Initially, researchers stated that gender would function like a personality variable, able to predict men's and women's negotiation behavior and performance in stereotypical ways. In particular, men are, and are expected to be, agentic and women communal (Eagly, 1987; Lax & Sebenius, 1986). Thus, male negotiators are expected to be relatively tough, self-interested and competitive, while women are expected to be nice, accommodating and relationship-oriented cooperators (Eckel, de Oliveira, & Grossman, 2008; Kray & Thompson, 2004). Men are more often associated with leadership and career, and women with family and care-giving. Gender stereotypes influence negotiation and people use them to fill in the blanks in their mind. Research on gender in negotiation shows that men negotiate higher individual payoffs than do women. This evidence is greatest in masculine-stereotyped negotiations such as compensation or car sales (Bear & Babcock, 2012) and when the negotiation roles reflect gender traditional status differences (e.g., male employer, female candidate) (Ayres & Siegelman, 1995). An interesting study shows that in virtual (e.g., email) negotiations women are significantly more aggressive than in face-to-face negotiations (Stuhlmacher, Citera, & Willis, 2007). This happens because, face-to-face interactions heighten gender-stereotypic expectations that women should act communally and be selfless (Gelfand, Majoy, Raver, Nishii, & O'Brien, 2006).

When people search for and assess information, they tend to favor evidence that confirms their existing beliefs. This is called confirmation bias and it is one of the most challenging obstacles to decision making (Bohnet, 2016). People hold more negative expectations for women negotiators and they adjust their behavior on the basis of their counterpart's gender. Stereotypes often reflect desired beliefs, not fair assessments of the facts, and they are desirable to the extent that they help people to see the world the way they would like to see it. People do not welcome evidence that disconfirms negative stereotypes about low status groups because social positions warrant personal achievement (Merton, 1948). Gender stereotypes satisfy a fundamental need to believe the world is fair (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Therefore, people do not evaluate the world objectively but perceive it in a way to reach a desired conclusion (Kunda, 1987; 1990). As an example, people tend to believe that women are poor negotiators to serve valuable psychological functions. Specifically, believing that women have poorer negotiation skills compared to men, would represent a solution to the apparent conflict between needing to believe in a just world (Lerner, 1980) and women's inferior career outcomes. Consequently, women's relatively poor economic outcomes appear fair to the extent that women are performing worse in some critical aspect of work, such as negotiation (Kennedy & Kray, 2015).

Expectations play a crucial role in this context. Negotiators use gender stereotypes not only to judge their counterparts but also to infer what others are likely to expect from them. Women are expected to be other-concerned and cooperative (Eckel, de Oliveira, & Grossman, 2008), to claim a lower portion of the resources, to make less extreme opening offers, and to be more open to compromise (Kray, Thompson, & Galinsky, 2001) than men. These expectations represent a double bind for women. In fact, they force women to choose between efficacy as a negotiator (having agency) and fulfilling gender stereotypes of niceness

and accommodation (women are expected to put others' needs before their own). Researchers found that negotiators offered more money to men than to women and were willing to accept offers for less money from men than from women (Solnick, 2001; Solnick & Schweitzer, 1999). Women demand and accept less in salary negotiations than men do, they are less confident and less satisfied with their negotiation performance, and they feel lower self-efficacy about their bargaining abilities (Babcock & Laschever, 2009). People tend to ask women more frequently than men for favors or help, such as picking up extra responsibilities, taking up certain support roles, helping a colleague, and mentoring other women (Kolb & Porter, 2015).

Negotiations are social interactions, and as such, in order to understand the drivers of negotiation outcomes it is important to focus not only on the negotiator (e.g., the employee), but also on the negotiating counterpart that is often the person who evaluates the negotiator (e.g., the employer). Research has mainly looked at the mitigating factors of gender differences in negotiation outcomes by focusing on the negotiating situation (i.e., when women negotiate on behalf of another person, have information about the bargaining range over which it was possible to negotiate, when they negotiate for a gender-congruent job or in a gender-congruent sector, and when the negotiation is framed as “asking” rather than “negotiating”) or on the focal negotiator (i.e., when the negotiator had negotiation experience, when she or he is primed by a sense of power, when she or he is primed explicitly by gender stereotypes, when the negotiator follows social norms). Yet, research has focused little attention to the other side of the coin: the negotiating counterpart. It is important to explore the potential factors that impact the negotiator counterpart's cognitive and emotional reactions to female negotiators as they would play a key role in the negotiation outcome.

Factors Mitigating the Negotiation Playing Field

Women do not always perform worse than men in negotiations. Research has found evidence for the existence of moderating variables reducing or reversing the male advantage in negotiation outcomes. These moderating variables represent the strategies that can be used to level out the playing field. As Table 1 depicts, I organized the interventions according to their focus: situation-focused, focal negotiator-focused, negotiating counterpart-focused (i.e. evaluator). Untested interventions that I propose as interesting avenues of future research are listed in *italics*.

Table 1

Interventions to level the playing field in negotiation.

Situation-focused	Focal Negotiator-focused	Negotiating Counterpart-focused
Structural Ambiguity	Explicit Stereotyping: Reactance	<i>Self-Affirmation</i>
Advocacy	Power Priming	<i>Perspective-Taking</i>
Role Congruity	Experience	
Framing Effect	<i>Anxiety Management</i>	
<i>Social Norms</i>	<i>Self-Affirmation</i>	

Negotiation Situation-Focused Interventions

Several studies have shown that modifying some characteristics of the negotiation situation can actually mitigate gender differences in negotiation outcomes (Bowles et al., 2005; Miles & LaSalle, 2008). These factors include the reduction of ambiguity about the negotiation characteristics, advocacy (negotiating on behalf of others), role congruity (the

degree to which the negotiating domain has traditionally been masculine or feminine), and the way in which the negotiation task is framed.

Structural Ambiguity. Ambiguity heightens the potential for gender differences in negotiation outcomes (Bowles et al., 2005; Kugler, et al., 2018; Leibbrandt & List, 2015; Mazei et al., 2015). Men are more likely to apply for jobs relative to women when there is ambiguity around whether wages are negotiable (Bowles et al., 2005; Kugler, et al., 2018; Leibbrandt & List, 2015; Mazei et al., 2015). Men are more comfortable than women with ambiguity and they appear to do better in a situation where negotiation is not expected. Bowles et al. (2005) found that there are significant gender effects in negotiation performance under conditions of high structural ambiguity. Structural ambiguity relates to the degree of clarity negotiators have about what and to which extent it is possible to negotiate (Lax & Sebenius, 1986). More specifically, ambiguous situations do not provide people with a clear protocol of an appropriate negotiation behavior. In these cases, people are more likely to rely on preconceived gender roles and stereotypes (Bowles & McGinn, 2008; Wood & Eagly, 2010). Structural ambiguity is reduced when negotiators are provided with information about the bargaining range, standards for agreement or prescribed values of outcomes provided in pay-off tables (Bowles & McGinn, 2008; Miles & LaSalle, 2008). In negotiation laboratory experiments, participants often receive a table that lists the possible values and options for agreement (and therefore the bargaining range) for each negotiation issue. Replicated research findings document that unambiguous situations level out the playing field because negotiating people have the same understanding of appropriate behaviors. In such a way, the influence of gender stereotypes is reduced (Bowles et al., 2005; Kugler, et al., 2018; Leibbrandt & List, 2015; Miles & LaSalle, 2008).

Advocacy. Negotiators often advocate for themselves at the bargaining table, for example when negotiating their own salary or a promotion. There are also situations in which people negotiate on behalf of other individuals, for instance when they represent a client, a family member, or a friend. Research on gender in negotiation has found significant differences in terms of negotiation outcomes when women negotiate for themselves as opposed to when they negotiate on behalf of others (Bowles et al., 2005). Self-advocating women risk incurring backlash because assertiveness is incongruent with the female gender role (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Rudman, 1998; Stuhlmacher & Linnabery, 2013; Wade, 2001). When women negotiate on behalf of others, they do not incur backlash because their behavior is interpreted as being communal and other-oriented, and thus consistent with women's gender role (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013b; Stuhlmacher & Linnabery, 2013). In other words, when women act stereotypically, they are not punished since they do not violate gender norms and prescriptions. Women who negotiate on behalf of others tend to perform well in negotiation (relative to women who negotiate for themselves) because they behave how they are expected to behave, by being other-oriented and communal.

Amanatullah and Morris (2010)'s study confirmed that anticipated social backlash when negotiating for oneself (vs. someone else) would explain the lower propensity of women to initiate negotiations. Moreover, the authors found that female negotiators advocating for themselves (vs. for others) made more modest compensation requests and were less likely to select assertive negotiating scripts among many bargaining-language options. Advocacy has been demonstrated to be an intervention to level the playing field in negotiation. Women's economic outcomes do not differ from those of men when negotiating on behalf of others (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010; Bowles et al., 2005).

Role Congruity. As stated above, women risk incurring social backlash when their behavior is incongruent with the female gender role (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Rudman, 1998; Stuhlmacher & Linnabery, 2013; Wade, 2001). According to social role theory (Eagly, 1987), gender roles are composed of consensual beliefs about behavioral expectations related to men's and women's roles (Eagly & Wood, 2012). Female characteristics are associated with being accommodating, relationship-oriented and caring for others (Bakan, 1966; Stuhlmacher & Linnabery, 2013). Male characteristics are associated with being agentic, competitive, and assertive (Eagly & Wood, 2012). Gender roles are not only descriptive but they are also prescriptive, in the sense that they include expectations about how women and men should behave (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Wood & Eagly, 2010). Behaviors that increase economic outcomes in negotiation are more congruent with the male gender role (Mazei et al., 2015). This represents a challenge for women's negotiation performance ultimately contributing their poor negotiation outcomes. As stated above, stereotypical gender differences in negotiation performance is greatest in masculine-stereotyped negotiations (Ayres & Siegelman, 1995; Bear & Babcock, 2012) and when negotiation roles align with gender stereotypic status differences (e.g., male employer, female candidate) (Stuhlmacher & Linnabery, 2013). Negotiators feel less confident about negotiating roles that have a perceived lack of fit with their gender (Heilman, 1983). More specifically, men's and women's perceived self-efficacy in negotiation is positively predictive of their outcomes when they are negotiating over gender-congruent topics. Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky (1992) found that female leaders are evaluated more negatively when they step into historically male-dominated leadership roles. Negotiating in a market-pricing fashion is very likely a masculine approach. For example, men receive better treatment than women when purchasing cars (Ayres & Siegelman, 1995) or when are paid for their work (Correll, Benard,

& Paik, 2007; Kilbourne, England, Farkas, Beron, & Weir, 1994). Moreover, women are targets of unethical behavior (i.e., deception) more often than men in the negotiation context (Kray et al., 2014), and men can succeed without being socially punished (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013a; Berdahl, 2007b; Bowles et al., 2007; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004).

Applying the role congruity theory to a negotiation context represents an intervention to mitigate gender differences in negotiation. Bear and Babcock (2012) demonstrated that male performance advantage in negotiations could be eliminated when the negotiation topic is feminine stereotyped (sale of lamp-work beads to make jewelry vs. sale of motorcycle parts).

How the Negotiation is Framed. Women tend to initiate negotiations less frequently than men (Babcock, Gelfand, Small, & Stayn, 2006; Small, Gelfand, Babcock, & Gettman, 2007). Women feel relieved when their first offer is accepted, whereas men feel regret thinking they could have asked for more (Kray & Gelfand, 2009). Small et al. (2007) found that women are less likely than men to initiate negotiations for greater payment. When researchers did not mention the possibility of negotiating the payment, 23% of men negotiated, compared to 3% of women. When participants were told about the possibility of negotiating their payment, 17% of women negotiated, compared to 59% of men. Interestingly, Small and colleagues (2007) found that framing a negotiation task as “*asking*” rather than “*negotiating*” increased the number of negotiating women. This suggests that women are not less likely to negotiate than men, but they anticipate the cost of behaving counter-stereotypically. As a consequence, women dislike the word “negotiate”, but not necessarily the behavior (Kennedy & Kray, 2015).

Focal Negotiator-Focused Interventions

The magic word in the literature on gender in negotiation is “stereotype”. Gender acts like a personality variable, predicting men’s and women’s negotiation behavior and outcomes in stereotypical ways. Men are expected to behave as agentic competitors, while women to be communal cooperators. For example, Kray and colleagues (2001) conducted an experiment where participants were told that the negotiation simulation was either a learning tool (low threat) or diagnostic of their actual negotiating abilities (high threat). What they found is that, when the negotiators believed that their performance would be diagnostic of their negotiation abilities, women (as compared to men) reported lower expectations of their negotiation performance and negotiated less favorable sales prices. When negotiators believed the simulation was not diagnostic, the gender effects diminished. This happened because women experienced performance inhibiting stereotype threat, after being aware of negative stereotypes about their group's abilities.

Explicit Stereotyping and Reactance. Gender stereotypes impact negotiation performance. Associating gender stereotypic characteristics with poor negotiation performance produces gender-correspondent underperformance in both male and female negotiators (Kray, Galinsky, & Thompson, 2002). The negative descriptive stereotypes about women’s workplace abilities, including negotiating, create a self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton, 1948; Rosenthal & Rubin, 1978). Self-fulfilling prophecies unfold in three steps: perceivers develop expectations of targets, treat targets differently, and targets react in ways that confirm those expectations, even if the expectations were originally unfounded or wrong (Jussim, 1986). For example, if decision-makers expect women to be poor negotiators, this proposition, even if false, becomes true because people believe in it. As a consequence, perceivers treat targets differently. Some evidence suggests that women are treated as if they

are worse negotiators. In a study, Ayres and Siegelman (1995) trained men and women negotiators to use identical bargaining strategies with car dealers. Despite this, they found that car dealers quoted significantly higher prices to women than to men. Research provides clear evidence that women are more likely to face tough distributive tactics, including higher first offers and greater deception (Kray, Reb, Galinsky, & Thompson, 2004). As a consequence, women could be accorded lower status than men at work, despite identical competence. Status is driven by perceptions of relative competence (Kennedy, Anderson, & Moore, 2013). Because resources and rewards accrue to those with higher status (Berger, Cohen, & Zelditch, 1972; Griskevicius, Tybur, & Van den Bergh, 2010), these tactics could ultimately affect women's employment negotiations. Bowles and Babcock (2013) showed that conforming to gender stereotypes (for example by emphasizing the importance of their organizational relationships) improved women's social outcomes, but it did not enhance evaluators' willingness to grant their requests.

Implicit and explicit stereotypes produce different effects (Kray et al., 2001). Whereas subtle activation of gender stereotypes produces stereotype-consistent gender differences in negotiation performance, explicit stereotyping of female negotiators as inferior to male negotiators would motivate reactance and would ultimately reverse the gender stereotypic pattern of male dominance in negotiation performance. More specifically, exposing people to stereotypes can produce the opposite effects, actually increasing quality of performance. Being made aware of the "leader=man" or "negotiator=man" stereotype, women can behave in such a way to contrast the stereotype. Kray et al. (2001), showed that exposure to the explicitly sex-discriminating message motivated female negotiators to increase their aspirations and improve their performance, reversing the male advantage in negotiation

performance. This crucial finding suggests that simply making women aware of stereotypes can help them combat its negative effects (Johns, Schmader, & Martens, 2005; Kray, 2007).

Power Priming. Research on gender and the propensity to initiate negotiation found that the psychological experience of power made women feel less intimidated (Small et al., 2007) and more inclined to negotiate. Galinsky, Gruenfeld and Magee (2003) have explored how priming people to a particular memory or stimulus of power can have an impact on thoughts and actions. Boosting one's feeling of power by thinking about a situation in which she has been powerful in the past, helps women to actually feel more powerful, making them more optimistic and confident about a negotiation. In other words, priming women with power would increase their propensity to negotiate by letting them feel more optimistic about the negotiation outcome (Small et al., 2007).

Negotiation Experience. Ambiguity in negotiations might also be reduced when people gain negotiation experience. Inexperienced negotiators are not aware about how to behave appropriately and effectively. It has been shown that a single negotiation experience is sufficient to increase negotiation performance (Thompson, 1990). In fact, negotiation experience enhances the understanding of the tasks of a negotiator. As a result, gaining negotiation experience minimizes women's reliance on the female gender role and ultimately decrease gender differences in economic negotiation outcomes favoring men (Cheng, Sanchez-Burks & Fiona Lee, 2008; Sacharin, Lee, F, & Gonzalez, 2009).

Future Research Directions

The strategies described above have been tested and have been shown to be effective in alleviating gender effects in negotiation. Below, I am proposing some untested interventions that future research should test and that organizations may potentially adopt to close gender gap in negotiation. I propose *social norms*, as an intervention focused on the

negotiation situation, *anxiety management* and *self-affirmation* as strategies focused on the focal negotiator, and *perspective-taking* and *self-affirmation* as interventions focused on the negotiating counterpart (i.e., the evaluator who is often in charge of taking crucial career-related decisions).

Negotiation Situation-Focused Interventions

As discussed above, the literature has identified some situational factors that mitigate gender effects in negotiation, such as an increase in transparency (i.e., a reduction in ambiguity), negotiating on behalf of others (vs. self), role congruity, and the way the negotiation is framed. Building on literature in social psychology and behavioral decision making, I propose an untested intervention with a potential practical relevance that future research should test. This intervention is based on social norms theory.

Social Norms. Social norms are often more powerful than explicit messages. When the desired action is perceived as the norm, compliance increases. Duguid and Thomas-Hunt (2015) designed a series of creative experiments to test how messages of high and low prevalence of stereotyping affect behavior. In particular they found that increasing the awareness of the prevalence of stereotyping is not a good strategy to motivate individuals resisting natural inclinations. The exposure to the concept of implicit bias has social norming effects, such that people are more likely to employ implicit bias in evaluations, knowing that many people hold that bias. This would make the use of stereotypes and prejudices in decision making legitimate. Specifically, knowing that people are biased and they use stereotypes in their evaluations, would not modify the evaluator's behavior but rather it would serve as a justification for a decision driven by stereotypes ("I will do so since everyone is acting this way"). Thomas-Hunt and Duguid's experiments point to the conclusion that it's not enough to be aware that people have conscious and unconscious

biases. We need a culture in which most people work hard not to stereotype. It would be interesting to test whether designing diversity and inclusion trainings where differences among individuals are acknowledged would lead to more discrimination than diversity and inclusion trainings focusing on the similarities among individuals. Making people not focusing on the differences among individual would reduce the prevalence of stereotyping, and as a result we would have a more gender equal workplace. This would potentially have positive effects on the perception of women negotiators, leading evaluators to judge them not through gender lenses, but rather focusing on their skills and abilities, and the contribution to the organization itself.

Focal Negotiator-Focused Interventions

Extant literature has identified three important factors that moderate gender differences in negotiation performance: reactance to stereotypes, power priming and negotiating experience. Building on literature in social psychology and decision making, I propose anxiety management and self-affirmation as useful interventions that organizations may adopt to mitigate gender effects in negotiations.

Anxiety Management. On a job negotiation study of graduating professional school students found that only 7% of female students attempted to negotiate their initial compensation offers as compared to 57% of men (Babcock & Laschever, 2003). Those who negotiated gained on average 7.4% over their initial offers. Importantly, small differences in starting salaries can lead to substantial pay gaps over time (Bowles, Babcock, & McGinn, 2005; Gerhart & Rynes, 1991). I propose that anxiety could be a key untested mediating mechanism explaining why women are less likely than men to initiate negotiation. Reducing anxiety before going into the negotiation would be a powerful intervention to help women to negotiate successfully. In fact, mood can have a substantial impact on a negotiation. Being in

a positive mood, has been linked to finding creative options and cooperative problem solving, while being in a negative mood is linked to decreased joint gains and an increase in competitive strategies (Brooks & Schweitzer, 2011). Brooks and Schweitzer (2011) showed that negotiations trigger anxiety. In four experiments they induced either anxiety or neutral feelings and studied behavior in negotiation. Negotiators who felt anxious expected lower outcomes, made lower first offers, responded more quickly to offers, exit bargaining situations earlier, and ultimately obtained worse outcomes, compared to negotiators who were primed with neutral feelings. They found support for self-efficacy to mitigate the harmful effects of anxiety. Negotiator self-efficacy is the belief in one's ability to perform well on a negotiation (Bandura, 1993; Sullivan, O'Connor, & Burris, 2006). Individuals with high negotiator self-efficacy were less affected by the harmful effects of anxiety, they were more tenacious and made later exit decisions (Brooks & Schweitzer, 2011). Negotiation course, simulations and trainings may reduce anxiety and improve negotiator performance by boosting negotiator self-efficacy and by making negotiation situations routine and hence less anxiety provoking.

Another possible prescription for reducing the influence of anxiety is to heighten self-awareness of anxiety. In fact, previous studies have shown that making people aware of their emotional states enables them to correct for the influence of emotions on their judgment (Schwarz, 1990). Future research can study whether acknowledging feelings of anxiety could serve as a coping mechanism. The experience of anxiety is a fundamental aspect of many negotiations that merits additional research (Brooks & Schweitzer, 2011). Future work should study how different aspects of negotiations induce anxiety, how the magnitude of anxiety may change behavior, how anxiety influences information exchange, how it influences negotiator satisfaction, decisions to enter negotiations, and patterns of concessions. Anxiety is

not necessarily bad for negotiation performance. As a matter of fact, the Yerkes–Dodson effect suggests a curvilinear relationship between arousal (i.e., stress) and performance.

While very low or very high levels of arousal may be debilitating, moderate levels of arousal may improve performance on difficult tasks like attention, memory, and problem solving (Anderson, Revelle, & Lynch, 1989). Thus, a moderate amount of anxiety can increase focus ultimately help anxious negotiators negotiate more effectively (Norem & Chang, 2002).

Self-Affirmation. Interventions from the self-affirmation literature can be helpful in mitigating gender effects in negotiation. Self-affirmation theory (Steele, 1988) posits that people want to regard themselves positively, and to do so they draw on success in multiple domains (Steele, 1988; Steele, Spencer, & Lynch, 1993). In order to reduce the threat they face in one domain, people can focus on a specific aspect of identity unrelated to the domain of the threat (Sherman & Cohen, 2006). In a typical self-affirmation study, participants are asked to rank order the importance of different values (theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious), and to write a short essay pertinent to their most important value indicating why this value is important to them and specific instances in which they were able to express this value. Self-affirmation can help women overcoming the negative stereotypes in negotiation. Negotiation is domain where women are negatively stereotyped. The reason why women underperform in negotiations, especially in masculine-stereotyped ones, is because they suffer stereotype threat, meaning they feel themselves to be at risk of confirming the stereotypes associated with their social group (Schmader, 2002; Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999). Self-affirmation has been shown to be beneficial in reducing individuals' negative emotional response (Cohen, Garcia, Apfel, & Master, 2006; Cohen, Garcia, Purdie-Vaughns, Apfel, & Brzustoski, 2009; Creswell, Welch, Taylor, Sherman, Gruenewald, & Mann, 2005; Steele, 2011), as well as their defensiveness toward threatening

information (Correll, Spencer, & Zanna, 2004; Fein & Spencer, 1997; Sherman & Cohen, 2002), by reducing the influence of stereotypes. Therefore, I predict that self-affirmation could enhance women's propensity to negotiate and foster their sense of self-efficacy by reducing the stereotype threat that they would otherwise face and would prevent them from negotiating at their potential.

Negotiating Counterpart-Focused Interventions

Literature on gender in negotiation has mainly looked at the factors that alleviate gender effects focusing on the focal negotiator (i.e., the person initiating negotiation). By definition, negotiation is a mutual arrangement where multiple parties are involved.

Therefore, it is also important to study the issue and proposing interventions focusing on the negotiating counterpart (i.e., the evaluator)

Self-Affirmation. Interventions from the self-affirmation literature could be helpful to reduce the threat and anxiety posed by agentic female negotiators. If individuals reflect on values that are personally relevant to them, they are less likely to experience distress and react defensively when confronted with information that contradict or threaten their sense of self (Cohen & Sherman, 2014; Steele, 1988). As a consequence, they would behave in a fairer and more objective manner (Correll et al., 2004), without relying on negative stereotypes or held beliefs that contrast evidences. Fein and Spencer (1997) found that the affirmation of an individual's self-integrity not only reduced the need to stereotype an out-group member but it also eliminated discrimination. In other words, when individuals evaluated a member of a stereotyped group, they were less likely to evaluate that person negatively if their self-images had been bolstered through a self-affirmation procedure. Self-affirmed individuals are more likely to accept threatening information, to change their beliefs and to modify their behavior (Sherman & Cohen, 2002).

Engaging in self-affirmation rituals before negotiations could potentially be a useful intervention in organizations. I propose that self-affirming evaluators prior to entering a negotiation with a female negotiator would ultimately reduce the gender differences in negotiation outcomes. This would happen because self-affirmation would both make evaluators reacting less defensively when they are threatened by a woman, and also because self-affirmation has been demonstrated to reduce stress levels (Cohen et al., 2006, 2009; Creswell et al., 2005) and to decrease the reliance on stereotypes (Cohen et al., 2006, 2009; Correll et al., 2004; Creswell et al., 2005; Fein & Spencer, 1997; Sherman & Cohen, 2002).

Introducing writing affirmation rituals in an organizational setting, before important staffing decisions are made, would represent a brief and relative low-cost intervention. Before important staffing decision meetings are held, or before job interviews or promotion decisions should be made, managers could be invited to reflect about their important values in life. In this way, they would feel less threatened by counter-stereotypical women and, as a result, would be more open to recognize their skills (Correll et al., 2004; Sherman & Cohen, 2002).

Perspective-Taking. Perspective-taking is the process by which an individual view a situation from another person's point of view (Galinsky, Maddux, Gilin, & White, 2008). Perspective-taking provides an advantage in negotiations, allowing negotiators to view the dynamic from the opposing side's point of view, anticipating opponents' preferences and decisions. In sales negotiations, perspective-taking leads to greater satisfaction of sellers, and better deals for perspective-taking buyers.

Perspective-taking brings awareness to issues between heterogeneous groups (Todd, Bodenhausen, & Galinsky, 2012). Consideration of an out-group member's perspective increases identification with those individuals, which ultimately increases the likelihood of

dominant group members to perceive a behavior or a situation as discriminatory. Perspective-taking facilitates in-group/out-group exchanges. Galinsky and Moskowitz (2000) have shown that taking the perspective of an out-group member reduces stereotype bias. Moreover, Wang, Tai, Ku, and Galinsky (2014) found evidence for the fact that perspective-taking increases individual's willingness to interact with out-group participants.

Babcock and Loewenstein (1997)'s research shows the effectiveness of de-biasing techniques. Walking in an elderly person's shoes, by writing an essay from their perspective, has been shown to reduce stereotypes about the elderly people. If the negotiating counterpart takes the negotiator's perspective, the first is better able to understand the latter's interests and help finding creative solutions. Perspective-taking might be a powerful intervention to help women succeed in negotiation and to ultimately level the playing field. For this reason, I predict evaluators would be more open toward a female negotiator if they engage in perspective-taking. Making evaluators and decision-makers walking in women's shoes before a negotiation takes place, would help them to reduce stereotypes and to be more willing to accept a counter-stereotypical woman.

Conclusions

Gender research highlights important differences in negotiation performance between men and women. Women's relative underperformance in negotiation is often referred to as an explanation for gender differences in careers outcomes. Yet, women perform worse than men only under a limited number of circumstances. In fact, gender differences in negotiations are contextually bound (Kugler et al., 2018; Mazei et al., 2015). In this paper, I reviewed and discussed the interventions that have been shown to mitigate gender differences in negotiation outcomes, and proposed new ones that future research should test. Organizations could potentially adopt those interventions to level the negotiation playing field.

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CHAPTER 2
Can Self-Affirmation Reduce Gender Bias?
Decreasing Men's Backlash toward Women

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Abstract

We explore self-affirmation as an intervention to reduce gender bias and focus on feelings of anxiety as a potential contributor to men's negative perceptions of women striving in male-dominated work contexts. In Study 1, we show that self-affirmation reduces men's backlash toward women negotiating for higher pay. In Study 2, we replicate the effects of Study 1 and show further that self-affirmation decreases men's backlash toward women by reducing feelings of anxiety, which in turn reduces perceptions of women as dominant. In Study 3, we manipulate men's feelings of anxiety and find that self-affirmation decreases the effect of anxiety on men's propensity to sabotage women who are competing in a male-dominated contest. We discuss the potential implications of these findings for our understanding of gender bias and discrimination, in particular for work cultures that heighten or reduce stress and anxiety.

Keywords: gender discrimination; backlash, anxiety; self-affirmation; gender bias; stereotyping.

Can Self-Affirmation Reduce Gender Bias? Decreasing Men's Backlash toward Women

The toughest environments for women's leadership advancement are male-dominated work contexts (Heilman, 1980, 1983). Numerous studies document backlash (i.e., social or economic sanctions) toward women striving to succeed in male-dominated work domains (e.g., Berdahl, 2007; Chetkovich, 1997; Roth, 2006). Women are evaluated more harshly when they occupy male-dominated roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002), when their leadership style is characterized by stereotypically masculine attributes (e.g., assertive or directive) (Carli, 1990; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Prentice & Carranza, 2002), and when they are predominantly evaluated by men (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992).

Women competing for opportunities in male-dominated work contexts challenge the traditional gender hierarchy in which men occupy breadwinner and high-status roles and women occupy supportive and low status roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000). Women who challenge this traditional gender hierarchy by displaying “dominant” behaviors (e.g., behaviors perceived as arrogant, competitive, or forceful) are more likely to encounter social backlash and discrimination than women who conform more closely to traditional gender norms (e.g., behaviors perceived as modest, cooperative, or yielding) (Eagly et al., 1992; Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012). For instance, displaying self-promoting behaviors, such as touting one's strengths or self-advocating for higher pay, has a greater negative effect on the willingness to hire or to work with women, than it does on men (Bowles, Babcock, & Lai, 2007; Rudman, 1998; Williams & Tiedens, 2016). Women who challenge the gender hierarchy by competing in male-dominated contexts are also more likely to be sexually harassed than women pursuing more traditional gender roles (Berdahl, 2007).

Research addressing the drivers of backlash against women perceived as dominant has focused mainly on cognitive mechanisms, particularly how gender stereotypes shape our expectations and evaluative judgments of others (Eagly & Carli, 1981; Rudman & Glick, 1999; 2001). However, other research on discrimination indicates that emotions also influence stereotype-based evaluative judgments of others (for a meta-analysis, see Talaska, Fiske, & Chaiken, 2008). For example, anxiety has been identified as an emotion that heightens intergroup biases (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

There is some evidence that women competing effectively in male-dominated domains increase men's feelings of anxiety (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). For instance, Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, and Weaver (2008) presented participants with bogus feedback on a test that measured their knowledge about stereotypically masculine or feminine topics. When men were told that they scored poorly for their gender (and similar to women), they reported higher feelings of anxiety than men that were told they scored well for their gender (and better than women). They also found that men exhibited more physically aggressive thoughts after receiving this type of feedback. Similarly, Netchaeva, Kouchaki, and Sheppard (2015) found that men felt more threatened by women (compared to men) in superior roles and, as a result, asserted themselves more forcefully when women held those roles (e.g., they responded with assertive negotiation counteroffers and they kept larger sums of bonus money in a zero-sum resource allocation task).

The present research contributes to the literature on gender backlash by taking a dual process perspective on how men react to the prospect of working with women striving to achieve in male-dominated environments and by demonstrating a potential intervention for reducing men's backlash against women. Specifically, we propose that a self-affirmation intervention will enhance men's openness to women striving to succeed in male-dominated

work contexts by reducing their feelings of anxiety that heighten their perceptions of women as threatening or dominant.

Steele (1988) theorized that when individuals are presented with a threat, they will be less likely to react defensively if they reflect on personal values that are unrelated to that threat. Decades of research across a wide range of domains, from education to health, have provided support for this idea (Cohen, Garcia, Purdie-Vaughns, Apfel, & Brzustoski, 2009; Cohen & Sherman, 2014; Harris & Napper, 2005; Martens, Johns, Greenberg, & Schimel, 2006; Sherman & Cohen, 2002; 2006; Steele, 2011).

There is evidence that self-affirmation mitigates both affective responses to threat (Creswell et al., 2005; Creswell, Dutcher, Klein, Harris, & Levine, 2013) and the propensity to stereotype (Fein & Spencer, 1997). For instance, Creswell et al. (2005) asked participants to complete either a self-affirmation task or a control task prior to participating in a laboratory stress challenge. Participants who affirmed their values had significantly lower levels of cortisol (i.e., a stress and anxiety hormone) than control participants. Fein and Spencer (1997) showed that people are more likely to stereotype when they feel threatened, and that self-affirmation decreases the propensity to make stereotype-based judgments. For instance, participants randomly assigned to receive negative feedback on an intelligence task (i.e., threat condition) made more stereotypic evaluations of a gay male than those randomly assigned to receive neutral feedback (i.e., control condition). They showed further that participants were less likely to stereotype a target of evaluation if they had undergone a self-affirmation procedure.

We theorize a serial mediation model in which self-affirmation reduces men's backlash toward women by reducing their anxiety and thereby their propensity to perceive women as dominant. Drawing on past research, we operationalize backlash in two ways: the

willingness to work with a woman (Bowles, Babcock, & Lai, 2007) and the propensity to sabotage her (Rudman et al., 2012). We aim to provide a novel perspective on backlash against women striving to achieve in male-dominated domains by illuminating the importance of evaluators'—particularly men's—emotional state. We propose that situational factors that increase men's anxiety will heighten gender-based backlash, and that interventions that reduce evaluators' anxiety, such as self-affirmation, may reduce gender-based backlash in the workplace.

Overview of Studies

We report the results of three studies to test our proposed model (see Figure 1). In Study 1, we show that self-affirmation increases men's willingness to work with women ($X \rightarrow Y$). In Study 2, we test the full serial mediation in which self-affirmation reduces men's anxiety, which decreases the perceived dominance of female targets, and in turn increases their willingness to work with female targets ($X \rightarrow M1 \rightarrow M2 \rightarrow Y$). In Study 3, we manipulate both anxiety and self-affirmation. In the high-anxiety condition, we replicate the results of Studies 1 and 2 with a behavioral measure of backlash (the propensity to sabotage) ($X \& M1 \rightarrow Y$).

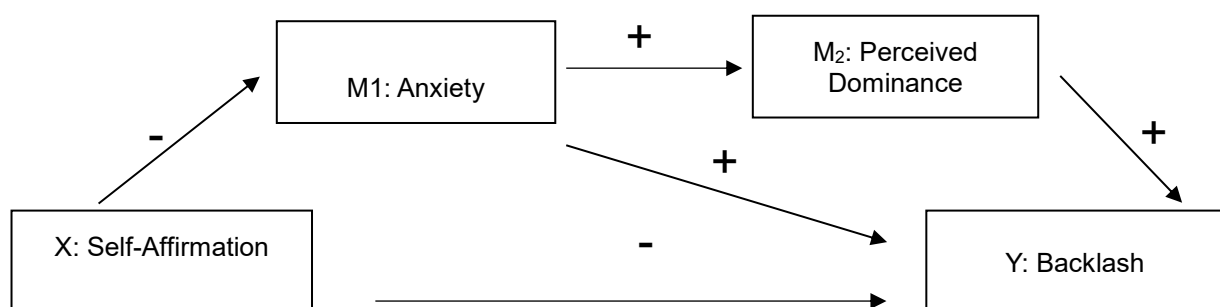


Figure 1. Model of self-affirmation as a strategy for reducing men's backlash toward women.

Study 1

In Study 1 we used a 2 (evaluator gender) \times 2 (candidate gender) \times 2 (self-affirmation vs. control) between-subjects design to test the effect of self-affirmation on reducing male backlash against women. Participants evaluated a job candidate based on his or her behavior in a videotaped interview.

Method

Participants. We recruited 145 participants via Prolific Academic to complete an online survey. After data collection was complete, we conducted a sensitivity analysis with G*Power. The analysis showed that our sample size was sufficient to detect effect sizes of $\eta^2 = .052$ or larger with 80% power. Prolific Academic is a crowdsourcing platform with a participant pool composed of people who are 51% from the UK, 28% from the U.S., and 21% from other (mainly) European countries. Participants in our study were 59% male ($n = 86$) and had a mean age of 30.1 years ($SD = 9.7$, range = 18-72). Seventy-two percent self-identified as White, 10% as Asian, 5% as Hispanic, 3% as African, 4% as Mixed, and 6% as Other. Eighty-one percent were currently employed, 54% had management experience, and 34% had hiring experience.

Procedure. In the consent form, participants read that they would participate in two separate studies. The first study, described as a “Study of Values,” contained a self-affirmation manipulation following procedures validated in prior research (Fein & Spencer, 1997; McQueen & Klein, 2006; Sherman, Nelson, & Steele, 2000). We presented participants with a list of 11 values, such as relationships with friends and family, creativity, and sense of humor, and asked them to rank the values in order of their personal importance. In the affirmation condition, we asked participants to write about why their top ranked (#1) value

was important to them. In the control condition, we asked participants to write about why their lowest ranked (#11) value might be important to someone else.

The second study, described as a “Job Interview Study,” was an adapted version of an online survey used by Bowles and Babcock (2012) to measure backlash against female negotiators. The background information asked participants to imagine they were working at a large corporation in the automotive industry and explained that their task was to evaluate an internal candidate for a job placement in their department based on a videotaped job interview. According to the information provided to participants, the candidate had just completed an internal management training program and had graduated from a “top school,” performed well in the training program, and was entering their first management position.

After reading the background information, each participant watched the purported job interview tape, a short video of either a female or a male candidate who attempted to negotiate for a higher salary and an end-of-the-year bonus. We selected this stimulus because numerous studies have documented that self-advocating for higher pay makes women appear dominant (e.g., insufficiently nice, too demanding) and elicits backlash against them (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010; Bowles et al., 2007; Duguid & Thomas-Hunt, 2015). The candidates were professional actors trained to enact the script as similarly as possible. Pretesting indicated no significant differences in perceived age, socio-economic status, physical attractiveness, or facial expressions of the candidates (Bowles & Babcock, 2012). Following is the negotiating script at the end of the interview:

“I do have some questions with regard to the salary and benefits package. It wasn’t clear to me whether this salary offer represents the top of the pay range. I understand that there’s a range in terms of how much managers are paid in their first placement. I

think I should be paid at the top of that range. And I would also like to be eligible for an end-of-year bonus.”

The survey was paced so that it would not progress until the end of the video. After the video, participants indicated their willingness to work with the candidate.

Measures. We measured willingness to work with the candidate with an average of participants’ responses to three items (how beneficial it would be for them to have this person on their team, how much they would enjoy having this person working on their team, and how much they would want this person on their team) that used a 7-point scale (1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) ($\alpha = 0.91$) (adapted from Bowles et al., 2007).

Results

All recruited participants completed the study, and we report results for the whole sample. We conducted an ANOVA on willingness to work with the candidates by evaluator gender, candidate gender and self-affirmation condition. We observed a main effect of self-affirmation condition ($F[1,137] = 6.01, p = .015, \eta_p^2 = .04$), such that evaluators whose values had been affirmed ($M = 4.53, SD = 1.33$) were more willing to work with the candidates than evaluators in the control condition ($M = 3.98, SD = 1.38$). This main effect was qualified by a significant three-way interaction, $F(1,137) = 5.49, p = .021, \eta_p^2 = .04$. No other effects were significant (all F s < 1.52 , all p s $\geq .22$, all $\eta_p^2 < .01$). Figure 2 depicts the pattern of effects across conditions. We report descriptive statistics in Table 1.

Table 1

Study 1: Means of Willingness to Work with Candidate by Evaluator Gender, Candidate Gender, and Self-affirmation (SA) condition.

	Female Candidate				Male Candidate			
	Control	SA	<i>M</i> diff	Cohen's <i>d</i>	Control	SA	<i>M</i> diff	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Male								
Evaluator	3.40 (1.24)	4.76 (1.34)	1.36**	1.1	4.25 (1.40)	4.20 (1.40)	-0.05	0.04
Female								
Evaluator	4.31 (1.41)	4.40 (1.32)	0.09	0.07	4.09 (1.40)	4.92 (1.14)	0.82	0.64
<i>M</i> diff	0.91	-0.36			-0.15	0.72		
Cohen's <i>d</i>	0.69	0.27			0.11	0.56		

Note. We report standard deviations in parentheses below means and significance level mean differences with asterisks (** $p < .01$). There were no main effects of candidate gender on evaluators' willingness to work with the candidates.

To interpret the three-way interaction, we conducted separate ANOVAs for male and female evaluators. For female evaluators, an ANOVA on willingness to work by candidate gender and self-affirmation condition revealed no significant effects (all F s < 1.76 , all p s $\geq .19$, all $\eta_p^2 < .03$). For male evaluators, we observed a significant main effect of self-affirmation ($F[1,82] = 5.04$, $p = .027$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$) and a significant interaction effect of Candidate Gender \times Self-affirmation ($F[1,82] = 5.77$, $p = .019$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$). Male evaluators were significantly more willing to work with the female candidates in the self-affirmation condition ($M = 4.76$; $SD = 1.34$) than they were in the control (no affirmation) condition ($M = 3.40$, $SD = 1.24$), $t(40) = 3.41$, $p = .002$, 95% CI for the mean difference = [0.55, 2.16], $d = 1.1$. Self-affirmation had no significant effect on men's willingness to work with male candidates, $t(42) = .92$, $p = .915$, 95% CI for the mean difference = [-0.90, 0.81], $d = .04$.

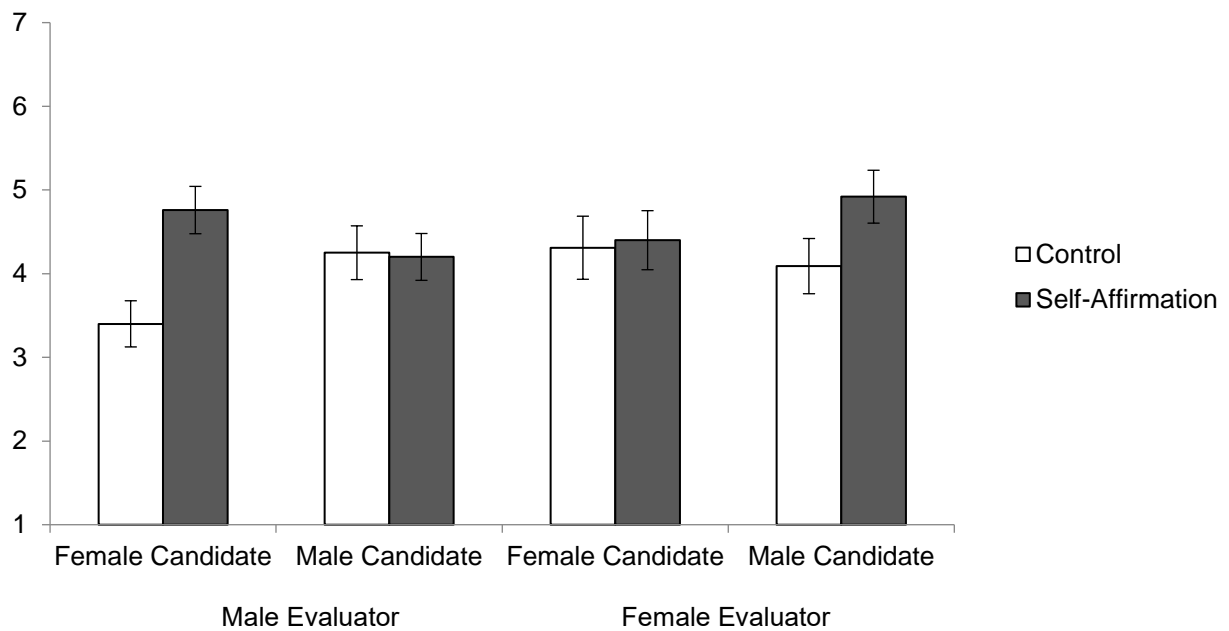


Figure 2. Means of willingness to work with candidate by evaluator gender, candidate gender, and self-affirmation condition. Error bars show standard errors.

Discussion

Study 1 provided preliminary evidence for value affirmation to increase men's willingness to work with women. Study 2 aims to replicate this effect and to explore the mechanisms through which it operates.

Study 2

In Study 2 we used the same 2 (evaluator gender) \times 2 (candidate gender) \times 2 (self-affirmation vs. control) between-subject design as Study 1. We aimed to replicate and extend the results of Study 1 by testing the serial mediation model. We theorized that self-affirmation would increase men's willingness to work with women because it would decrease anxiety and thereby the propensity to perceive women as dominant.

Method

Participants. We aimed for 35 participants in each condition, and thus recruited 280 adults to complete an online study via Prolific Academic. As in Study 1, we conducted a sensitivity analysis with G*Power. The analysis showed that, assuming 80% power, our

sample size was sufficient to detect effect sizes of $\eta^2 = .028$ or larger. The sample was 59% male ($n = 164$), their mean age was 28.3 years ($SD = 8.2$, range = 19-67). Seventy-eight percent self-identified as White, 9% as Asian, 6% as Hispanic, 2% as Middle-Eastern, 5% as Mixed. Eighty-nine percent were currently employed, 38% percent had management experience, and 27% had hiring experience.

Procedure. The procedure was identical to Study 1, with the exception that we included additional measures to explore the mechanisms through which self-affirmation might affect the willingness to work with the candidate. After watching the video, participants rated their emotional reaction (i.e., sense of anxiety), their impression of the candidate (i.e., perceived dominance), and then their willingness to work with him or her.

Measures. We measured anxiety with the average of four items (nervous, anxious, worried, and apprehensive) used in previous research on anxiety ($\alpha = 0.87$) (adapted from Brooks & Schweitzer, 2011). We measured perceived dominance with eight items (hostile, arrogant, boastful, greedy, dictatorial, looks out only for self, egotistical, and cynical) from the Personality Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) (Spence, Helmreich, & Holahan, 1979) ($\alpha = 0.88$). Finally, participants indicated their willingness to work with the candidate ($\alpha = 0.92$) using the same measure as in Study 1.

Results

Measures. All recruited participants completed the study. We report results for the whole sample. We conducted an ANOVA on willingness to work with the candidates by evaluator gender, candidate gender, and self-affirmation condition. We observed a main effect of candidate gender ($F[1,272] = 11.83$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$), indicating that evaluators were less willing to work with a female candidate ($M = 3.90$, $SD = 1.38$) than with a male candidate ($M = 4.44$, $SD = 1.10$). There was also a main effect for self-affirmation ($F[1,272]$

= 4.29, $p = .039$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$), indicating that evaluators who had been affirmed ($M = 4.33$, $SD = 1.29$) were more willing to work with the candidate than evaluators in the control condition ($M = 4.03$, $SD = 1.23$). These effects were modified by a significant three-way interaction of Evaluator Gender \times Candidate Gender \times Self-affirmation, $F(1,272) = 5.47$, $p = .020$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Figure 3 depicts the pattern of effects across conditions. We report descriptive statistics in Table 2.

Table 2

Study 2: Means of Willingness to Work with Candidate by Evaluator Gender, Candidate Gender, and Self-affirmation (SA) condition.

	Female Candidate				Male Candidate			
	Control	SA	<i>M</i> diff	Cohen's <i>d</i>	Control	SA	<i>M</i> diff	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Male								
Evaluator	3.64 ^a (1.27)	4.47 (1.43)	0.83**	0.61	4.51 ^b (1.13)	4.43 (1.20)	-0.08	0.07
Female								
Evaluator	3.77 (1.38)	3.77 ^a (1.34)	0	0	4.14 (0.91)	4.62 ^c (1.04)	0.48	0.49
<i>M</i> diff	0.13	-0.70*			-0.37	0.19		
Cohen's <i>d</i>	0.1	0.51			0.36	0.17		

Note. We report standard deviations in parentheses below means and significance level mean differences with asterisks ($*p < .05$; $**p < .01$). Different superscripts indicate significant mean differences, ^{a,b} indicate significant effect of candidate gender within condition at level of $p \leq .001$, ^{a,c} at the level of $p < .01$.

Replicating the analyses from Study 1, we conducted separate ANOVAs for male and female evaluators. For female evaluators, an ANOVA on willingness to work by candidate gender and self-affirmation condition revealed a significant effect for candidate gender ($F[1,112] = 7.70$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$), such that female evaluators were more willing to work with the male candidate ($M = 4.39$, $SD = 1.00$) than the female candidate ($M = 3.77$, $SD = 1.35$).

As in Study 1, self-affirmation had no significant main or moderating effect on women's evaluations of the candidates (all F s < 1.15, all p s \geq .29, all $\eta_p^2 \leq$.01).

For male evaluators, we observed a significant main effect of candidate gender ($F[1,160] = 4.41, p = .037, \eta_p^2 = .03$), indicating that male evaluators were more willing to work with the male candidate ($M = 4.47, SD = 1.16$) than the female candidate ($M = 4.00, SD = 1.40$). We observed a marginally significant main effect of self-affirmation ($F[1,160] = 3.74, p = .055, \eta_p^2 = .02$), indicating that men were more willing to work with the candidate when they were affirmed ($M = 4.45, SD = 1.30$) than when they were not affirmed ($M = 4.08, SD = 1.27$). These main effects were qualified by a significant two-way interaction of Candidate Gender \times Self-affirmation, $F(1,160) = 5.39, p = .021, \eta_p^2 = .03$. As in Study 1, male evaluators were significantly more willing to work with the female candidates in the self-affirmation condition ($M = 4.47, SD = 1.43$) compared to the control condition ($M = 3.64, SD = 1.27$), $t(75) = 2.72, p = .008$, 95% CI for the mean difference = [0.22, 1.45], $d = .61$. Self-affirmation had no significant effect on men's willingness to work with male candidates, $t(85) = -.31, p = .761$, 95% CI for the mean difference = [-0.57, 0.42], $d = .07$.

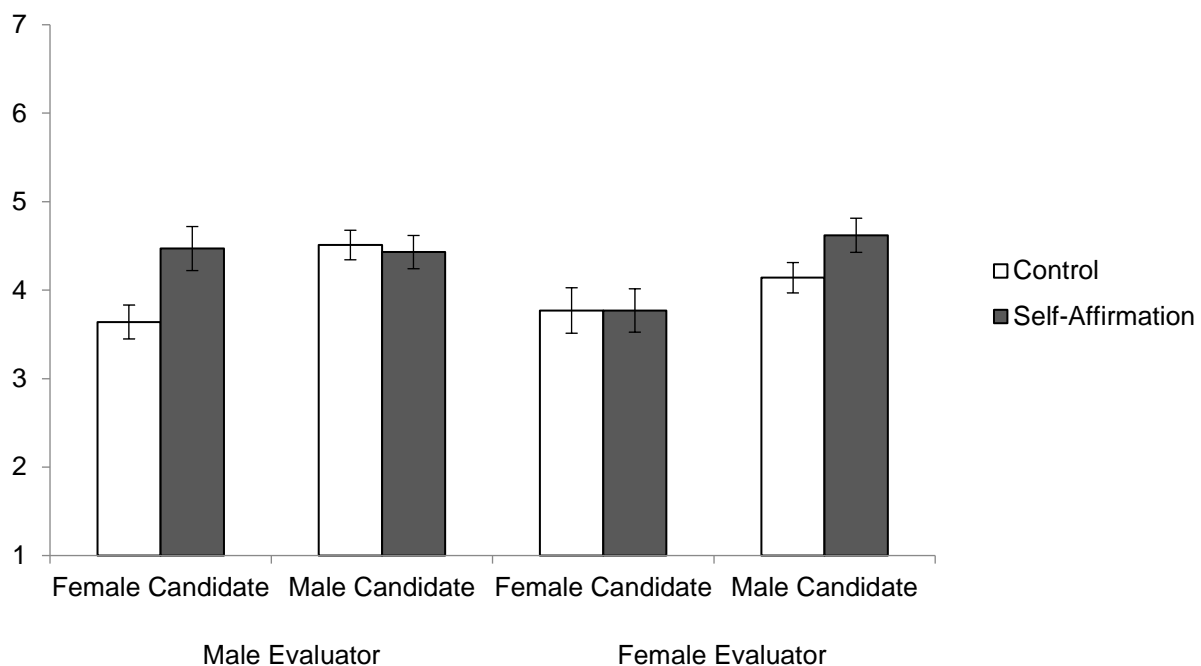


Figure 3. Means of willingness to work with candidate by evaluator gender, candidate gender, and self-affirmation condition. Error bars show standard errors.

Male participants evaluating the female candidates reported higher anxiety in the control condition ($M = 2.85$, $SD = 0.92$) than in the self-affirmation condition ($M = 2.03$, $SD = 0.99$), $t(75) = -3.74$, $p < .001$, 95% CI for the mean difference = $[-1.25, -0.38]$, $d = .86$. Male participants evaluating female candidates also perceived them as significantly more dominant in the control condition ($M = 4.49$, $SD = 1.61$) than in the self-affirmation condition ($M = 3.40$, $SD = 1.38$), $t(75) = -3.11$, $p = .003$, 95% CI for the mean difference = $[-1.78, -0.39]$, $d = .73$.

Mediation analyses. We used mediation analyses to test our prediction, summarized in Figure 1, that self-affirmation increases men's willingness to work with dominant women because it reduces their anxiety and, thereby, decreases their propensity to perceive those women as dominant. Only men evaluating the female candidate were included in the analyses. Using the PROCESS SPSS macro (Model 6) to test for serial mediation (following

Hayes, 2018), we calculated the 95% bootstrap confidence intervals based on 10,000 bootstrap samples. Table 3 reports the regression output.

Table 3

Study 2: Serial Mediation Paths

	β	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI	
				Lower	Upper
a_1 (SA \rightarrow ANX)	-0.82***	0.22	< .001	-1.25	-0.38
a_2 (SA \rightarrow DOM)	-0.15	0.27	.571	-0.69	0.38
a_3 (ANX \rightarrow DOM)	1.15***	0.13	< .001	0.89	1.41
b_1 (ANX \rightarrow WTW)	-0.22	0.13	.083	-0.48	0.03
b_2 (DOM \rightarrow WTW)	-0.64***	0.08	< .001	-0.80	-0.48
Total effect	0.88	0.25		0.38	1.37
Direct effect	-0.04	0.18	.827	-0.4	0.32
Indirect effect ($a_1 \rightarrow a_3 \rightarrow b_2$)	0.60***	0.21		0.25	1.06

Note. Asterisks indicate significant paths (*** $p < .001$).

As Figure 4 illustrates, our analyses supported the predicted mediation model. The total indirect effect ($b = 0.60$, $SE = 0.21$) was significantly different from zero (95% CI = [0.25, 1.06]). When anxiety and perceived dominance were included in the model, the significant main effect of self-affirmation on willingness to work with a female candidate ($b = 0.84$, $SE = 0.31$, $p = .008$) diminished to non-significance ($b = -0.04$, $SE = 0.18$, $p = .827$). To check the proposed sequence of the mediators, we ran a model reversing their order. In this model the indirect effect ($b = 0.11$, $SE = 0.08$) was nonsignificant (95% CI = [-0.01, 0.28]), supporting the hypothesized order of mediating mechanisms in the relationship between self-affirmation and backlash.

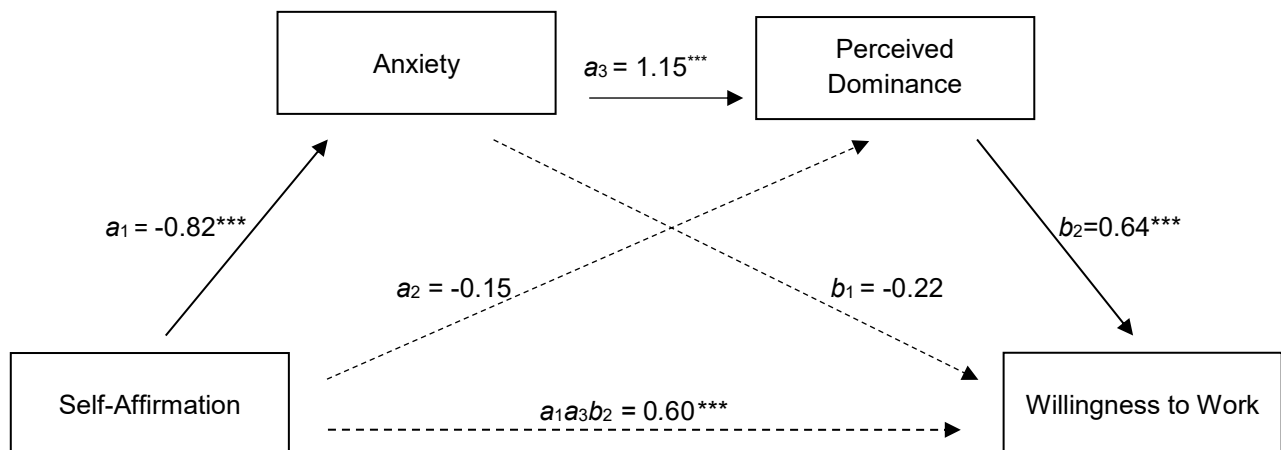


Figure 4. Results of the mediation analysis in Study 2: effect of self-affirmation on men's willingness to work with women, as mediated by anxiety and perceived dominance. Unstandardized coefficients are shown. Asterisks indicate significant paths ($***p < .001$).

Discussion

Thus far, results are consistent with the hypothesis that self-affirmation increases men's willingness to work with a woman because it reduces their anxiety, and therefore their perceptions of her dominance. To provide additional evidence for the model's causal claims, we wanted to manipulate anxiety in Study 3. In addition, we provided male participants with the opportunity to undermine the success of a woman striving to succeed in a male-dominated environment (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004; Rudman et al., 2012) as a behavioral measure of backlash.

Study 3

In Study 3, we used a 2 (high vs. low anxiety) \times 2 (self-affirmation vs. control) between-subjects design in which participants had an opportunity to help or sabotage a woman competing in a male-dominated contest. For the sake of parsimony, we recruited all male participants. Borrowing from Rudman and Fairchild (2004), we created a paradigm in which men had the opportunity to aid or sabotage the sole female contender (against four

men) in the final round of an online competition by providing clues that would either hinder or help her in solving anagram puzzles (Rudman et al., 2012).

We manipulated anxiety by exposing participants to cultural norms in organizations that have been shown to decrease or increase psychological safety (Edmondson, 1999). Recent research on organizational culture as a masculinity contest indicates that the promotion of hyper-competitive, stereotypically masculine work norms decreases psychological safety and increases stress and anxiety. In the high-anxiety condition, we adapted items from a scale of Organizational Culture as a Masculinity Contest (OCMC) (Glick, Berdahl, & Alonso, 2018) to prime masculine competitive work norms that have been linked to feelings of anxiety (Glick, Berdahl, & Alonso, 2018; O'Neill & Alonso, 2018). These work norms include, for example, the perceived need to display confidence and high physical stamina. In the low-anxiety condition, we adapted items from Edmondson's (1999) scale of psychological safety, which includes norms, such as, willingness to collaborate and help others.

In order to ensure generality, we used a different type of self-affirmation manipulation in which participants are asked to reflect on their personal values and how they could express them in their organization (adapted from Cable, Gino, & Staats, 2013). We predicted that increased anxiety would increase men's propensity to sabotage the female contestant ($M_1 \rightarrow Y$) and that self-affirmation would reduce men's anxiety and their propensity to sabotage (X & $M_1 \rightarrow Y$).

Pilot Study

We recruited 130 men via Prolific Academic to pre-test our anxiety manipulation. Participants read a passage about the types of employees that companies are trying to recruit in

“today’s fast-changing markets.” Participants randomly assigned to the high anxiety condition read:

“In competitive, fast-changing markets, there are companies looking to recruit competitive, hard-charging employees. They are looking to recruit people who display confidence, who have the physical stamina for long demanding hours of work, and who can handle stress without becoming emotional. Some executives believe that these qualities predict people’s success.”

Participants were then asked to rate their fit with that type of work environment on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). Sample items included “I am physically strong and healthy,” “I am confident,” and “Nothing wears me down.”

Participants randomly assigned to the low anxiety condition read:

“In today’s fast-changing markets, there are companies looking to recruit cooperative employees who are able to work in teams to get the job done. They are looking to recruit people who are able and willing to collaborate, discuss problems and tough issues, and help their coworkers. Some executives believe that these qualities predict people's success.”

As in the high anxiety condition, participants rated their fit with this type of work environment. Sample items included “I value others’ perspectives,” “I like sharing my ideas,” and “I like helping my peers with their work.”

To test whether the manipulation had its intended effect, we next asked participants to complete a seven-item word-completion task used in prior research (Vandello et al., 2008). Each letter string could be completed to form a word related to anxiety. For example, the string “STRE ___” could be completed as “STRESS” or as “STREET.” The seven anxiety-related words were stress, threat, shame, loser, bother, weak, and upset. One hundred and

twenty-nine men completed the study. As intended, men in the high anxiety condition completed the letter strings with more stress-related words than men in the low-anxiety condition, $t(127) = 2.58, p = .011, d = .46$.

Method

Participants. We aimed for 45 participants in each condition, and thus recruited 180 men to complete an online study via Prolific Academic. We conducted a sensitivity analysis with G*Power. The analysis showed that our sample size was sufficient to detect effect sizes of $\eta^2 = .042$ or larger with 80% power. The mean age was 31.4 ($SD = 11.1$, range = 19-65). Eighty-six percent of the participants values identified as White, 7% as Asian, 4% as Hispanic, 2% as Middle-Eastern, 1% as Mixed.

Procedure. In the consent form, participants read that they would participate in multiple studies. On the first page, we asked the participants (all men) to indicate their age and gender by selecting either a female or a male icon. All of the participants selected a male icon.

The next part of the survey was described as a “Work Environment Study” and replicated the anxiety manipulation pretested above. Following the anxiety manipulation, we randomly assigned participants to a self-affirmation or control condition. In the self-affirmation condition, the men were asked the following four questions: (1) What three words best describe you as an individual? (2) What is unique about you that leads to your happiest times and best performance at work? (3) Can you please describe a time (perhaps on a job, perhaps at home) when you were acting the way you were “born to act?” and (4) How can you repeat that behavior on the job? (adapted from Cable et al., 2013). Men in the control condition were asked to write about their last trip to the grocery store.

Following the self-affirmation manipulation (or control), participants entered the “Verbal Study” in which they had the opportunity to help a contestant in an online gaming competition. The general instructions read as follows:

“We previously randomly selected 50 participants to compete in a gaming tournament. In each round participants competed in online games. Only the top players continued to the next round. The following five players advanced to the third and final round: MARK, JEFF, FELIPE, ERIKA, and JOHN. You will be randomly assigned to help one of those five finalists on their final round. In the final round they will be solving anagrams. Your job is to select clues you want him/her to receive.”

To clarify that only one woman made the final round, participants also saw four male icons (MARK, JEFF, FELIPE, and JOHN) and one female icon (ERIKA). These icons were of the same type they assigned to themselves at the beginning of the study.

Participants then received ten anagrams and possible clues for their solutions (based on Rudman et al., 2012). We told participants that the contestant they would be helping was “ERIKA” (i.e., the only woman in the final round). For each of the ten anagram puzzles, they could choose no more than one clue from a list of three possible clues or they could choose to provide no clue at all.

Measures. We measured sabotage based on how helpful the clues selected for ERIKA would be for solving the 10 anagrams. We presented the clues in random order. Following Rudman et al. (2012), we scored the clues on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 = most helpful, 4 = no clue provided). A sample anagram was “CPESNRAA” (answer = “PANCREAS”). An example of an unhelpful clue (rated 3) would be “It starts with the letter ‘P.’” An example of a more helpful clue (rated 2) would be “It’s an organ in your body.” The most helpful clue

(rated 1) would be “It’s the organ in your body that starts with ‘P.’” The sabotage measure was the sum of the scores for whatever clues they provided (possible range 10–40).

Results

All recruited participants but one completed the study. We report results for the 179 participants who completed the study. Results of the ANOVA on sabotage by anxiety condition and self-affirmation condition revealed a significant interaction of Anxiety \times Self-affirmation, $F(1, 175) = 4.08, p = .045, \eta_p^2 = .02$. Figure 5 depicts the pattern of effects. In the control condition, men were significantly more likely to sabotage the female contestant in the high-anxiety condition ($M = 17.51, SD = 4.56$) compared to the low-anxiety condition ($M = 14.93, SD = 5.13$), $t(94) = 2.61, p = .011, 95\% \text{ CI for the mean difference} = [0.62, 4.54], d = .53$. In the self-affirmation condition, anxiety had no significant effect on the propensity to sabotage women competing in a male-dominated environment (high anxiety condition: $M = 15.08, SD = 4.73$; low anxiety condition: $M = 15.41, SD = 4.75, t(81) = -.32, p = .752, 95\% \text{ CI for the mean difference} = [-2.42, 1.75], d = .07$). In the high-anxiety condition, men were significantly less prone to sabotage when they were self-affirmed ($M = 15.08, SD = 4.73$), compared to when they were not ($M = 17.51, SD = 4.56$), $t(88) = -2.45, p = .016, 95\% \text{ CI for the mean difference} = [-4.40, -0.46], d = .52$.

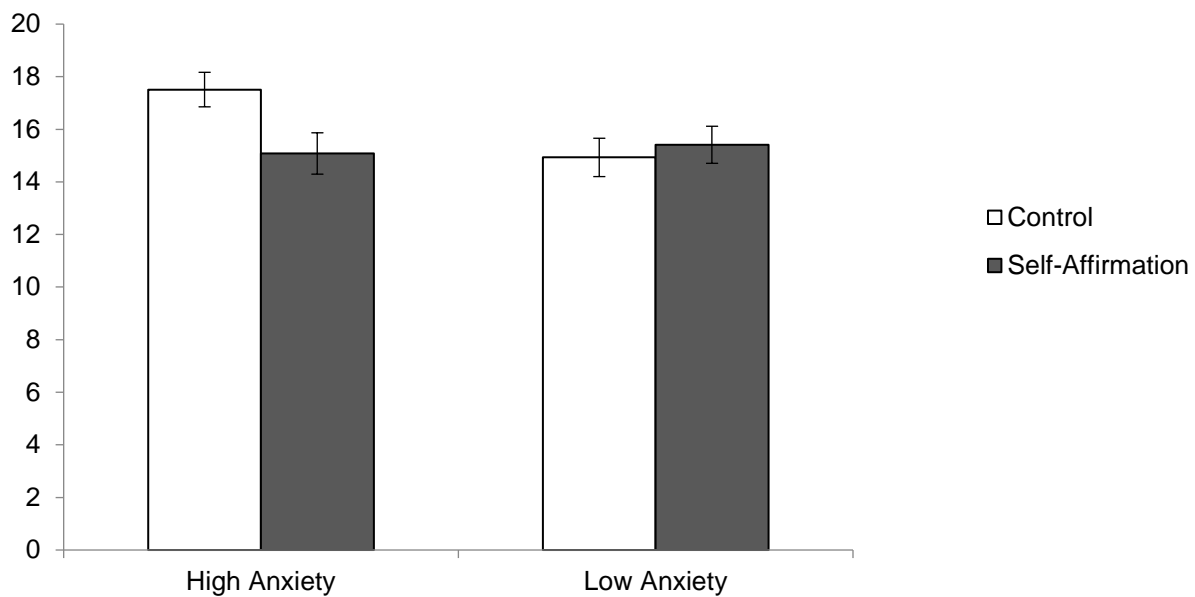


Figure 5. Means of sabotage by anxiety condition and self-affirmation condition. Error bars show standard errors.

Discussion

The results of Study 3 replicated the effects observed in Studies 1 and 2, manipulating anxiety as a mediator and using a behavioural measure of backlash. Under heightened male anxiety, men were more likely to sabotage the sole female finalist in an online contest. However, self-affirmation eliminated that effect.

General Discussion

The current research proposes self-affirmation as a potential intervention to reduce gender discrimination. Specifically, we focus on anxiety as a potential emotional driver of gender backlash toward women striving to succeed in male-dominated work contexts. Our results suggest that anxiety undermines men's willingness to support women competing in male-dominated performance realms. Using multiple forms of self-affirmation, we found that reflecting on one's most important values reduces men's propensity for backlash toward women. Moreover, we found support for a serial mediation model, in which self-affirmation reduced men's feelings of anxiety and, consequently, decreased their perceptions of the woman

they were evaluating as dominant. This dual affective-cognitive pathway decreased the propensity for backlash because anxiety heightened men's perceptions of women as dominant, which is a fundamental violation of feminine behavior norms (Rudman et al., 2012).

This work has potentially important theoretical implications for the study of gender backlash and work discrimination more broadly. Traditionally, self-affirmation interventions have focused on bolstering the targets of stereotypes from the threat they experience. Few studies have demonstrated the effect of self-affirmation on the perpetrators of discrimination. Fein and Spencer's (1997) work on prejudice reduction upon reflection on a self-relevant value, is a notable exception. Our study provides further evidence that self-affirmation may help reduce the propensity for discrimination, specifically gender backlash, and mitigating its potentially damaging effects.

Nevertheless, our work leaves open some important questions for future research. We find that self-affirmation reduces gender biases because it reduces men's anxiety, but our research does not explain why this occurs. In general, research has not established a clear mechanism underlying self-affirmation effects. Some studies have found that affirmation operates through increasing positive mood (Koole, Smeets, Van Knippenberg, & Dijksterhuis, 1999; Raghunathan & Trope, 2002), but several others have failed to detect any relation between self-affirmation and mood (Cohen & Sherman, 2014). The effects of self-affirmation on self-esteem are also inconsistent. Some studies found self-affirmations increase self-esteem (Fein & Spencer, 1997), while others found no such effects (Schmeichel & Martens, 2005). More research is needed to illuminate the mediating mechanisms through which self-affirmation affects individuals' decision making and behavior (Cohen & Sherman, 2014).

Another open question is the extent to which self-affirmation could have more lasting effects on gender backlash in organizations. Field research suggests that self-affirmation can have lasting effects for the individuals who are the targets of stereotypes (Cohen et al., 2009). For instance, Cohen et al. (2009) demonstrated that periodic self-affirmation (i.e., 3-5 times per year) helped minority students' overcome stereotype threat for as long as two years. In two field experiments, Kinias and Sim (2017) demonstrated that a one-time self-affirmation during orientation ameliorated stereotype-consistent gender performance gaps among Masters of Business Administration students (MBAs) at an international business school. Similarly, Cable et al. (2013) implemented a one-time self-affirmation intervention during a work orientation program and found that having newcomers reflect on their personal values and how they could express them at work had positive effects on employee retention six months after the intervention.

The results of these studies are promising, but we remain unaware of any long-lasting effects of self-affirmation on indicators of discrimination in field settings. Research on the durability of self-affirmation for gender discrimination would enhance the practical relevance of this research (Reed & Aspinwall, 1998). Field research is needed to clarify whether self-affirmation as an organizational practice could reduce biases in employee hiring, evaluation, or promotion.

Managers should be mindful of how cultural norms in their organizations, such as whether their culture functions as a masculinity contest, might heighten the potential for discriminatory attitudes. In Study 3, we manipulated men's anxiety by priming organizational norms demonstrated to increase stress and anxiety (O'Neill & Alonso, 2018). Our results suggest that work contexts that heighten employee anxiety may lead to gender discriminatory behavior.

Finally, future research should explore a broader range of emotions that could contribute to the potential for gender backlash or other forms of discrimination. Self-affirmation is only one potential intervention for reducing feelings of stress and anxiety. There may be other organizational practices, such as those that promote psychological safety (Edmonson, 1999), that could reduce the potential for stereotype-based discrimination at work.

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Conclusions

This dissertation aims at advancing the scholarship understanding of gender effects in negotiation, and the situational factors responsible for the documented gender effects. Moreover, it proposes new untested interventions to mitigate those effects that future research should consider. Importantly, it addresses a social and organizational challenge, that is the integration of women in male-dominated organizations. Finally, it designs and discusses plausible recommendations for practice.