

**Woman, Man or Simply Negotiator?
Antecedents and Consequences of One's
Gender Approach in Mixed-Gender
Negotiations**

Woman, Man or Simply Negotiator? Antecedents and Consequences of One's Gender Approach in Mixed-Gender Negotiations

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Abstract

Abstract

For years, research has portrayed women as both less willing and less able to overcome male counterparts in mixed-gender negotiations (e.g., Babcock & Laschever, 2003; Babcock et al., 2006; Greenhalgh & Gilkey, 1993; Kray et al., 2001; Kray & Gelfand, 2009; Small et al., 2007). Recently however, this discrepancy was acknowledged to not necessarily be due to gender itself. Rather of, various situational factors are now known to interact in causing the previously reported gender effects at the bargaining table. In this thesis, we contribute to this last line of research by focusing upon an ignored up to now, yet potentially important variable in mixed gender negotiations, i.e., the gender ideology one endorses (Hahn et al., 2015; Koenig & Richeson, 2010). Building upon past work (e.g., Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Kray et al., 2002), we first argue that one's choice of gender handling strategies varies along with their gender congruence to the task (gender congruent vs. gender incongruent task) and with the expected negotiation outcomes (wanted vs. unwanted outcomes). We then assess both antecedents and consequences of supporting different gender ideologies, to better understand when and how one's gender approach might impact previously reported gender effects in negotiation. As a set, our studies suggest gender ideologies to indeed vary along with factors such as context, inequity predisposing traits or the bargaining topic. Moreover, one's gender approach is revealed as potentially significant to better understanding gender effects in negotiations.

Résumé

Résumé

Pendant des années, la recherche a dépeint les femmes comme à la fois moins disposées et moins capables de vaincre leurs homologues masculins dans les négociations mixtes (par exemple, Babcock & Laschever, 2003; Babcock et al., 2006; Greenhalgh & Gilkey, 1993; Kray et al., 2001; Kray & Gelfand, 2009; Small et al., 2007). Récemment, cet écart a été reconnu comme n'étant pas nécessairement dû au sexe lui-même. Divers facteurs situationnels sont maintenant connus pour interagir en provoquant des effets de genre à la table de négociation. Dans cette thèse, nous contribuons à cette dernière ligne de recherche en nous concentrant sur une variable ignorée jusqu'à présent, mais potentiellement importante dans les négociations mixtes, l'idéologie de genre que l'on approuve (Hahn et al., 2015; Koenig & Richeson, 2010). En nous basant sur les recherches précédentes (par exemple, Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012; Eagly & Karau, 2002 ; Kray et al., 2002), nous soutenons que les stratégies de gestion du genre varient selon la sexospécificité de la tâche (congruence sexe - tâche vs incongruence sexe - tâche) et selon les résultats de négociation attendus (résultats désirables vs résultats indésirables). Nous évaluons donc à la fois les antécédents et les conséquences du soutien à différentes idéologies de genre, afin de mieux comprendre quand et comment l'approche du genre peut avoir un impact sur les effets de genre précédemment signalés dans la négociation. Dans l'ensemble, nos études suggèrent que les idéologies de genre varient en fonction des facteurs tels que le contexte, les traits prédisposant aux inégalités ou le sujet de négociation. En outre, les idéologies de genre se révèlent potentiellement importantes pour mieux comprendre les effets de genre dans les négociations mixtes.

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I've started this PhD thinking that it was going to be a day at the beach.

Oh, how wrong I was... It is more of a long, overwhelming, often frightening, exciting, amazing roller-coaster ride, in the greatest adventure park one could ever imagine. It is the trip of a lifetime, one that most people can only dream about. One that I was lucky enough to embark and that I will surely remember for the rest of my life...

It is not always easy to see clearly when you are going 10000 miles an hour. You sometimes close your eyes, convinced that this can't possibly end well... and then you immediately open them, so that you don't lose any of the wonderful things bound to pass you by while you are too scared to enjoy the ride. You bruise your knees as the shuttle takes quick 180 degrees turns, you see your heart pounding out of your chest when scary (article-reviewing) fairytale creatures raise their fingers at you, you almost lose your grip and fall from thousands of meters high each time a breeze disguised in a hurricane comes your way... And all that you can think about is that... it was absolutely worth it!

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I finally opted for Steph. I had read some of Vincent's work during my first PhD on gender stereotypes, and to be honest, I was quite intimidated. To my biggest surprise (and delight, I admit!), you were also there, Vincent, the first day I came to UCLouvain, at Steph's invite. What were the chances of that?!

I've learned throughout the years that things often have a way of arranging themselves. This was certainly one of those times. And so begun the unforgettable story of my PhD in social psychology...

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No, a PhD at UCLouvain is definitely not a day at the beach... It is more of a long, overwhelming, often frightening, exciting, amazing roller-coaster ride, the most incredible adventure one could ever encounter... One that bruises your knees and makes your heart almost pound out of your chest... One that gets you going 10000 miles an hour, often making you fear that this can't possibly end well...

True... but what an incredible roller-coaster ride it is!...

General Introduction

General Introduction

Negotiations are an important part of our daily existence. We negotiate on the best location for the upcoming spring break, on what TV show to watch and on who should clean the house once the party is over. We bargain on salaries, working hours and professional benefits. We negotiate on social activities and on who is good enough to join our social group. We bargain in our families, at school, at the workplace and within our peer groups. From early childhood, we negotiate on who we are and on what our place in society should be. With or without realizing it, step-by-step, negotiations shape our existence, the lives of people around us and society altogether.

Given the importance of negotiations on one's daily life, an impressive amount of research has aimed over the years to better understand what differentiates a good negotiator from an inefficient one. Not surprisingly, gender soon became a focal point for researchers on gender effects in negotiation. Indeed, negotiations were step by step conceptualized as a male domain (Kray et al., 2001, 2002; Kray & Gelfand, 2009; Williams & Best, 1982), with men emerging as the undisputed winners at the bargaining table, whereas women were portrayed to either refuse to "play the game" or, best case scenario, to hardly match their male counterpart's negotiating performances (Anderson & Shirako, 2008; Babcock & Laschever, 2003; Babcock et al., 2006; Greenhalgh & Gilkey, 1993; Kimmel et al., 1980; Kray et al., 2001; Kray & Gelfand, 2009; Major & Konar, 1984; McFarlin et al., 1989; Small et al., 2007; Walters et al., 1998). As such, to no one's surprise, the stereotype of a good negotiator is nowadays not much different from the one of men (Kray et al., 2001, 2002).

Recently, however, a new line of research came to challenge this male-domain connotation of the bargaining table, positing women to have the potential to negotiate just as good as men, or even better when the situation allows it (Bowles et al., 2005, 2007; Kray et al., 2001, 2002, 2004; Mazei et al., 2015; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999; Walters et al., 1998). In gender congruent contexts (Eagly & Karau, 2002), for instance (e.g., when approaching feminine topics, when perceiving their femininity as leverage in negotiation or when bargaining from a representation role), women emerge as both willing, and able to prove themselves as worthy negotiating opponents (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010; Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012; Kray et al., 2002). As such, the baseline belief that men hold all the leverage in negotiation would seem to not always accurately reflect reality.

In this thesis, we aim to contribute to this recent line of work focused on better understanding when and how gender is relevant at the bargaining table. More specifically, we consider a so far ignored, yet potentially significant factor in negotiation, namely *gender ideology* (i.e., one's perspective on how gender differences should be handled within mixed-gender interactions), and we explore variables likely to affect how one approaches gender at the bargaining table (i.e., context, gender, individual differences, negotiating topic), as well as potential consequences of one's gender ideologies in negotiations.

In Chapter One, we present a theoretical overview of the literature that offered the foundation for our research on the matter. We start by revealing past work on gender effects in negotiation. More specifically, we first present the host of studies arguing for men's supremacy at the bargaining table, to then turn to recent work that reveals reasons other than gender as potential roots for at least part of the differences reported in women's and men's negotiating performances. Following in the footsteps of this second line of research, we then acknowledge an ignored up-to-now, yet potentially significant determinant of gender effects in negotiation, namely gender ideology, i.e., one's perspective on how gender should be handled when women and men interact. We first distinguish among *sexblindness* (the perspective that posits that gender differences should be ignored in mixed-gender interactions) and *sexawareness* (the perspective according to which gender differences should instead be celebrated when women and men interact, Koenig & Richeson, 2010). We then further nuance the matter by pointing to both a positive and negative way to both ignoring and acknowledging gender (Hahn et al., 2015). More specifically, we acknowledge that ignoring gender by focusing on other relevant, non-gender related traits (i.e., *sexblindness*) is quite different from ignoring gender differences by asking the stereotypically subordinate gender (women) to assimilate to male norms and behaviors (i.e., *assimilationism*). In a similar vein, acknowledging gender differences by celebrating the plus value of each gender (i.e., *sexawareness*) significantly varies from acknowledging them by positing that women and men are fundamentally different, thus should each stick to what they're (stereotypically) good at and not attempt to cross this invisible line (i.e., *segregationism*). We further acknowledge past studies focused upon these gender ideologies, to then assess when and how this ignored up-to-now variable might significantly impact the particular field of negotiations. More specifically, we propose a model that posits one's choice of gender ideology in negotiation to vary along with their gender congruence to the task (gender congruent vs. gender incongruent task) and with the expected outcome in negotiation (wanted vs. unwanted outcome). We posit this model to be valid regardless of gender, yet we state from the very beginning our particular interest in how this framework applies in the case of female negotiators, i.e., the main target of past work on gender effects in negotiation and the stereotypically considered "weak link" in the negotiation process (Kray et al., 2001). We use this framework to account for some of the gender effects previously reported in negotiation, to finally propose new, potentially fruitful directions of research on gender ideologies in negotiations.

Building upon research depicted in this first theoretical section, in the next chapters of the thesis we then take a step further and explore the matter from a more empirical point of view. More specifically, we now explore the antecedents and consequences of endorsing different gender ideologies through a series of empirical studies, meant to offer insight on the variables that affect one's ideological endorsement (i.e., context, gender, one's disparaging attitudes towards others and topic, Chapters Two and Three), as well as on the effects that endorsing different gender ideologies presents on women's propensity to negotiate, on their approach and on their performances at the bargaining table (Chapter Four).

More specifically, in Chapter Two we present studies that explore the influence of context, gender and inequity predisposing traits on people's ideological support in negotiation. That is, we argue (and evidence) from the start that given nowadays gender equality regulations (see *European Commission, 2019, 2020*) sexblindness represents the overall baseline in negotiation, especially in professional environments. Secondly, in line with past work (Koenig & Richeson, 2010), we posit and confirm that family negotiations elicit more gender acknowledgement than work ones, whereas in work negotiations assimilationism is more likely to prevail over sexawareness. Furthermore, building upon literature (e.g., Bourguignon et al., 2015; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2015; Moya et al., 2007; Pratto et al., 1994) we hypothesize and find individuals endowed with disparaging attitudes towards others (high SDOs, benevolent and hostile sexists) as particularly prone to acknowledge gender when negotiating with their spouses, but to instead opt for assimilationism over sexawareness when negotiating within public contexts. We close the chapter by discussing the implications of this research and by pointing to new, potentially intriguing directions for future studies on the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies in negotiation.

In Chapter Three we leave behind the private sphere of negotiations and set our focus on the public context, where we explore the impact of the negotiating topic on one's gender approach at the work bargaining table. Building upon literature on both gender effects in negotiations (e.g., Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012; Miles & LaSalle, 2008) and gender-role congruence (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002), we now re-focus our attention solely on women negotiators, the stereotypically poorer-performant gender in negotiation (Kray et al., 2001, 2002) and the main target group of this thesis. We assess general beliefs on how women negotiators (should) handle gender differences when bargaining with a counterpart of the opposite gender to obtain a wanted outcome on gender congruent as opposed to gender incongruent stereotyped topics. We first re-confirm sexblindness as the golden rule at the male-valenced bargaining table. We then point out to an intriguing discrepancy in the way people expect women to handle negotiations on gender-relevant topics, as opposed to the success approach they would instead prescribe. More specifically, we reveal a general belief that women would commonly handle work negotiations in a more sexaware manner when negotiating on feminine (i.e., gender congruent) issues as opposed to when negotiating on masculine or even neutral ones. In sharp contrast, we find a general belief that women would be better off ignoring gender and adopting a more manly, assimilationist behavior to increase their success chances in negotiations in such contexts. Implications of these research results are discussed, along with other potentially fruitful directions of research on the matter.

In the last empirical chapter (Chapter Four), we switch perspectives from gender ideology's antecedents to its consequences and assess the effects of endorsing different gender ideologies on women negotiator's bargaining behaviors and performances in gender congruent vs. incongruent circumstances. That is, we explore the joint effect of gender ideologies and topic on women's propensity to negotiate, on their negotiating approach (i.e., their first offers, their goals and expectations) and eventually on their actual performances at

the bargaining table. We present the results of three studies focused upon women's negotiation approach and outcomes as a function of topic and gender ideologies at the mixed-gender bargaining table. In line with past work on gender effects in negotiation (Bear, 2010) and gender congruence (Eagly & Karau, 2002), we find women to be more willing to embark mixed-gender negotiations when acknowledging gender on a gender-congruent topic. These beneficial effects of sexawareness on women's propensity to negotiate are however not found to equally extend to women's first offers, goals and expectations in negotiation, nor to their actual performances when negotiating on a female based, as opposed to a male based matter. Possible explanations and implications of these research results are discussed, and new ideas of research are presented.

The final section of the thesis is a general discussion that synthesizes the most important results of the studies that we have conducted and examines the potential implications they hold on the process of negotiation and beyond. As such, we take a panorama of our findings to better understand when and how gender ideologies affect women's approach and their outcomes at the mixed-gender bargaining table. We discuss the results of our studies on both the antecedents and the consequences of gender ideologies on negotiations, and we further argue that gender ideology is a potentially important player at the bargaining table. We close this section by addressing some of the possible limitations of the studies we have conducted, and by exemplifying how these limitations open the door to further rewarding directions of research on gender ideology in negotiation.

Chapter 1: He, She, “They” at the Bargaining Table... Woman, Man or Just Negotiators? A Critical Review on Gender Ideologies in Mixed-Gender Negotiations

In recent years, an important number of studies aimed at levelling the playing field for women and men at the bargaining table. In spite of this, women continue to find themselves largely at a disadvantage when negotiating with a male counterpart. In this review, we focus on a neglected yet potentially important factor contributing to the gender gap in negotiations, namely people’s gender ideology. We argue that gender ideology shapes day-to-day negotiations and we offer insights regarding its consequences on the bargaining process. We first present the available contributions regarding gender in negotiations and underline the most significant variables that lead to gender effects in negotiations. We then introduce gender ideology as a potentially important variable in the process and lean upon previous studies to support our claim.

Reference

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He, She, “They” at the Bargaining Table... Woman, Man or Just Negotiators? A Critical Review on Gender Ideologies in Mixed-Gender Negotiations

Imagine that you are about to start a negotiation with a partner of the opposite sex. Does the fact that you are a woman and that he is a man, or the other way around, play a role in the choices that you are about to make when striving to reach your goals? Will you approach the negotiation the same way that you would if your counterpart were of the same gender¹ as you? Decades of research on gender in negotiation argue that women negotiators suffer a disadvantage on a number of counts. Many of the mechanisms leading to these gender effects have already been underlined and scholars have now started investigating the various ways by which they could be overcome (e.g., Kray et al., 2002; Small et al., 2007). In the present paper, we expand this literature by examining how the negotiation process could be influenced by gender ideologies, i.e., people’s beliefs of whether and how gender ought to be either ignored or acknowledged for reaching equality (Koenig & Richeson, 2010).

We start by presenting research that portrays gender as an important determinant of outcomes at the bargaining table. We first point to the variables used to account for women’s poorer performances in negotiations. In particular, we approach individual differences in female and male negotiator’s management of the mixed-gender bargaining table. We then turn to the partners’ differential reactions towards women and men as negotiators partners. We complete this analysis by considering situational factors operating independently of negotiators and their partners’ behaviors. We then redirect our attention to a heretofore neglected yet potentially important factor to increase our understanding of gender effects in negotiation, namely the various beliefs that people hold as to how gender is and ought to be handled in daily-life interactions, i.e., gender ideologies. We present the state of the art on these gender beliefs. We then build upon this literature to argue that one way of handling one’s gender in negotiations is to vary its salience as a function of both the congruence of the task with the negotiator’s gender (congruent vs. incongruent task) and the expected outcomes of the bargaining process (wanted, positive vs. unwanted, negative outcome). We then exemplify how this model applies in the case of women negotiators before concluding that gender ideologies constitute a valuable research topic for future studies on gender effects in negotiation.

1. Gender Effects in Negotiation

Abundant research findings have shown that women's performance in mixed-gender negotiations often fall below those of men, especially in negotiations on monetary stakes (e.g., Bowles et al., 2005; Stevens et al., 1993; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999; Walters et al., 1998). Over the years, scholars have conducted a host of studies to uncover the mechanisms that may account for this gender gap. Broadly speaking, three kinds of variables have been found to account for these gender effects: individual differences between female and male negotiators, partners' differential reactions to women and men negotiators, and situational factors (for a review, see Demoulin, 2014). The following section assesses how each of these factors affects women's negotiating behaviors and performances.

1.1 Gender Differences among Negotiators

Research points to behavioral differences between female and male negotiators in all phases of the negotiating process, that is, before, during, and after the negotiation *per se*. Before the negotiation, women are less likely to perceive a given situation as being negotiable than men are (Babcock et al., 2006). This leads them to avoid the bargaining table altogether, particularly when the likelihood of negative consequences is high (Exley et al., 2016). When negotiation is unavoidable, women also set lower goals and have lower expectations than their male counterparts do (Kray et al., 2001; Major & Konar, 1984; McFarlin et al., 1989).

During the actual negotiation process, female negotiators commonly speak less and show more self-doubt than male ones (Kimmel et al., 1980). They also react in a more emotional manner (Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999) and tend to consider what happens as part of a long-time relationship whereas men usually portray each negotiation episode as a separate, unconnected event (Greenhalgh & Gilkey, 1993). Consequently, women often show more interest in interpersonal relationships at the bargaining table (Kray & Gelfand, 2009), and are more willing to share personal information than men (Halpern & McLean Parks, 1996). In other words, they end up significantly more on the cooperative side than their male counterparts (Anderson & Shirako, 2008) who are instead more likely to endorse a more competitive perspective (Walters et al., 1998).

Gender differences also affect ethical behaviors in negotiation. Women use positional commitments, threats, and derogatory put-downs to a lesser extent than men do (Kimmel et al., 1980; Lewicki & Robinson, 1998; Robinson et al., 2000). They are also less egocentric in negotiation ethics than men (Kray & Haselhuhn, 2012) and feel less comfortable with higher financial compensation (Barron, 2003). On a similar note, when participating in allocation tasks, women pay themselves less than male participants do (Kaman & Hartel, 1994; Major et al., 1984) and sometimes even less than other people are willing to pay them (Callahan-Levy & Messe, 1979).

At the end of a negotiation episode, women report less satisfaction with their overall performance than men do (Watson & Hoffman, 1996). They acknowledge feeling less

powerful during the bargaining process (Kray et al., 2001) and report greater dislike of the whole process (Babcock et al., 2006; Kimmel et al., 1980; Small et al., 2007) as well as lower self-efficacy (Stevens et al., 1993).

1.2 Differential Reactions among Negotiation Partners

As such, the above-mentioned findings might lead one to consider that empowering women would suffice to erase gender effects in negotiation. However, negotiations do not take place in a social vacuum (Kray & Gelfand, 2009). A woman's ability and motivation may thus not be the only aspects that influence the outcomes. Rather, her counterpart's approach also plays an important role in the way negotiations evolve. In particular, several studies reveal that partners treat men and women differently in negotiations, even when the latter negotiate identically. For instance, research has shown negotiators to be four times more likely to deceive a female than a male counterpart (Kray et al., 2014). Because one expects women to be warm and kind, they often hesitate to accuse others of foul play, as such accusations would violate prescriptive feminine stereotypes (Kray, 2011). Unfortunately, this double bind also opens the door to the prevalent stereotype of gullible women, and implicitly to even stronger attempts at deceiving female negotiators (along similar lines, see Smeesters et al., 2003).

Similarly, men are often better rewarded for their work and are free to succeed without being disliked or sabotaged (Correll et al., 2007; Kilbourne et al., 1994). Men also often receive better offers in negotiation (e.g., Ayres & Siegelman, 1995) and, thus, as a consequence of an anchoring effect, obtain better results at the end of the discussion. Meanwhile, women's success emerges as much more likely to be accompanied by various negative consequences (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013b; Bowles et al., 2007; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). For instance, research has shown that women are reprimanded more than men for negotiating on their own behalf (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013a; Bowles et al., 2007). That is, the prevalent stereotype that assigns communal traits to women (Williams & Best, 1982) and agentic characteristics to men creates a double bind and exposes women to social backlash when focusing on personal goals (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010).

1.3 Situational Factors

Recent research on gender effects in negotiation has also envisaged the situational factors that exacerbate versus reduce gender differences. Most studies in this domain argue that gender gaps result in part from the differential roles ascribed to women and men in the society and from the stereotypical traits associated to these roles (Eagly & Steffen, 1984). Because people consider negotiation as a male prerogative (Bowles & Kray, 2013) and because performance in negotiation is associated with stereotypical masculine characteristics (Kray et al., 2001; Williams & Best, 1982), negotiations are threatening to most women (e.g. Small et al., 2007). Indeed, studies reveal, for instance, that women tend to avoid the bargaining

process when situations are framed as opportunities for negotiation. However, simply reframing negotiations as opportunities to ask is apparently enough to eliminate this gender gap in the initiation of negotiation (Small et al., 2007). On a similar note, women respond better to the challenge when they envision the upcoming negotiation as a learning tool, as opposed to when they believe it to be diagnostic of their true ability (Kray et al., 2001). Finally, women's performance also significantly increases when negotiating for someone else as opposed to negotiating for themselves (Bowles et al., 2005). According to the authors, the latter effect occurs because the representational role is in line with women's communal stereotype and caring role in general.

In their meta-analysis on gender effects, Stuhlmacher and Walters (1999) further point out that most of the studies that evidenced a male advantage on negotiations use stereotypically masculine negotiation tasks as well as highly competitive contexts. Indeed, recent research confirmed that when feminine topics are at stake or when contexts are cooperative, women are just as willing and capable to successfully negotiate as their male counterparts (Babcock, 2014; Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012). In fact, many studies have now acknowledged that, under appropriate circumstances or adequate framing, the gender gap can be erased (e.g., Kray & Gelfand, 2009; Leibbrand & List, 2015; Small et al., 2007). Such studies can only point to the importance of keeping an open mind when investigating the influence of gender in mixed-gender negotiations. As past research suggests, women might indeed underperform relative to men in negotiations, but only under specific circumstances. Critically, factors other than a presumed woman's deficiency at the bargaining table appear to account for a great deal of the discrepancies in mixed-gender negotiations. A clearer insight on these variables and on their effects on women's negotiating performances is obviously of utmost importance.

2. Gender Ideologies

Although past research has undeniably improved our understanding of the emergence of gender differences at the negotiation table, we are yet to fully understand gender effects in mixed-gender negotiations. Little is known, for instance, on the role that people's beliefs regarding how gender is and should be approached at the negotiation table, namely their gender ideologies, play on the matter. Hereafter, we argue that gender ideologies are important in determining how mixed-gender negotiations unfold. As such, we first point to past work focused upon one's ideological endorsement on daily mixed-gender interactions. We then build upon this literature to argue that gender ideology is potentially relevant to better understanding gender effects in negotiations.

2.1 Theoretical Models on Gender Ideologies

For years, the topic of how gender should be handled when women and men interact has escaped the interest of social psychologists. Recently however, two models emerged to shed

light on the possible beliefs people hold on gender differences in mixed-gender interactions. The first model suggests that one can either acknowledge or ignore gender in mixed interactions (Koenig & Richeson, 2010). The second model additionally distinguishes between positive and negative ways to acknowledge or ignore gender differences (Hahn et al., 2015).

Building upon research that deals with racial ideologies and in which researchers make a distinction between a colorblind and a multicultural approach to racial encounters (e.g., Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al., 2000), Koenig and Richeson (2010) proposed to consider two possible ways of handling gender differences in daily interactions. On the one hand, the sexblind ideology holds that, in order to increase gender equality, one should eliminate the use of sex categories and approach both men and women as unique individuals. On the other hand, to attain the same goal, the sexaware ideology maintains that one should acknowledge and celebrate sex differences instead. In other words, this model envisions sexblindness and sexawareness as opposite ends of a continuum and uses items such as “There is no reason to categorize individuals as men or women” (sexblindness) or “Both men and women have unique assets to contribute” (sexawareness) to identify one’s tendency to acknowledge / ignore gender.

More recently, Hahn et al. (2015) enriched Koenig and Richeson’s proposition by crossing the importance granted to gender differences with the positive or negative evaluations of subordinate group members. As a result, this model produces a fourfold framework of gender ideologies. According to the sexblind² perspective, the best way to handle gender is to ignore the category altogether and to value individuals (e.g., “All humans are fundamentally the same, regardless of their gender”). In contrast, assimilationism proposes a negative evaluation of the subordinate group and states that gender equality can best be achieved by assimilating one gender to the norms imposed by the other. Specifically, one expects women to assimilate to men’s norms (e.g., “Women in the corporate world should embrace a masculine work ethic”). Turning to ideologies that celebrate gender differences, the sexaware perspective emphasizes differences between women and men and promotes the idea that both genders hold equally important qualities, albeit different ones. As such, gender differences come across as mutual enrichment (e.g., “Men and women have different but equally useful ways of accomplishing tasks”). In contrast, when the evaluation of the subordinate group is negative, i.e., segregationism, the differences between women and men are used to keep the genders apart and to justify, at least at an implicit level, placing women in a lower status and in less desirable positions than men (e.g., “Men and women are naturally suited to different jobs and should continue to do those”).

Importantly, the relevance of these gender ideologies should vary as a function of context. For instance, not all ideologies should apply to the field of interest of this article, i.e., the particular domain of negotiations. As Hahn and colleagues (2015) argue, segregationism advocates the fact that women and men should be kept apart. However, working together towards a mutually acceptable solution is a key aspect of the bargaining

process. In other words, interpersonal interaction is not a matter of choice but a required condition. Considering this, sexblindness, sexawareness, and assimilationism should be the ideologies most likely to actively emerge within mixed-gender negotiations.

2.2 Antecedents of Ideologies' Endorsement

People's way of approaching gender differences varies along with the concrete circumstances that they encounter as well as with whom they are. Indeed, several factors, both situational (e.g., context, the diversity norms within a particular organization, one's cultural background or their prototypicality to the considered field) and individual (e.g., one's gender, level of prejudice, or personal values), were recognized over the last decade to interact in determining people's endorsed gender ideologies.

Preliminary studies conducted by Koenig and Richeson (2010) suggest for instance that context influences one's ideological endorsement. Indeed, whereas people embrace sexblindness more in work environments, they prefer sexawareness in social settings. Individual differences would also seem to play a role. For instance, the preference for sexblindness is related to less benevolent sexism in social interactions. Although the same pattern can be found in work contexts, the differences do not reach statistical significance (Koenig & Richeson, 2010), suggesting that context and individual differences work together in determining people's choice of gender ideologies.

In a recent study on equality policies and attitudes in Luxembourg, Bourguignon et al. (2015) report new evidence on the way situational and individual variables interact in shaping people's ideological approach in work contexts. As expected, the diversity norms promoted within an organization emerged as the best predictor of people's endorsements of gender ideologies. However, individual factors were again found to be of importance. Although participants overall preferred positive gender ideologies (sexblindness and sexawareness) to negative ones, male participants supported sexblindness more than women did. Moreover, a high level of social dominance orientation related to a higher preference for negative gender ideologies, whereas a low level was related to a preference for positive ones. This study also revealed the impact of one's cultural background on the endorsement of gender ideologies. More specifically, participants originating from Luxembourg supported negative gender ideologies (assimilationism and segregationism) more, and sexblindness less, than employees of other nationalities did (i.e., mostly French and Belgians, but also Italians, Portuguese, Germans, etc.). The latter result does not come as a surprise considering Guimond et al.'s (2014) findings that intergroup ideologies, institutionalized as policies, often vary as a function of culture and time.

More recently, Banchevsky and Park (2018) further advanced our understanding by looking at the match between gender imbalance within a given study major and women and men's endorsed gender ideologies. Again, situational (i.e., the gender balance within the study major) and individual factors (i.e., gender) interacted in determining people's

endorsement of gender ideologies. More specifically, gender imbalance in the study major was not found to affect women's gender ideologies. In contrast, men in increasingly male-dominated academic majors proved more likely to endorse negative gender ideologies (assimilationism and segregationism) and less likely to endorse sexblindness. The data revealed no impact of the relative percentage of men and women in the study major on their support for sexawareness (Banchefsky & Park, 2018).

These are obviously not the only individual factors to affect people's gender ideologies. In a recent study, for instance, Martin et al. (2018) found women's values to also be of importance when it comes to the gender ideologies they endorse. As research shows, women holding strong career values (i.e., those who prioritize career-related goals) prefer sexblindness. In contrast, women with stronger family values (i.e., those who prioritize family-related goals) support sexawareness more.

In sum, the available work portrays gender ideology as a promising concept but suggests that various situational variables (including, but not limited to context, cultural norms and one's prototypicality to a particular field) seem to interact with individual ones (e.g., gender and personal values) in orienting the preferred gender ideology.

3. Gender Ideologies in Negotiation

Gender ideology represents a rather abstract concept, one that obviously needs to translate into concrete actions (i.e., gender ideology-based strategies) to impact mixed-gender negotiations. Moreover, with one exception (Manea et al., 2019), previous research has not examined the impact of gender ideologies on negotiations. In the present section, we take a step forward as we explore the concrete ways in which gender ideologies should manifest themselves at the negotiation table. More specifically, we propose a theoretical model that suggests that people's strategic preferences for putting forward their gender or for attempting to downplay it vary as a function of the task's congruence with their gender (i.e., congruent vs. incongruent task) as well as of the expected outcome of the negotiation at hand (i.e., wanted, positive vs. unwanted, negative outcomes). That is, we posit that gender congruence with the task is likely to be perceived as beneficial to individuals when negotiating in order to obtain a wanted, positive outcome. The same gender congruence might however be seen as decreasing their chances of success when the goal is to avoid unwanted, negative outcomes. In a similar vein, a lack of gender congruence with the task should be perceived as a liability when aiming to obtain a positive, wanted outcome in mixed-gender negotiations whereas the same lack of gender congruence should instead be seen as an advantage when negotiating over an unwanted task.

Clearly, this model should apply equally to female and male negotiators. Indeed, as role congruence theory (Eagly, 1987) posits, both women and men feel more at ease in gender congruent contexts and prefer gender congruent to gender incongruent tasks. Moreover, the literature on ambivalent sexism found gender to represent only a minor predictor of sexist

attitudes (Roets et al., 2012). Although gender ideologies and sexism are obviously different concepts, one can nevertheless hardly ignore the overall similarity in women's and men's perspectives pertaining to both the importance of gender congruence, and to how women and men should overall behave.

As much as this, we will detail the proposed framework by focusing primarily on women. Indeed, as already argued and as detailed in the first section of the present work, negotiation is not only considered mostly as a masculine activity that takes place at work but negotiation research has also focused mainly on women's deficiencies at the bargaining table (Kray & Thompson, 2005; Williams & Best, 1982). Better understanding how women handle (their) gender in this context thus seems particularly important, as it should offer additional insight on previously found gender effects in negotiation.

3.1 Handling Gender Within Mixed-Gender Negotiations

Gender equality is an important matter on today's societal agenda (European Commission, 2019). More than ever, people are reminded of the importance of egalitarian and undifferentiated treatments of both genders. In most cases, this attempt to ensure equal chances for women and men translates into norms that prescribe gender to be ignored and all decisions be made solely based on people's individual abilities (i.e., sexblindness). This posture is particularly salient in professional environments (Koenig & Richeson, 2010) and this is bound to affect the mixed-gender bargaining table. Given the high stakes generally associated to negotiations, women (just like men) should overall be even more careful not to deviate from the prescribed behavior (i.e., sexblindness). As such, gender downplaying should represent the overall baseline in situations of negotiation, particularly within professional contexts.

Whereas sexblindness should indeed represent the golden rule at the bargaining table, this perspective might not be the only one people rely upon in mixed-gender negotiations. As we will evidence below, depending on the joint effect of task's gender congruence (congruent vs. incongruent) and of the expected (wanted vs. unwanted) negotiation outcome, both sexawareness and assimilationism might, at times, be considered as valid options for female (and male) negotiators.

3.1.1 Handling Gender in Gender-Incongruent Contexts (i.e., Women in Male-Congruent Negotiations)

Lay perceptions consider masculine competitive work contexts as the golden standard in negotiations. It should therefore not come as a surprise that most studies to date focused upon organizational environments, masculine tasks, and highly competitive negotiations (Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999). Women and men's abilities are thus typically investigated under rather specific conditions, where men's higher gender-role congruence grants them a privileged position (along the same lines, see Wood & Karten, 1986; Wood & Rhodes, 1992). In other words, the stereotype of a good negotiator is not far from the one of men (Kray et

al., 2001), and negotiations are mostly considered as more of a male domain (Raiffa, 1982; Williams & Best, 1982). Clearly, as role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) suggests, the lack-of-fit women experience in such negotiations is bound to negatively affect their performance. Indeed, given this male stereotypical - dominance in negotiations (Kray & Thompson, 2005), women should have no interest in commonly acknowledging (their) gender in this domain. Because women negotiators typically emerge as both less willing and less able to negotiate on their behalf (e.g., Babcock & Laschever, 2003; Babcock et al., 2006; Kimmel et al., 1980; Stevens et al., 1993), it seems reasonable to assume that they would perceive their gender as a liability at the typical bargaining table. This reasoning is consistent with past research on the “queen bee” phenomenon. According to this line of work, women who pursue individual success in male-dominated settings often adjust to the dominant, i.e., masculine, culture and end up distancing themselves from other women (see, for instance, Derks et al., 2016). Similarly, in male-dominated negotiation contexts, women aiming to obtain positive (i.e., wanted) outcomes (e.g., a salary raise) should likely prefer assimilationism over sexawareness.

At the same time, although women should commonly opt for downplaying gender in male-congruent negotiations, the expected outcome should also influence this choice. Specifically, sexawareness might be seen as a more effective manner to handle the discussion when trying to avoid negative (unwanted) outcomes (rather than trying to obtain positive, wanted ones). That is, when trying to avoid a traditionally male-congruent activity (e.g., mowing the lawn), acknowledging gender might offer women an (welcomed) advantage, by reminding their male counterparts about women’s lack-of-fit in such tasks. In other words, when trying to avoid unwanted gender-incongruent matters, sexawareness may prevail over assimilationism.

3.1.2 Handling Gender in Gender-Congruent Contexts (i.e., Women in Female-Congruent Negotiations)

Although lay beliefs often associate mixed-gender negotiations to stereotypically male bargaining contexts, this is not always the case. Indeed, negotiations are a ubiquitous part of daily life and significantly affect all aspects of one’s existence. Interestingly, under certain circumstances (e.g., when negotiating on a feminine topic, or on behalf of others), the masculine ‘tone’ of the bargaining table is reduced, and women’s perceived incongruence seems to be (at least partly) minimized. Moreover, in such female-congruent contexts, gender effects shrink or vanish entirely (for compelling examples, see Amanatullah & Morris, 2010; Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012; Wade, 2001). Indeed, feminine contexts are known to benefit women negotiators. Female-congruent discussion topics, for instance, seem to positively affect their performances, by making them both more willing, and more able to negotiate for a result in their favor (Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012; Miles & LaSalle, 2008). As the saying goes, “knowledge is power”, and the feeling of power significantly reduces gender differences in both first offers and negotiating outcomes (Hong & van der Wijk, 2013). Other variables, such as the representation role, more congruent to women’s

prescribed caring and other-oriented nature (Eagly, 1987), have equally been shown to diminish women's fear of negative repercussions, thus enhancing their overall negotiating performances (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010; Bowles et al., 2005; Wade, 2001).

In line with this literature, one could speculate that women's strategic choice to gender acknowledgement in female-congruent negotiations would differ from their preferences in male-congruent situations. We propose that, in such circumstances, women should be prone to capitalize upon their (undue) gender leverage in more female-congruent circumstances than they are in male-congruent ones. Negotiations concerning various family and childcare matters (traditionally considered as a woman's prerogative), for instance, should have female negotiators more readily acknowledge gender. Because women presumably hold more expertise in these domains, they should use this leverage to impose their perspective. Said otherwise, women should endorse sexawareness over assimilationism when trying to obtain a positive, wanted outcome on an issue that is congruent with their gender.

Then again, although most feminine contexts would seem to favor women, by making them both more willing and more able to negotiate (Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012), a higher gender congruence may not always benefit them. Indeed, this increased gender congruence may represent a liability for female negotiators when trying to avoid duties and other unpleasant tasks stereotypically assigned to women (e.g., various household chores, *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD]*, 2019). Said otherwise, along with the possible benefits stemming from women's greater gender congruence with the negotiation topic (Bear, 2011), gender congruence can also lead to negative consequences when the topic of discussion focuses on unwanted, negative outcomes (see Demoulin & Teixeira, 2016), by activating the stereotype that some tasks represent "a women's job". In such contexts, sexawareness may end up legitimizing gender roles, building on the idea that women are better fitted to handle these tasks than men. In these cases, women may be less tempted to acknowledge (their) gender and instead downplay gender. In other words, women may prefer assimilationism over sexawareness when trying to avoid an unwanted outcome on a task that is congruent with their gender.

3.2 Consequences of Different Gender Ideologies in Mixed-Gender Negotiations

Given the above mentioned literature on gender ideologies and gender in negotiation, both gender congruence with the task (i.e., gender congruent vs. gender incongruent task) and expected outcomes (i.e., wanted vs. unwanted outcomes) would indeed seem to influence how one handles gender during the bargaining process.

Then again, the choice to either acknowledge or ignore gender in mixed-gender negotiations should hardly remain without consequences. For this reason, better understanding the potential impact of gender ideologies in this context is obviously important.

3.2.1 Consequences of Gender Ideologies in Standard (i.e., Male-Congruent) Negotiations

Building upon literature, women's presumed first choice of gender ideology in negotiation, i.e., sexblindness, should indeed represent their best possible option with respect to gender handling in standard negotiation contexts. More specifically, by redirecting attention from one's gender to their individual traits, sexblindness is likely to reduce women's lack-of-fit in negotiations. As past research reveals, when it comes to work contexts, sexblindness increases women's confidence and actions necessary for reducing gender disparities (Martin & Phillips, 2017; Torres & Martin, 2018). This means that sexblindness emerges as a more effective approach for women in such situations (Gündemir, Martin, & Homan, 2019). In other words, downplaying gender at the bargaining table by focusing on other (non-gender related) traits should benefit women more than focusing upon gender differences (i.e., sexawareness) or trying to behave more like a man (i.e., assimilationism).

Interestingly enough, research on racial ideologies sends a cautionary note with respect to this general prediction. Indeed, several efforts suggest that downplaying differences is not always the answer and that acknowledging the differences is often more beneficial to minorities (see, for instance, Plaut et al., 2009). This means that, next to the obvious benefit of redirecting attention towards other (non-gender related) traits, sexblindness may also entail the disadvantage of downplaying long existing stereotypes that hardly disappear just because one chooses to look away. Clearly, future research should explore this matter further.

Turning to assimilationism, the literature on the backlash effect (Bowles et al., 2007; Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999, 2001; Stuhlmacher & Linnabery, 2013) would lead us to question the benefits of this strategy when women try to obtain a positive, wanted outcome in gender-incongruent negotiations. Although people believe to some extent that behaving like a man offers a clear path to success (Manea et al., 2019), research shows that women who behave in a gender-incongruent manner question their prescribed role and implicitly risk negative reactions. Bowles and colleagues (2007), for instance, found male evaluators to penalize women more than men for attempting to negotiate for higher compensation (i.e., a stereotypically male behavior). More specifically, when choosing potential coworkers, men preferred nicer, less demanding women who readily accepted their compensation offers to those who had attempted to negotiate, though all women appeared equally competent. As for women's reactions, their behavior varied across the studies. Whereas in some experiments the target's gender did not influence women's evaluations, in other studies women (just like men) indeed penalized other women more than they did men for attempting to negotiate (Bowles et al., 2007). As such, assimilationism would most likely work against, rather than in favor of women negotiators when aiming to obtain a wanted outcome in a negotiation that is incongruent to their gender.

Turning to sexawareness, past work offers mixed conclusions as to whether this strategy represents a viable option for women negotiators. At first glance, given the male-domain connotation of negotiations (Raiffa, 1982), acknowledging gender would seem to increase

women's awareness on their presumed incongruence at the bargaining table, thus negatively impacting their self-confidence - and implicitly their overall performance. The literature on feminine charm would however disagree. Kray et al. (2012), for instance, show that when women negotiators use feminine charm they are perceived as more effective, having greater understanding of their negotiating partner's interests, and enhancing the positive mood of their interaction partner. Moreover, depending on its balance of friendliness and flirtatiousness, feminine charm has the potential to influence the way partners divide resources in mixed-gender negotiations (Kray et al., 2012). Though not explicitly focused on gender ideologies, studies such as these suggest that acknowledging the added value of gender differences might benefit rather than hurt women at the bargaining table, even when trying to obtain a benefit on tasks that are not congruent with their gender.

Importantly, women's choice to acknowledge gender should be particularly profitable when bargaining to avoid tasks that are not congruent to their gender. In such cases, by making gender salient, women may indeed manage to avoid male-congruent duties (i.e., use gender stereotypes to their benefit). Future research should definitely assess the role of gender ideologies within mixed-gender negotiations on tasks that are gender-incongruent.

3.2.2 Is Sexawareness the Answer for Women in Female-congruent Negotiations?

As our model posits, gender congruent contexts are significantly more likely than gender incongruent ones to elicit gender acknowledgement when positive outcomes are expected. Indeed, increased sexawareness may (at least partly) explain the positive effect of feminine contexts on women's negotiating outcomes when trying to obtain a positive, wanted outcome (e.g., Amanatullah & Morris, 2010; Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012; Bowles et al., 2005; Miles & LaSalle, 2008). That is, although downplaying gender may constitute a more effective way of handling male-based negotiations than acknowledging gender, women should nevertheless benefit from perceiving their gender as an asset rather than as a liability. Past work on other diversity ideologies argues in favor of acknowledging (rather than downplaying) interindividual differences. That is, multiculturalism (the equivalent of sexawareness's in the domain of racial ideologies) was found to positively influence interracial interaction, engagement, performance, and detection of discrimination (for further information, see Plaut et al., 2009). By increasing women's confidence in their capacity to succeed, this change in perspective should prove equally beneficial to women, leading toward better performances in gender-congruent negotiations as compared to assimilationism or even sexblindness.

Then again, as already mentioned, the same sexawareness that likely benefits women when aiming for a positive, wanted outcome in gender-congruent negotiations, might equally explain their poorer performance when bargaining to avoid an unwanted outcome on tasks that are congruent to their gender (Demoulin & Teixeira, 2016). Indeed, whereas women should find sexawareness beneficial when trying to obtain a positive, wanted outcome in

contexts that are gender-congruent, things may be quite different when trying to avoid a task that is stereotypically assigned to their gender. In such cases, sexawareness may likely hurt rather than help women's chances of success in negotiations. In other words, when negative outcomes are expected in female-congruent negotiations, women should benefit more from ignoring gender (i.e., sexblindness, or even assimilationism) than from acknowledging it (i.e., sexawareness). Future research should try to understand how and when sexawareness benefits negotiators, and how gender congruence of the task and the expected outcomes interact in determining their gender approach in negotiations.

3.3 Future Directions of Gender Ideology Research in Negotiation

We began this paper by asking whether one's gender beliefs might be partly responsible for the significant gender effects reported in the negotiation literature. As our analysis suggests, gender ideology seems to play an important part in how negotiations evolve. As such, better understanding when and under what circumstances gender beliefs affect mixed-gender negotiations is of the utmost importance.

To shed light on this matter, we proposed a model that posits a joint effect of the gender congruence of the task (congruent vs. incongruent task) and of the expected (wanted vs. unwanted outcome) outcomes on the way gender is approached in mixed-gender negotiations. We presented our model by focusing upon women negotiators and argued that women are more likely to acknowledge gender when trying to obtain a wanted outcome in a feminine (i.e., gender-congruent) context (e.g., jewelry negotiation, Bear & Babcock, 2012) or to avoid an unwanted outcome in a masculine (i.e., gender-incongruent) negotiation (e.g., mowing the lawn, Demoulin & Teixeira, 2016). In contrast, when trying to obtain a desired outcome in masculine negotiations (e.g., monetary negotiations, Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999) or when trying to avoid a female-congruent task (e.g., doing the dishes, Demoulin & Teixeira, 2016), women would likely prefer to downplay their gender. Future studies should put this theoretical framework to a test, and explore, for instance, how various bargaining circumstances influence the way women handle (their) gender in negotiations. Indeed, better understanding women's gender approach in contexts that increase (as opposed to diminish) their negotiating opportunities (e.g., feminine topics, Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012 or representational roles, Bowles et al., 2005) should shed additional light on gender effects in negotiations and even contribute to a new perspective on gender equality. That is, if gender acknowledgement should indeed be found to level the field in some negotiations, as our model would suggest, then current societal norms positing gender downplaying as the golden rule for gender equality obviously need reconsideration.

From a somewhat complementary perspective, past work would argue that negotiations do not happen in a vacuum (Kray & Gelfand, 2009), and women's way of handling gender is bound to be affected by their male counterpart's approach. As such, better understanding men's gender approach in negotiations would seem more than relevant. Of importance, our

model posits that men's approach should follow similar guidelines as the one previously exemplified for women. Like women, men should benefit from acknowledging gender when bargaining to obtain a wanted outcome on tasks that are congruent to their gender (e.g., monetary purchases, Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999) or when aiming to avoid duties stereotypically assigned to women (e.g., doing the dishes, Demoulin & Teixeira, 2016). Then again, ignoring gender should be seen as a more suited strategy when men aim to obtain a wanted outcome on a task that is incongruent to their gender (e.g., women's jewelry, Bear & Babcock, 2012), or when trying to avoid chores stereotypically assigned to men (e.g., molding the lawn, Demoulin & Teixeira, 2016). Future studies should put this theoretical model to a test and empirically explore how men's gender approach might vary along with the task's congruence to their gender and the expected outcomes in negotiation.

Relatedly, future research should shed new light on how men's gender approach impacts women's gender ideologies in negotiation. Indeed, literature reveals women negotiators to react in a more emotional manner than men (Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999) and often show more interest in interpersonal relationships in negotiations (Kray & Gelfand, 2009). As such, one would assume that women negotiators would be particularly sensitive to the (often implicit) message male counterparts send on how gender should be handled in negotiations and that they should adjust their overall behavior in function of their counterpart's feedback. More specifically, a positive feedback that either acknowledges women's place at the bargaining table (sexawareness) or redirects attention to other, non-gender related traits (sexblindness) should at times prove beneficial and likely elicit a similar (positive) gender approach from women negotiators. Unfortunately, past work warns that this is seldom the case, and women tend to receive worse treatments from male counterparts, even when applying similar bargaining strategies as men (Kray et al., 2014). Even more, when trying to exhibit the manly behavior required to fit this stereotypical profile of a successful negotiator, women often encounter backlash (Bowles et al., 2007). This obviously creates a double bind for women in negotiations and likely accounts for their poorer negotiating performances. Better understanding how women and men's ideologies interact in negotiation is definitely an intriguing topic on our future research agenda.

In a similar vein, more research is needed to shed light on possible individual determinants of one's gender ideologies in negotiation. More specifically, negotiation research is often conducted from the implicit assumption that negotiators are well-aware of what motivates their behavior. Literature however warns that this is not always the case, and people often have "blind spots" related to information, particularly ethics (Bazerman & Chugh, 2005). As such, it would not surprise if one's gender approach at the bargaining table would vary as a function of their stereotypes and gender beliefs, or of other individual traits known to negatively affect one's attitudes toward people in gender-incongruent roles (e.g., ambivalent sexism, Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 1997, 2015, or social dominance orientation, Pratto et al., 1994). Better understanding how such characteristics might affect one's gender approach should prove particularly important.

Last, but not least, future research should obviously acknowledge the importance of societal prescriptions on one's gender approach in negotiations. Indeed, the perceived norms are of the utmost importance to people's ideological endorsement (Bourguignon et al., 2015). These prescriptions are however known to vary along with specific cultures. For instance, whereas most Nordic / Western societies explicitly promote the idea that women and men are equal, and one should focus on individual traits (rather than gender) within mixed-gender interactions, this perspective is overtly contradicted by other cultures, with obvious consequences on how gender is handled (World Economic Forum, 2020). As such, what is true for one culture might not adequately extend to another. The overall support for sexblindness, for instance, might prove less prevalent within less gender equality-preoccupied countries than it is in highly equalitarian ones. Future studies should find cross-cultural research to represent a particularly fascinating field of research on gender ideologies.

To be sure, our article is but a first step in what should be an intriguing, rewarding way to uncover gender ideology's untapped potential in clarifying gender effects at the bargaining table. To the best of our knowledge, no other research has explored gender ideologies in the field of negotiation, and we are not aware of any studies focused upon the link among gender ideology and other negotiating matters. Clearly, further research should benefit from a more nuanced perspective on this unexplored, yet potentially important variable.

Notes

- 1) Following past work on gender in negotiation, we use the concept of gender effects across the manuscript to refer to the differences among male and female negotiators. We could also talk of sex effects because we approach the differences among women and men in the biological sense of this dichotomy and not the socially constructed concepts corresponding to masculinity and femininity.

- 2) We use the terms “sexblindness” and “sexawareness” to refer to the two main gender ideologies. We nevertheless note that Hahn et al. (2015) chose the terms of “gender blind” and “gender aware” for the two concepts, thus continuing the path proposed by Malicke (2013) to distract attention from the biological differences and redirect it towards cultural ones. These same concepts are also used in several other studies that we present throughout the article. Although we find this idea intriguing, we consider the terms used by Koenig and Richeson (2010) as better suited to describe the two main gender ideologies. We argue that the concept of gender ideology denotes the framework people use in addressing the innate differences between women and men, rather than their cultural representations. Being sex (gender) blind or sex (gender) aware points out to whether the one’s sex should or should not be considered in mixed-gender interactions, rather than to whether the social construct of gender should or should not play a part in such interactions. We will therefore refer to the two ideologies as “sexblindness” and “sexawareness” throughout the paper.

Empirical Section.

Overview of Objectives and Research Questions

Overview of Objectives and Research Questions

This doctoral project aimed to contribute to the line of research on both gender ideologies (Bourguignon et al., 2015; Hahn et al., 2015; Koenig & Richeson, 2010; Martin & Phillips, 2017, 2019) and gender in negotiation (Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012; Kray et al., 2001, 2002; Miles & LaSalle, 2008) detailed in the previous (theoretical) section of the thesis.

More specifically, following in the line of past work that found gender effects in negotiation to not necessarily be due to gender itself, but to sometimes regard other variables that interact in determining one's approach and outcomes at the bargaining table instead, we aimed to answer two main research questions. First, does one's way of handling (their) gender in mixed-gender negotiations significantly affect their willingness to negotiate, their negotiation approach and their overall performances at the bargaining table? Secondly, is this gender approach a static, ubiquitous reality, or do various factors (e.g., context, gender, gender-inequity predispositions, the discussed topic) play a relevant part in determining the gender ideologies one endorses in mixed-gender negotiations?

To respond to these questions, two complementary directions of research were one by one explored. More precisely, as further detailed in the first two chapters of the empirical section (Chapters Two and Three), we started our doctoral project by investigating some of the possible antecedents of one's ideological endorsement in negotiations. We then redirected our attention towards the possible consequences of different mind-sets (i.e., different gender ideologies) on women's propensity to negotiate, on their overall approach of negotiations (i.e., their first offers, their goals and expectations), and eventually on their actual performances at the mixed-gender bargaining table (Chapter Four). The hypotheses for each research direction will be presented in a more comprehensive manner in each of the empirical chapters. As such, we now present only a succinct overview of the hypotheses proposed in each of the chapters, to offer a panorama of the empirical work that we have conducted on gender ideologies in negotiation.

As mentioned above, the first two empirical chapters rest upon the antecedents of gender ideologies. More precisely, in Chapter Two we extended past work on the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies (Koenig & Richeson, 2010) to assess this matter in the negotiation field, a particularly intriguing and important domain, given that women and men negotiators are bound to face each other with (at least partly) opposite agendas. Though women negotiators are the primary target of our research (given the overall male valence of negotiations, Williams & Best, 1982), in line with past work (Koenig & Richeson, 2010) both genders were considered during this first stage of our PhD project. Moreover, we remind to the readers that, as explained in the theoretical section of this thesis, our studies on the antecedents of gender ideologies in negotiation only considered three of the four gender ideologies posited by Hahn et al. (2015). Indeed, since working together towards a mutually accepted outcome is a fundamental part of negotiations, segregationism cannot represent a

viable option at the implicitly interactional bargaining table. As such, only sexblindness, sexawareness and assimilationism were taken into account when investigating the various determinants of one's gender ideologies in negotiation. Given nowadays societal prescriptions towards gender downplaying (European Commission, 2019), we first hypothesized that sexblindness would emerge as the overall baseline at the bargaining table, especially within negotiations carried in the highly gender-regulated work field. Nevertheless, as detailed in the theoretical section, literature evidences that one's way of handling gender is also a matter of the concrete circumstances they encounter. Building upon such work (e.g., Koenig & Richeson, 2010), we thus expected more sexawareness in family negotiations (due to the more salient gender roles in this environment), whereas assimilationism was predicted to instead prevail over sexawareness in work negotiations (given the traditional male domain connotation of the workplace). Moreover, we expected gender to moderate this contextual endorsement. Specifically, we predicted men to endorse sexawareness even more than women in family negotiations, since acknowledging gender would likely benefit them more than their spouses in such a context (i.e., by allowing them to escape the unwanted, gender-incongruent to men, household duties). We also predicted this gender acknowledgement in family negotiations to emerge as particularly strong for individuals high in inequity predisposing traits (i.e., individuals highly oriented towards social dominance, benevolent and hostile sexists) as compared to individuals low in such characteristics. Indeed, since sexist and highly oriented towards social inequity individuals tend to focus on and exaggerate group differences (in this particular case, the differences among women and men), gender acknowledgement would seem more in tune to this innate predisposition. Not all contexts should however allow such a predisposition to be displayed. That is, professional environments are, as already mentioned, highly gender-regulated, thus making it less acceptable for such behaviors to be displayed. On the other hand, the salient gender roles that still characterize numerous family environments make gender acknowledgement a lot less problematic, thus increasing the possibility of its prevalence in such a context. As such, we expected individuals high in social dominance orientation and sexism to be particularly prone to acknowledge gender in private contexts, though not equally likely to display such tendencies within professional ones.

In the studies included in Chapter Three, we left behind the family context and we explored people's beliefs as to how women do and should approach (their) gender when negotiating upon a gender congruent as compared to a gender incongruent topic. Like before, given nowadays society preoccupation towards gender equality (European Commission, 2019), we hypothesized that people's general beliefs would overall support a sexblindness ideology according to which gender is, and indeed should be, ignored in order to succeed. In line with past work (Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012), we however predicted that, compared to what happens when they negotiate on a masculine (i.e., gender incongruent) topic, women negotiating to obtain a wanted outcome on a feminine (i.e., gender congruent) topic would be expected to commonly rely more on their gender (i.e., support sexawareness over assimilationism). Indeed, since gender roles become more salient when the femininity

of the tasks increases, and a feminine topic would likely be perceived as leverage by women negotiators, we expected people to predict a common preference for sexawareness over assimilationism in stereotypically female based negotiations. In an opposite pattern, given the male-valenced stereotype of a good negotiator (Kray et al., 2001), we predicted a general belief that women would instead benefit more from adopting a more manly (i.e., assimilationist) behavior than from acknowledging their femininity (i.e., sexawareness) within femininely-valenced work negotiations.

The last empirical chapter (Chapter Four) redirects attention from the antecedents of gender ideologies to the consequences of women's ideological endorsement on their propensity to embark negotiations, on their overall approach of negotiation and, eventually, on their actual negotiating outcomes. More specifically, in line with past work on the effects of women's ideological endorsement in other male valenced contexts (e.g., Martin & Phillips, 2017, 2019), we predicted that downplaying gender would be more beneficial to women negotiators when bargaining for a wanted outcome in gender incongruent negotiations as compared to acknowledging gender differences. We however expected things to stand differently when discussing a feminine (i.e., gender congruent to women) bargaining topic. More specifically, building upon past work (Bear, 2011), we predicted that women would be more prone to embark negotiations when acknowledging their gender in a femininely-valenced (i.e., gender congruent) negotiation. In line with previous research, we however saw two alternative possibilities regarding women's actual approach of negotiation (i.e., their first intentions, their goals and expectations at the bargaining table) and their overall performances at the bargaining table. More precisely, building upon past work on topic in negotiation (e.g., Bear & Babcock, 2012) we deemed it plausible for higher first offers, goals and expectations and for overall higher negotiating performances to emerge when women acknowledge gender on a gender congruent topic. On the other hand, given both the literature on feminine modesty (Daubman et al., 1992; Gould & Slone, 1982), and past work on the differential treatments granted to women negotiators as compared to men, even when using similar negotiating tactics (Kray et al., 2014), our alternative hypothesis was that women's first offers, goals and expectations, as well as their overall results in negotiation might instead escape these positive effects of sexawareness when bargaining on a feminine (as compared to a masculine) negotiating topic.

As we will further evidence in the three empirical chapters, most of these hypotheses were supported throughout the studies that we conducted, thus evidencing the important role of gender ideologies to better understanding gender effects in negotiation.

Chapter 2: Gender Ideology, Context and Individual Differences in Negotiations

Gender Ideology, Context and Individual Differences in Negotiations

Abstract

In the present paper we explore people's beliefs as to how gender differences should be handled when negotiating with a counterpart of the opposite gender in different contexts of daily life. Given the constant efforts to promote gender equality in nowadays society (see for instance *European Commission, 2019*), we argue gender to commonly be ignored in mixed-gender negotiations. Otherwise said, we predict people to focus more on one's individual traits than on their gender at the mixed-gender bargaining table (i.e., sexblindness). Secondly, since negotiations are considered as more of a male domain, we argue that assimilationism (i.e., women adopting male norms and behaviors) would commonly be preferred to sexawareness (i.e., gender acknowledgement) in mixed-gender negotiations. Nevertheless, we predict context to be important. More specifically, given the traditional nature of the family environment, we expect sexawareness to instead take the lead over assimilationism within family negotiations. Moreover, we expect this support for sexawareness in private negotiations to be particularly relevant in the case of men. Indeed, most family negotiations are carried upon the distribution of various household chores, most of which are stereotypically attributed to women (see *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2014*). As such, acknowledging gender allows men a way out when aiming to escape an unwanted task on a gender incongruent (i.e., femininely-valenced) duty, thus the predicted higher benefits for men when they acknowledge gender in such a context. In a similar vein, we argue that people with disparaging attitudes towards others would acknowledge gender more when negotiating in the traditional family context, though they would likely opt for a more assimilationist approach in the more gender-regulated public one. Implications for mixed-gender negotiations are discussed and several potential fruitful directions of research on gender ideology in negotiation are proposed.

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1. Introduction

Whether or not gender matters when women and men interact is a question as old as time. For decades, gender equality advocates argued that, just like race, gender should be taken off the picture for men and women to stand a chance at equal rights.

Recently, researchers nevertheless acknowledged that there is more than one way to ensure equal chances for both women and men. Gender ideology, the perspective on how gender differences should be handled, by either acknowledging or ignoring them in mixed-gender interactions (Koenig & Richeson, 2010), opened the door to an intriguing new research direction (for relevant examples of past work on gender ideologies see Banchevsky & Park, 2018; Bourguignon et al., 2015; Hahn et al., 2015; Koenig & Richeson, 2010; Martin et al., 2018). A decade later, still little is however known on when and why people support of one ideology over others when the two genders interact.

In the current article we contribute to this line of research by assessing the effects of context (work *versus* family), gender and of individual differences (social dominance orientation, hostile and benevolent sexism) on the way gender is approached in a particular field, namely mixed-gender negotiations. In line with recent findings on both gender ideologies and context in negotiations (e.g., Demoulin & Teixeira, 2016; Hahn et al., 2015; Koenig & Richeson, 2010; Manea et al., 2018, 2019), we predict the negotiating context to interact with gender in determining one's ideological endorsement at the bargaining table. Moreover, building upon past work on disparaging attitudes towards others (e.g., Bourguignon et al., 2015; Glick et al., 2015; Moya et al., 2007; Pratto et al., 1994), we propose one's level of social dominance orientation, benevolent and hostile sexism to differently affect their ideological endorsement in private as compared to public mixed-gender negotiations.

2. Gender Ideologies

For years, gender acknowledgement was perceived as opening the door to gender discrimination. As such, downplaying gender was considered a *sine quo* condition for women and men to stand similar chances of success in different contexts of their lives. Recently however, this perspective has been challenged, and researchers now acknowledge that there might be more than one way towards gender equality. As a first empirical step, Koenig and Richeson (2010) distinguished among two opposite, yet equally valid ways of approaching gender. On the one hand, sexblindness states that gender equality comes from ignoring gender differences and seeing individuals beyond the woman-man dichotomy. On the other hand, the sexawareness ideology proposes that equality can instead be reached by acknowledging and celebrating the differences among genders (Koenig & Richeson, 2010).

Shedding additional light on the matter, Hahn et al. (2015) further distinguish among a “positive” and a “negative” way of both acknowledging and ignoring gender differences. As researchers argue, ignoring gender by treating each person as an individual (i.e., *sexblindness*) significantly differs from doing this by proposing that everyone comply to male norms and behaviors (i.e., *assimilationism*). In a similar vein, acknowledging and celebrating gender differences (i.e., *sexawareness*) differs in a fundamental way from using them to keep women and men apart, with women on a lower position than men (i.e., *segregationism*).

3. Gender Ideologies in Negotiations

Although several papers in the last couple of years have focused upon gender ideologies in a more general context (e.g., Banchevsky & Park, 2018; Bourguignon et al., 2015; Hahn et al., 2015; Koenig & Richeson, 2010; Martin et al., 2018), little is known to this day on people’s way of handling gender *in negotiations* (for an exception see Manea et al., 2018, 2019). Nevertheless, the bargaining table offers a particularly interesting research field for gender ideologies. Indeed, mixed-gender negotiations propose a highly competitive context, where clearly opposite stakes are at hand. As such, one’s gender approach is bound to play an important part both in how negotiations evolve, and on the actual performances of women and men negotiators. Better understanding the factors behind one’s ideological endorsement is obviously of great importance.

Moreover, despite their overall validity in general contexts, not all four of gender ideologies (Hahn et al., 2015) can equally respond to the particular needs of mixed-gender negotiations. Indeed, the mixed-gender bargaining table is a rather particular domain, in which interacting is not an option, but rather a requisite. Reaching for a mutually satisfactory agreement implies common efforts from both negotiators, and in order to do this women and men need to work together. As such, keeping the two genders apart, as segregationism suggests, cannot represent a valid negotiating choice. Consequently, only sexblindness, sexawareness and assimilationism will be referred to throughout this paper when approaching the matter of gender ideologies in negotiations.

4. The Contextual Choice of Gender Ideologies

Among the various factors bound to significantly affect one’s ideological choices, context emerges as particularly important. Indeed, past work to promote gender equality has mostly targeted work environments. In such contexts, clear norms and regulations were imposed to formally forbid and counteract gender discrimination, and measures continue to be taken in this particular direction (see *European Commission, 2020*). Consequently, most workplaces are currently “gender free”, treating (on paper, at least) each employee as an individual, irrespective of whether they are woman or man.

Things stand however somewhat differently in family environments. Whereas past efforts to promote gender equality have focused intensely on work contexts, the different

gender roles that women and men enact within their homes make gender more salient in private contexts. Literature reveals, for instance, that, irrespective of their gender, people prescribe more protective paternalism (i.e., sexawareness) from men in romantic than in professional contexts, whereas the reverse is true for the prescription of gender egalitarianism (i.e., sexblindness) (Sarlet et al., 2012). To no one's surprise, gender consequently ends up being much more acknowledged in social than in work environments (Koenig & Richeson, 2010).

Building upon such work, one could easily envisage ideological endorsement at the bargaining table to be a function of contextual differences. That is, given the constant preoccupation for gender equality of nowadays society, sexblindness should emerge as the overall baseline in negotiations, not only in work context (*see* Manea et al., 2019), but also in private ones. Nevertheless, in line with Koenig & Richeson (2010) it should emerge as even higher in work negotiations than it does in the more traditional family context.

On the other hand, a complementary pattern should emerge for the other two gender ideologies, i.e., sexawareness and assimilationism. That is, given the salient gender roles that persist in the family context, the support for sexawareness should be significantly higher in this context than in the more gender-regulated professional one, just as previously found by Koenig & Richeson (2010). On the other hand, since negotiations are stereotypically considered as more of a male domain (Kray et al., 2001, 2002; Raiffa, 1980; Williams & Best, 1982), assimilationism should be preferred to sexawareness as negotiator's second choice when women and men consider work negotiations (*see* Manea et al., 2019).

5. Gender and One's Contextual Ideological Endorsement

Gender's role in the contextual endorsement of such ideologies is less clear. The only previous study (to the best of our knowledge) that assessed the preference for gender ideologies within professional as compared to social environments did not find any gender differences on the matter (Koenig & Richeson, 2010).

The particular field of negotiations might nevertheless provide a somewhat different perspective on gender's effects on the family as compared to the professional bargaining table. Indeed, whereas women and men should not significantly differ in their approach of gender differences within professional negotiations (given the explicit rules and regulations promoted within most work environments), things might stand differently in the more traditional family context, where gender roles are particularly salient. That is, private negotiations are mostly carried upon the repartition of household duties, which still fall mostly under women's responsibility (OECD, 2014). As such, although the family context would likely bear an overall female connotation, men would nevertheless also have a lot to gain from acknowledging gender when negotiating with their spouses. Otherwise said, sexawareness presents the potential benefit of offering men a way out of what would likely represent an unwanted, stereotypically female-based (i.e., gender incongruent) chore.

Moreover, past work reveals men as more prone to prescribe women's warmth in a family context than in a professional one, as they stand to benefit more when women follow this stereotypical prescription in their homes (Delacollette et al., 2013). As such, one could easily envisage men as particularly sexaware in their private negotiations.

To conclude, even though both genders should prefer (as detailed above) sexawareness over assimilationism at the family bargaining table, one would expect this ideological preference to be even higher for men than it is for women within such private negotiations. Then again, no significant differences in women's and men's preference for assimilationism over sexawareness should emerge at the professional bargaining table.

6. Disparaging Attitudes Towards Others and Gender Ideologies

Not all individuals are however prone to an identical ideological support. Indeed, individual differences should emerge as important determinants of one's ideological endorsement. That is, social dominance orientation (SDO) has already been found to relate with ideologies concerning group prejudice against other groups (e.g., women vs. men), and with scales opposing women's rights (Pratto et al., 1994). In a similar vein, both hostile sexism (justifying men's power by demeaning women's competence), and benevolent sexism (protective paternalism, idealization of women, celebration of heterosexual intimacy, Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001), make people exaggerate the size of gender differences (Zell et al., 2016). Implicitly, they should equally affect one's perspective on what women's and men's behavior should look like. Hostile sexism, for instance, elicits negative evaluations of female candidates for masculine-typed occupational roles (Masser & Abrams, 2004; Sakalli-Ugurlu & Beydogan, 2002), and negative reactions toward people in non-traditional roles (e.g., masculine women, feminine men, Glick et al., 2015). Despite its positive appearance, benevolent sexism is equally detrimental, as it promotes the idea that women are overall less capable than men (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001). As such, benevolent sexism obviously opens the door for differential treatments for the two genders.

Gender categorization would thus seem important for individuals endowed with disparaging attitudes towards others. Nevertheless, whereas this exaggerated gender acknowledgement would likely skip attention within private contexts, where "every man is king of its castle", professional environments have clear rules and regulations that prevent "politically incorrect" (i.e., gender conscious) behaviors to emerge. Consequently, high SDOs, benevolent and hostile sexists should not differ in a significant way in their ideological support at the work bargaining table from individuals low in such traits.

In contrast to work negotiations, family negotiations should elicit a different ideological endorsement from individuals endowed with strong disparaging attitudes towards others as compared to individuals low in such traits. Indeed, past work offers evidence to support such a perspective. Benevolent sexism, for instance, was previously linked to a higher gender

acknowledgement within social environments, though not also in professional ones (Koenig & Richeson, 2010). Moreover, protective paternalism is not just better accepted by benevolently sexist women in romantic than in work interactions (Moya et al., 2007), but it is even prescribed for men in such contexts (Sarlet et al., 2012). Ironically, although protective paternalism also leads to restrictions on women's accepted behaviors in romantic relationships (Sakalli-Ugurlu & Glick, 2003; Viki et al., 2003), benevolent sexist men were found to be more attractive than non-benevolent sexist men (Bohner et al., 2010). Relatedly, many women—even those with more egalitarian relationship views — (still) expect men to be chivalrous (i.e., benevolent sexist) within personal interactions (e.g., to pay for dates and open doors for them, Lamont, 2014; Lever et al., 2015).

Building upon such literature, one would therefore expect context and one's disparaging attitudes towards others to interact in determining people's approach of gender in mixed-gender interactions, and even more so when considering a highly-stakes domain like negotiations. Otherwise put, individuals characterized by disparaging attitudes towards others should support sexawareness even more than other individuals in family negotiations. In sharp contrast, they should display a rather similar (i.e., assimilationist) gender approach to individuals low in such traits when negotiating within professional contexts.

7. Overview of the Studies

In two studies, we build upon past work to assess people's gender approach when negotiating in different contexts of their life, and we draw attention to some of the possible moderators of this contextual endorsement. First, we argue that nowadays society's gender equality regulations (see *European Commission, 2019*) likely lead to an overall preference for sexblindness in mixed-gender negotiations, which should emerge as even higher in the gender-regulated work environment than it does regarding family negotiations (Hypothesis 1).

Secondly, since negotiations are stereotypically considered as more of a male domain (Williams & Best, 1982), we expect assimilationism to prevail over sexawareness when professional negotiations are considered (Hypothesis 2a). In line with past research (Koenig & Richeson, 2010), we nevertheless expect family negotiations to elicit more gender acknowledgement than work ones (Hypothesis 2b).

Since most household chores are still believed to fall under women's responsibilities (*OECD, 2014*), we further predict this gender acknowledgement in private negotiations to be particularly endorsed by male participants, that stand to benefit more from acknowledging gender in such a context (Hypothesis 3).

We additionally expect individual differences in this endorsement. More precisely, we predict high SDO's, hostile and benevolent sexists to acknowledge gender more when negotiating with their spouses, but to instead turn to assimilationism when negotiating in public contexts (Hypotheses 4a, b & c).

8. Study 1

In Study 1, we manipulated context (work vs. family) while also considering participant's sex (female vs. male). We first measured participant's level of SDO, benevolent and hostile sexism, before assessing their gender ideological endorsement (sexblindness vs. sexawareness vs. assimilationism) regarding either family or work negotiations.

8.1 Method

Participants and design

152 participants (57.2% women) took part in this study, ensuring, according to a priori analysis using the effect size reported by Koenig and Richeson (2010), an 80% power for detecting a medium sized effect when employing the traditional .05 criterion of statistical significance. Participants ranged in age from 18 years to 73 years ($M_{\text{age}}=38.9$, $SD_{\text{age}}=13.5$) and were all native English speakers. A 2 (context: work vs. family) x 2 (participant's sex: men vs. women) design was used, with context as a between-subjects variable.

Procedure

Participants were invited through the Prolific crowdsourcing platform (www.prolific.ac) to take part in an Intergroup Relations study. Upon acceptance, they were randomly assigned to one of the two (family *versus* work) experimental conditions. Participants first completed, in a randomized order, measures of social dominance orientation (Social Dominance Orientation Scale, Pratto et al., 1994) and benevolent and hostile sexism (The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, Glick & Fiske, 1996). They were then informed that they had reached a second part of the study, that looked at the way people face day-to-day challenges. Participants were asked to consider either work or family negotiations and to rate on a scale ranging from 1 (=strongly disagree) to 7 (= strongly agree) their level of agreement with statements that argued for acknowledging or ignoring gender within family or work bargaining contexts (Gender ideology scale for work / family negotiations, adapted from Koenig & Richeson, 2010). Finally, a debriefing explained the goals and method of the study and offered participants the possibility of finding out more about the topic.

Measures

SDO scale (Pratto et al., 2012) consists of 16 items assessing the social dominance orientation of participants (e.g. "Some groups of people are just more worthy than others", $\alpha = .946$; $M = 2.52$, $SD = 1.08$). Participants answered items on a scale from 1 (=strongly disagree) to 7 (=strongly agree). Half of the items were reverse coded. We averaged the total to obtain a measure the level of social dominance orientation, a higher score indicating a more social dominant person.

ASI scale (Glick & Fiske, 2001) consists of 22 items ($\alpha = .920$; $M = 3.21$, $SD = .947$) assessing the level of sexism of participants. Among the 22 items, 11 items measure

benevolent sexism (e.g. “In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men”, $\alpha = .832$; $M = 3.28$, $SD = .926$) and 11 items measure *hostile sexism* (e.g. “Women seek to gain power by getting control over men”, $\alpha = .925$; $M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.19$). Participants completed items on a scale from 1 (=strongly disagree) to 7 (=strongly agree). Thus, higher scores indicate a higher degree of sexism. Of interest, hostile and benevolent sexism emerge as positively correlated, $r = .590$, $p = .000$.

Gender ideology scale for work / family negotiation. We adapted the 12-item Gender ideology scale created by Koenig & Richeson (2010) to assess gender ideologies in either work negotiations or family negotiations (e.g. “There is no reason to categorize our counterpart in a work negotiation as man or woman” – *work context*; “Men and women have similar approaches when they negotiate on a family matter” – *family context*). The items measure ideologies on 1 (=strongly disagree) to 7 (=strongly agree) scales. A preliminary factorial analysis revealed the presence of 3 factors explaining 57.08% of the variance. In line with our theoretical argumentation, we averaged the relevant items (6 items for sexawareness, 3 items for sexblindness and 3 items for assimilationism) to compute scores for the three different gender ideologies theoretically corresponding to *sexawareness* ($\alpha = .825$, $M=4.26$, $SD=1.09$), *sexblindness* ($\alpha = .532$, $M=5.14$, $SD=1.04$) and *assimilationism* ($\alpha = .581$, $M=3.94$, $SD=1.19$) as proposed in Hahn et al.’s 2015 fourfold framework.

8.2 Results

We submitted participants’ responses to a 2 (context: family vs. work) x 2 (sex: female vs. male) x 3 (gender ideology: sexblindness vs. sexawareness vs. assimilationism) mixed analysis of variance with the last factor varying within participants and the remaining ones between them. The context of negotiation main effect proved significant, $F_{(1,148)} = 5.31$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .035$, suggesting that the endorsement of gender ideologies varies as a function of the context of negotiation.

The predicted main effect of gender ideology was significant, $F_{(1.74, 257.66)} = 42.784$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .22$. To probe for this main effect, we computed two orthogonal contrasts. Our first contrast, C1, compared sexblindness (coded 2) to sexawareness and assimilationism (both coded -1), whereas our second contrast, C2, compared sexawareness (coded +1) to assimilationism (coded -1). The analysis revealed C1 to be significant, $F_{(1,148)} = 103.429$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .44$, suggesting that sexblindness was overall preferred to sexawareness and assimilationism, regardless of context and participant’s sex. C2 was also significant, $F_{(1,148)} = 6.10$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .04$, with participants endorsing sexawareness more than assimilationism.

More importantly, there was a significant gender ideology by context interaction $F_{(1.74, 257.66)} = 15.69$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .09$, which was further qualified by a significant gender ideology by context by sex interaction, $F_{(1.74, 257.66)} = 4.13$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .02$. To probe this three-way interaction, we examined the combined impact of context and sex separately for the C1 and C2 contrasts. In other words, we first looked at whether the overall support for sexblindness

(C1) varied as a function of context and sex, before examining whether these two same variables influence the relative endorsement of sexawareness and assimilationism (C2).

Regarding C1, the 2 (context: family vs. work) x 2 (sex: female vs. male) revealed only a significant context effect, $F_{(1,148)} = 13.70$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .08$, showing, as predicted, that the preference for sexblindness over sexawareness and assimilationism was more marked in work than in family negotiations.

As for C2, the context effect was significant, $F_{(1,148)} = 16.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$, and was qualified by a significant context by sex interaction, $F_{(1,148)} = 6.39$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .04$. Follow-up analysis revealed the family context to be responsible for this interaction, with sexawareness being significantly more preferred than assimilationism in this context, $\beta = .967$, $t_{(151)} = 4.50$, $p < .001$. This effect was particularly salient in the case of men ($M_{C2} = 1.38$, $SD_{C2} = 1.91$, $\beta = 1.38$, $t_{(151)} = 4.25$, $p < .001$), that acknowledged gender significantly more in this particular context than women participants ($M_{C2} = .544$, $SD_{C2} = 1.97$, $\beta = .545$, $t_{(151)} = 1.95$, $p = .05$). Of interest, no significant differences emerged when considering the effect of sex on participant's preference for sexawareness and assimilationism in the work environment, $t_{(151)} = -1.20$, *ns*.

Table 1. *Responses as a function of context and sex, Study 1 (work vs. family).*

Context	Gender ideology				
	SA	SB	ASS	MC ₁	MC ₂
Work					
Female	4.13(1.03)	5.44(.935)	4.05(1.21)	2.71(2.03)	.079 (1.77)
Male	3.80(.977)	5.47(1.03)	4.37(1.13)	2.77(2.67)	-.561(1.40)
Total	3.99(1.01)	5.46(.972)	4.18(1.18)	2.74(2.32)	-.197(1.65)
Family					
Female	4.36(1.15)	4.84 (.913)	3.82 (1.11)	1.50 (2.37)	.544 (1.97)
Male	4.85(1.01)	4.68(1.16)	3.46(1.19)	1.05(2.63)	1.38(1.91)
Total	4.57(1.11)	4.77(1.02)	3.67(1.15)	1.31(2.47)	.901(1.98)
Total					
Female	4.24(1.09)	5.16 (.968)	3.94 (1.16)	2.14 (2.27)	.298 (1.87)
Male	4.29(1.11)	5.11(1.15)	3.95(1.24)	1.97(2.77)	.338(1.91)
Total	4.26(1.09)	5.14(1.04)	3.94(1.19)	2.07(2.49)	.315(1.88)

Note. Numbers in parentheses correspond to the standard deviations.

Separate regression analyses were subsequently conducted to test if SDO, hostile and benevolent sexism interacted with context to predict participants' endorsement of assimilationism over sexawareness in work environments. Among the three, only hostile sexism was found to marginally interact with context, $\beta = -.228$, $t_{(151)} = -1.86$, $p = .06$. Further analysis showed the family context to be responsible for this marginal interaction, $\beta = .554$, $t_{(151)} = 3.130$, $p < .01$, whereas no significant effects emerged for work negotiations, $t_{(151)}$

$=.579$, *ns.* Alternatively, analysis revealed the marginal interaction to be due to high hostile sexists, that endorsed sexawareness significantly more than assimilationism, $\beta=.794$, $t(151)=3.807$, $p <.001$. Meanwhile, low hostile sexists did not differ in their endorsement of sexawareness and assimilationism, $t(151)=.076$, *ns.*

Contrary to our predictions, no significant results emerged when regressing SDO, $t(151)=.035$, *ns.*, nor benevolent sexism, $t(151)=-.280$, *ns.* As expected, no significant results emerged when considering potential moderations on sexblindness either.

A type I error might however be the answer behind this lack of moderation effects. More precisely, results of the Pearson correlation indicated a significant positive association between context and SDO, ($r_{(152)} = .175$, $p = .031$), as well as between context and hostile sexism ($r_{(152)} = .178$, $p = .028$), and a marginal correlation among context and benevolent sexism ($r_{(152)} = .153$, $p = .060$). In other words, due to an unexpected randomization problem, participants high in social dominance orientation, as well as high hostile and benevolent sexists appear to randomly have been placed preponderantly in the work experimental condition. We therefore considered plausible that these randomization problems might have affected the previously mentioned results, and we double checked this hypothesis in Study 2.

8.3 Discussion

Study 1 confirmed our predictions that sexblindness would be the overall preferred gender ideology in mixed-gender negotiations, and that this effect would be even more significant regarding professional negotiations (Hypothesis 1). We predicted this pattern because nowadays society imposes either explicit or implicit rules and regulations that stipulate the importance of treating others as equals, regardless of their gender. These results nicely extend past research on the endorsement of gender ideologies in work negotiations (Manea et al., 2019), suggesting that sexblindness is not only the baseline in work negotiations, but also in negotiations carried out in other contexts of one's life.

The hypothesized complementary pattern regarding sexawareness and assimilationism (Hypothesis 2a & 2b) also emerged. As predicted due to the overall male connotation of negotiations (Kray et al., 2001, 2002; Raiffa, 1980; Williams & Best, 1982), participants preferred assimilationism to sexawareness when considering work negotiations. On the other hand, as expected, participants considered family negotiations in a more sexaware manner than professional ones, confirming that the more traditional private environment leads towards more gender acknowledgement in negotiations than the more gender-regulated work one. These results nicely extend those obtained in a general context by Koenig and Richeson (2010), confirming their validity to the particular field of mixed-gender negotiations.

Furthermore, male participants emerged to be particularly sexaware in family negotiations, confirming our predictions (Hypothesis 3) since they stand more to benefit from sexawareness in this environment.

One unexpected outcome of study 1 relates to the particularly high preference for sexawareness (a pattern indeed predicted for the family context, but not also regarding work negotiations). A possible explanation may come from considering the randomization problem encountered in this first study. Indeed, results suggest that due to a randomization problem, participants high in disparaging attitudes towards others were preponderantly placed in the work condition. This may explain the overall preference for sexawareness over assimilationism, given that such individuals are bound to focus more on gender differences than other participants. Furthermore, this might equally explain the fact that the predicted moderations only marginally emerged for hostile sexism (Hypothesis 4b), and not for benevolent sexism and SDO (Hypothesis 4a & 4c). In our second study, we therefore sought to replicate the findings on the topic effect with another sample, to verify that it is indeed this randomization problem that caused the unexpected results.

Another limitation of the present study relates to the fact that we only considered work or family negotiations, and not also negotiations carried out in other public environments, such as those that involve friends or acquaintances. Past work on the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies nevertheless opposed work interactions to social ones (which include, but are not limited to family interactions), and found a differential endorsement in the two (Koenig & Richeson, 2010). We therefore deemed important to verify that it is indeed the family context that leads to a different ideological endorsement.

9. Study 2

Study 2 was designed to remediate the limitations of Study 1. First, a social negotiation context was introduced as a third experimental topic condition. Second, new participants were considered in order to resolve the problems in randomization identified in Study 1.

9.1 Method

Participants and design

202 participants (46.5 % women) took part in this study, as required by the power analysis based on the size effects reported by Koenig and Richeson (2010). They ranged in age from 18 years to 94 years ($M_{age}=32.6$, $SD_{age}=12.6$) and were all native English speakers taking part for the first time on one of our studies on gender ideology. We used a 3 (context: work vs. family vs. social) x 2 (participant's sex: women vs. men) experimental design. Participants were randomly placed in one of the three context experimental condition upon accessing the Qualtrics instrument.

Procedure

The same procedure as in Study 1 was used. That is, participants first completed, in a random order, measures of social dominance orientation (Social Dominance Orientation Scale, Pratto et al., 1994) and benevolent and hostile sexism (The Ambivalent Sexism

Inventory, Glick & Fiske, 1996). They then rated on a scale ranging from 1 (=strongly disagree) to 7 (= strongly agree) their level of agreement with 12 statements acknowledging or ignoring gender within either work, family or social bargaining contexts (Gender ideology scale for work / family / social negotiations, adapted from Koenig & Richeson, 2010). Except for the newly introduced social negotiations condition, all other elements of the procedure remained unaffected.

Measures

SDO scale (Pratto *et al.*, 2012) measured participants' social dominance orientation ($\alpha = .955$; $M = 2.59$, $SD = 1.25$).

ASI scale (Glick & Fiske, 2001) tapped participant's level of sexism ($\alpha = .917$; $M = 3.30$, $SD = 1.00$), measuring both their level of *benevolent* ($\alpha = .853$; $M = 3.36$, $SD = 1.04$) and *hostile sexism* ($\alpha = .929$; $M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.28$).

Gender ideology scale for work / family / social negotiations (adapted from Koenig & Richeson, 2010) explored participant's perspective on different ways to handle gender within either family, work or social negotiating contexts. In line with factorial analysis that revealed the same 3 factors as before, explaining 60.42 % of the total variance, and with our theoretical model, we computed averages scores for sexawareness ($\alpha = .839$, $M=4.16$, $SD=1.23$), sexblindness ($\alpha = .715$, $M=5.13$, $SD=1.28$) and assimilationism ($\alpha = .520$, $M=4.21$, $SD=1.20$) gender ideologies.

9.2 Results

We submitted participants' responses to a 3 (context: family vs. work vs. social) x 2 (sex: female vs. male) x 3 (gender ideology: sexawareness vs. sexblindness vs. assimilationism) mixed analysis of variance with the last factor varying within participants and the remaining factors between them.

The predicted main effect of gender ideology was significant, $F_{(1.52, 299.703)} = 36.27$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .156$. To probe for this main effect, we again computed two orthogonal contrasts. As before, our first contrast, C1, compared sexblindness (coded 2) to sexawareness and assimilationism (both coded -1), and our second contrast, C2, compared sexawareness (coded +1) to assimilationism (coded -1). The analysis revealed C1 to be significant, $F_{(1, 196)} = 3.98$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .092$, confirming that sexblindness was preferred over the two other ideologies (see Table 2). C2 was not significant, $F_{(1, 196)} = .189$, *ns.*, indicating that sexawareness and assimilationism received an overall similar level of endorsement.

Table 2.

Responses as a function of context and sex, study 2 (work vs. family vs. social)

Context	Gender ideology				
	SA	SB	ASS	MC ₁	MC ₂
Work					
Female	3.63 (1.22)	5.31 (1.34)	4.28 (1.25)	2.70 (3.26)	-.645 (1.88)
Male	4.14 (1.14)	5.28 (1.23)	4.41 (1.07)	2.01 (3.03)	-.265 (1.74)
Total	3.91 (1.20)	5.29 (1.27)	4.35 (1.15)	2.36 (.335)	-.442 (2.80)
Family					
Female	4.10 (1.60)	4.94 (1.29)	4.09 (1.31)	1.70 (2.92)	.006 (2.43)
Male	4.61 (1.17)	4.65 (1.31)	4.04 (1.29)	.639 (2.53)	.569 (2.20)
Total	4.42 (1.36)	4.75 (1.30)	4.06 (1.29)	1.17 (.349)	.362 (2.29)
Social					
Female	4.02 (1.25)	5.69 (1.16)	4.27 (1.22)	3.09 (2.59)	-.247 (2.09)
Male	4.37 (.758)	4.92 (1.12)	4.16 (1.12)	1.31 (2.15)	.208 (1.53)
Total	4.17 (1.07)	5.36 (1.20)	4.22 (1.17)	2.20 (.347)	-.051 (1.87)
Total					
Female	3.91 (1.34)	5.36 (1.28)	4.22 (1.24)	2.50 (.290)	-.315 (2.11)
Male	4.39 (1.08)	4.94 (1.25)	4.20 (1.17)	1.32 (.272)	.189 (1.91)
Total	4.16 (1.23)	5.13 (1.28)	4.21 (1.20)	1.89 (2.87)	-.045 (2.02)

Note. Numbers in parentheses correspond to the standard deviations.

More importantly, the gender ideology by context interaction proved significant, $F_{(3.05, 299.70)} = 2.77$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .028$. To probe this interaction, we first checked whether context moderated our two contrasts. The C1 by context interaction was significant, $F_{(2, 196)} = 3.51$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .035$. Post hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni adjustment revealed the preference for sexblindness over the other two ideologies to be less significant for the family context ($M_{C1} = 1.17$, $SD_{C1} = .349$), than for the work ($M_{C1} = 2.36$, $SD_{C1} = .335$) or the social context ($M_{C1} = 2.20$, $SD_{C1} = .347$), the latter two not differing significantly from each other. Regarding C2, although the patterns corresponded to the ones we had predicted (see Table 2), the context effect was not significant, $F_{(2, 196)} = 2.30$, *ns*. Pairwise analysis revealed, nevertheless, a marginally significant difference among the work and the family negotiating contexts, with sexawareness being marginally more preferred in family negotiations ($M_{C2} = .362$, $SD_{C2} = 2.29$), whereas assimilationism emerging marginally more in work ones ($M_{C2} = .442$, $SD_{C2} = 2.80$). No differences emerged however in the support for sexawareness and assimilationism when considering social ($M_{C2} = -.051$, $SD_{C2} = 1.87$) as compared to family and work negotiations.

The gender ideology by sex interaction also proved significant, $F_{(1.52, 299.70)} = 5.04$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .025$. To probe this interaction, we checked whether sex moderated our two

contrasts. The C1 by sex interaction was significant, $F_{(1, 196)} = 8.81, p < .01, \eta^2 = .043$. Follow-up analyses revealed that C1 was significant both for women ($F_{(1, 91)} = 66.91, p < .001, \eta^2 = .424$) and men ($F_{(1, 105)} = 26.40, p < .001, \eta^2 = .201$). However, while both women and men endorsed sexblindness more than the other two gender ideologies, this was more the case for women ($M_{C1} = 2.50, SD_{C1} = .290$) than for men ($M_{C1} = 1.32, SD_{C1} = .272$). Regarding C2, although, again, the tendency corresponded to the hypothesized one (see table 2), the sex effect was not significant, $F_{(1, 196)} = 2.64, ns$.

Separate regressions were then conducted to verify the effects of context, of each of the individual variables (SDO, hostile and benevolent sexism) and of their interactions on participant's support assimilationism over sexawareness. To do this, we first computed two contrasts for the topic variable, one opposing public (work & social, both coded -1) to private (family, coded +2) negotiations, whereas the other opposed work (coded -1) to social negotiations (coded +1).

As predicted, analysis revealed SDO to moderate the endorsement of assimilationism and sexawareness in public as compared to private negotiations, $\beta = .211, t_{(201)} = -2.78, p < .01$. Further analysis found the significant interaction to be due to high SDOs. Thus, high SDOs supported sexawareness over assimilationism more in private negotiations than in public ones, $\beta = .439, t_{(201)} = 2.278, p < .05$. Meanwhile, no effect emerged in the case of participants low in SDO, $t_{(201)} = -1.062, ns$.

Benevolent sexism was also found to moderate the support for assimilationism and sexawareness in private as opposed to public negotiations, $\beta = .218, t_{(201)} = -2.473, p < .05$. As expected, participants high on benevolent sexism were found to endorse sexawareness over assimilationism significantly more in private than in public negotiations, $\beta = .472, t_{(201)} = 2.459, p < .05$. Meanwhile, no such effect emerged for low benevolent sexists, $t_{(201)} = -.363, ns$.

In a similar vein, hostile sexism also registered a different support for assimilationism and sexawareness in public as compared to private negotiations, $\beta = .162, t_{(201)} = 2.266, p < .05$. Further analysis revealed these results to be due to both high and low hostile sexist participants. Thus, high hostile sexism participants endorsed sexawareness over assimilationism significantly more in private than in public negotiations, $\beta = .551, t_{(201)} = 2.903, p < .01$. Meanwhile, no significant effect emerged when considering participants low in hostile sexism, $t_{(201)} = -.373, ns$.

Of interest, as expected, none of the individual variables affected participants endorsement of sexblindness over the other two ideologies, nor their endorsement of assimilationism over sexawareness in work as compared to social negotiations.

9.3 Discussion

Study 2 aimed at replicating the results of study 1, while also eliminating the randomization problem presumed to have negatively impacted part of the results in the previous study. Furthermore, a third negotiating context (social negotiations) was also

considered in order to offer a more comprehensive image on the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies in negotiation and to confirm that family negotiations are indeed the one leading to a different pattern of ideological endorsement.

Replicating the pattern already identified in study 1, and in line with past work on gender ideologies in negotiation (Manea et al., 2019), sexblindness emerged again as the overall baseline in mixed-gender negotiations (Hypothesis 1). Furthermore, as expected, while participants overall endorsed sexblindness more than the other two gender ideologies, this was even more the case for work and social negotiations than for family ones. This preference for sexblindness also emerged as more salient in the case of women, that supported sexblindness significantly more than male participants.

Though the differences were only marginally significant this time, sexawareness was found again, similarly to our first study, to be endorsed more than assimilationism in family negotiations, whereas the opposite pattern emerged for work ones (Hypothesis 2 a & 2b). Contrary to study 1, however, and to our Hypothesis 3, context and sex were not found to interact in this second study, the level of support for sexawareness and assimilationism being rather similar for both women and men throughout experimental conditions.

As expected, by eliminating the randomization problem encountered in Study 1, this second study confirmed our predictions that inequity predisposing traits moderate the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies in negotiations. More specifically, participants high in SDO, benevolent and hostile sexism emerged as significantly more likely to acknowledge gender in their private negotiations, than they were in public ones (Hypothesis 4a, 4b & 4c). Meanwhile, as predicted, no such differences in endorsement emerged for participants low in inequity predisposing traits.

By introducing a third considered context, i.e., social negotiations, this second study equally allowed us to verify our predictions that it is indeed the family negotiations that significantly differ from work ones. Indeed, as this second study confirmed, family negotiations emerged as eliciting a differential ideological endorsement than both work and social ones. That is, as expected, while participants overall endorsed sexblindness more than the other two gender ideologies, this was more the case for work and social negotiations than for family ones. As for their support for sexawareness and assimilationism, though the differences were only marginally significant, they replicated the pattern previously found that opposed family to work contexts, whereas work and social negotiations lead, as expected, to an overall similar endorsement.

10. General Discussion

In two studies, we contributed to the literature on the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies by assessing people's beliefs on how gender differences should be handled within the particular domain of mixed-gender negotiations. Given the prevalent anti-discrimination preoccupation in nowadays society, we expected sexblindness to be the baseline at the

bargaining table, and this effect to be especially present when considering professional negotiations (Hypothesis 1). Our two studies fully supported this claim. Indeed, as hypothesized, sexblindness was endorsed more than sexawareness and assimilationism taken together in all considered environments. The predicted effect of context also emerged. Indeed, in accordance to past work on the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies (Koenig & Richeson, 2010), this effect was particularly high within work negotiations, that elicited even more sexblindness than family ones. These results suggest that downplaying gender is an important part of nowadays quest for gender equality, and even more so in the highly gender-regulated professional environments. As our research seems to imply, people believe that one's sex should not play an important part at the bargaining table, but instead everyone should be treated as a unique individual, regardless of the sex they are endowed with, especially when negotiating at work.

Context was also found to be important in participant's preference for sexawareness and assimilationism (Hypothesis 2a & 2b). As expected, sexawareness was endorsed more in family negotiations, whereas assimilationism was supported more in professional ones. We had predicted this pattern based on the different norms that govern the two contexts. More specifically, private contexts are more traditional in nature, and gender roles are more salient in such an environment, given the different roles that women and men commonly enact in their homes. Consequently, sexawareness is bound to emerge more in this context than in the more gender regulated professional one. On the other hand, negotiations are overall considered to be more of a male domain (Kray et al., 2002; Raiffa, 1982; Williams & Best, 1982), and this male dominance is bound to emerge even more in the traditionally male-valanced work environment. As such, the preference for assimilationism in such an environment should not surprise. Further research should continue to explore this contextual endorsement of gender ideologies in negotiation, in order to better understand the circumstances under which context matters at the bargaining table.

The current research did not clarify whether the family context leads indeed, as hypothesized, towards significantly more sexawareness from male participants as compared to female ones (Hypothesis 3). We had predicted this ideological endorsement because most family negotiations are carried upon household work, a stereotypically feminine-valanced chore. As such, men had more to gain from acknowledging gender, as this would allow them to "escape" the unwanted gender-incongruent responsibilities. Although in both studies men emerged as more sexaware than women within family negotiations, the difference was statistically significant only in the first one. As such, caution is due in interpreting these results as an indicator of men's higher sexawareness. Further research should nevertheless take interest in better understanding the role of gender and its potential interaction with context on the gender ideologies one endorses.

In line with our predictions (Hypothesis 4a, 4b & 4c), one's disparaging attitudes towards others were however found to indeed significantly affect their ideological endorsement. That is, as expected, whereas the support for sexblindness did not vary as a function of such traits,

the preference for sexawareness and assimilationism showed a different pattern for individuals high and low in such characteristics. More specifically, as predicted, no significant differences emerged among the gender ideologies endorsed by people with disparaging attitudes towards others and other individuals when considering work negotiations. On the other hand, family negotiations elicited significantly more sexawareness from high SDOs, benevolent and hostile sexists than it did from individuals low in such traits. In other words, as expected, when considering private negotiations, individuals high in disparaging attitudes towards others particularly endorsed the idea of women and men sticking to their traditional gender roles. Indeed, an assimilationist perspective might be perceived as adequate in the gender-regulated work field, but gender acknowledgement seems to be the golden rule for high SDOs and sexists when considering private negotiations.

11. Limitations and Further Directions of Research

Our studies obviously come with some limitations, which open the door to other potentially insightful research. First, we were not able to confirm, nor discard the predicted interaction among gender and context on the gender ideologies people endorse at the bargaining table. Although the pattern revealed by both studies was in accordance to our expectations, the effect was statistically significant in only one of the studies. Future research should investigate the matter further, to better understand whether and how gender affects the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies in negotiations.

Second, our studies exposed participants to an online measure, and not to an actual negotiation. Thus, it did not explore their actual endorsement of gender ideologies in different negotiating contexts, but only their reported beliefs on how gender is to be approached. Nevertheless, people do not always follow through with their “theoretical perspective” on how different aspects of life should be handled. Consequently, participants might have reported what they believed was expected from them, given nowadays society prevalent gender equality rules (social desirability bias, Edwards, 1957), though not also their actual behaviors in such circumstances. Future research should further explore the matter, to better understand whether these beliefs indeed reflect people’s gender approach in different contexts of mixed-gender negotiations, or they are simply a matter of social desirability-determined theoretical responses.

Moreover, despite the important insight brought by the present studies on the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies in negotiations, they are but a step in addressing the many intriguing questions that one’s ideological endorsement at the bargaining table raises. Other context-related variables previously found to affect people’s negotiating behaviors (women’s in particular) should make equally interesting to explore moderators of one’s ideological support at the bargaining table.

Further assessing the joint effect of gender and aspects such as the ambiguity of the negotiating context, for instance, should offer interesting insight on the matter. Indeed, past

work found women's (but not men's) performances in negotiation to be a function of the clarity of the bargaining zone (Bowels et al., 2005). That is, when negotiating in ambiguous contexts, women's performances emerged as clearly inferior to those of men. However, increasing women's awareness of the expected outcome was found to erase the previously reported gender gap. Building upon such research, one wonders whether women's (though not also men's) approach of clear as compared to ambiguous negotiating circumstances might equally reveal significant differences in their ideological endorsement. That is, given the prevalent gender norms in nowadays society, focused on promoting gender downplaying (European Commission, 2019), sexblindness should continue to represent the overall reported baseline in negotiations, regardless of the considered circumstances. However, whereas ambiguous circumstances should elicit more assimilationism (in an attempt for women to prove that they too can surpass their gender incongruence and display a similar (success) behavior as men), clearly stating the demands might instead allow them a more sexaware approach. That is, given the fact that responding to the challenge would be more consistent to their hard-work, responsible individuals prescriptions, women might feel less in an inferiority in such context, therefore a higher probability that they would stop seeing their gender as a liability and feel more at ease to be themselves (i.e., sexawareness). Future research should look more closely on the matter, as to better understand how various aspects of the context affect one's ideological endorsement in negotiations.

Other aspects related to women's gender-role congruence in negotiation, might equally interact with gender in determining the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies. That is, past work revealed women to set higher goals, feel more prepared and ultimately outperform men in female-based negotiating circumstances, whereas a male-based negotiating context leads to the complete opposite pattern (Kray et al., 2002). Moreover, women outperformed men in male negative stereotype condition, whereas men outperformed women in female negative stereotype condition (Kray et al., 2002). Building upon such literature, one would expect women's gender ideologies to equally vary along with the positive (and negative, for that matter) gender-role stereotype on the negotiating circumstances at hand. To put it differently, women's perception that their gender offers them leverage in negotiation should lead to a higher preference for sexawareness over assimilationism in gender congruent circumstances. On the other hand, when the situation is stereotypically more congruent to the counterpart's gender, or when it is clearly considered to put women in a disadvantage, assimilationism should prevail over sexawareness.

Further studies should also find interest in better understanding how other individual differences affect the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies in negotiations. That is, our research suggests that both one's level of SDO, and their level of benevolent and hostile sexism significantly affect their ideological support at the bargaining table. These moderators are obviously far from being the only disparaging attitudes towards others to potentially affect the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies. Other variables, such as one's *right wing authoritarianism* (RWA, the tendency to be hierarchical, conventional, and intolerant), for instance, might be equally important on the matter. Indeed, recent meta-analyses argue

that there are strong positive correlations between right-wing ideologies and prejudice (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). Consequently, similarly to what our research has revealed for other individual differences (SDO, benevolent and hostile sexism), right wing authoritarianism might lead to a higher gender acknowledgement (i.e., in the sense of a stereotypical, conventional manner of approaching gender differences) as compared to individuals low in this trait. This discrepancy should be particularly relevant in private negotiations, and again less significant in the more gender-regulated professional one. That is, whereas work contexts impose more rules and regulations for how gender differences should be handled, family negotiations are less gender-regulated, particularly since gender roles are more salient in such contexts. As such, one would hardly be surprised if similar outcomes would thus emerge when investigating the moderating role of right-wing authoritarianism on people's ideological endorsement at the bargaining table.

As a sum, the results of our studies suggest that both context and individual differences are important in one's ideological endorsement in mixed-gender negotiations. Further exploring the matter is certainly an intriguing direction for our next studies.

Chapter 3: General Beliefs on Women's Gender Ideology as a Function of Topic in Mixed-Gender Negotiations

“Whatever You Do, Do Not Let Him Notice You’re a Woman!”. General Beliefs on Women’s Gender Ideology as a Function of Topic in Mixed-Gender Negotiations

Abstract

How one approaches gender differences in general likely influences the way one handles mixed-gender negotiations. In the present paper, we examine general beliefs on how women negotiators do - as opposed to how they “should” - handle gender in order to increase their chances of success. First, we hypothesized that people’s general beliefs would support a sexblindness ideology according to which gender is, and indeed should be, ignored in order to succeed. Second, because negotiation comes across as a stereotypically masculine activity, we predicted that prescriptions regarding what women should do to succeed would commonly favor assimilationism (the belief that women need to assimilate to male norms) over sexawareness (the belief that gender differences should be acknowledged and celebrated). We nevertheless predicted a general belief that women might stay away from these prescriptions and rely more on their gender (i.e., endorse sexawareness over assimilationism) within feminine as compared to masculine and neutral-topic negotiations. Together, our two experiments confirm these predictions. We discuss our results in terms of the consequences on women’s gender ideology-based strategies, a potentially relevant aspect to their actual negotiating outcomes.

Manea, C.-N., Demoulin, S., & Yzerbyt, V. (2020). “Whatever You Do, Do Not Let Him Notice You’re a Woman!”. General Beliefs on Women’s Gender Ideology as a Function of Topic in Mixed-Gender Negotiations. *International Journal of Psychology*. Advanced online publication. DOI: 10.1002/ijop.12714

1. Introduction

Gender¹ plays an important role in negotiations. Although research in the last two decades has evidenced the impact of situational factors (Demoulin, 2014; Kennedy & Kray, 2015) and the relatively small performance gap between women and men (Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999), gender influences all phases of negotiations (Babcock et al., 2006; Kimmel et al., 1980). Research efforts have so far concentrated on revealing and examining the various determinants of gender effects in negotiation or on finding ways to overcome them. Meanwhile, we know less about people's beliefs on how women handle gender differences in mixed-gender negotiations and on the perceived effectiveness of the different strategies that women may mobilize in such contexts. Do people believe that women acknowledge or ignore gender in negotiations? Moreover, are women expected to acknowledge (their) gender more on stereotypically feminine (i.e., gender-congruent) topics, and if so, is this strategy considered likely to benefit women negotiators? In the present paper, we assess general beliefs on how women do, as well as how they should, handle gender to make the best of mixed-gender negotiations as a function of the negotiating topic. In line with role congruity theory and with recent findings in the negotiation field, we propose that, in contrast to what people would actually recommend, they expect women to handle gender differently when bargaining about gender-congruent (versus incongruent) topics.

2. Gender in Negotiations

For decades, negotiations emerged as a male prerogative (Kray & Thompson, 2005). Recently, researchers acknowledged that this apparent lack-of-fit for women negotiators is more a question of situational variables than the consequence of poor negotiation abilities. Indeed, some circumstances affect women negotiators differently than men. For instance, feminine negotiation topics (in comparison to masculine ones) increase women's willingness to initiate negotiations (Bear, 2011) as well as their negotiation's fate (Bear & Babcock, 2012; but see Demoulin & Teixeira, 2016). Researchers explain this pattern by the stronger role congruity that women perceive in feminine contexts (Eagly & Karau, 2002), leading them to become both more willing and more able to conduct negotiations in their favor. That is, consensual beliefs about the attributes of women and men, i.e., their gender roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002) affect the way people handle gender in negotiations. As the saying goes, "knowledge is power", and the feeling of power positively influences women's negotiating performances (Hong & van der Wijk, 2013). As such, a gender-congruent topic - i.e., a topic on which women stereotypically hold more expertise than men - should prove important in determining how women approach (their) gender in negotiations.

The best way to handle gender in negotiations is however not obvious for women. Whereas women face the threat of being stereotyped or even patronized when acknowledging their femininity (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Glick & Fiske, 1996), they risk backlash when they break gender norms by acting as men (Bowles et al., 2007; Rudman, 1998; Rudman &

Glick, 2001; Stuhlmacher & Linnabery, 2013). This double bind proves particularly relevant in negotiations, where women and men's interests are overtly opposite. A clearer insight on how people believe women handle gender in negotiations as well as on the consequences of the adopted strategies at the bargaining table is obviously important.

3. Handling Gender in Mixed-Gender Interactions

The topic of how to handle gender in mixed-gender interactions has only recently caught scholars' interest. As a first empirical step, Koenig and Richeson (2010) distinguished between sexblindness and sexawareness. According to sexblindness, one should treat women and men as specific individuals and eliminate or ignore all references to gender categories. In sharp contrast, sexawareness proposes that one should acknowledge and celebrate sex differences for the mutual enrichment of both genders. One's ideological endorsement is obviously not without consequences. For instance, sexblindness increases women's confidence at work and, hence, the actions they undertake (Martin & Phillips, 2017). In contrast to these positive effects, downplaying gender may in fact not benefit women collectively, but act as a factor that maintains the status quo (Malicke, 2013).

The fact that both downplaying and celebrating gender differences can lead to various, and indeed quite different, interpretations and implementations may account for such inconsistent findings. In their fourfold framework, Hahn et al. (2015) argue that there is not only a positive but also a negative manner to acknowledge or ignore gender, making for four different gender ideologies. The positive pole of gender downplaying, sexblindness, is the gender ideology according to which all persons possess unique features and should be treated as individuals regardless of gender. The negative gender downplaying, assimilationism, equally states that one should ignore gender but takes men as the evaluation standard whereas women need to assimilate to male norms and behaviors to enhance their effectiveness. The two ideologies in favor of gender acknowledgement also differ fundamentally. The positively-valenced sexawareness argues that both women and men hold equal, albeit different, qualities that should all be taken as assets for mutual enrichment. Finally, the negatively-valenced segregationism considers the differences between genders insurmountable and claims that women and men should perform gender-congruent activities.

Some research has already investigated factors affecting ideological endorsement. Context, gender, nationality, personal values, and organizational norms were all found relevant (Banchefsky & Park, 2018; Bourguignon et al., 2015; Hahn et al., 2015; Koenig & Richeson, 2010; Martin et al., 2018). For instance, confirming the role of context, people prefer sexblindness at work and sexawareness in social settings (Koenig & Richeson, 2010). Similarly, Sarlet et al. (2012) observed that while women ask for protective paternalistic behaviors (i.e., sexawareness) from men in romantic relationship, they regard these same behaviors as sexist at work, where they expect more egalitarian (i.e., sexblind) treatments. Since professional environments have represented the primary focus for gender equality advocates, people's preference for gender downplaying at work seems self-evident.

Although past work offers some insight on how people think one should handle gender in mixed-gender interactions, we know less about how women are to approach gender in negotiations. Moreover, the way that these ideologies translate into concrete gender-handling strategies and the general beliefs on their appropriateness and efficiency are yet to be explored.

4. Gender Handling Strategies in Negotiations

Negotiations offer a particularly interesting research field for gender-handling strategies. Indeed, the stereotype of a good negotiator is very similar to that of men (i.e., rational, assertive, self-centered, Kray et al., 2001). Consequently, women face a double bind when searching for the right balance between agentic (i.e., male) prescribed behaviors in negotiations, and their own communal gender-role prescriptions.

To understand better women's response to this challenge, the present paper assesses general beliefs on how women handle gender within mixed-gender negotiations pertaining to gender-congruent versus incongruent topics. We also examine how efficient different gender handling-strategies are believed to be in enhancing women's actual chances of success. Indeed, beliefs fundamentally affect dyadic negotiations (Kray & Haselhuhn, 2007). That is, one's negotiating fate is determined by a network of interrelated identities, beliefs, and emotions (Freshman, 2005). One's basic assumptions about oneself and one's world create the conceptual framework that influences which goals are salient and important (see Dweck, 1996; Dweck & Leggett, 1988), thus significantly altering everyday interactions. Moreover, people's (often unconscious) scripts on what constitutes appropriate negotiating behaviors are particularly important for women, the implicit "outsiders" in the male-valenced field of negotiations (Raiffa, 1982). Better understanding how women are expected and recommended to respond to this challenge is thus of key importance.

Since interacting with the other party is mandatory in negotiations, it makes sense that not all four ideologies apply (Hahn et al., 2015). Indeed, segregationism entails keeping genders apart from one another and can thus not represent a valid negotiating choice. With this in mind, we only considered sexblind, sexaware, and assimilationist strategies in our studies.

Because current societal norms emphasize more than ever egalitarian and undifferentiated treatments of both genders (European Commission, 2019), we first hypothesized a general belief that, regardless of the topic, women negotiators would and should rely on sexblind strategies more than on sexaware and assimilationist ones in order to succeed (Hypothesis 1). Indeed, current societal concerns for gender equality translate in norms explicitly stating that gender should not affect one's professional fate. This preference for sexblindness at work (Koenig & Richeson, 2010) should emerge even more in the context of work negotiations. That is, the bargaining field offers the particularity of involving counterparts that start off from opposite points to work their way towards common ground. As such, people need to

ensure that the bargaining process is handled in the best (i.e., most undiscriminating) possible conditions. The importance of avoiding potential misunderstandings and negative developments during this process is obvious. Because gender discrimination is a salient topic on nowadays society agenda, and the workplace represents the main field for gender equality advocates, negotiators should clearly avoid all reference to their counterpart's gender / gender particularities and approach them as unique individuals instead. Said otherwise, given the higher stakes of negotiations as compared to most other interactions, people should be even more careful to avoid potential discrimination claims, and opt for sexblind more than for assimilationist or sexaware strategies during the bargaining process (Hypothesis 1).

Although we would not expect the topic to affect the overall predicted and recommended support for sexblindness, a different pattern should emerge for women's second choice of ideology (i.e., sexawareness or assimilationism). Because the stereotypes characterizing a good negotiator largely overlap with those characterizing men (Kray et al., 2001), we hypothesized that the endorsement of assimilationism, according to which women (should) adopt male norms and behaviors, would prevail over sexawareness. That is, people often perceive the social group of men as the norm when the two genders are compared, a golden standard that implicitly affects women in a negative way (see the "to be explained effect", Bruckmüller et al., 2012; Miller et al., 1991). This bias is particularly strong in negotiations and one would thus both expect and recommend women to avoid attracting attention to their presumed lower expertise on gender-incongruent issues, by instead displaying a behavior indicating that they too can resemble men when necessary. Assimilationism should therefore emerge as both the expected, and recommended approach for women in gender-incongruent negotiations (Hypothesis 2). Moreover, given negotiation's overall male connotation (Kray & Thompson, 2005), there is no reason to assume that a neutral topic would elicit a different choice of gender ideology-based strategy. Consequently, the pattern should equally extend to neutral topics, with assimilationism again emerging in people's beliefs as both more likely and better suited to address women's needs than sexawareness.

A feminine topic should however provide an occasion to adopt a more nuanced perspective on these general beliefs. More specifically, as mentioned above, success in negotiations is commonly attributed to a more manly approach of the bargaining process (Kray et al., 2001), implicitly suggesting assimilationism as the right way to go in order to stand a better chance of success. As such, people's *recommendations* on how women should handle gender to win *feminine* negotiations should replicate the pattern already described for masculine and neutral-topic ones. That is, assimilationism should be perceived as a more "adequate" manner to handle gender than sexawareness, as it provides women the right (i.e., the masculine) way to increase their negotiating chances (Hypothesis 3a). Then again, a feminine topic makes the stereotype of women particularly salient, while also offering them presumed leverage in this stereotypically considered gender-incongruent field. Consequently, people might expect women bargaining on feminine matters to forget the importance of a manly approach and act more in line with their gender role, i.e., acknowledge gender, thus complying to women's communal, "normal" way of handling things in

nowadays society (Eagly et al., 2019). In contrast to the above-predicted recommended approach, sexawareness should thus prevail over assimilationism as the *expected* behavior in *feminine* negotiations (Hypothesis 3b).

5. Experiment 1

In Experiment 1, we manipulated the negotiation topic (feminine versus masculine). We then assessed participant's views regarding the likelihood / the recommendation for a woman to adopt a sexblind, a sexaware, and an assimilationist approach while negotiating.

5.1 Method

Participants and design

An a priori analysis (GPower 3.1. software) using the medium effect size (Cohen's $d = 0.53$) reported by Bear and Babcock (2012) in their studies on the moderating effect of topic on gender differences in negotiating outcomes ($N=116$) indicated that 204 participants would ensure 85% power for detecting a medium sized effect with a .05 significance level. We secured 218 participants (69.8% women) to accommodate for loss of participants and overestimation of effect size. Participants ranged between 18 to 96 years in age ($M_{\text{age}} = 34.3$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 12.3$). They were native English speakers (43.6% UK citizens, 41.3% Americans, 4.6% Canadians, 2.3% Irish, 0.5% Australians; 7.8% of participants did not clearly report their nationality), each receiving £0.75 for participating to the study. We used a 2 (topic: feminine vs. masculine) $\times$ 2 (viewpoint: expectations vs. recommendations) between-participants design, randomly assigning participants to one of the four experimental conditions.

Procedure

We invited participants through the Prolific crowdsourcing platform (www.prolific.ac) to participate in an intergroup relations study. Upon acceptance, they read the beginning of a story on a mixed-gender work-related negotiation. The main character, Susan, was to convince Mr. Jones, the head of the cosmetics company, to hire her as an advertiser for their new, innovative, cosmetics product. For half of the participants, the negotiating contract involved make-up (a feminine topic, given its almost exclusive use by women), whereas the other half had Susan negotiating on after-shave (a product that, despite being a cosmetics, is almost exclusively used by men).

After the general introduction and the presentation of the negotiation topic, participants went through seven consecutive negotiating steps, going from Susan's self-encouraging pre-negotiation discourse, to the final point of her presentation. At each negotiation step, participants evaluated three possible strategies that Susan would (expectations condition) or should (recommendations condition) display. Said otherwise, we manipulated topic and viewpoint (i.e., the independent variables of the research) to assess participant's gender strategies for the upcoming negotiation (i.e., the dependent variable).

Each strategy reflected one of the three considered gender ideologies, i.e. sexblindness ($\alpha = .80$), sexawareness ($\alpha = .89$) and assimilationism ($\alpha = .82$). We conceived the items for sexblindness to avoid all gender cues by instead focusing on general matters (e.g., “*Susan gave the best presentation of her life. She presented her commercial for the product in a confident way, she explained the reasons behind each of her choices, the research upon which her approach was based, she talked about the focus groups that loved her advertisement idea and were ready to go buy the product.*”). In contrast, sexawareness specifically focused upon the potential leverage of woman negotiators (e.g., “*Susan gave the best presentation of her life. She created the magic that only a woman could create, she explained the importance of playing on the target group hopes and dreams when advertising for a product, she talked about the complexity of the real people that would use the product and about the feelings that a commercial needed to awaken in order to win people’s hearts.*”). Assimilationism instead assessed a more manly approach of negotiations (e.g., “*Susan gave the best presentation of her life, one inspired from her own hard attempts to make it in the corporate world, that had taught her that success comes from being tough and determined. It talked about the privilege of becoming the best in the field, and of the feeling one gets when they can finally stand among the greatest men society had ever seen*”). Participants rated on a scale from 1 (=extremely unlikely) to 7 (= extremely likely) whether they believed Susan would (expectations condition) or should (recommendations condition) deploy each ideological strategy to win the negotiation. We averaged the scores for each ideology across the seven negotiation steps (see Supplementary file 1 for the story).

5.2 Results

We submitted participants’ responses to a 2 (viewpoint: expectations vs. recommendations) x 2 (topic: feminine vs. masculine) x 3 (gender ideology: sexblindness vs. sexawareness vs. assimilationism) mixed analysis of variance with the last factor varying within participants and the remaining ones between them.

The viewpoint and topic main effects were not significant, $F_s < 1.87$, *ns*. Supporting Hypothesis 1, the main effect of gender ideology was significant, $F_{(1.73, 369.64)} = 250.54$, $p < .0001$, $\eta^2 = .51$ (large effect size). To probe this main effect, we computed two orthogonal contrasts. Whereas our first contrast, C1, concerned Hypothesis 1 by comparing sexblindness (coded 2) to sexawareness and assimilationism (both coded -1), our second contrast, C2, examines Hypotheses 2 & 3 by comparing sexawareness (coded +1) to assimilationism (coded -1). The analysis revealed that C1 was significant, $t_{(214)} = 17.84$, $p < .001$, confirming that participants preferred sexblindness over the two other ideologies (see Table 1). Surprisingly, C2 was also significant, $t_{(214)} = 2.05$, $p = .041$, with participants endorsing sexawareness more than assimilationism.

Table 1.

Choices of gender ideology-based strategies as a function of topic (Experiment 1)

Topic	Gender Ideology			M_{C1}	M_{C2}
	Sexawareness	Sexblindness	Assimilationism		
Feminine	4.68(1.09)	5.79(.782)	4.21(1.10)	2.65(2.19)	.453(.894)
Masculine	4.06(1.46)	5.91(.735)	4.24(1.26)	3.52(2.87)	-.176(1.07)

Note. Numbers in parentheses correspond to the standard deviations.

More importantly, the gender ideology by topic interaction proved significant, $F_{(1.73, 369.64)} = 11.19$, $p < .0001$, $\eta^2 = .05$ (relatively small effect size). To probe this interaction, we first checked whether topic moderated our two contrasts. The C1 by topic interaction was significant, $\beta = .16$, $t_{(214)} = 2.51$, $p = .013$. Follow-up analyses revealed that C1 was significant both for the masculine ($M_{C1} = 3.52$, $SD_{C1} = 2.87$, $\beta = 3.52$, $t_{(214)} = 14.39$, $p < .001$) and the feminine ($M_{C1} = 2.65$, $SD_{C1} = 2.19$, $\beta = 2.65$, $t_{(214)} = 10.84$, $p < .001$) topic. In other words, participants endorsed sexblindness more than the other two gender ideologies, but this was more the case for a masculine than a feminine topic.

Second, the C2 by topic interaction also came out significant, $\beta = -.30$, $t_{(214)} = -4.68$, $p < .001$. In line with Hypothesis 3b, follow-up analyses showed that C2 was significant for the feminine topic ($M_{C2} = .453$, $SD_{C2} = .894$, $\beta = 3.52$, $t_{(214)} = 14.39$, $p < .001$). For the masculine topic (Hypothesis 2), the results were not statistically significant, and the means were even in the opposite direction ($M_{C2} = -.176$, $SD_{C2} = 1.07$, $\beta = -1.77$, $t_{(214)} = -1.86$, $p = .06$). Alternatively, topic had an impact on participants' ratings of sexawareness, $F_{(1, 214)} = 12.18$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .05$ (relatively small effect size), but not on their assimilationism and sexblindness ratings, $F_{s(1, 214)} < 1$, *ns*.

No other effects emerged significant. As such, the present data fully supported Hypothesis 1 and partially supported Hypotheses 2 & 3. Indeed, sexblindness emerged as the overall baseline in people's beliefs. Moreover, there was a marginal tendency towards assimilationism for the masculine topic, along with a clear preference for sexawareness for the feminine one.

5.3 Discussion

Experiment 1 confirmed our predictions on sexblindness being the baseline in work-related negotiations. Indeed, participants considered that women should and would most likely approach work negotiations in a sexblind manner. We predicted this pattern on the

basis of the clear rules and regulations that stipulate the importance of a gender-free workplace in most professional environments. These results nicely extend those obtained in a general context by Koenig and Richeson (2010), confirming their validity for mixed-gender negotiations. The predicted effect of topic on gender ideology also emerged, with participants considering a feminine topic more likely to elicit sexawareness than a masculine one.

One unexpected outcome of first study relates to the absence of significant differences in women's expected and recommended approach. A potential explanation is that, although we reminded participants about the negotiating topic on several occasions, the viewpoint was only mentioned in the introduction of the story and was never reminded afterward. Consequently, many participants may have missed this rather subtle manipulation, focusing upon what Susan would do even when asked what she should do in order to succeed. In Experiment 2, we sought to replicate the findings on the topic effect while addressing this methodological issue.

One additional limitation relates to the absence of neutral negotiation topic. Although previous research has suggested that negotiations are by default masculine even for neutral topics (Demoulin & Teixeira, 2016; *see also* Kray et al., 2002), we wanted to verify that it is indeed the feminine topic that produces the ideological change.

6. Experiment 2

We designed Experiment 2 in order to replicate Experiment 1 while addressing some of its limitations. First, we introduced a gender-neutral topic as a third topic condition. Second, we ensured that the different viewpoints (expectations and recommendations) would remain salient during the experiment. For each step in the story, participants were asked to assess either "how likely would it be for a young woman like Susan in today's society for the story to continue as follows?" (expectations condition), or "how likely is each of the following scenarios to lead to Susan's success story in this negotiation?" (recommendations condition).

6.1 Method

Design and participants

An a priori analysis (GPower 3.1. software) using the medium effect size (Cohen's $d = 0.53$) reported by Bear and Babcock (2012) in their studies on the moderating effect of topic on gender differences in negotiation outcomes ($N=116$) indicated that 240 participants would ensure 85% power for detecting a medium sized effect with a .05 significance level. We again used Prolific to secure 250 participants (70% women) to accommodate for loss of participants and overestimation of effect size. They ranged in age from 18 years to 83 years ($M_{\text{age}} = 35.9$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 12.3$). They were native English speakers taking part for the first time in our studies (mostly UK citizens – 80%, but also 16.8% Americans and 2% Irish; 1.2% of participants did not report their nationality) and received £0.85 for participating to the study. We relied on a 3 (topic: feminine vs. masculine vs. neutral) $\times$ 2 (viewpoint: expectations vs.

recommendations) full factorial design. We randomly assigned participants to one of the six experimental conditions upon their accessing the Qualtrics questionnaire.

Procedure

As in Experiment 1, we manipulated the topic and the viewpoint to assess participants' gender strategy in the negotiation. Participants read about the initial stage of a work negotiation. For each of the next negotiating steps, they then rated what they believed Susan would (expectations condition) or should do (recommendations condition) to win the negotiation. Participants evaluated the same responses as in Experiment 1, that is, a sexblind ($\alpha = .84$), a sexaware ($\alpha = .88$), and an assimilationist ($\alpha = .82$) scenario. This time, however, we added a reminder at each negotiation step to ensure higher salience of the viewpoint. Moreover, we introduced a gender-neutral control topic (negotiating for a shower gel commercial) for which we expected to replicate the results of the masculine one. At the end of the study, participants also completed a manipulation check in which they had to specify the type of situation they considered while answering the previous questions, i.e., what a young woman would normally / should do when trying to land a make-up / shower gel / aftershave advertising contract. All other procedural elements remained unaffected.

6.2 Results

We submitted participants' responses to a 2 (viewpoint: recommendations vs. expectations) x 3 (topic: feminine vs. masculine vs. neutral) x 3 (gender ideology: sexawareness vs. sexblindness vs. assimilationism) mixed analysis of variance with the last factor varying within participants and the others between them.

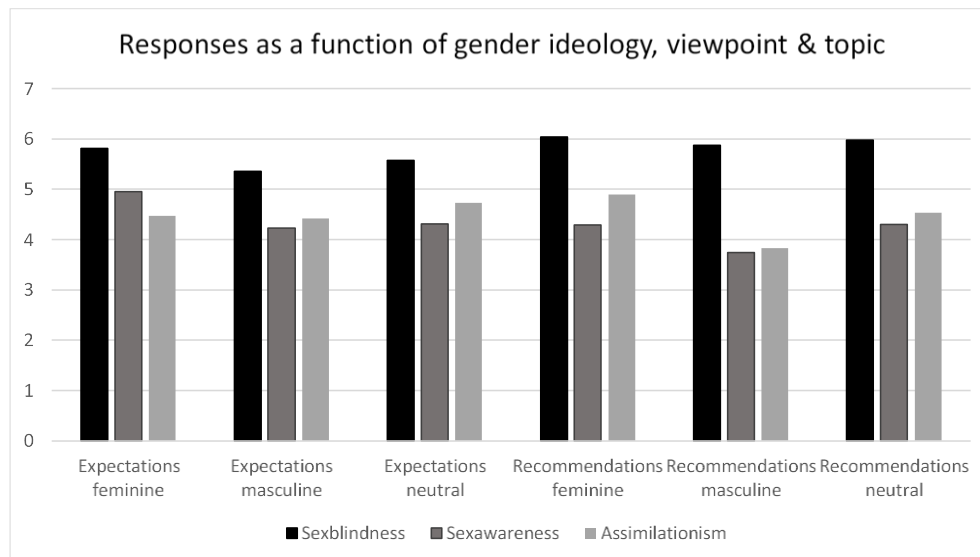
The topic main effect proved significant, $F_{(2, 244)} = 7.79$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$ (relatively small effect size), suggesting that ideological endorsement varied as a function of the negotiating topics. As predicted, the main effect of gender ideology was significant, $F_{(1.77, 432.17)} = 216.37$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .47$ (large effect size). We again computed two orthogonal contrasts. As before, our first contrast, C1, addressed Hypothesis 1 by comparing sexblindness (coded 2) to sexawareness and assimilationism (both coded -1). Focusing on Hypothesis 2 & 3, our second contrast, C2, compared sexawareness (coded +1) to assimilationism (coded -1). The analysis revealed C1 to be significant, $t_{(246)} = 7.89$, $p < .001$, confirming that sexblindness prevailed over the two other ideologies (see Table 2). C2 was not significant, $t_{(246)} = .168$, *ns.*, indicating that sexawareness and assimilationism received an overall similar level of endorsement.

Table 2.

Responses as a function of gender ideology, viewpoint, and topic (Study 2)

Gender Ideology					
Viewpoint	Sexawareness	Sexblindness	Assimilationism	M _{C1}	M _{C2}
Expectations					
Feminine	4.95 (1.27)	5.81 (1.09)	4.47 (1.20)	2.20(2.51)	0.47 (0.93)
Masculine	4.23 (1.27)	5.35 (.940)	4.42 (1.05)	2.04(2.40)	-0.18(1.14)
Neutral	4.31 (1.02)	5.57 (.791)	4.73 (.980)	2.09(2.11)	-0.42(1.18)
Recommendations					
Feminine	4.29 (1.39)	6.04 (.700)	4.89 (1.26)	2.89(2.23)	-0.59(0.74)
Masculine	3.74 (1.26)	5.87 (.825)	3.83 (1.07)	4.16(2.94)	-0.09(0.85)
Neutral	4.30 (1.21)	5.98 (.659)	4.53 (1.13)	3.12(2.24)	-0.22(1.04)

Note. Numbers in parentheses correspond to the standard deviations.

Fig. 1. *Responses as a function of gender ideology, viewpoint, and topic (Experiment 2)*

More importantly, the gender ideology by viewpoint interaction proved significant $F_{(1.77, 432.17)} = 12.97, p < .001, \eta^2 = .05$ (relatively small effect size), and was further qualified by a significant three-way interaction $F_{(3.54, 432.17)} = 4.82, p = .001, \eta^2 = .04$ (relatively small effect size). To probe this three-way interaction, we first examined the combined impact of viewpoint and topic separately for the C1 and C2 contrasts of gender ideology. That is, we looked at whether the overall support for sexblindness (C1) varied as a function of viewpoint and topic, and whether these two same variables influenced the relative endorsement of sexawareness and assimilationism (C2).

Turning to C1 first, the 2 (viewpoint: recommendations vs. expectations) $\times$ 3 (topic: feminine vs. masculine vs. neutral) only revealed the presence of a significant viewpoint effect, $F_{(1,244)} = 17.38, p < .001, \eta^2 = .06$ (small effect size), showing a preference for sexblindness over the two other ideologies.

Regarding C2, the viewpoint effect was again significant, $F_{(1,244)} = 4.26, p = .040, \eta^2 = .02$ (small effect size) but was qualified by a significant viewpoint by topic interaction, $F_{(2,244)} = 10.48, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08$ (small to medium effect size). We first examined the impact of the viewpoint on C2 for each topic. No viewpoint effect emerged for the masculine and neutral topics, both F s. < 1 , with assimilationism prevailing over sexawareness in both participants' expectations and recommendations (Hypothesis 2, see Table 2). In contrast, a significant viewpoint effect emerged for the feminine topic, $F_{(1,83)} = 34.01, p < .001, \eta^2 = .29$ (large effect size). Specifically, and in line with Hypothesis 3b, participants preferred sexawareness over assimilationism at the expectations level ($M_{C2} = 0.47, SD_{C2} = 0.93$). At the same time, supporting Hypothesis 3a, they favored assimilationism over sexawareness when considering the recommended approach ($M_{C2} = -0.59, SD_{C2} = 0.74$).

Alternatively, we looked at the impact of topic for each viewpoint. Turning to expectations first, there was a significant effect of topic, $F_{(2,122)} = 7.84, p = .001, \eta^2 = .11$ (medium effect size). Post hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni adjustment revealed the preference for sexawareness over assimilationism to be greater for the feminine ($M_{C2} = 0.47, SD_{C2} = 0.93$) than for the masculine ($M_{C2} = -0.18, SD_{C2} = 1.14$) or the neutral topic ($M_{C2} = -0.42, SD_{C2} = 1.18$), the latter two not differing from each other. For recommendations, there was also a significant topic effect, $F_{(2,122)} = 3.48, p = .034, \eta^2 = .05$ (relatively small effect size). Post hoc comparisons revealed the preference for assimilationism over sexawareness to be greater for the feminine ($M_{C2} = -0.59, SD_{C2} = 0.74$) than for the masculine topic ($M_{C2} = -0.09, SD_{C2} = 0.85$), but not when compared to the neutral one ($M_{C2} = -0.22, SD_{C2} = 1.04$). Again, as predicted, no difference emerged when comparing the masculine to the neutral topic.

6.3 Discussion

Experiment 2 tested the same predictions as in Experiment 1 while increasing the salience of the two different viewpoints throughout the experiment. Furthermore, to check whether the feminine topic was the one making the difference, we included a third, neutral, negotiating topic for which we predicted to replicate the pattern of the masculine one (Williams & Best, 1982).

Replicating Experiment 1, and in accordance with Hypothesis 1 and past work on gender ideology (Koenig & Richeson, 2010), sexblindness emerged as the expected baseline in work-related negotiations for all negotiation topics. As we hoped, the viewpoint reminder helped further nuance these results. Indeed, the recommendations condition revealed a general belief that women would benefit from even more gender downplaying than what was expected, further highlighting the importance of sexblindness's in the negotiating process.

Moreover, and as predicted, whereas sexawareness and assimilationism were supported similarly in participant's expectations and recommendations for the masculine and the neutral topics, the feminine negotiating topic delivered a different pattern. More specifically, in line with Hypothesis 3b, participants expected that women would try to capitalize upon their gender. At the same time, and in accordance to Hypothesis 3a, they believed women would be better off behaving like a man (i.e., assimilationism) rather than acknowledging gender (i.e., sexawareness). An alternative way to describe our findings is that, as predicted, women were expected to endorse sexawareness over assimilationism more for feminine as compared to masculine and neutral topics (expectations). At the same time, assimilationism prevailed over sexawareness more when considering the most effective way for women to approach feminine, as compared to masculine negotiations (recommendations).

7. General Discussion

In two experiments, we explored people's beliefs regarding the way women would and should handle gender differences in negotiations. Based on past research (Koenig & Richeson, 2010), we hypothesized sexblindness to be the baseline in work-related negotiations, independently of topic and viewpoint (Hypothesis 1). Considering the widely held belief on negotiation's male-valence (Kray et al., 2002; Williams & Best, 1982), we also argued that people's second choice for prescriptions regarding what women should do to succeed would overall favor assimilationism over sexawareness (Hypothesis 2, for masculine and neutral topics, Hypothesis 3a for the feminine topic). Moreover, we predicted that when negotiating a feminine (i.e., gender congruent) topic, people would expect women to forget about the prevalent prescriptions in work negotiations and to display gender-enhancing strategies, i.e., sexawareness behaviors (Hypothesis 3b). Together, our two experiments confirm these predictions. Sexblindness was clearly the overall golden standard in negotiation (Hypothesis 1). Moreover, although assimilationism commonly represented the second most expected and recommended strategy for women (Hypothesis 2 & 3a),

participants nevertheless expected sexawareness to prevail over assimilationism within feminine negotiations (Hypothesis 3b).

In line with past work on both gender ideology (Koenig & Richeson, 2010) and topic in negotiation (Bear, 2011), our research reveals a large effect size of gender ideology and point towards gender congruent topics as an important variable at the bargaining table. As such, our data nicely extend earlier findings on gender ideology (Koenig & Richeson, 2010) and provide useful information on the joint impact of topic and gender in negotiation (Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012; Miles & Lasalle, 2008).

Despite these encouraging results, our studies also come with some limitations. First, participants always considered all three gender-handling strategies (sexblindness, sexawareness, and assimilationism) simultaneously. This may have made salient the fact that there are several ways for women to approach gender in negotiations and potentially affected the endorsement of each strategy. Further research should address this methodological aspect by adopting a between, rather than a within, design. Moreover, to increase participant's identification to the female character, she was introduced to them as Susan, whereas the counterpart as Mr. Jones. Some participants might have perceived this differential treatment as sexist, therefore affecting their ideological endorsement and enhancing their support for sexblindness. Future studies should address this limitation by ensuring a symmetric treatment. Similarly, the lack of gender cues in the items used to operationalize sexblindness might have led participants to consider it as a more "normal" option, one that could be endorsed along with one of the other (more opposing) strategies. This caveat should be addressed in future studies. The lack of clear statistical significance when investigating Hypothesis 2 in Experiment 1 does not allow drawing definite conclusions on the gender handling strategies used in masculine-topic negotiations. Although the obtained trend is encouraging, further investigations are required on the matter. Finally, the absence of gender effects may stem from the limited number of male participants. Further research would do well to secure a more balanced number of women and men.

We also see several other potentially rewarding research directions on gender-based negotiating strategies. It would be important, for instance, to examine the ideological choices women make in actual negotiations. Indeed, people's beliefs do not always reflect real behaviors. We should therefore refrain from considering our results as final evidence of how women (should) approach gender in negotiations. Further exploring the matter from a cross-cultural perspective should also prove fruitful. Our studies did not reveal significant cross-cultural differences in the ideological support of individuals issued from different native English-speaking countries. Future research should however replicate the experiments on other populations, to check for possible cultural differences. Indeed, as the European Institute for Gender Equality and World Economic Forum (2019) acknowledges, the idea of equal opportunities for women and men remains an objective that is still far from being reached, implicitly affecting one's approach of mixed-gender interactions. Nevertheless, countries vary in a significant manner in their efforts to support gender equality. Indeed, countries such

as Sweden (83.6 % gender equality score) or Denmark (77.5 % score) ensure women a more equalitarian life as compared to countries such as Hungary (51.9%) or Greece (51.2%). Specifically, the UK (one of the two main countries where our studies took place) ranks 5 out of 28, with a score of 72.2% and is thus one of the most equalitarian countries on the list. Similarly, the Economic Forum (2020) finds a significant difference between countries such as Iceland, Norway, Finland, and Sweden, compared to less equalitarian countries such as Iraq or Yemen. In fact, both countries of origin for our participants emerge as rather equalitarian contexts as the US ranks 53 out of 149 countries included in this report whereas UK occupies a privileged 21st position. As such, given that norms are among the important determinants of people's ideological endorsement (Bourguignon et al., 2015), women's gender handling strategies in mixed-gender negotiations might vary significantly as a function of the level of gender equality in their country of origin. The support for sexblindness, for instance, might be less prevalent in less equalitarian countries. Future studies should examine if and how cross-cultural matters might affect women's gender ideologies in negotiations.

Clearly, future research may also explore the actual consequences of women's gender strategies in negotiation. As our research suggests, people believe that women should act more like men, especially in gender-congruent negotiations. Although some research shows that women recalling past agentic (i.e., typically male) behavior when preparing for an incongruent negotiation performed better (Bear & Babcock, 2017), at least two lines of work would disagree. First, women seem both more eager, and indeed more able, to negotiate successfully on gender-congruent topics (e.g., Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012). This may be due to them feeling more at ease to acknowledge their femininity in such circumstances (i.e., higher sexawareness due to a lower misfit perception)? If so, then assimilationism might be the opposite of what women need.

Secondly, the literature on the backlash effect (Bowles et al., 2007; Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 2001) similarly argues against assimilationism. Indeed, women's masculine approach is more likely to determine negative consequences than positive ones, as people commonly disapprove of a behavior that contradicts prevalent gender norms. If this applies to negotiations, then assimilationism is unlikely to elicit higher efficiency. Then again, if assimilationism is indeed the success norm in negotiations, as our research suggests, failing to comply might equally affect women negotiators. Further research will clarify this issue.

More importantly, assimilationism might not constitute a solution to women's problem, but rather an aggravating factor by suggesting that it takes a man or, at the very least, a woman acting like a man, to succeed. This would only perpetuate the status quo and prevailing negative stereotypes on women negotiators. In this context, playing the "catch-up" game in negotiations (Kennedy & Kray, 2015) would lead to some sort of paradox, hurting women's negotiating chances even more. Unravelling these important issues is definitely an item on our research agenda.

8. Conclusion

Together, our two experiments constitute an encouraging initial step in assessing general beliefs on the gender ideology-based strategies that women (should) use to handle mixed-gender negotiations. As our data suggests, people globally believe that women do not (and should not) consider gender as important at the mixed-gender bargaining table. However, they expect different topics to trigger different ideological endorsements from women negotiators. Specifically, people expect a feminine topic (unlike a masculine one) to increase women's level of sexawareness (i.e., gender acknowledgement). Participants do not expect this change in perspective to work in women's best interest and they would rather recommend women to conform to the manly stereotype of a good negotiator (i.e., to assimilate) in order to succeed. Further investigations are of utmost importance because gender-congruent topics are known to increase women's propensity to negotiate as well as their negotiating outcomes (Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012). There is thus a clear need for more knowledge about women's actual mindset in such contexts.

Notes

- 1) Following past work on gender in negotiation, we use the concept of gender effects across the manuscript to refer to the differences among male and female negotiators. To be sure, we could also talk of sex effects here, since we approach these differences in the biological meaning of this dichotomy, and not the socially constructed concepts corresponding to masculinity and femininity.
- 2) The measure was tested on 10 persons that were required to identify for each item corresponding to sexblindness, sexawareness and assimilationism the gender ideology category to which it belonged. No errors in identification emerged.
- 3) We initially included gender as a between-participants factor in the analysis. No main effect nor interaction involving gender came out significant. We dropped gender from the analyses to simplify the presentation of results.
- 4) Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity
- 5) 109 participants failed the manipulation check. Since results did not significantly change when dropping them from the analysis, in line with recent recommendations (e.g., Aronow et al., 2019) all 250 participants remained included in the reported results.
- 6) We initially included gender as a between-participants factor in the analysis. No main effect nor interaction involving gender came out significant. We therefore dropped this factor from the analyses to simplify the presentation of results.
- 7) Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity.

Chapter 4: Gender Ideology's Effects on Women in Gender Congruent and Incongruent Mixed-Gender Negotiations

Gender Ideology's Effects on Women in Gender Congruent and Incongruent Mixed-Gender Negotiations

Abstract

Recent research points to four possible gender ideologies in mixed-gender interactions. That is, one can focus on gender, either by seeing it as a way of mutual enrichment (sexawareness), or as a way to keep women and men apart (segregationism) or, on the contrary, they can ignore it, by either concentrating on people's unicity (sexblindness) or by expecting everyone to adjust to male norms (assimilationism, Hahn et al., 2015). In this article, we assess the simple and joint effects of topic and of women's gender ideologies on their propensity to negotiate, as well as on their approach of the bargaining process and eventually on their actual outcomes in mixed-gender negotiations. Building upon literature on the effects of gender ideologies on women in gender incongruent domains (Martin & Phillips, 2017, 2019) we first hypothesize that women would benefit more from downplaying gender than from acknowledging it when bargaining with a male counterpart on a gender incongruent topic. Given past work on role congruence in negotiation (Bear, 2011), we nevertheless hypothesize (and find) women more willing to negotiate when acknowledging (their) gender in a gender-congruent topic negotiation. In line with past work on women's modesty (Barron, 2003; Daubman et al., 1992; Gould & Slone, 1982), as well as on the different treatments that the two genders can expect when choosing to negotiate (Kray et al., 2014), women's first offers, their goals and expectations are however revealed to escape the positive effect of acknowledging (their) gender within gender congruent negotiations. In a related vein, women's actual outcomes in negotiations are not found to significantly vary as a function of the joint effect of gender ideologies and role congruence in negotiation. Results are discussed in terms of their general implications for women negotiators.

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1. Introduction

“Women don’t ask” (Babcock & Laschever, 2003). Regardless of whether they long for higher salaries or more help in the kitchen, they often ignore the benefits and importance of asking for what they want. As research reveals, they are up to 45 percent less likely than men to perceive negotiations as possible opportunities for change (Babcock & Laschever, 2003). Similarly, whereas men who have their first offers accepted in a negotiation regret not having the opportunity to bargain for more, women express feeling relieved for not having to further continue with the negotiation (Kray & Gelfand, 2009). Even when finally deciding to sit down at the bargaining table, women’s approach of negotiations is quite different from that of their male counterparts. They set lower goals and expectations, they are less assertive in their negotiating behavior, thus overall less efficient in getting what they want (e.g., Kray et al., 2001; Major & Konar, 1984; McFarlin et al., 1989). To no one’s surprise, this translates into overall lower salaries and social status for women and more household responsibilities, to only name a few of the long-term underpinnings of such an approach (Catalyst, 2017; Cerrato & Cifre, 2018). One question nevertheless persists. Are women always in a disadvantage when facing a male counterpart, or do various factors (e.g., the discussed topic and their overall perspective on how women and men negotiators should behave), interact in determining their fate in mixed-gender negotiations?

To take a step forward on the matter, in the present article we explore women’s propensity to embark negotiations, their approach of the mixed-gender bargaining table (i.e., their first offers, goals and expectations) as well as their actual negotiation outcomes as a function of the discussed topic (i.e., gender congruent as compared to gender incongruent) and of their gender ideologies (i.e., their perspective on how gender differences should be handled in mixed-gender interactions). In line with role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) and with recent findings in social psychology, we argue that a closer look at the gender ideologies women endorse on stereotypically feminine, as opposed to masculine negotiating topics is of the utmost importance to better understanding previously found gender effects in negotiation.

2. Role (In)Congruity in Negotiation

Researchers have strived for years to better comprehend why women seem to be both less willing and less able to handle negotiations than men. The general belief that a good negotiator must be endowed with stereotypically male traits (Kray et al., 2001; Williams & Best, 1982) seems to, at least partly, shed light on this dilemma. As role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) suggests, women likely experience a “lack-of-fit” in mixed-gender negotiations, given its stereotypically “male domain” connotation (Raiffa, 1982). As such, not only do they hold a presumed lower expertise given the gender incongruence of the field, but they also face more risk of social backlash (Rudman, 1998) for engaging in a gender incongruent activity. This, at its turn, most likely prevents women from performing at the

bargaining table, making them less willing to negotiate, and leading them towards lower first offers, negotiating goals and expectations.

Although such work seems to suggest that men are better fitted than women to win a negotiation, it does not report the only possible outcome at the bargaining table. As literature evidences, when gender-role incongruity is addressed, women become just as capable as men, if not more, to turn negotiations to their favor (e.g., Amanatullah & Morris, 2010; Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012; Kray et al., 2002). Previous work on stereotype regeneration, for instance, found that providing women with a different mind-set regarding negotiations, by leading them to believe that success is linked to more feminine attributes, erases the previously mentioned gender effects (Kray et al., 2002). In a similar vein, women apparently avoid the bargaining table more than men when the topic is masculine, but things stand differently when negotiating upon a traditionally feminine subject (e.g., gaining access for breastfeeding in the organization; Bear, 2011). When negotiations do occur, men make better negotiators on masculine topics, but women apparently take the lead when feminine subjects are discussed (e.g., jewelry selling; Bear & Babcock, 2012; but see Demoulin & Teixeira, 2016). As such, one's gender congruence to the task seems more than relevant to the study of gender effects in negotiation.

3. Strategies of Gender Handling in Mixed-Gender Interactions

Recently, literature raised awareness over yet another potentially significant variable in better understanding gender effects in negotiation. Gender ideology, i.e., one's perspective on how gender differences are to be handled when women and men interact (Koenig & Richeson, 2010), argues that people do not all, nor always respond to gender differences in the same way. Indeed, due to a multitude of factors (both personal and situational), one can either downplay these differences, by focusing on the uniqueness of each individual (i.e., sexblindness), or, on the contrary, they can perceive these differences as an important part of the decisions they are about to make (i.e., sexawareness).

Further nuancing the matter, Hahn et al. (2015) pointed out that there is also more than one way to both acknowledge and ignore gender. Indeed, downplaying gender differences by treating each person as an individual, regardless of their sex (i.e., the positively-valenced sexblindness) is not the same as ignoring gender in the sense of asking women to assimilate to male norms and behaviors (i.e., the negatively-valenced assimilationism). In a similar vein, acknowledging that women and men hold equally important, yet different, qualities (i.e., the positively-valenced sexawareness) is quite different from using these presumed differences to keep the two genders apart, with men in a superior position as compared to women (i.e., the negatively-valenced segregationism).

Over the past decade, several studies set up to explore the effects of both ignoring and acknowledging gender in women-men relationships. Despite some warnings that ignoring

gender might only perpetuate the current (less beneficial to women) status quo (Malicke, 2013), most of past work found sexblindness to be the most effective way for women to handle gender in organizational domains (Gündemir et al., 2019). As literature reveals, ignoring gender differences, rather than acknowledging them, increases women's confidence and actions necessary for reducing gender disparities in male-dominated domains (Martin & Phillips, 2017, 2019). It also challenges the stereotypically male valence of traits and behaviors like assertiveness, competitiveness, and risk taking, making it more acceptable for women to equally display such characteristics, and implicitly offering them a better chance to succeed (Torres & Martin, 2018).

4. Topic and Gender Ideologies at the Bargaining Table

Although past work has already separately explored both the effects of gender congruence in negotiation (Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012) and the consequences of women's gender ideologies in other male-valenced fields (Martin & Phillips, 2017, 2019), research is yet to assess how one's gender congruence to the task might interact with their gender ideologies in determining women's performances in mixed-gender negotiations. In the current paper we take a step forward on the matter, and explore the joint effects of women's gender ideology and of their gender congruence to the task on women's propensity to negotiate, their negotiation approach (i.e., their first offers, goals and expectations) and eventually on their actual outcomes at the mixed-gender bargaining table, as further detailed below.

Positive ideologies

The up to day literature portrays women activating in gender incongruent (to women) fields to benefit more from ignoring gender than from acknowledging it (Martin & Phillips, 2017), thus suggesting sexblindness as more beneficial to women than sexawareness in the equally male-valenced domain of negotiation (Williams & Best, 1982). Indeed, since gender downplaying makes women more confident in their abilities in male valenced circumstances (Martin & Phillips, 2017, 2019), it should commonly lead towards more willingness to negotiate, higher first offers, goals and expectations, and eventually better overall negotiation outcomes as compared to gender acknowledgement (Hypothesis 1).

Then again, past work also suggests that sexblindness might not always offer the best alternative for women negotiators. That is, research evidences that when gender-congruent (as opposed to gender incongruent to women) topics are discussed, women's propensity to negotiate enhances (Bear, 2011). Otherwise said, it would seem that women do in fact acknowledge (be it consciously or not) the potential leverage brought to them by their higher expertise on gender congruent (as opposed to gender incongruent) discussion subjects, and thus become less reluctant to embark negotiations in such circumstances as compared to contexts that they do not perceive as equally congruent to their gender. As such, sexawareness should instead lead women towards more willingness to negotiate (as compared to sexblindness) when femininely-valenced bargaining contexts are considered (Hypothesis 2).

Whereas literature seems clear as to what should be expected on women's motivation to embark negotiations, things stand quite differently when considering their actual approach of mixed-gender negotiations (i.e., their first offers, goals and expectations) and their overall performances in negotiations. Indeed, some work suggests these components to equally benefit from acknowledging gender on a gender congruent topic. That is, since a feminine discussion subject is more in tune to the feminine gender role (Eagly & Karau, 2002), then acknowledging it should lead women towards higher first offers, goals and expectations than ignoring it and to better overall performances as compared to gender-incongruent contexts. Moreover, women are known to perform better when negotiating on feminine tasks (Bear & Babcock, 2012). Acknowledging their gender leverage in gender congruent circumstances would therefore seem to work in women's favor. Building upon this line of research, one would expect women's approach of mixed-gender negotiations (i.e., their first offers, goals and expectations) and their overall performances to equally benefit from sexawareness within feminine topic negotiations (Hypothesis 3).

Some research would however challenge this prediction, suggesting that women's increased willingness to negotiate on a feminine context would not necessarily result in a different approach of mixed-gender negotiations, nor on better negotiation outcomes. That is, literature evidences that, although a more gender-congruent context should indeed make women less reluctant to embark negotiations, they might nevertheless take a step back when sizing their actual negotiating chances. Indeed, as past work evidences, women tend to present themselves more modestly as compared to men (Daubman et al., 1992; Gould & Slone, 1982), thus complying to the gender-role prescriptions that request for women to "be nice". As such, it is very plausible that women's first offers, goals and expectations would not increase, even if indeed feeling more at ease with the negotiating context. Rather of, given women's overall beliefs that others should and can determine their worth (Barron, 2003), these components would remain overall stable (i.e., not be subject to a significant joint effect of gender ideology and women's congruence to the task, Alternative Hypothesis 3a).

Moreover, women's outcomes in negotiation might equally escape the positive effects of acknowledging their gender in a gender congruent context. Indeed, literature reveals women to commonly receive a differential (less flattering) treatment as compared to men, even when employing similar negotiating tactics (Kray et al., 2014). As such, even if women would indeed acknowledge their gender leverage when facing a male counterpart on a feminine (i.e., gender congruent to women) negotiation topic, and implicitly act in a more confident manner, they might still receive (or, rather, perceive) the same "negotiation outlier" treatment from their counterpart. Otherwise said, the positive effects of sexawareness might be tempered, and women's performances might not increase when acknowledging gender in gender congruent negotiations (i.e., remain rather stable throughout the proposed experimental conditions, Alternative Hypothesis 3b).

Negative ideologies

Whether they argue in favor of acknowledging or ignoring gender differences, negative ideologies implicitly suggest women to hold an inferior position, i.e., less power than their male counterparts. Since women's propensity to initiate negotiations and their negotiating performances are known to be a function of the perceived power (Small et al., 2007), such ideologies should therefore not determine a higher willingness to negotiate, nor improved first offers, goals, expectations or negotiation outcomes, regardless of the considered topic.

Indeed, though a feminine topic might make women feel better fitted than men to approach the subject, the negative valence of segregationism should nevertheless remind them that women are overall less capable than men, thus counteracting the positive effects of the feminine subject. Furthermore, a segregationist approach would likely be expected to elicit reactance from their male counterparts, given negotiation's stereotypically masculine valence (Kray et al., 2001, 2002; Raiffa, 1982; Williams & Best, 1982). As such, even if women might be tempted to capitalize on this higher gender congruence, they would most likely expect a negative response to their over-asserting their gender leverage. Consequently, unlike its positive correlate (i.e., sexawareness), a segregationist perspective should not lead to a higher willingness to negotiate, nor to better first offers, goals, expectations or outcomes, regardless of the discussed topic.

An assimilationist approach is equally unlikely to lead to more willingness to negotiate, nor to higher first offers, goals, expectations or negotiation performances, regardless of the considered topic. Indeed, assimilationism implicitly argues that women's gender is detrimental for them in negotiations and, consequently, women should try to resemble men more (Hahn et al., 2015) in order to win. This should affect women's overall self-confidence in negotiations, making them less willing to embark negotiations and leading towards lower first offers, goals and expectations, and eventually poorer negotiation outcomes. Furthermore, although people do believe to some extent that behaving like a man is the way to succeed (Manea et al., 2019), a gender-incongruent behavior (i.e., a woman acting like a man) would likely be perceived as opening the door to social backlash (Bowles et al., 2007). As such, no matter the topic, assimilationism should not benefit women in the negotiation context.

Regardless of the negotiating topic, negative ideologies should therefore make women less, rather than more confident in their chances, thus negatively impacting their overall fate at the bargaining table (Hypothesis 4).

5. Overview of the Studies

In three studies, we assess women's decision to negotiate, their first offer intents, goals, expectations and eventually their overall performances in mixed gender negotiations. In the first study, we expose participants to an online hypothetical mixed-gender work negotiation, and we assess the effects of gender ideology's valence (positive *versus* negative), of its focus (acknowledging *versus* ignoring gender differences), of the negotiation topic (feminine *versus* masculine) and their joint action on women's willingness to negotiate, their aspiration

points and their expectations in negotiation. In the second study, we place women in what they believe to be an actual negotiating context, in order to increase their emotional involvement in the task. We re-focus our attention solely on the two main ideologies, i.e., sexblindness and sexawareness, and we explore women's first offers, their aspiration points and their expectations when being led to believe that a real mixed-gender negotiation will occur. The third study introduces women to an actual negotiating context and again explores their first offers, their self-reported goals and expectations, but also their actual bargaining performances when being primed with sexblindness vs. sexawareness in mixed-gender negotiations.

6. Study 1

In Study 1, we assessed the joint effects of topic and gender ideology on women's propensity to negotiate, their goals and expectations in negotiation.

6.1 Method

Participants and design

A priori power analysis using the effect size reported by Martin and Phillips (2017) indicated that 224 participants would ensure 85% power for detecting a medium sized effect with a .05 significance level. We secured 300 women participants to accommodate for loss of participants and overestimation of effect size. They ranged between 18 to 71 years in age ($M_{\text{age}} = 37.2$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 12.2$) and were native English speakers. We used a 2 (gender ideology's valence: positive vs. negative) $\times$ 2 (gender ideology's focus on differentiation: acknowledging vs. ignoring gender) $\times$ 2 (topic: feminine vs. masculine) between-participants experimental design. Participants were randomly placed in one of the 8 experimental conditions upon accessing a Qualtrics Questionnaire, with women's decision to negotiate, their aspiration points and expectations in the negotiation acting as dependent variables.

Procedure

We invited participants through the Prolific crowdsourcing platform (www.prolific.ac) to take part in a study on intergroup relations. Upon acceptance, they first read a presumed article pleading in favor of one of the four gender ideologies (either sexblindness, sexawareness, segregationism or assimilationism – see Appendix 3) and brought arguments to support the gender approach they had been exposed to (manipulation check). They were then requested to offer their perspective on the best way to handle a work challenge, i.e., deciding, along with male colleague, on the best choices to be made in organizing the annual work Christmas party. They were informed that the two had to decide on either the decorations (feminine topic condition) or the alcoholic drinks to be served at the party (masculine topic), but that their opposite-gender colleague had very different views on what the outcome should be. Subsequently, we first asked them to rate, on a scale going from 1 (=extremely unlikely) to 7 (= extremely likely), how likely would it be that they would

attempt to negotiate with their colleague for the desired outcome (see Appendix 4 for an overview of the stories). The hypothetical scenario then investigated (on a similar 1-7 Likert scale, for expectations, and on a 1-5 scale for aspiration points) how hard they would be willing to fight for what they want (i.e., their goals) and how likely it would be for them to finally convince their counterpart (i.e., their expectations), should they eventually embark negotiations. Upon completion, participants provided demographic data, were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

6.2 Results

Correlations among the three dependent variables were computed. Women's negotiating goals and expectations highly correlated, $r_{(300)} = .49$, $p < .001$. In a similar vein, women's decision to negotiate significantly correlated to their expectations in negotiations, $r_{(300)} = .23$, $p < .001$. Women's goals and their decision to negotiate also correlated, $r_{(300)} = .17$, $p < .01$.

We submitted participant's responses to a 2 (topic: feminine vs. masculine) x 2 (gender ideology's valence: positive vs. negative) x 2 (gender ideology's focus on differentiation: acknowledging vs. ignoring gender) x 3 (negotiation outcomes: decision to negotiate vs. goals vs. expectations) mixed analysis of variance with the last factor varying within participants and the other varying between.

Turning to the within-subjects effects first, there was a main effect of negotiation outcomes, $F_{(1.733, 506.036)} = 725.718$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .71$, which was further qualified by a significant negotiation outcomes by Focus, $F_{(1.733, 506.036)} = 3.61$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .01$.

As expected, the between-subjects effects revealed a significant interaction among Topic, Valence and Focus on women's negotiating outcomes, $F_{(1,292)} = 6.14$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .02$ (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics for each dependent variable).

To decompose this interaction, we analyzed the effects of the three independent variables separately for each outcome. First, we found a significant three-way interaction between Topic, Valence, and Focus on women's decision to embark negotiations, $F_{(1,292)} = 5.72$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .01$. To probe for this interaction, separate analyses were conducted for the feminine and the masculine topics (see Table 1). No significant differences in women's willingness to negotiate emerged when exposing women to different gender ideologies on a masculine topic of negotiation, $\beta = -.439$, $t_{(149)} = -1.14$, *ns.*, sexblindness ($M=5.82$, $SD=1.24$), sexawareness ($M=5.78$, $SD=1.00$), assimilationism ($M=5.65$, $SD=1.35$) and segregationism ($M=6.06$, $SD=.802$) leading towards rather similar willingness to negotiate for this particular topic. In contrast, and as expected, a significant interaction of Valence and Focus on women's decisions to embark negotiations were found for the feminine topic of negotiation, $\beta = .846$, $t_{(149)} = 2.24$, $p < .05$. Further analysis revealed this significant interaction to be due to positive ideologies, $\beta = .648$, $t_{(74)} = 2.38$, $p < .05$. More precisely, as predicted, sexawareness ($M=6.03$, $SD=.716$) was more likely than sexblindness ($M=5.38$, $SD=1.42$) to lead women to embark feminine negotiations. On the other hand, as expected, no significant differences emerged for

the effect of negative ideologies on women's decision to embark negotiations carried upon a feminine topic, $\beta = -.216$, $t_{(74)} = -.793$, *ns.*, with assimilationism ($M=5.74$, $SD=1.33$) and segregationism ($M=5.33$, $SD=1.29$) leading towards an overall similar willingness to negotiate.

Table 1.

Responses as a function of topic, gender ideology's focus on differentiation and gender ideology's valence (Study 1)

Topic	Focus on Differentiation	Valence	Decision to negotiate	Goals*	Expectations
Feminine	No differentiation	Negative	5.74 (1.33)	3.15 (.687)	4.70 (1.17)
		Positive	5.38 (1.42)	3.00 (.947)	4.57 (1.41)
		Total	5.57 (1.37)	3.08 (.822)	4.64 (1.29)
	Differentiation	Negative	5.53 (1.29)	2.99 (.543)	4.46 (1.01)
		Positive	6.03 (.716)	2.97 (.768)	4.88 (.978)
		Total	5.78 (1.06)	2.98 (.664)	4.68 (1.01)
	Total	Negative	5.64 (1.31)	3.07 (.623)	4.59 (1.10)
		Positive	5.71 (1.16)	2.99 (.855)	4.73 (1.21)
		Total	5.67 (1.23)	3.03 (.747)	4.66 (1.15)
Masculine	No differentiation	Negative	5.65 (1.35)	3.25 (.843)	4.80 (1.05)
		Positive	5.82 (1.24)	2.99 (.664)	4.69 (.969)
		Total	5.73 (1.29)	3.12 (.767)	4.74 (1.01)
	Differentiation	Negative	6.06 (.802)	3.14 (.663)	4.72 (1.03)
		Positive	5.78 (1.00)	2.68 (.675)	4.27 (1.22)

Topic	Focus on Differentiation	Valence	Decision to negotiate	Goals*	Expectations
Total	Total	Total	5.92 (.915)	2.90 (.703)	4.49 (1.14)
		Negative	5.84 (1.13)	3.20 (.761)	4.76 (1.04)
		Positive	5.80 (1.12)	2.84 (.683)	4.48 (1.11)
	No differentiation	Total	5.82 (1.13)	3.02 (.743)	4.62 (1.08)
		Negative	5.70 (1.33)	3.20 (.766)	4.75 (1.11)
		Positive	5.60 (1.34)	3.00 (.810)	4.63 (1.20)
	Differentiation	Total	5.65 (1.33)	3.10 (.792)	4.69 (1.15)
		Negative	5.79 (1.10)	3.06 (.605)	4.59 (1.02)
		Positive	5.91 (.873)	2.83 (.733)	4.58 (1.14)
	Total	Total	5.85 (.992)	2.94 (.682)	4.58 (1.08)
		Negative	5.74 (1.22)	3.13 (.696)	4.67 (1.07)
		Positive	5.75 (1.14)	2.91 (.775)	4.60 (1.16)
		Total	5.75 (1.18)	3.02 (.744)	4.64 (1.11)

Note. Numbers in parentheses correspond to the standard deviations.

*For accuracy purposes, scores on the variable “goals” are reported on a scale from 1 to 5. All other scores are reported on a scale from 1 to 7.

Of interest, when decomposing the main interaction among Topic, Focus and Valence on women's decision to negotiate as a function of Valence, we only found a marginal interaction of Topic and Focus on positive ideologies, $\beta = -.680$, $t_{(74)} = -1.76$, $p = .07$. Further analysis revealed this marginal interaction to be due to the feminine topic, with sexawareness ($M=6.03$, $SD=.716$) leading to more willingness to negotiate than sexblindness ($M=5.38$, $SD=1.42$) when a gender congruent topic was considered. No other significant main, nor interaction effect emerged regarding positive ideologies. No significant effect was found on negative ideologies either, all $ts < 1.6$, *ns*.

Analysis conducted on the aspiration points of women negotiators did not reveal the presence of a significant 2 (topic: feminine vs. masculine) x 2 (gender ideology: positive vs. negative) x 2 (gender ideology: acknowledging vs. ignoring gender) interaction, $F_{(1, 292)} = .926$, *ns.* (see Table 1). A main effect of the valence of the ideology nevertheless emerged, with positive ideologies ($M=2.91$, $SD=.775$) unexpectedly leading towards overall lower aspiration points than negative ideologies ($M=3.13$, $SD=.696$), $F_{(1, 292)} = 6.68$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .02$. Similarly, analysis revealed a marginal effect of gender ideology's focus on differentiation on the goals of women negotiators, with ideologies that argue for acknowledging gender differences leading towards lower goals ($M=2.94$, $SD=.682$) than those arguing for ignoring such differences ($M=3.10$, $SD=.792$), $F_{(1, 292)} = 3.24$, $p = .07$, $\eta^2 = .01$.

The analysis investigating the joint effect of topic, gender ideology's valence and gender ideology's focus on differentiation on women's expectations in negotiation revealed only a marginal tendency towards interaction among Topic, Focus and Valence, $F_{(1, 292)} = 3.05$, $p = .08$, $\eta^2 = .01$, that did not however attain a significance soil. No main effect emerged either, all F s. < 2.71 , *ns.*

6.3 Discussion

Study 1 confirmed our predictions that gender ideologies and topic interact in determining women's willingness to embark negotiations. More precisely, in line with Hypothesis 2, women participants were significantly more willing to embark gender congruent negotiations when acknowledging gender (i.e., sexawareness), as compared to when ignoring it (i.e., sexblindness). We had predicted this pattern given the higher gender role congruency (Eagly & Karau, 2002) women were to experience when negotiating on a feminine topic. Meanwhile, no significant differences emerged when considering the masculine topic of negotiation (Hypothesis 1).

In line with our Alternative Hypothesis 3a, topic and gender ideology did not interact in determining women's aspiration points and expectations at the bargaining table. Otherwise said, as suggested by both past work on feminine modesty men (Daubman et al., 1992; Gould & Slone, 1982), and literature on the different outcomes women and men face when using similar tactics (Kray et al., 2014), women's goals and expectations did not change along with the gender ideology endorsed on differently congruent topics of negotiation.

One important limitation of this first study was its artificial nature. Indeed, it created a "make belief" situation, by asking women to consider a potential negotiation, without however exposing them to the possibility of an actual upcoming one. Consequently, although the study revealed, as expected, women to be more willing to negotiate when gender is made salient in gender-congruent circumstances, it did not clarify what their actual first step in negotiation would be, i.e. the first offers they would propose. We therefore intended to find

out whether this higher willingness to embark negotiation when gender is acknowledged on a gender-congruent matter would concretize in a more confident first step in the bargaining process (i.e., a higher first offer). We equally intended to verify whether a more realistic negotiating context would replicate the different results obtained when considering women's self-predicted outcomes.

Moreover, as predicted in our Hypothesis 4, this first study did not find negative ideologies to replicate the significant effects of their positive correlates on women negotiators. We therefore decided to simplify our design, and only consider sexblindness and sexawareness in the next studies that we propose.

7. Study 2

We designed Study 2 to replicate the findings of Study 1 while also addressing its main limitation – the lack of an actual negotiating context for women. To do this, we led women to believe that they would take part in a negotiation upon either a feminine or a masculine topic. Beside allowing us to verify the hypothesis regarding women's goals and expectations in negotiation in a less artificial setting, this new procedure permitted us to replace the willingness to negotiate variable with a more reliable indicator of women's starting point in negotiation, namely the first offers they intend to make in the bargaining process. We manipulated the negotiation topic (feminine *versus* masculine) and gender ideology (sexblindness *versus* sexawareness) and then assessed women's first offers, as well as their aspiration points and their expectations in each of the four experimental conditions.

7.1 Method

Design and participants

A priori analysis using the effect size reported by Martin and Phillips (2017) indicated that 104 participants would ensure 85% power for detecting a medium sized effect with a .05 significance level. We secured 112 women participants to accommodate for loss of participants and overestimation of effect size. They ranged between 19 to 41 years in age ($M_{\text{age}} = 21.5$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 2.6$) and were students in various domains within a Belgian University (98.3% Belgian, 1.7% French nationality). We used a 2 (gender ideology: sexblindness vs. sexawareness) x 2 (topic: feminine vs. masculine) between-participants experimental design, with women being randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions. Gender ideology and the topic of negotiation acted as the independent variables, whereas women's first offers, their aspiration points and expectations in the negotiation were the considered dependent variables in the study.

Procedure

Results were collected as part of a master thesis project coordinated by the authors of the article. Participants were informed that they would take part in a laboratory study designed to gain a better understanding on the factors involved in a successful argumentation (see Appendix 5 for an overview of the materials used in study 2). During the first part of the experiment, after commenting upon two other argumentation issues, meant to derail their attention from the true purpose of the study (i.e., an article on artificial intelligence and a citation that they had to discuss), participants read an alleged article on the benefits of either sexblindness or sexawareness and offered arguments in favor of that ideology (manipulation check). They were then led to believe that they would soon negotiate with a counterpart *of the opposite gender* on either the *decorations (feminine topic)* or the *alcoholic drinks to be served in a New Year's Eve student party (masculine topic)*. They were offered a list of possible choices for decorations / alcoholic drinks, each being assigned a specific number of points (ranging from 1 to 8 for each of the available options). They learned that the male counterpart held opposite views on what the party should look like (i.e., a canvas that was reversed as compared to the participant's), thus needed to be convinced to change perspective. Participants were then asked to respond to an alleged pre-negotiation form, in fact the questionnaire that assessed participant's intended first offers, their goals and expectations for each of the three types of decorations (feminine experimental condition) / alcoholic drinks (masculine experimental condition) that they were presumably about to negotiate upon (i.e., the dependent variables in the current study). No actual negotiations followed. Upon completion, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation to the study.

7.2 Results

Correlations among the three dependent variables were investigated. Women's first offers in the negotiation and their expectations significantly correlated, $r_{(112)} = .36$, $p < .001$. The analysis conducted on women's goals and expectations also marginally correlated, $r_{(112)} = .17$, $p = .06$. Meanwhile, there was a nonsignificant correlation among women's first offers and their goals in negotiation, $r_{(112)} = .01$, *ns*.

We submitted participant's responses to a 2 (topic: feminine vs. masculine) x 2 (gender ideology: sexblindness vs. sexawareness) x 3 (negotiation outcomes: first offer vs. goals vs. expectations) mixed analysis of variance with the last factor varying within participants and the others varying within.

Turning to the within-subjects effects first, there was a main effect of negotiation outcomes, $F_{(1.683, 181.794)} = 160.893$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .59$, which was further qualified by both a topic, $F_{(1.683, 181.794)} = 7.06$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .06$ and a gender ideology interaction, $F_{(1.683, 181.794)} = 3.66$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$.

As expected, and replicating the pattern already found in Study 1, between participants effects revealed a significant interaction among gender ideology and topic on women's negotiating outcomes, $F_{(1, 108)} = 6.06$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .05$ (see Table 2 for descriptive statistics for each dependent variable).

Table 2.

Responses as a function of topic and gender ideology (Study 2)

Topic	Gender ideology	First offers	Goals	Expectations
Feminine	Sexawareness	5.32 (1.58)	3.27 (.463)	5.20 (.823)
	Sexblindness	6.75 (1.60)	3.61 (.932)	5.92 (1.15)
	Total	6.03 (1.73)	3.44 (.750)	5.56 (1.06)
Masculine	Sexawareness	5.64 (1.11)	3.86 (.982)	4.92 (.922)
	Sexblindness	5.96 (1.08)	3.86 (.656)	5.13 (.738)
	Total	5.80 (1.10)	3.86 (.827)	5.02 (.834)
Total	Sexawareness	5.48 (1.36)	3.57 (.818)	5.06 (.877)
	Sexblindness	6.35 (1.41)	3.74 (.809)	5.52 (1.04)
	Total	5.91 (1.45)	3.65 (.814)	5.29 (.987)

Note. Numbers in parentheses correspond to the standard deviations.

Further analysis conducted for each dependent variable separately revealed this interaction effect to be due to women's first offers in negotiation. More specifically, we found a significant joint effect of gender ideology and topic on women's first offer intents in negotiation, $F_{(1, 108)} = 4.56$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .04$. The feminine topic was found to be the one responsible for the interaction, with sexblindness ($M=6.75$, $SD=1.60$) determining significantly higher first offers than sexawareness ($M=5.32$, $SD=1.58$) when such a topic of negotiation is considered, $\beta = .714$, $t_{(55)} = 3.89$, $p < .0001$. Meanwhile, no significant differences emerged among first offers made in the sexaware ($M=5.64$, $SD=1.11$) and sexblind experimental conditions ($M=5.96$, $SD=1.08$) for a masculine topic of negotiations, $\beta = .161$, $t_{(55)} = .877$, *ns*. Alternatively, the sexblind ideology was found to be the one that leads to significant differences in first intents for a feminine and a masculine topic, $\beta = -.393$,

$t_{(55)} = -2.14, p < .05$, whereas no such differences were found when considering sexawareness, $\beta = .161, t_{(55)} = .877, ns$.

Gender ideology and topic were not found to interact in determining women's aspiration points in negotiations, $F_{(1, 108)} = 1.34, ns$. A main effect of topic nevertheless emerged, $F_{(1, 108)} = 8.06, p < .01, \eta^2 = .06$. More precisely, contrary to what we expected based on Bear and Babcock (2012), but similar to the results reported by Demoulin and Teixeira (2016), a feminine topic of negotiation ($M=3.44, SD=.750$) was found to lead to lower aspiration points than a masculine one ($M=3.86, SD=.827$).

No joint effect of topic and gender ideology emerged on women's expectations in negotiations either, $F_{(1, 108)} = 2.24, ns$. Both gender ideology, and topic were however found to significantly affect women's expectations in negotiations. More precisely, similarly to Bear and Babcock's 2012 pattern, women's expectations emerged higher on feminine ($M=5.56, SD=1.06$) than on masculine topics ($M=5.02, SD=8.34$), $F_{(1, 108)} = 9.40, p < .01, \eta^2 = .08$. On a related vein, expectations were higher when women were primed with sexblindness ($M=5.52, SD=1.04$), as opposed to when they were exposed to sexawareness ($M=5.06, SD=.877$), $F_{(1, 108)} = 7.06, p < .01, \eta^2 = .06$.

7.3 Discussion

Study 2 aimed at testing the same predictions as in Study 1 while taking care to (at least partially) address its main limitation – the lack of an actual negotiating context for women. To this point, women were now led to believe that they would take part in an actual negotiation, which allowed us to replace women's willingness to negotiate with a more reliable indicator of their starting point in negotiation, namely the first offers that they would propose at the bargaining table. It also permitted us to verify in a less artificial context the (lack of) joint effect of topic and gender ideology on women's goals and expectations in negotiations.

In line with our alternative hypothesis 3a, the positive effects of sexawareness revealed in the previous study (i.e., the increased propensity to embark a gender congruent negotiation) did not equally materialize in increased first offers in negotiation. Somewhat surprisingly, sexblindness even led to significantly higher first offers than sexawareness when a feminine (i.e., gender congruent) topic was considered.

Moreover, replicating the results of Study 1 and in contrast to both Hypothesis 1 and the research results at the roots of this first hypothesis (Martin & Phillips, 2017), although the overall tendency did in fact follow the predicted pattern, no significant differences emerged when women endorsed sexblindness as opposed to sexawareness on a masculine (i.e., gender incongruent to women) topic of negotiations

Replicating the results of study 1, introducing women to what they considered to be an actual negotiating context did not lead to a joint effect of topic and gender ideology on women's goals and expectations in negotiation. Indeed, both topic and gender ideology were

found to separately affect women's expectations in negotiations. More specifically, replicating the pattern previously found by Bear & Babcock (2012), the feminine topic lead to overall higher expectations in negotiations. Topic and gender ideology did not however interact in determining women's expectations in negotiations. In a similar vein, women's aspiration points were found to vary as a function of the negotiation topic (being higher in masculine negotiations, in a mirror image of Demoulin & Teixeira's 2016 results). They, nevertheless, again, did not prove subject to a joint effect of topic and gender ideology (Alternative Hypothesis 3a).

8. Study 3

Though the previously presented studies did assess women's preliminary steps in negotiation, they did not equally consider women's actual performances in negotiation. In Study 3, we take a step further as to eliminate this limitation. We again manipulate the negotiation topic (feminine *versus* masculine) and gender ideology (sexblindness *versus* sexawareness) and we assess women's first offers, their aspiration points, their expectations, but also their actual negotiating performances in each of the four experimental conditions.

8.1 Method

Design and participants

We secured 134 women participants for this study, to comply with the requirements of the power analysis previously conducted based on the size effects reported by Martin and Phillips (2017). They were all students in a Belgian university (mostly psychology majors, participating to gain credits for a methodology class), and they ranged between 19 to 30 years in age ($M_{\text{age}} = 20.4$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 1.7$). We again used a 2 (gender ideology: sexblindness vs. sexawareness) x 2 (topic: feminine vs. masculine) between-participants experimental design, to investigate women's first offers, their aspiration points and expectations in the negotiation. This time however, the actual negotiating performances were also added as a fourth dependent variable to this study.

Procedure

Results were collected as part of a master thesis project coordinated by the authors of the article. Participants were invited to take part in a lab study presumably aimed to better understand factors leading to efficient communication. The study was conceptualized as including two separate tasks –the lecture of an article followed by participants answering a questionnaire (written communication), and a negotiation exercise against another student (oral communication). Although this other student was in fact a male confederate with very specific instructions on the answers and counterproposals to be given based on the participants' proposals, participants believed him to be another UCLouvain student.

The study began with participants reading the “article” on gender ideologies and offering their perspective on the matter. They were then presented with the instructions and context for their next exercise - the negotiation between two students on either the decorations (i.e., feminine topic) or the type of beer (i.e., masculine topic) to be served at an upcoming Christmas student party (see Appendix 6 for a more detailed perspective). They learned that their goal was to reach an agreement at the end of the negotiation while still obtaining as many points as possible. That is, each potential proposal was associated with a precise number of points in a provided table (ranging from the least profitable to the most profitable situation for the student). The table consisted out of 3 columns of 8 items, each associated with an amount of 1 to 8 points. Participants were informed that all combinations were possible, and that the other student received the exact same instructions, but that the number of points was reversed in his case (i.e., that his objectives are the exact opposite of those of the participant).

Participants were then informed that there would be 8 potential ‘negotiation rounds’, each including the participant’s proposal and the other (male) student’s counter-proposal. As such, the two negotiators should wait their turn and not interrupt the other, and they should each formulate proposals of one item per column at each turn. They were informed that if a deal would be reached before the 8th round, the exercise would stop. Conversely, their performance would be counted as 0 points, if they did not manage to agree at the end of the 8th round.

Once participants understood the proposed rules to the negotiation, they were requested to complete a pre-negotiation questionnaire, consisting out of 3 questions on their goals, expectations, and initial offers set in this exercise (in terms of points).

The male confederate then entered the room and the negotiation began with the participant’s first offer. At the end of the negotiation exercise, participants were thanked and informed on the upcoming debriefing session.

Both participants’ pre-negotiation measures (their intended first offers, their goals and expectations) and their actual results in the mixed-gender negotiation were considered as dependent variables in this particular study.

8.2 Results

Correlations among the four dependent variables were investigated. Women’s first offers in the negotiation significantly correlated with both the expectations, $r_{(135)} = .22, p < .01$, and with the actual negotiating outcomes, $r_{(135)} = .33, p < .001$, but not also with the negotiating goals, $r_{(135)} = .02, ns$. The analysis conducted on women’s goals revealed however a significant correlation with both the expectations in negotiation, $r_{(135)} = .18, p < .05$ and, marginally, with the actual negotiation outcomes, $r_{(135)} = .16, p = .05$. Women’s expectations in negotiation and their actual negotiating outcomes also correlated, $r_{(135)} = .31, p < .001$.

We submitted participant's responses to a 2 (topic: feminine vs. masculine) x 2 (gender ideology: sexblindness vs. sexawareness) x 4 (negotiation outcomes: first offer vs. goals vs. expectations vs. actual negotiating outcomes) mixed analysis of variance with the last factor varying within participants and the others varying within. The analysis only revealed a significant main effect of negotiation outcomes in the within participants effect, $F_{(2.263, 294.178)} = 1078.331, p < .001, \eta^2 = .59$. No other significant result emerged in the within, nor in the between participants effects, all F s. $< 2.45, ns$.

To get a clearer perspective on the matter, we submitted participants' responses to a 2 (gender ideology: sexblindness vs. sexawareness) x 2 (topic: feminine vs. masculine) analysis of variance, for each of the four dependent variables (first offers, aspiration points, expectations and negotiating outcomes) separately.

No significant interaction of gender ideology and topic emerged on women's first offers in negotiations, $F_{(1, 130)} = 2.00, ns$. A main effect of topic nevertheless emerged, $F_{(1, 130)} = 5.27, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$. More precisely, a feminine topic of negotiation ($M=6.80, SD=1.24$) was found to lead to higher first offers than a masculine one ($M=6.31, SD=1.31$). A marginal effect of ideology was also found, $F_{(1, 130)} = 3.93, p = .05, \eta^2 = .02$, suggesting a tendency towards higher first offers in the sexblind experimental condition ($M=6.77, SD=1.09$), compared to the sexaware one ($M=6.34, SD=1.45$). This tendency did not however manage to attain a significance soil.

Although women's expectations were not affected by the joint effect of gender ideology and topic either, $F_{(1, 130)} = 1.85, ns$, a main effect of topic emerged, $F_{(1, 130)} = 4.36, p < .05, \eta^2 = .03$, with women setting higher expectations on a feminine topic ($M=6.12, SD=1.10$), compared to a masculine topic of negotiation ($M=5.76, SD=.895$).

No significant results emerged when assessing the effects of gender ideology, topic, and their joint action on women's aspiration points, all F s $< 1.75, ns$, nor on their actual results in negotiation, all F s. $< .600, ns$.

8.3 Discussion

This third study was meant to offer a clearer perspective on the effects of gender ideology and topic on women's outcomes at the bargaining table by extending the research to also include concrete negotiations, thus allowing a true assessment of women's actual negotiating outcomes.

In line with past work on the benefits of a gender congruent topic on women negotiators (Bear & Babcock, 2012), both women's first offers and their expectations at the bargaining table increased in the case of the feminine (as opposed to the masculine) bargaining topic. Furthermore, following the trend set by past work on the effects of gender ideology on women in male-valenced fields (Martin & Phillips, 2017), sexblindness emerged as marginally more beneficial to women negotiators than sexawareness where women's first offers are concerned.

Then again, study 3 did not reveal a significant joint effect of topic and gender ideology on women's approach and outcomes in negotiation. Indeed, as predicted by our alternative hypothesis 3a and 3b, gender ideology and topic did not interact in determining women's first offers, goals and expectations at the bargaining table (alternative hypothesis 3a), nor in determining their actual negotiating outcomes (alternative hypothesis 3b). Of importance, these results replicate the one already found in both study 1 and study 2 on the lack of a joint effect of topic and gender ideology on women's goals and expectations in negotiation, suggesting that women's goals and expectations might indeed escape the positive effects of sexawareness when bargaining upon a gender congruent matter.

9. General Discussion

In three studies, we assessed the effects of gender ideology and topic on women's way of handling mixed-gender negotiations. In accordance with our predictions based on past work on gender congruence (Kray et al., 2002) and topic in negotiations (Bear, 2011), our research revealed a positive joint effect of sexawareness and a feminine topic on women's propensity to negotiate (Hypothesis 2). As expected, when women negotiators acknowledged (their) gender when bargaining to obtain a wanted outcome in a gender congruent (i.e., feminine) topic negotiation, their willingness to embark negotiations increased as compared to when considering a masculine (i.e., gender incongruent) bargaining topic. These results suggest that participants perceived, as expected, a gender congruent topic as leverage within mixed-gender interactions, and they implicitly acknowledged the positive effect of women capitalizing on such leverage by starting from a more confident point within negotiation.

As proposed by our alternative hypotheses 3a and 3b, women's next steps in the negotiation (i.e., their first offers, their goals and expectations) did not however follow the same pattern, and neither did their actual negotiation outcomes. That is, though women's motivation to negotiate did, as expected, benefit from more gender acknowledgement when considering negotiations on a gender congruent topic, the discussed subject and gender ideology did not equally interact in determining women's first offers, their goals and expectations at the bargaining table, nor their actual negotiation performances. Then again, as already mentioned, this does not come as a complete surprise, given both past work on feminine modesty (Daubman et al., 1992; Gould & Slone, 1982) and the fact women tend to be treated less favorably than men within mixed-gender negotiations, even when employing similar tactics as their male counterparts (Kray & Gelfand, 2009; Kray et al, 2014). As our study results reveal, there appears to be quite a gap among women's initial step in negotiation (their own, individual decision to embark negotiations) and what they actually aspire to and expect as a result of the negotiating process (aspects that are, de facto, depending on the upcoming interactions with their counterpart).

Moreover, negative ideologies did not interact with topic in determining women's first approach, nor their predicted self-outcomes at the mixed-gender bargaining table. We had predicted this lack of joint action (Hypothesis 4) given the negative valence of these

ideologies (Hahn et al., 2015), bound to counteract the positive effect of a gender congruent topic. Future research should nevertheless further investigate the matter, to get a clearer understanding of whether and how assimilationism and segregationism might affect women's approach of the bargaining table under different circumstances.

Though past work (Gundemir et al., 2019; Martin & Phillips, 2017; Torres & Martin, 2018) suggested a sexblind approach to increase women's confidence in mixed-gender interactions upon gender incongruent matters, our research did not find women's propensity to negotiate, nor their goals and expectations to be significantly higher when downplaying gender, as compared to when acknowledging it within male valenced negotiations. Indeed, although the hypothesized tendency did emerge, it did not reach the significance soil in any of our studies. Moreover, women's actual performances in negotiations did not vary in a significant manner when exposed to sexblindness and sexawareness on gender congruent as compared to gender incongruent discussion topics either.

Some limitations of the studies need however to be considered before definite conclusions are drawn on the matter. Follow-up discussions with the participants in both studies 2 and 3 (i.e., the lab experiments), for instance, revealed that despite the efforts made by the two experimenters to ensure the salience of the fact that women participants were about to negotiate with a counterpart of the opposite gender, this important aspect seems to have been ignored by some participants. Since this was a crucial information, caution needs to be exerted in further interpreting these results, even though the results of the three studies do indeed follow a very similar line. Further research should take a closer look at the matter, as to better understand the concrete circumstances under which sexblindness and sexawareness do indeed serve the interests of women negotiators at the mixed-gender bargaining table.

In a similar line, the participants to our lab studies were mostly psychology students in our university, thus, on the one side, they were potentially aware of some of the aspects relevant to the topic we approached, and, on the other side, they were used to taking part to social psychology studies. Although the researchers did control as much as possible the potential negative effect of this sample, one should nevertheless replicate the studies while using participants that do not present this potential risk.

Moreover, due to lack of resources, the master student that conducted the research in the third study was forced to use numerous accomplices among her own acquaintances (i.e., twelve male accomplices). As such, the high number of male accomplices might have played a part in the outcomes we obtained. Indeed, despite the common canvas the twelve accomplices followed, individual differences among them made might have led women participants to feel differently at ease during their negotiating role, thus potentially affecting the results. Future research should assess the actual negotiating results of women by either introducing them to a real negotiation with a (non-accomplice) male participant (the best option), or at the very least by ensuring one single accomplice to diminish the unwanted potential effects of the counterpart's individual differences.

As a set, these results represent an encouraging first step in better understanding the joint effect of topic and gender ideology on women's way of handling the negotiating process. They suggest that women's propensity to negotiate on a gender congruent topic stands to benefit from more gender acknowledgement. As our research showed, women are more willing to embark negotiations when acknowledging gender on a feminine topic. This is important, given that the first condition to getting what one wants is to be willing and able to ask for it. Moreover, through an anchoring effect, women's first steps in negotiation are important to their overall performances at the bargaining table (Galinsky & Mussweiler, 2001). Capitalizing upon this gender congruence would therefore seem to make sense, and more work is needed to better understand how this increased propensity to negotiate when women acknowledge (their) gender within gender congruent circumstances can be used to diminish previously reported gender effects in negotiation.

That is, we find the above reported discrepancy among women's propensity to negotiate and their approach and outcomes in negotiation as particularly intriguing. If women feel more willing to enter a negotiation with a counterpart of the opposite gender, then why don't their first offers, their goals and expectations similarly increase in such a context? Is it a matter of feminine modesty (Daubman et al., 1992; Gould & Slone, 1982) i.e., women do in fact believe that they stand more chances to succeed, but they feel reluctant to admit it, as it would break the gender rule that requires for them to "be nice"? Or are the differences instead caused by the more reflective process that occurs when women take the time to consider their actual chances in negotiation? That is, given the worse negotiating treatments women receive as compared to men, even when employing overall similar negotiating tactics (Kray et al., 2014), could it be that women re-adjust their mind-set (i.e., first offers, their goals and expectations) to match their past experiences and diminish the imminent cognitive dissonance, thus implicitly diminishing their chances of success? Or could it simply be the fact that women's decision to negotiate is a question of their own individual choices, whereas their first offers, their goals and expectations are more dependent on their interactions with a male counterpart (i.e., the prototypical winner at the mixed-gender bargaining table, Williams & Best, 1982)? Further studies should find interest in better understanding the reasons behind this lack of concordance among women's higher willingness to embark negotiations, and their actual approach and outcomes as a result of a bargaining process.

Exploring possible moderators of the effects of topic and gender ideology on women's negotiating outcomes should provide equally interesting input. As past work reveals, for instance, a feminine topic can work in women's favor at the bargaining table (i.e., jewelry negotiations, Bear & Babcock, 2012), but it can also represent a liability (e.g., household duties, Demoulin & Teixeira, 2016). As such, one would expect topic's perceived valence and the expected outcomes (i.e., wanted vs. unwanted outcomes) to also play a part in how endorsing different ideologies on differently congruent topics would translate in women's negotiating performances and behavior.

Assessing gender ideology's effects on women's negotiating performances in other gender congruent circumstances (e.g., a representation role, as opposed to a self-representing context, Amanatullah & Morris, 2010) might equally lead towards interesting results. Indeed, in a mirror image of what we found for topic, acknowledging gender should lead women towards more willingness to negotiate when in a representation role (i.e., gender congruent), whereas ignoring gender should lead towards more willingness to negotiate when women represent themselves. Further exploring the matter is for sure an intriguing direction for our future studies.

Most importantly, future studies should benefit from further assessing women's actual negotiating performances when endorsing different gender ideologies on feminine as opposed to masculine negotiating topics. Indeed, through an anchoring effect, women's sexawareness upon a gender congruent topic should end up positively impacting their negotiating performances. Then again, no such outcomes were found when testing this hypothesis within Study 3. Future work should assess whether these results would replicate when using a less potentially biased sample of participants and accomplices, to better understand whether and how gender ideologies and topic interact in determining women's fate in negotiation.

10. Conclusion

In this final chapter of the thesis, we have explored throughout three different studies the joint effect of topic and ideological endorsement on women negotiator's propensity to embark negotiations, as well as on their first offers, their goals and expectations and finally, on their actual negotiating outcomes. As the studies reveal, topic and gender ideologies seem to indeed interact in determining women's willingness to negotiate (i.e., women become more motivated to bargain with a male counterpart when acknowledging gender on a gender congruent subject). This is potentially important, since through an anchoring effect, one's first steps in negotiation can further impact the actual negotiating outcome (Galinsky & Mussweiler, 2001). Moreover, given that "women don't ask" (Babcock & Laschever, 2006), better understanding the circumstances under which this pattern changes and women become more willing to negotiate is of the utmost importance. Women's increased propensity to negotiate when acknowledging their gender in gender congruent negotiations is therefore an intriguing matter to further develop.

As a sum, the three studies that we have conducted on the joint effect of topic and gender ideology suggest that women's approach of gender within gender congruent (as compared to incongruent) contexts is indeed potentially relevant to the study of gender effects in mixed-gender negotiations. Further examining when and how these variables affect women negotiator's fate at the bargaining table is an important part on our future research agenda.

General Discussion

General Discussion

In the general discussion, I summarize and integrate the findings of the three empirical chapters presented above. Overall, building upon past work on both gender ideologies (e.g., Banchevsky & Park, 2018; Bourguignon et al., 2015; Hahn et al., 2015; Koenig & Richeson, 2010; Martin et al., 2018) and gender in negotiation (e.g., Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012; Miles & La Salle, 2008) we proposed, tested and evidenced several variables to significantly affect women's ideological endorsement in negotiation (i.e., context, social dominance orientation, sexism, the negotiating topic). On a complementary vein, we built upon literature (Babcock et al., 2006; Babcock & Laschaver, 2003; Martin & Phillips, 2017, 2019) to show that gender ideology interacts with other variables such as the discussed topic in determining women's propensity to negotiate. Of interest, we did however not find a similar interaction to emerge in the case of women's first offers, goals and expectations. Women's negotiating performances during real negotiations with a male counterpart equally escaped the benefits of acknowledging gender upon a gender congruent topic, an intriguing research result whose potential implications we discuss, but treat cautiously, given some limitations of this final study.

1. Summary of Findings

In the three empirical chapters, we have assessed first some of the antecedents (Chapters Two and Three), then some of the potential consequences (Chapter Four) of endorsing different gender ideologies in the field of negotiations. As such, we aimed to contribute to the research on both gender in negotiations and gender ideologies by better understanding when and how one's gender approach has the potential to affect their fate at the mixed-gender bargaining table. Chapter Two explored the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies of women and men negotiators, as well as the effect of inequity predisposing traits (SDO, benevolent and hostile sexism) on this contextual endorsement. In Chapter Three we re-focused our attention towards women negotiators, our main research target, and we assessed general beliefs on how women do, as compared to how they should handle gender differences as a function of the considered discussion topics. In the final empirical chapter, Chapter Four, we left behind the antecedents of gender ideologies and investigated possible consequences of endorsing different gender ideologies in negotiation. More precisely, we sought to better understand possible effects of women's ideological endorsement on their propensity to embark negotiations, as well as on their intended first offers, their self-predicted outcomes (i.e., their goals and expectations) and, finally, on their actual negotiating performances.

1.1 A New Research Field: Gender Ideologies in Negotiations

This thesis aimed to ensure a better understanding on how one's ideological endorsement might affect mixed-gender negotiations, a domain where gender effects had raised significant debates over the years. Indeed, "ask and you shall receive" is more than a proverbial saying, if one is to consider the host of studies arguing for the importance of negotiating in everyday life. As past work seems to suggest, women are nevertheless far from matching men's performances on the matter. That is, "women don't ask" (Babcock & Laschaver, 2003). They feel relieved when their first offers are accepted (Kray & Gelfand, 2009). They set lower goals and expectations, they are less assertive and less efficient in getting what they want (e.g., Kray et al., 2001; Major & Konar, 1984; McFarlin et al., 1989). As such, it hardly surprises that women's skills are still less recognized than those of men in professional contexts, and their levels of remuneration and career advancement follow a similar pattern (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013; Blum et al., 1994; Bowles et al., 2005; Bowles & McGinn, 2008; Ely et al., 2014; Gerhart & Rynes, 1991; Goodman et al., 2003; Hegewisch et al., 2015; Joshi, 2014; Kulik & Olekalns, 2012; Nadler & Nadler, 1987; Stevens et al., 1993; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999). Things are not much different in private contexts either. Despite the progresses made over the last decades, women are still handling most household duties (OECD, 2014), whereas gender equality is an objective yet to be attained (Horne et al., 2018; Sayer, 2016; Yee et al., 2011). The need for a better understanding of when and how gender ends up as a significant player at the bargaining table is thus self-evident.

To take a step forward on the matter, we considered the role of an ignored up-to-now, yet potentially important variable to better understanding previously reported gender effects in negotiation, i.e., gender ideology (one's perspective as to how gender differences should be handled when women and men interact, Koenig & Richeson, 2010). Building upon past work on both situational factors responsible for women's poorer negotiating motivation and performances (e.g., Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012; Miles & LaSalle, 2008) and gender ideology (e.g., Hahn et al., 2015; Koenig & Richeson, 2010), we posited that one's choice of gender ideology varies along with their gender congruence to the task (gender congruent vs. gender incongruent task) and their expected outcomes in the negotiation (wanted vs. unwanted outcomes). As the studies that we have conducted show, the proposed framework would indeed seem valid.

Importantly, two main questions guided our research from the beginning to its very end. Does women's manner of handling (their) gender in mixed-gender negotiations affect in any way their negotiating fate (i.e., their willingness to negotiate, the first offers they make, their self-predicted, and finally their actual negotiating outcomes)? And, in a complementary vein, are gender differences always handled in the same way within mixed-gender negotiations, or is one's choice to either acknowledge or ignore gender a function of various factors (e.g.,

context, topic, gender, individual differences) that interact in determining one's approach of gender in negotiations?

At the end of this research, I am confident to argue that one's ideological support is a dynamic and complex matter, one that has indeed the potential to impact behaviors and outcomes at the mixed-gender bargaining table. To argument this statement, in the following pages I will first synthesize the most significant findings on the antecedents of gender ideologies in negotiations, to then summarize our main findings on the possible consequences of women's ideological endorsement at the bargaining table.

1.2 Antecedents of Gender Ideology in Negotiation

In the first two empirical chapters, we have focused upon the antecedents of gender ideologies in negotiation, to better understand how different circumstances might affect one's ideological endorsement at the bargaining table.

In our first empirical chapter (Chapter Two), we tested women and men's approach of gender differences within different contexts of mixed-gender negotiations, as well as the effects of one's disparaging attitudes towards others (i.e., SDO, benevolent and hostile sexism) on this contextual endorsement.

Several clarifications need to be reminded to ensure a clear comprehension of our research results. First, though our thesis was particularly centered upon women negotiators (whose performances, unlike those of men, are known to be a function of negotiating circumstances – see for instance Kray & Gelfand, 2009; Leibbrand & List, 2015; Small et al., 2007; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999), this first empirical chapter considered both gender's ideological choices. Two important reasons motivated this procedural choice. First, negotiations do not occur in a vacuum. Rather off, they are the result of the two genders interacting to find common ground. In function of their own ideological preferences, men are therefore obviously bound to respond differently to women negotiator's strategies. Consequently, their reactions too, indubitably, end up affecting women's approach of negotiations. As such, a clearer perspective on how both women and men perceive and handle gender at the bargaining table is important. Secondly, although preliminary evidence suggested women and men might not necessarily differ in their contextual ideological endorsement (i.e., they both acknowledge gender more social contexts, but instead downplay it in professional ones, Koenig & Richeson, 2010), the limited number of male participants did not allow for a definite conclusion to be drawn. As such, we deemed it important to gain a clearer perspective on the matter.

Moreover, given both the insight brought by recent research on gender ideology (Hahn et al., 2015) and the particularities of the bargaining process, we opted to extend Koenig and Richeson's 2010 perspective by assessing context's role on one's preference not only for

sexblindness and sexawareness, but also for assimilationism. Building upon the concrete particularities of negotiations, we nevertheless did not equally consider segregationism, as keeping the two genders apart did not make sense in the mandatory interactionist bargaining process.

The results of our studies on the contextual choice of gender ideologies overall supported our predictions. Indeed, in line with nowadays society's general pledge to gender downplaying (European Commission, 2019), we found sexblindness to be the golden rule for both private and public negotiations. Then again, one's second choice of gender ideologies in negotiation was, as expected, a function of the considered context. That is, in accordance to our predictions, sexawareness prevailed over assimilationism in family negotiations, whereas the opposite pattern emerged for professional ones. Clearly, these results are congruent to the literature on the stereotypically male dominance of both professional contexts and negotiations themselves (Kray et al., 2001, 2002; Raiffa, 1982), and with past work on the contextual choice of gender ideologies (Koenig & Richeson, 2010).

Moreover, as expected, individual differences played an important part in this contextual ideological choice. More specifically, in line with past work on disparaging attitudes towards others and gender ideologies (Bourguignon et al., 2015; Folberg et al., 2017; Moya et al., 2007; Pratto et al., 2012; Sarlet et al., 2012), individuals highly predisposed towards social inequity (i.e., high SDOs, benevolent and hostile sexists) acknowledged gender even more than people low in such traits within family negotiations. As predicted, no significant differences emerged however for work negotiations, where assimilationism was similarly supported by both low and high SDOs, benevolent and hostile sexists. Indeed, given the stricter antidiscrimination rules and regulation that define most professional environments nowadays, workplaces are less likely to allow the display of potentially prejudicial tendencies, thus the obtained results in this field.

Chapter Three allowed a more nuanced perspective on the matter, by exploring general beliefs on how women do and should approach gender when negotiating upon gender congruent, as opposed to gender incongruent work matters. Like before, we both expected and found sexblindness to emerge as the golden rule in negotiations, regardless of all other circumstances. Participant's second choice of gender ideologies was however again revealed to vary in function of the negotiating circumstances. More specifically, in line with past work on gender and topic in negotiation (Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012; Miles & LaSalle, 2008), we both expected and found a general belief that when approaching a gender congruent topic, women would commonly act more in line with their gender role (i.e., that sexawareness would prevail over assimilationism). That is, women bargaining on feminine topics were indeed expected to commonly conform to the (still) assumed "normal" (i.e., communal) approach for women in nowadays society (see Eagly et al., 2019, for a recent meta-analysis), and acknowledge gender more in gender congruent circumstances. Based upon past work that argued for negotiations to represent more of a male domain (Kray et al., 2001, 2002; Raiffa, 1982; Williams & Best, 1982), and on the results of our previously

reported studies on context in negotiation, we however confirmed our predictions regarding a general belief that women would nevertheless be better off forgetting about gender and adopting a more manly approach.

1.3 Take-Home Message 1: Is Gender Commonly Acknowledged or Ignored in Negotiations?

As a sum, the studies that we have conducted on the antecedents of gender ideologies in negotiation evidenced sexblindness as the golden rule in mixed-gender negotiations. That is, regardless of the considered circumstances, people considered individual traits, and not gender to be the most significant determinants of how the mixed-gender bargaining table is approached. As such, the prevalent societal prescriptions towards focusing more on one's unicity than on their gender (European Commission, 2019) seem to indeed (at a declarative level, at least) have resonated in people's minds, leading to an overall preference for gender downplaying at the bargaining table.

However, as hypothesized and tested throughout our empirical studies, one's second choice of gender ideology seems to instead vary along with the concrete circumstances of negotiations. Indeed, our research suggests that, given the overall male domain connotation of negotiations (Kray et al., 2001, 2002; Raiffa, 1982; Williams & Best, 1982), people commonly view assimilationism as a more appropriate (and more likely to emerge) ideological choice than sexawareness when bargaining to obtain a wanted outcome in mixed-gender work negotiations. Things however take a different turn in less common (i.e., less male-connotated) negotiating circumstances, such as when negotiating within one's family (and even more so in the case of individuals endowed with disparaging attitudes towards others) or when bargaining to obtain a wanted outcome upon a stereotypically gender congruent topic. Indeed, in such cases, sexawareness would appear to take the lead over assimilationism. As such, our research concurs with past work that gender effects in negotiation are likely a function of situational factors (e.g., Small et al., 2007; Kray & Gelfand, 2009; Leibbrand & List, 2015). Future studies should find an intriguing field of research in further investigating the matter.

1.4 Effects of Ideological Endorsement on Women Negotiators

As mentioned above, our studies on the antecedents of gender ideologies found male-based contexts to lead to a somewhat different ideological endorsement than stereotypically feminine ones. We found these results intriguing, since feminine circumstances are also known to increase women's willingness to negotiate and even their negotiating outcomes as compared to male-based ones (see for instance Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012). Said otherwise, we deemed it plausible that these differences in women's negotiating fate might

be connected to their way of approaching (their) gender within male, as compared to female-based contexts. As such, in our last empirical chapter (Chapter Four) we refocused our attention on the effects of women's ideological endorsement on their propensity to negotiate, on their first offers, goals and expectations at the bargaining table, and eventually on their actual negotiating outcomes in gender congruent as compared to gender incongruent circumstances.

Confirming our predictions based on past work on both topic in negotiation (Bear, 2011) and the effects of gender ideologies (Gundemir et al., 2019; Martin & Phillips, 2017; Torres & Martin, 2018), the negotiating subject and one's ideological support were indeed found to interact in determining women's propensity to embark negotiations. More precisely, women proved more willing to negotiate when primed with sexawareness (rather than sexblindness) prior to a presumed gender-congruent negotiation, suggesting that women do indeed benefit from perceiving their gender as possible leverage in such circumstances. Since asking for what one wants is the number one condition for obtaining it, we find this research result to be particularly intriguing.

This increased motivation to embark negotiations when acknowledging (their) gender in a gender congruent context was however not followed by similarly increased first offers, negotiating goals and expectations. Though our main hypothesis on the matter was that women's first offers, their goals and expectations, and eventually their overall performances would equally benefit from women's sexawareness in gender-congruent negotiating contexts (see Bear & Babcock, 2012), these results did not come as a complete surprise. Indeed, past work had already found women to receive overall worse negotiating treatments than men, even when following identical scripts (Kray et al., 2014). As such, we deemed it plausible that, despite women's higher willingness to negotiate when acknowledging (their) gender on a feminine negotiating topic, they might nevertheless take a step back when assessing their actual negotiating chances and set less confident first offers, goals and expectations in the negotiation, a setback likely to also extend to their actual negotiation results. Moreover, literature on feminine modesty (Daubman et al., 1992; Gould & Slone, 1982) suggested this different pattern might emerge even if women would still trust their negotiating chances more in such circumstances. Indeed, asserting their claim in negotiations would come in conflict with the feminine prescription to "be nice". As such, women would seem to be subject to a double bind in negotiation, one likely to provide valuable insight on the previously reported gender effects in negotiation. Moreover, given that women define themselves in terms of their interpersonal relationships more than men (Cross & Madson, 1997) and are significantly more interested than men in the interpersonal dimension of negotiations (Kolb & Coolidge, 1991), it would not surprise if women would even (unconsciously) sabotage their own negotiation fate to keep their counterpart happy and thus maintain what might be perceived as a positive interaction with their male counterpart. Further research should take a second look at this matter, to better understand the reasons behind this discrepancy among women's propensity to embark negotiations and their first intentions, goals, expectations and even actual performances in negotiations. Indeed, to solve a problem one first needs to

comprehend it. As such, a clearer perspective on the matter should be of the utmost importance.

Although past work can indeed bring some potential insight on the above-mentioned results, caution needs nevertheless to be applied when interpreting the lack of joined effect of gender ideology and topic on women's negotiating performances. Indeed, several aspects of the study that we have conducted on gender ideology's effects on women's performances in negotiation could have benefited from further attention. The significant number of accomplices used throughout the study (i.e., 12 accomplices used to assess the effects of topic and gender ideologies on 135 women participants) might for instance have significantly influenced women's negotiating outcomes. The fact that this was not an actual negotiation, with important personal stakes at hand, but only a school assignment might have equally affected their overall performances. This possibility becomes even more relevant if we are to consider the fact that the participants to our study were university students in psychology, i.e., participants that might have detained knowledge on the matter, thus potentially altering results. Further research that eliminates such methodological issues is again needed before drawing a definite conclusion on whether gender ideology and topic interact in affecting women's performances in negotiation.

At the end of our research on the effects of gender ideology on women negotiators, we remain confident that further exploring the matter should help advance our understanding on the previously found gender effects in negotiation. Indeed, our studies found women to be more willing to embark negotiations when acknowledging gender on a gender-congruent topic. This is obviously important, since asking for what one wants is the first (necessary) step in obtaining it. Moreover, as literature reveals, one's first approach of negotiations is important to their final negotiating outcome (Galinsky & Mussweiler, 2001). As such, this increased propensity to negotiate when capitalizing upon their gender leverage on a gender-congruent topic might indeed prove important to women's overall negotiating chances, particularly when joined by further efforts to diminish women's fear of backlash and to ensure a general climate of gender equality at the bargaining table. Further research should continue to explore this path to gain a clearer understanding on previously reported gender effects in negotiation.

1.5 Take-Home Message 2: Should Gender Be Acknowledged or Ignored in Negotiations?

The studies conducted as part of our second line of research did not reveal any significant interaction of women's supported ideologies and the perceived gender (in)congruence of negotiations on their first offers, goals and expectations, nor on their actual negotiating outcomes. Nevertheless, women did emerge as more willing to negotiate on a gender congruent topic in negotiations carried upon feminine as compared to masculine subjects. Since one cannot win a negotiation unless they embark it (i.e., the potential case of women that "don't ask", Babcock & Laschaver, 2003, thus can obviously not gain ground),

acknowledging one's gender leverage in gender-congruent circumstances is obviously potentially beneficial to women negotiators. Future research should further explore the matter, to enhance our understanding on when and how women's ideological support might significantly affect their behavior and outcomes at the mixed-gender bargaining table and on how gender ideology might level the field for both genders in negotiations.

2. Limitations, Perspectives and Future Research

In this subsection, we will, at a first time, address some of the caveats of our work on the antecedents of gender ideologies at the mixed-gender bargaining table (and point to how these limitations can open the door to new studies), to then propose other promising directions of research on the matter. Secondly, we will switch perspectives and explore the potential limitations of our studies focused upon how gender ideologies might affect women negotiators (and propose manners of improving future work on this topic), before finally suggesting other potentially rewarding ideas to further expand research on gender ideology's effects in negotiation.

2.1 Antecedents of Gender Ideologies in Negotiation

2.1.1 New Research Directions Based upon the Limitations of Our Empirical Studies on The Antecedents of Gender Ideologies in Negotiation

Several limitations of our studies on the antecedents of gender ideologies in mixed-gender negotiations should be acknowledged, thus suggesting promising new research directions on the matter. First, throughout our studies, we have always assessed people's ideological endorsement either by recording their answers to questionnaires, or by exposing them to some sort of a make-belief negotiation. That is, we have never investigated the concrete responses that an actual (true) negotiating environment would elicit. As such, we can't exclude the possibility that people's reported ideological support might not accurately reflect the way they would indeed react when faced with a high stake mixed-gender negotiation in various contexts of their lives, but rather what they thought that was expected from them in terms of ideological endorsement (i.e., social desirability bias, Edwards, 1957). For instance, in nowadays society gender downplaying is considered, as already argued, an important part of the gender equality fight (European Commission, 2019). Consequently, there is a (small) possibility that participants massively supported sexblindness throughout experimental conditions to comply to these societal norms, without however fully adhering to such prescriptions. Future studies should further explore the matter in actual negotiating contexts, ones that correspond to real life-contexts negotiations, to thus verify the degree to which women's reported ideologies indeed match their truly endorsed ones.

Moreover, not all our research questions found a definite answer throughout the studies that were conducted in this thesis. Gender's role on the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies in mixed-gender negotiations, for instance, is yet to be fully understood. More specifically, although men's support for sexawareness in family (though not also in work) negotiations was indeed, as expected, overall higher than the one of women's in both reported studies on the matter (Chapter Two), this difference only managed to attain a statistical significance soil in one of them. As such, caution should be exerted in extending these results at a more general level. Further research should take a second look at the matter, to better understand whether and how the fact of being a woman or a man should indeed affect one's contextual endorsement of gender ideologies.

Another caveat of our studies, this time regarding our research on the role of topic on women's expected and recommended gender approach at the mixed-gender bargaining table, should equally be acknowledged, thus offering new intriguing ideas for further work. That is, in our online studies we have exposed participants to a make-belief negotiation – a story in which we invited them to follow a woman character (a new talent in advertising) throughout her negotiation with a male counterpart (the head of the cosmetics company). To increase the familiarity of the female character, we constantly referred to her as “Susan” (i.e., on a first-name basis), whereas the male counterpart was instead named by his last name (i.e., “Mr. Jones”). Although this methodological choice should indeed have made Susan more familiar to participants, and although during the actual conversation the male character only addressed the female one by her last name, and not by her first one, we cannot exclude the possibility that participants might have nevertheless perceived this methodological choice as sexist, thus affecting their reported ideological support. Indeed, should this misunderstanding have emerged, then it would make sense for them to try to balance the matter, by suggesting a more sexblind approach. Although the risk that this might have happened should be small, since this is not the only work to point to sexblindness as the overall preferred ideology in work environments (see Koenig & Richeson, 2010, and our own research on the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies), it can obviously not be excluded. Future research should make sure to avoid such procedural caveats, to ensure a less biased negotiating context, and implicitly a clearer perspective on the matter.

2.1.2 Other Potentially Significant Antecedents of Gender Ideologies in Mixed-Gender Negotiations

Though our research has indeed addressed some of the potential antecedents of gender ideologies in negotiation (i.e., context, some disparaging attitudes towards others, gender, topic), this is obviously but a first step in better understanding people's different choices of gender ideologies in negotiations. Various other (related or unrelated) factors might be of equal importance to the matter. Better understanding how such variables might affect one's ideological endorsement is definitely of the utmost importance.

Situational factors

Further expanding the meaning attached to the antecedents considered throughout our studies (i.e., topic, context, one's disparaging attitudes towards others) should, for instance, offer equally rewarding additional research lines. Indeed, interesting insight might also emerge when considering other aspects of the negotiating topic, such as their positive versus negative valence (i.e., avoiding negatively-valenced duties vs. negotiating on obtaining a new benefit), particularly in the field of family negotiations. That is, past work focused upon women's performances as a function of the negotiating topic revealed different outcomes to emerge when women negotiated on a negatively-valenced feminine topic as compared to when they considered a positively-valenced one (see Demoulin & Teixeira, 2016, as compared to Bear & Babcock, 2012). The gender-handling strategies used when negotiating upon topics such as household duties distributions (i.e., a negatively-valenced subject), might thus be quite different from the ones used when approaching the topic of the family's next holiday destination (i.e., a positively-valenced one). More clarification on the type of family negotiations under consideration should therefore lead to important insight on people's ideological preferences at the mixed-gender bargaining table. In a related vein, similar guidelines might apply when considering work instead of family negotiations. Indeed, as posited in our theoretical framework, bargaining to obtain a benefit on a gender congruent negotiation topic (i.e., negotiating on makeup) is quite different from bargaining to escape a gender congruent task (i.e., negating on who should make the coffee). Future research should take a closer look at the matter, as to better understand whether and how people's approach might vary as a function of the topic's valence.

Moreover, research focused upon other aspects of the negotiating context should lead to equally interesting results, especially where women negotiators are concerned. A closer look to how women would approach online, anonymous or text-based negotiations as compared to face-to-face ones, for instance, should offer intriguing data on people's stereotypes. Indeed, as literature argues, gender effects in negotiation are stronger in face-to-face than they are in anonymous or text-based negotiations. That is, women's behavior is more gender stereotypic when interacting face-to-face with a male counterpart (Stuhlmacher et al., 2007; Walters et al., 1998), and women face backlash when not conforming to gender norms (Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 2001). As such, women's choice of sexawareness should prevail over assimilationism in face-to-face interactions, but the opposite pattern might instead emerge when women approach a type of negotiation anonymizing them. Future research should look more closely to the matter, to further advance our knowledge on the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies in mixed-gender negotiations.

In a similar vein, considering other potential disparaging attitudes towards others besides the ones whose effects were already explored throughout our doctoral research might be important to our understanding on the factors prone to significantly affect one's ideological endorsement. Right-wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1981), for instance, might prove

equally prone to affect one's ideological preferences. That is, authoritarian individuals are known to present a high degree of adherence to traditions and social norms. As such, similarly to what we already found for individual high in social dominance orientation or sexism, authoritarians should prefer a more conservative manner of approaching gender (i.e., they should favor sexawareness over assimilationism), particularly within family negotiations, where gender roles are more salient than in public interactions. Future research should find an intriguing research field in further examining the effects of this and other disparaging attitudes towards others on the gender ideologies people turn to in mixed-gender negotiations.

The fact of acting upon a representation role as compared to representing themselves, for instance, might lead to different outcomes for women at the bargaining table. Indeed, past work revealed women to commonly encounter backlash when negotiating in their own behalf, since this agentic behavior is inconsistent with their feminine gender role. Things stand however differently when women represent others (Amanatullah, & Morris, 2010; Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013a), as in such a context they do not break, but in fact comply to the female gender prescription of being helpful, altruistic and nice. Implicitly, in such cases, less social backlash is expected (Wade, 2001). This is obviously potentially important. Since women negotiating for themselves expect repercussions, hiding gender under the proverbial negotiating carpet might often emerge as their best option in such a context. On the other hand, as already mentioned, negotiating from a representation role is more in accordance with female prescriptions of caring for others. Consequently, gender should be significantly more acknowledged in such circumstances, and even more so when women represent others in gender-congruent circumstances (i.e., on a feminine negotiating topic).

Moreover, women's gender identity might represent an equally important moderator of women's ideological endorsement. As literature on the Queen Bee phenomenon reveals, women who present a low connection to their gender group in professional environments distance themselves from their gender group in order to successfully integrate into a male work context (Derks et al., 2011a, b, 2016). As such work suggests, assimilationism should prevail over sexawareness significantly more in the case of women low in gender identification than in the case of women who highly identify with their gender group. In a related vein, future work might want to also lean upon the gender ideologies supported by various sexual minorities (e.g., gay or lesbian individuals). Indeed, one's gender identification might prove relevant to better understanding their gender ideologies. That is, sexual minorities might not comply to what expected in terms of gender ideologies from the sexual group they were born into, but instead reflect the pattern expected from the group that they in fact identify with. Future research should find interest in further exploring these and other variables potentially leading negotiators towards different ideological endorsements, as well as possible interactions of such variables to other factors that we have already approached.

Similarly, a closer look at the role of context's level of ambiguity on how women should behave during the negotiating process, as well as on what their negotiating outcome should

be, might offer equally intriguing insight on the antecedents of gender ideologies in negotiations. Indeed, past research argues that an ambiguous negotiating context increases the probability for gender effects in negotiation to emerge. On the other hand, enhancing women's knowledge on what constitutes an appropriate negotiating behavior and on what is expected from them helps diminish, if not fully eliminate these gender effects (Bowles et al., 2005; Kray & Gelfand, 2009). As such, significant differences might also emerge in women's ideological endorsement when bargaining in ambiguous as compared to clearer negotiating contexts. That is, given the overall male connotation of negotiations, ambiguous contexts should elicit a more manly approach (i.e., assimilationism) from women negotiators, one that would appear to be more in agreement to the overall negotiating prescriptions. On the other hand, when being clearly instructed as to what is expected from them, the pressure women feel might be diminished, or even erased, if one considers the fact that following these clearer instructions to the letter might be perceived as instead complying to the stereotype of the more responsible, hard-working feminine nature. As such, sexawareness should prevail in this type of negotiations. Future research should find a particularly interesting research field in further exploring the matter.

These are obviously not the only situational factors likely to lead to fruitful research. Exploring the potential effects of the perceived power on women's endorsed ideologies in negotiation, for instance, might also prove an interesting research direction. As past work reveals, both the empowerment of women through negotiating alternatives (Kray et al., 2004) and the increased psychological experience of power positively affect women's negotiating fate (Small et al., 2007). As such, the feeling of power seems to be important at the mixed-gender bargaining table. One would therefore not be surprised if it would equally influence women's choice of gender ideologies in negotiation. More specifically, in a similar line to what already found in our studies when considering gender-incongruent circumstances, women might opt for a more manly behavior (i.e., assimilationism) in low power conditions, to compensate for their presumed lower chances of success and to comply to the stereotypically prescribed manly approach in negotiations. Nevertheless, this preference for assimilationism should be replaced by more endorsement of sexawareness when women's feeling of power at the bargaining table is increased. Indeed, as our studies on the effects of the negotiating topic on women's approach of negotiation reveal, in more gender-congruent circumstances (i.e., high power conditions), women are expected to acknowledge gender more than in gender incongruent ones (i.e., low power conditions). Should these general beliefs indeed prove relevant, then high-power negotiating circumstances should equally elicit more sexawareness. A closer look to the effects of power on women's negotiating fate is obviously a potentially rewarding research direction for future studies.

Individual, demographic and cultural differences

Various individual, demographic or cultural variables might be equally important in better understanding women's ideological endorsement at the bargaining table.

The concept of gender equality, for instance, is not comparable across countries (Weziak-Bialowolska, 2014). Indeed, cross-cultural psychologists, have long warned that collectivistic cultures are quite different from individualistic ones (see for instance Hofstede, 2001), thus research conclusions should not necessarily extend from one category to the other. Indubitably, this should also apply for one's ideological endorsement in negotiations. That is, women from countries with a more significant history of gender equality norms arguing in favor of gender downplaying should obviously adhere more easily to such prescriptions as compared to female negotiators that are less exposed in their daily existence to such prescriptions. Western-European countries, for instance, register a higher level of gender equality (i.e., gender downplaying) measures than Eastern European ones (Weziak-Bialowolska, 2015). As such, one would expect, for instance, that the support for sexblindness would be significantly higher for women negotiators from Western societies, than it is for women coming from Eastern European ones. Similarly, a society that values a more agentic behavior (i.e., that promotes actively working to achieve one's goals) might determine a different ideological endorsement at the bargaining table as compared to one that would instead favor of a more collectivistic one. Future research should take a closer look to how women's (and men's, for that matter) ideological endorsement within collectivist as compared to individualist cultures might vary as a function of normative societal prescriptions.

Racial cues might also prove relevant to women's ideological endorsement in negotiations, particularly when considering possible interactions of one's race with their gender. In fact, past work has already found a significant joint effect of race and gender on one's negotiating behavior. As literature reveals, white women report less confidence and less assertiveness in their salary requests and propose lower first offers as compared to white men. Surprisingly, no gender differences nevertheless emerge when considering Asian and Asian American participants (Toosi et al., 2018). In a similar vein, professional white women are reported as more conflict avoidant than professional black women (Shuter & Turner, 1997). Such studies are intriguing, through their implicit message that gender might not be the only one to affect one's ideological endorsement at the bargaining table. Rather of, gender and race might interact in determining one's gender approach at the bargaining table. That is, white women might be more prone to support assimilationism as compared to Asian Asian-American, or African - American ones, that seem to be less affected by gender effects in negotiations. On the other hand, past work suggests that in professional environments white women and black men leaders are conferred lower status when expressing dominance rather than communality, whereas black women and white men leaders are not (Livingstone et al., 2012). One question therefore emerges. Could this be related to the stereotype of the "aggressive, loud, rude, and pushy" Black woman (Collins, 2004)? And, if so, might Black female negotiators indeed be more prone to act in a more assimilationist manner than white women, or would this stereotype in fact make them even more likely to avoid a manly approach and to instead turn to sexawareness, as a way out of this stereotypical perspective? That is, literature portrays Black women as particularly interested in maintaining a feminine

image. More precisely, Black women emerge as more invested in and concerned with their appearance than White women and men of both races (Smith et al., 1999), and tending to devote a great deal of money, time, and attention to achieving and maintaining a feminine appearance (Craig, 2002; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). As such, sexawareness would seem to represent a more preferred negotiating choice for Black women. Future research should find an intriguing research field in better understanding the joint effect of race and gender on one's ideological support in negotiations.

Participant's age might also be important. Indeed, societies represent a dynamic construct, and what used to constitute an appropriate gender approach decades ago is not necessarily considered in the same manner today. Moreover, recent research revealed that although many aspects of traditional gender stereotypes still endure today, some traditional views have nevertheless suffered important changes over the last couple of decades, with women emerging as more independent and assertive nowadays than they used to be (Hentschel et al., 2019). As such, it would not surprise if one's ideological endorsement would also vary along with age. Older women, for instance, might acknowledge gender at the bargaining table significantly more than younger ones, particularly within family negotiations, the environment where gender roles are even more salient than in professional ones. Future research should further explore the matter, as to better understand whether and how one's ideological endorsement in mixed-gender negotiations might be affected by such individual characteristics.

Of similar interest might prove the assessment of how age and gender might interact in determining the gender ideologies one endorses in mixed-gender negotiations. Recent work (Martin et al., 2019) argues, for instance, that younger women's experiences do not necessarily extend to older women, which often escape the backlash younger women face when violating gender roles (e.g., when bargaining against a male counterpart). Somewhat ironically, on the other hand, older men instead become proscribed from behaviors that overlap with traditional male roles/expectations (Martin et al., 2019). As such, it would not surprise if age and gender would indeed interact in determining one's fate in mixed-gender negotiations. Indeed, future studies should find it particularly interesting to explore whether and how such variables might join hands to impact past reported gender effects in negotiation.

To sum up, future work should definitely consider the joint effect of various cultural, demographic and individual differences on the way gender is handled in negotiations, as well as the potential effects of such variables as a function of the situational cues people encounter at the mixed-gender bargaining table.

Interactional variables

Last, but definitely not least, studies should equally consider the importance of interactional variables to better understanding gender effects in negotiations. The male counterpart's own ideological endorsement, for instance, should prove more than relevant to

women's own approach of mixed-gender negotiations. That is, as mentioned before, negotiations are a matter of constant interactions among counterparts. As such, women's gender ideology-based strategies in negotiations might prove to be significantly affected by their male counterpart perspective on how gender differences should be handled at the mixed-gender bargaining table. Studies show, for instance, that women are often offered worse deals than men, even when employing similar negotiating tactics (Kray et al., 2014). This negative manner of acknowledging gender is obviously bound to affect how women themselves approach negotiations. One question therefore arises: does (would) women's gender approach change along with the (perceived) ideological endorsement of their counterparts? Does (would) different manners of treating women make them more at ease to acknowledge (their) gender in negotiations? To all probabilities, this should indeed be the case. Further assessing how the counterpart's ideological endorsement (and their response to women's gender handling strategies in negotiation, for that matter) might affect women's negotiating fate, should definitely lead to a better understanding of gender effects in negotiation.

Somewhat relatedly, the prevalent norms that guide mixed-gender interactions and negotiations at a given time should equally prove important. Indeed, diversity norms within an organization are already known to be an important predictor of employee's gender ideologies (Bourguignon et al., 2015). As such, one can easily understand how the counterpart's gender approach might be linked to the (explicit or implicit) organizational norms, norms that can either legitimize or prescribe against a given gender approach. The male counterpart's approach should thus present less profound effects on women in environments that are actively preoccupied with gender equality, as such a context would likely diminish both men's propensity to adopt a politically incorrect behavior, and the chances that such a behavior would escape unsanctioned. Then again, things might stand differently in contexts less interested in issues pertaining to gender equality, where a prejudicial behavior would have more chances to do damage than in the opposite situation. Future studies should find interest in better understanding how the male counterpart's ideological support and the norms promoted within different organizations or cultures might affect women negotiator's own gender ideology-based strategies in negotiations.

2.2 Consequences of Gender Ideologies in Negotiations

2.2.1 Perspectives of Future Research Meant to Better Understand the Results of Our Current Studies

The studies conducted on the consequences of gender ideologies also raise intriguing questions. For instance, our work on the effects of gender ideologies and topic on women's propensity to negotiate, their approach and performances in negotiation revealed women as more willing to negotiate when they acknowledge gender on a gender congruent task. Then again, these beneficial effects of sexawareness did not equally extend to their first offers,

goals and expectations in negotiations, nor did they impact women's overall negotiating performances. One question implicitly emerges: what exactly determines the discrepancy among women's higher propensity to negotiate within gender congruent circumstances and their actual steps taken when being exposed to sexawareness prior to a feminine negotiation (i.e., their first offers, their goals and expectations)? Is this discrepancy a matter of feminine modesty, as some lines of research would suggest (Daubman et al., 1992; Gould & Slone, 1982)? Is it women's way of maintaining relational harmony in mixed-gender negotiation (i.e., by conforming to the communal gender norms of "playing nice" and not offending their male counterpart by staking their claim on the male-valenced bargaining table)? Or is it more the result of years of explicit or implicit discrimination, that lead women towards more "ground-based" goals and expectations? Future studies should take a closer look at the matter, as to better understand the mechanisms behind the above-mentioned issue.

The lack of significance in the lab study in which we explored women's negotiating outcomes when primed with different ideologies on a feminine as compared to a masculine mixed-gender negotiation context, also raises additional questions. Was it a matter of bad manipulation, or are women's outcomes indeed unaffected by gender ideologies throughout different topic negotiations? If it is indeed a matter of procedural issues, then future studies should see how women respond to the task once the problem is contained, thus better understanding the concrete circumstances that help women overpass their negotiating dislike. If, however, the outcomes were in fact not affected by such issues, but represent the actual reality on the matter, then further investigating this gap among women's "first gut" and their actual negotiating choices and outcomes should represent an equally rewarding research project. At a theoretical level, such a project would help explain the above-mentioned gender effects. At a more practical one, better understanding the situation would provide much needed insight that can help identify the right strategies to fix it.

Another potential cave-in related to this last line of research regards the fact that our studies on the consequences of women's ideological endorsement in negotiation have all manipulated gender ideologies. Indeed, though we have indeed conducted a manipulation check after priming participants with each gender ideology, we never simply measured their initial endorsement of such ideologies. As such, the results of our manipulation check might have only reflected what participants understood that was expected from them (i.e., social desirability), and not their actual beliefs on the matter. Should this be the case, then it would obviously significantly affect our research results, and even more so, given that the participants to two of our studies on the consequences of gender ideologies in negotiations were psychology majors, that are used to such studies and might thus have intuited what was expected from them and offered exactly that. Future research should consider the alternative manner, and check if similar outcomes emerge when measuring, rather than manipulating women's ideological endorsement.

2.2.2 Other Potential Research Directions on the Consequences of Women's Gender Approach in Mixed-Gender Negotiations

Our research on the consequences of women's ideological support on their negotiating fate is obviously but a step forward on better understanding how women's gender ideologies affect their negotiating performances. Other potential lines of research should represent equally rewarding directions for future studies on the matter.

Our studies on how women are expected, as compared to how they would be recommended to approach (their) gender in negotiations in order to succeed found, for instance, a general belief that assimilationism should prevail over sexawareness for women to succeed in winning work negotiations. Literature on backlash effect (Bowles et al., 2007; Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999, 2001; Stuhlmacher & Linnabery, 2013) would however disagree, given that women are not responded well when adopting a manly (i.e., gender incongruent) behavior. As such, female negotiators are apparently subject to a double bind. On the one hand, if they follow through with gender prescriptions, their negotiating outcomes would likely fall behind what they would desire. On the other hand, if they forget about gender, and adopt a more manly behavior, as recommended by the participants to our studies for women to enhance their success chances, they would most likely be apprehended for this "gender-inappropriate" approach. This is not without importance, since women have been known to place a lot more value on relational aspects at the bargaining table than their male counterparts. Indeed, literature reveals that, unlike men, women tend to regard negotiations as part of a long process and are more reluctant than their male counterparts to seek immediate gains, instead preferring to focus more on the relationship with their counterpart (for an insightful review on the matter see Kray & Thompson, 2005). As such, this expected backlash might well stand at the origins of the expected women's choice to follow through with their gender norms, thus decreasing their success probability. Future work should find interest in further examining how this discrepancy translates into women negotiator's beliefs and concrete behaviors and outcomes in negotiations.

In a related vein, further exploring the effects of women's ideological support within different contexts of negotiation might also prove beneficial to advancing our knowledge on the importance of gender ideologies in negotiation. Indeed, our research on the contextual endorsement of gender ideologies revealed an overall preference for sexblindness, that was seconded by a support for either assimilationism (in professional negotiations) or for sexawareness (within private ones). But what (if anything) would change if women's ideological endorsement would be altered in each of the considered environments? Would women benefit from more gender downplaying within family negotiations? In some circumstances (i.e., when negotiating to avoid stereotypically feminine chores), they just might. Would work negotiations lead to better outcomes if women would acknowledge their gender more in professional contexts? As our preliminary studies on the consequences of gender ideologies reveal, sometimes (i.e., when approaching gender congruent negotiating

topics) this might also well be the case. Indeed, a clearer understanding of the effects that a change in the endorsed ideologies would produce in each environment might lead to a better comprehension of gender effects in negotiation.

Better understanding how other aspects of women's negotiating experience are affected by their ideological endorsement might offer an equally rewarding new research direction. That is, past work on gender effects in negotiations suggest that women's propensity to embark negotiations might not be the only component affected by their ideological endorsement. Rather of, one's gender approach should play an equally important part on other aspects, such as their emotional well-being or the actual behavioral patterns during negotiations. Indeed, past work reports that women dislike the negotiating process more than men do (Babcock et al., 2006; Kimmel et al., 1980; Small et al., 2007), a research conclusion that does not surprise, since, as already mentioned, the bargaining table is stereotypically perceived to be more of a male domain (Kray et al., 2001, 2002; Williams & Best, 1982). A clearer perspective on how this emotional well-being is affected by women's ideological endorsement within different negotiating contexts should therefore offer important insight on better understanding gender effects at the bargaining table. More specifically, acknowledging their gender should commonly elicit rather negative feelings (e.g., increased anxiety) for women negotiators, given their overall presumed incongruence in negotiations (Kray et al., 2001). However, things might stand differently within gender-congruent circumstances (e.g., when feminine topics are approached), in which contexts a higher gender acknowledgement should instead increase women's well-being, by making it ok to embark an otherwise "inappropriate" activity. Future research should find interest in further exploring this intriguing potential joined effect of gender ideology and gender congruence on women's well-being at the bargaining table.

Women's negotiating strategies and concrete negotiating behavior should equally benefit from being investigated as a function of the gender ideologies women endorse at the bargaining table. Indeed, better understanding how women's ideological endorsement translates into concrete negotiating strategies is obviously important. As already mentioned, throughout our research on topic's effects on the general beliefs people hold on women negotiator's ideological endorsement at the mixed-gender bargaining table we took a first step on the matter, by attempting to imagine how women's negotiating strategies would reflect their gender ideologies. Nevertheless, this was, as already stated, but an attempt to imagine such strategies. Further exploring women's actual negotiating strategies should offer important insight on whether and how gender ideologies affect women's concrete negotiating behavior, and implicitly their actual results in mixed-gender negotiations.

3. Conclusion

“A woman and a man sat down at the bargaining table”. Should we have skipped the first information, and simply state “Two people sat down at the bargaining table”? At a first glance, this would make sense. Skipping unnecessary details saves time. In negotiations, however, this information is definitely not redundant, given the host of research that has evidenced for years that women are both less willing, and less capable than their male counterparts to negotiate for a result in their favor.

In line with recent research on both gender ideology (Bourguignon et al., 2015; Hahn et al., 2015, Koenig & Richeson, 2010; Martin & Phillips, 2017) and gender in negotiation (Babcock, 2014; Bear, 2011; Bear & Babcock, 2012, 2017), our doctoral project further challenged this perspective, arguing that the way gender differences are handled might matter even more than gender itself. As such, we explored both antecedents, and consequences of gender ideologies in negotiation, as to better understand if and under what circumstances gender ideologies affect the outcomes of negotiations.

At this point in our research, we feel confident to assert that one’s gender approach in a mixed-gender negotiation is likely a function of various factors (i.e., context, individual differences, topic, norms) that interact in determining one’s ideological endorsement. At its turn, this ideological endorsement can either enhance or diminish women’s willingness to negotiate, and, though an anchoring effect (Galinsky & Mussweiler, 2001) implicitly alter the chances of women obtaining the outcomes they desire. A clearer perspective on the variables that significantly affect one’s way of handling gender differences, as well as the effects that gender ideologies bring along is therefore of the utmost importance for both negotiations and the evolution of society itself.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Scales used in Studies 1 & 2, Chapter 2

1. SDO (Social Dominance Orientation scale, Pratto et al., 2012)

- Some groups of people are just more worthy than others. (1)
- In getting what your group wants, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups. (2)
- It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others. (3)
- To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups. (4)
- If certain groups of people stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems. (5)
- It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom. (6)
- Inferior groups should stay in their place. (7)
- Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place. (8)
- It would be good if all groups could be equal. (9)
- Group equality should be our ideal. (10)
- All groups should be given an equal chance in life. (11)
- We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups. (12)
- We should increase social equality. (13)
- We would have fewer problems if we treated different groups more equally. (14)
- We should strive to make incomes more equal. (15)
- No one group should dominate in society. (16)

2. ASI (Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, Glick & Fiske, 2001)

- No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman. (1)
- Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality." (2)

In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men. (3)

Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist. (4)

Women are too easily offended. (5)

People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex. (6)

Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men. (7)

Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess. (8)

Women should be cherished and protected by men. (9)

Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them. (10)

Women seek to gain power by getting control over men. (11)

Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores. (12)

Men are complete without women. (13)

Women exaggerate problems they have at work. (14)

Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash. (15)

When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against. (16)

A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man. (17)

There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances. (18)

Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility. (19)

Men should be willing to sacrifice their own wellbeing in order to provide financially for the women in their lives. (20)

Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men. (21)

Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste. (22)

3. Gender ideology scales for work / social / family negotiations (adapted from Koenig & Richeson, 2010)

a. Work context

There is no reason to categorize our counterpart in a work negotiation as man or woman. (1)

Both men and women have unique qualities that contribute to the successful outcome of a work negotiation. (2)

Only by recognizing and celebrating the cultural differences between men and women we can assure they will both be satisfied with the work negotiation outcomes. (3)

We should describe work negotiators in terms of their individual traits rather than their gender. (4)

Recognizing differences between men and women undermines cooperation and success of work negotiation. (5)

It would be easier to negotiate at work if we could simply erase gender cues such as clothing and hairstyles of women and men. (6)

The differences between men and women should be acknowledged and celebrated in a work negotiation. (7)

It is important to recognize a person's gender in order to fully appreciate what their assets are at the bargaining table in a work context. (8)

We should adjust our behavior when negotiating at work with men versus women because men and women are different. (9)

Considering the differences between men and women causes unnecessary tension in a work negotiation. (10)

It is okay to treat men and women differently when we negotiate at work. (11)

We should try not to notice or think about whether our counterpart in a work negotiation is male or female. (12)

b. Social context

There is no reason to categorize our counterpart in a negotiation in our social group as man or woman. (1)

Both men and women have unique qualities that contribute to the successful outcome of a negotiation in the social group. (2)

Only by recognizing and celebrating the cultural differences between men and women we can assure they will both be satisfied with the outcomes of a negotiation in our social group. (3)

We should describe negotiators in our social group in terms of their individual traits rather than their gender. (4)

Recognizing differences between men and women undermines cooperation and success of negotiations in our social group. (5)

It would be easier to negotiate within our social group if we could simply erase gender cues such as clothing and hairstyles of women and men. (6)

The differences between men and women should be acknowledged and celebrated in a negotiation in the social group. (7)

It is important to recognize a person's gender in order to fully appreciate what their assets are at the bargaining table in a social group. (8)

We should adjust our behavior when negotiating in our social group with men versus women because men and women are different. (9)

Considering the differences between men and women causes unnecessary tension in a negotiation in the social group. (10)

It is okay to treat men and women differently when we negotiate in our social group. (11)

We should try not to notice or think about whether our counterpart in a negotiation in the social group is male or female. (12)

c. Family context

Men and women have similar approaches when they negotiate on a family matter. (1)

Men and women have unique, complementary qualities that need to work together in order to reach the best agreement in a family negotiation. (2)

The fact that women and men are different must be recognized and celebrated when negotiating on a family matter, so that the couple can reach a decision that best suits both. (3)

When we negotiate on a family matter with our spouses we should focus on their individual traits, and not think of them as men or women. (4)

Recognizing differences between men and women undermines cooperation and progress in a family negotiation. (5)

Things would be much easier in family negotiations if we could just erase gender cues such as clothing and haircuts of men and women. (6)

The differences between men and women should be acknowledged and celebrated when spouses negotiate on a family matter. (7)

It is important to acknowledge your partner's gender in order to fully appreciate their point of view in a family negotiation. (8)

We should take into account when negotiating with our spouses the fact that men and women are different, and we should adjust our behavior accordingly. (9)

Talking about differences between men and women causes unnecessary tension in family negotiations. (10)

It is okay to treat men and women differently when negotiating for an outcome that best fits both spouses. (11)

We should try to ignore the fact that our spouse is male or female when we try to find common ground on a family matter. (12)

Appendix 2: Supplementary material. Overall perspective on the method used in Chapter 3

Instructions to participants (Chapter 3)

A good insight on the way people respond to the challenges they face is very important in our day-to-day life. Being able to read social cues correctly and to respond to them in an appropriate manner is crucial, as it allows us to better adjust to the circumstances we encounter along the way.

We now invite you to accompany Susan, a new talent in advertisement, as she strives to land an important contract, and help us identify THE WAY you believe a young WOMAN like Susan WOULD NORMALLY APPROACH such a CHALLENGE in nowadays society (descriptive) / (...) SHOULD APPROACH such a CHALLENGE in order to WIN this negotiation (prescriptive).

You will read about several moments tied to Susan's attempt at landing the contract. We want you to tell us how likely it is, in your opinion, for each of the proposed scenario to describe HOW THE STORY WOULD NORMALLY GO for A WOMAN like Susan IN TODAY'S SOCIETY, by checking for each of them, on a scale going from extremely unlikely to extremely likely, the box that you consider fit (descriptive) / (...) how PLAUSIBLE it is, in your opinion, for each of the proposed scenario to lead to SUSAN'S SUCCESS story IN THE NEGOTIATION, by checking for each of them, on a scale going from extremely unlikely to extremely likely, the box that you consider fit (prescriptive).

Story used in Chapter 3

When she woke up that morning, Susan knew this will not be an easy day. She loved the idea of that natural line of make-up (after-shave / shower gel), and she was excited by the opportunity to advertise for these products. But in order to do that, she first had to land the contract. That meant convincing Mr. Jones, the head of the cosmetics company, that she was the best candidate for the job! This was not going to be a piece of cake, but she felt she was up to the challenge! She knew that this contract was the big break that she had been waiting for her whole life!

1. *She took a moment to collect her thoughts. She replayed in her head the whole make-up (after-shave / shower gel) commercial she was about to propose, again, and again, and everything looked just perfect.*

How likely would it be for a young woman like Susan in today's society for the story to continue as follows? (descriptive) / How likely is each of the following scenarios to lead to Susan's success story in this negotiation? (prescriptive) – reminder of norm added in study 2

She knew she was the best. Mr. Jones was a tough negotiator, but she had an important ace up her sleeve: a successful advertisement comes from a good insight on the target group, and no man could ever be a match for a woman on such a task. (SA)

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She knew she was the best. She had done research, she knew what the clients expected, she knew what the public was looking for in the product, she had experience in advertising for cosmetics, she was simply the best person for the job... (SB)

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She knew she was the best. Her advertisement was great, she just had to stand up for herself the way Mr. Jones (or any other guy, for that matter) would. The secret was making the client see her as a serious competitor, and not as “the lady advertiser”, and take her project seriously. (ASS)

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2. *She took a deep breath and got dressed. She looked in the mirror, and she remembered another make-up (after-shave / shower gel) commercial that she liked - a cat seeing the reflection of a lion in the mirror. It kind of reminded her of herself... She smiled and took a careful look at her outfit.*

How likely would it be for a young woman like Susan in today's society for the story to continue as follows? (descriptive) / How likely is each of the following scenarios to lead to Susan's success story in this negotiation? (prescriptive) – reminder of norm added in study 2

“This dress is perfect for my presentation. It says: I am a woman... thus I know what the target group wants, what they dream of, I know what they think about when they reach for the product in the morning! I could sell this with my eyes closed.” (SA)

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“Ok. All set. Come on, Susan, eyes on the prize! You are one of the best new talents in the advertisement business, you have worked hard on this project, everything will turn out just fine. Mr. Jones won't even know what hit him.” (SB)

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“Nice classic suit - check. Black briefcase – check. Expert look – check. Good... You look like that guy from that Business Magazine cover. Go get them, Wall Street. If they still don't get that you are the best “man” for the job, they are simply blind...” (ASS)

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3. *She put on her jacket and went to the car. An hour later, she was standing in front of the client's office, waiting for the meeting to begin. She looked at Mr. Jones and wondered how things would turn out in the end. She knew he was a tough negotiator, and that it was not going to be easy, but she knew she could do it. She couldn't wait to find out Mr. Jones's reaction to the make-up (after-shave / shower gel) commercial she proposed.*

How likely would it be for a young woman like Susan in today's society for the story to continue as follows? (descriptive) / How likely is each of the following scenarios to lead to Susan's success story in this negotiation? (prescriptive) – reminder of norm added in study 2

“Well, whatever it is, I can do this. He is a powerful player, but so am I. Besides, I have an advantage that Mr. Jones can never match: I am a woman, and a woman's touch is exactly what this advertisement needs.” (SA)

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“Well, whatever it is, I can do this. He is a powerful player, I'll give him that, but I am better. I have the brains, I have the knowledge, I have worked hard on this... It's time to collect on all of that hard work.” (SB)

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when advertising for a product, she talked about the complexity of the real people that would use the product and about the feelings that a commercial needed to awake in order to win hearts. (SA)

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Susan gave the best presentation of her life. She presented her commercial for the product in a confident way, she explained the reasons behind each of her choices, the researches her approach was based upon, she talked about the focus groups that loved her advertisement idea and were ready to go buy the product. (SB)

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Susan gave the best presentation of her life, one inspired from her own hard attempts to make it in the corporate world, that had taught her that success comes from being tough and determined. It talked about the privilege of becoming the best in the field, and of the feeling one gets when they can finally stand among the greatest men society had ever seen. (ASS)

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6. *The client was really impressed. Her presentation had been fantastic, and Susan had done a great job! He had heard other advertisement proposals for this make-up (after-shave / shower gel) line before Susan's, but her perspective was definitely one of the most convincing!*

How likely would it be for a young woman like Susan in today's society for the story to continue as follows? (descriptive) / How likely is each of the following scenarios to lead to Susan's success story in this negotiation? (prescriptive) – reminder of norm added in study 2

Susan's approach on what people look for in such a sensitive product came from both her expertise in advertisement and her obvious woman's insight on the target groups' hopes and dreams. Mr. Jones was too good of a businessman to ignore that. (SA)

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Susan had done her research, and the focus groups' feed-back was impressive. Mr. Jones knew how important it was to have such intelligent, hard-working people in his team. (SB)

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Susan had proved that she can do things as a man, and that was very impressing to Mr. Jones. That was the kind of people he liked having in his team. (ASS)

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7. Susan looked at Mr. Jones, waiting for the answer she feared and wanted at the same time. Would she be the next advertiser to make it to the “big league”? Did she do enough to convince such a tough negotiator that she was the best person to advertise for this make-up (after-shave / shower gel) line?
How likely would it be for a young woman like Susan in today's society for the story to continue as follows? (descriptive) / How likely is each of the following scenarios to lead to Susan's success story in this negotiation? (prescriptive) – reminder of norm added in study 2

“Well, whatever happens, you did your best”, she said to herself, as her heart pounded in her chest. “If he’s smart, he will see that it takes a woman to really understand what this advertisement needs and to send people running to the cosmetics shop. And that woman is definitely you.” (SA)

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“Well, whatever happens, you did your best”, she said to herself, as her heart pounded in her chest. “If he’s smart, he will see that this advertisement is exactly what the product needs in order to be a success.” (SB)

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“Well, whatever happens, you did your best”, she said to herself, as her heart pounded in her chest. “If he’s smart, he will see that you have just as much potential as any guy here, forget about the fact that you are a woman and realize that you are definitely the best for the job.” (ASS)

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Susan’s heart almost stopped when Mr. Jones ended the deliberation and presented his final decision on who the new advertiser for the make-up (after-shave / shower gel) line would be. How likely would it be for a young woman like Susan in today's society for the story to continue as follows? (descriptive) / How likely is each of the following scenarios to lead to Susan's success story in this negotiation? (prescriptive) – reminder of norm added in study 2
“Thank you all for the great advertisements you have proposed. I have now reached a decision, and the advertisement contract goes to Mrs. Susan Jones. Congratulations, Mrs. Jones! I look forward to our collaboration! You will be a great asset to our team.”

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8. As the night fell down on the City of Lights, Susan closed her eyes and put to sleep the emotions that had followed her throughout this whole day. She knew that the advertisement she had proposed was one of the best works she had ever done, and she had every reason to be proud of the way she had handled herself throughout this competition

Appendix 3: Vignettes used for sexawareness / sexblindness / assimilationism / segregationism in the Study 1, Chapter 4

Sexawareness

Embracing Differences is Key to Equality, New Research Suggests

Sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists all agree that gender issues are a top concern for today's society. Social scientists note that it is extremely important to understand that the key to gender equality lies in our ability to embrace gender differences, rather than deny them.

In a recent interview for *Psychology Today*, Dr. Katherine Richardson, author of *The Gender Paradox*, suggests that acknowledging the fact that women and men have their own strengths, weaknesses, experiences and issues makes all the difference. “I have interviewed dozens of successful women over the years: CEOs, politicians, women that have built companies from scratch. They were all different, but their success story was not. They all understood that women and men bring different perspectives to life, providing a richness in viewpoints, styles of interaction, and problem-solving strategies. I will never forget the first women CEO that I have interviewed. She was just amazing. Proud to be a woman, convinced that women can contribute in their own unique way, just like men do. Quite impressive. I later found such traits in all the successful women I interviewed over the years.”

“The notion of ‘the opposite sex’ has some truth,” says Michael Klein, a Sociology Professor at Columbia University, who agrees with Richardson’s point of view. “The genders are more different than they are alike. Understanding that men and women approach life tasks in different ways is productive to society,” says Klein.

Klein believes that men and women would be more successful, more satisfied with their lives and interact more cooperatively if people embraced the idea that the genders often approach situations and problems differently. According to Klein, understanding and utilizing women and men’s unique strong points would not only contribute to a more cooperative and efficient workplace, but could also help interpersonal relationships between men and women. Thus, social scientists encourage us to see the larger picture, and to appreciate that at our core, we are all different.

Sexblindness

Minimizing Differences is Key to Equality, New Research Suggests

Sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists all agree that gender issues are a top concern for today's society. Social scientists note that it is extremely important to stop focusing on the differences among women and men, and instead see each person as an individual.

In a recent interview for *Psychology Today*, Dr. Katherine Richardson, author of *The Gender Paradox*, suggests that acknowledging the fact that women and men are fundamentally the same makes all the difference. "I have interviewed dozens of successful women over the years: CEOs, politicians, women that have built companies from scratch. They were all different, but their success story was not. They all felt strongly about the fact that gender has nothing to do with one's success or failure. As they put it, not all women are the same, just as men are not all indigo copies of each other. I will never forget the first women CEO that I have interviewed. She was just amazing. She started laughing when I asked her if she ever felt that being a woman hurt her chances in professional environments. She firmly believed that gender issues are just a myth, and people are individuals at the workplace, not representatives of one gender or the other. Quite impressive. I later found such traits in all the successful women I interviewed over the years."

"The notion of 'the opposite sex' is really just a historical artifact," says Michael Klein, a Sociology Professor at Columbia University who agrees with Richardson's point of view. "The genders are much more alike than they are different. Pretending men and women approach life tasks in fundamentally different ways is counterproductive to society," says Klein.

Klein believes that men and women would be more successful, more satisfied with their lives and interact more cooperatively if people embraced the idea that the genders typically approach situations and problems in much the same way. According to Klein, understanding and focusing upon individual differences, not group differences, would not only contribute to a more cooperative and creative workplace, but could also help interpersonal relationships between men and women. Thus, social scientists encourage us to see the larger picture, and to appreciate that at our core, we really are all the same.

Assimilationism

The Right Mind-set is Key to Equality, New Research Suggests

Sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists all agree that gender issues are a top concern for today's society. Social scientists note that it is extremely important that people stop blaming gender for the successes or failures they experience in their daily lives.

In a recent interview for *Psychology Today*, Dr. Katherine Richardson, author of *The Gender Paradox*, suggests that it is not the gender, but the attitude that makes all the difference. “I have interviewed dozens of successful women over the years: CEOs, politicians, women that have built companies from scratch. They were all different, but their success story was not. They all worked hard, pushed the limits, broke stereotypes and understood that fighting for what you want is the only way to get it. I will never forget the first women CEO that I have interviewed. She was just amazing. And quite intimidating, I might add. Strong handshake, determined, strong-minded, assertive. Quite impressive. I later found such traits in all the successful women I interviewed over the years.”

“The notion of ‘the opposite sex’ is really just a historical artifact,” says Michael Klein, a Sociology Professor at Columbia University who agrees with Richardson’s point of view. “Centuries of patriarchal domination taught us that success is a male prerogative. Nothing could be further from the truth. Strong, capable women successfully lead countries, companies, political parties. It’s time to stop hiding behind gender and understand that the right mind-set is key to a productive society,” says Klein.

Klein believes that men and women would be more successful, more satisfied with their lives and interact more cooperatively if people left gender stereotypes behind. According to Klein, acknowledging that success is a matter of mind-set would not only contribute to a more cooperative workplace, but could also help improve interpersonal relationships between men and women. Thus, social scientists encourage us to see the larger picture, and to understand the right attitude makes all the difference.

Segregationism

Acknowledging that We Are Different is Key to Equality, New Research Suggests

Sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists all agree that gender issues are a top concern for today's society. Social scientists note that it is extremely important to recognize gender differences, rather than deny them.

In a recent interview for *Psychology Today*, Dr. Katherine Richardson, author of *The Gender Paradox*, suggests that acknowledging the fact that women and men are fundamentally different makes all the difference. "I have interviewed dozens of successful women over the years: CEOs, politicians, women that have built companies from scratch. They were all different, but their success story was not. They all understood that there is no point in denying the evidence. Women and men are different, they have different abilities, they excel at different things, they can achieve success in different domains. I will never forget the first women CEO that I have interviewed. She was just amazing. A true lady, convinced that no man can be a match for a woman when she is true to herself and follows her instincts on the fields where women excel. As she put it, you don't have to be the best at everything, just "the right woman, at the right place". Quite impressive. I later found such traits in all the successful women I interviewed over the years."

"The notion of 'the opposite sex' is scientifically valid," says Michael Klein, a Sociology Professor at Columbia University, who agrees with Richardson's point of view. "The genders are more different than they are alike. These differences are deep inside our nature. Understanding men and women are different and that each gender excels at different things is productive to society," says Klein.

Klein believes that men and women would be more successful, more satisfied with their lives, and interact more cooperatively if people understood that women are better at some things, just as men are better fit for others. According to Klein, understanding and putting to use women and men's unique abilities would not only contribute to a more cooperative and efficient workplace, but could also benefit interpersonal relationships between men and women. Thus, social scientists encourage us to see the larger picture, and to realize that we ARE different, and accept and embrace those differences.

Appendix 4: Stories used in Study 1, Chapter 4

1. Feminine topic experimental condition

Christmas time is almost here.

You and your colleagues are working on organizing the best party ever. Food, drinks, decorations, music, social activities are all on the "to do" list.

You are in charge of one of the most important parts of the party: decorations.

It is very important for you to do your best. You really want this party to be a success.

There is only one problem. There are two persons in the decoration committee, and Tom, your colleague, is not the easiest guy to convince.

In fact, he already let you know in a previous meeting that he does not share your opinions on the decorations you propose. You definitely expect a hard negotiation...

You weight your options. There is more than one way to handle this problem.

You wonder which one would be best....

How likely would it be for you to handle things in each of the following manners?

Negotiate with Tom for the outcome that you want. You can definitely convince him!

Extremely unlikely (1)	Moderately unlikely (2)	Slightly unlikely (3)
Neither likely nor unlikely (4)	Slightly likely (5)	Moderately likely (6)
Extremely likely (7)		

Go behind Tom's back and choose whatever you want. He can thank you later!

Extremely unlikely (1)	Moderately unlikely (2)	Slightly unlikely (3)
Neither likely nor unlikely (4)	Slightly likely (5)	Moderately likely (6)
Extremely likely (7)		

Go to your boss and ask to be the only one in charge of decorations. You would do better without him anyway...

Extremely unlikely (1)	Moderately unlikely (2)	Slightly unlikely (3)
Neither likely nor unlikely (4)	Slightly likely (5)	Moderately likely (6)
Extremely likely (7)		

Before doing anything else, you decide to talk to Tom one more time, to try to convince him that yours is the best way to go...

You can already see it: multicolored roses, beautiful gift-box shaped centerpieces for the table, red and white tablecloth... Definitely better than the "cheaper by the dozen" choices Tom wants to make... He is simply convinced that getting the cheapest decorations, but lots of them, is key to a successful party... You, on the other hand, would much rather have quality, than quantity.

What would be your goal in your negotiation with Tom? How much would you be ready to fight him on each of the types of decorations below?

	Not at all (1)	A little (2)	A moderate amount (3)	A lot (4)	A great deal (5)
<i>flowers</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>centerpiece</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>tablecloth</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>

Having realistic, yet satisfactory expectations is very important in a negotiation.

How likely would be for you to convince Tom to go your way on each of the decisions to be made?

flowers

*Extremely unlikely (1) Moderately unlikely (2) Slightly unlikely (3)
Neither likely nor unlikely (4) Slightly likely (5) Moderately likely (6)
Extremely likely (7)*

centerpiece

*Extremely unlikely (1) Moderately unlikely (2) Slightly unlikely (3)
Neither likely nor unlikely (4) Slightly likely (5) Moderately likely (6)
Extremely likely (7)*

tablecloth

*Extremely unlikely (1) Moderately unlikely (2) Slightly unlikely (3)
Neither likely nor unlikely (4) Slightly likely (5) Moderately likely (6)
Extremely likely (7)*

2. Masculine topic experimental condition

Christmas time is almost here.

You and your colleagues are working on organizing the best party ever. Food, drinks, decorations, music, social activities are all on the "to do" list.

You are in charge of one of the most important parts of the party: alcoholic drinks.

It is very important for you to do your best. You really want this party to be a success.

There is only one problem. There are two persons in the alcoholic drinks committee, and Tom, your colleague, is not the easiest guy to convince.

In fact, he already let you know in a previous meeting that he does not share your opinions on the decorations you propose. You definitely expect a hard negotiation...You weight your options and you realize that here is more than one way to handle this problem.

You wonder which one would be best....

How likely would it be for you to handle things in each of the following manners?

Negotiate with Tom for the outcome that you want. You can definitely convince him!

*Extremely unlikely (1) Moderately unlikely (2) Slightly unlikely (3)
Neither likely nor unlikely (4) Slightly likely (5) Moderately likely (6)
Extremely likely (7)*

Go behind Tom's back and choose whatever you want. He can thank you later!

*Extremely unlikely (1) Moderately unlikely (2) Slightly unlikely (3)
Neither likely nor unlikely (4) Slightly likely (5) Moderately likely (6)
Extremely likely (7)*

Go to your boss and ask to be the only one in charge of drinks for the party. You would do better without him anyway...

*Extremely unlikely (1) Moderately unlikely (2) Slightly unlikely (3)
Neither likely nor unlikely (4) Slightly likely (5) Moderately likely (6)
Extremely likely (7)*

Before doing anything else, you decide to talk to Tom one more time, to try to convince him that yours is the best way to go...

You make your plan. Scottish Whisky, French wine, Belgian beer... Definitely better than the "cheaper by the dozen" choices Tom wants to make... He is simply convinced that getting the cheapest drinks, but lots of them, is key to a successful party... You, on the other hand, would much rather have quality, than quantity.

What would be your goal in your negotiation with Tom? How much would you be ready to fight him on each of the types of drinks below?

	Not at all (1)	A little (2)	A moderate amount (3)	A lot (4)	A great deal (5)
Scottish whisky	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
French wine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Belgian beer	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Having realistic, yet satisfactory expectations is very important in a negotiation.

How likely would be for you to convince Tom to go your way on each of the decisions to be made?

	Extremely unlikely (1)	Moderately unlikely (2)	Slightly unlikely (3)	Neither likely nor unlikely (4)	Slightly likely (5)	Moderately likely (6)	Extremely likely (7)
Scottish whisky	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
French wine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Belgian beer	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Appendix 5: Materials used in Study 2, Chapter 4 (master's theses Marie Jamme, 2019-2020)

A. Introductory materials and vignettes used in study 2, Chapter 4

Argumentation écrite

La première partie de cette étude s'intéresse à l'argumentation écrite. Merci de lire les documents suivants avec attention et de répondre aux questionx qui suivent.

Document 1.

Faut-il avoir peur de l'intelligence artificielle ? Pendant longtemps, la peur de l'intelligence artificielle (IA) provenait essentiellement de technophobes ; ce n'est plus le cas. Des scientifiques, des gens dont le nom est synonyme de lendemains technologiques qui chantent lancent aujourd'hui des mises en garde. Alors, faut-il avoir peur de l'intelligence artificielle, et est-on bien certain de savoir ce qu'on met derrière ce concept ? Je suis allé poser la question à Michel Nachez, cyber anthropologue, c'est-à-dire qu'il étudie les rapports entre l'homme et la machine. Il est chargé de cours à l'université Marc-Bloch, à Strasbourg, et l'auteur d'un livre intitulé « Les Machines "intelligentes" et l'homme » (éd. Néo thèque, 2014). A votre avis, les scientifiques qui tirent la sonnette d'alarme ont-ils raison de le faire ? Michel Nachez : Oui, ils ont raison. On met au point des choses, on les teste, puis quand on les met en réel, on se rend compte qu'il y a des effets secondaires indésirables. Il y a des domaines où ça peut être tellement dangereux qu'on doit être absolument sûr avant d'avancer. Je pense qu'avant d'envoyer des robots connectés en réseau au sein de la population, il faudrait s'assurer qu'ils sont sécurisés, qu'ils ne sont pas « hackables », qu'ils aient un réseau interne mais pas ouvert sur Internet... Qu'est-ce qui pousse des scientifiques à s'inquiéter comme ça ? Difficile de savoir ce qui a poussé des gens comme Bill Gates ou Stephen Hawking à faire ces déclarations. Mais on peut se poser des questions parce qu'on est en train de toucher à beaucoup de choses qui peuvent se révéler très dangereuses : la manipulation génétique ; la bio-ingénierie, avec ceux qui considèrent qu'au fin fond de la biologie, ce ne sont que des machines, et se disent qu'au niveau nanotechnologique, on peut reprogrammer tout ça ; l'hybridation, avec ceux qui pensent à des systèmes informatiques dans le corps qui vont communiquer, voire à des connexions entre le cerveau et les réseaux informatiques. Ça bouillonne, ça s'interpénètre, et on arrive à une vision de convergence de ces sciences : l'émergence d'un monde dans lequel la robotique, l'informatique la biologie, vont fusionner.

C'est une vision de cauchemar pour beaucoup. Mais le premier sujet sur lequel la question va se poser, parce que c'est déjà en route, c'est celui de la surveillance. On a déjà « Prism » aux Etats-Unis, les Européens préparent leur propre système après les attentats... Il y a déjà des systèmes d'intelligence artificielle qui collectent des données sur beaucoup de personnes, à leur insu, et les surveillent. Un article de Pierre Haski publié le 11 avril 2015 pour la revue L'OBS

Veuillez donner 3 arguments contre l'intelligence artificielle (vous pouvez utiliser l'espace du verso si besoin) :

.....
.....
.....

Document 2.

« Les lois inutiles affaiblissent les lois nécessaires » Charles de Montesquieu

Veuillez donner 1 arguments pour OU contre cette citation:

.....
.....
.....

Document 3.

a. Sexawareness experimental condition

Hommes et femmes, tous les mêmes ?

Les sociologues, psychologues, économistes et scientifiques politiques s'accordent pour dire que le problème du genre est la préoccupation première dans notre société actuelle. Les sociologues font remarquer qu'il est extrêmement important de célébrer nos différences plutôt que de les nier. Dans cette optique, nous serions dans de meilleures conditions afin d'évoluer en tant que société si nous adoptions l'idée que les deux genres apportent différentes perspectives de vie, amenant ainsi une plus grande richesse dans les points de vue, de styles d'interaction et de stratégies de résolutions de problèmes. Chaque genre peut y contribuer de sa propre façon. Reconnaître cette diversité permettrait de générer un sentiment d'harmonie et de complémentarité parmi les hommes et les femmes. Les hommes et les

femmes ont leurs propres compétences, tout comme ils ont leurs propres lacunes, et c'est en reconnaissant ces forces et faiblesses que l'on valide la légitimité de chaque genre.

Le Docteur Katherine Richardson, auteur de « The gender paradox », suggère que la société serait meilleure si les gens reconnaissaient que les hommes et les femmes ont leurs propres forces, faiblesses, expériences, et problèmes. Reconnaître cette diversité aiderait à générer un sentiment d'harmonie et d'unité parmi les hommes et les femmes. Selon Richardson, « La chose la plus frappante des hommes et des femmes est ô combien ils sont différents ». Il y a une grande diversité parmi les deux groupes. La chose la plus importante est de prêter attention à ces différences ».

« La notion de sexe opposé apporte son lot de vérité » disait le professeur de sociologie de l'université de Columbia, Michael Klein, en accord avec le point de vue de Richardson. En effet, il cite : « Les genres sont plus différents qu'ils ne sont semblables ». Klein fait remarquer que ces différences pourraient avoir une raison biologique ou bien avoir été façonnées à travers nos cultures. En réalité, selon Klein, savoir d'où viennent les différences n'est pas réellement important. Il dit également que « Comprendre les différentes façons dont les hommes et les femmes abordent les tâches quotidiennes serait bénéfique pour la société ».

Klein pense que les hommes et les femmes seraient plus satisfaits dans leur vie et interagiraient de manière plus coopérative s'ils adoptaient l'idée suivante : les genres abordent souvent des façons différentes les problèmes et situations auxquelles ils font face. Toujours selon Klein, comprendre et utiliser le potentiel unique des hommes et femmes contribuerait, non seulement à plus de coopération et de créativité, mais aiderait aussi les hommes et les femmes à entretenir de meilleures relations interpersonnelles. Somme toute, les sociologues nous encouragent à entrevoir les choses de manière plus large et d'apprécier le fait que nous soyons vraiment différents.

Un article de Michelle Pelletier, publié le 11/08/2018 pour la revue Cerveau & Psycho

Veillez donner 3 arguments en faveur de cette perspective (vous pouvez utiliser le verso si besoin) :

.....

b. Sexblindness experimental condition

Homme et femme, si différent que ça ?

Les sociologues, psychologues, économistes et scientifiques politiques s'accordent pour dire que le problème du genre est la préoccupation première dans notre société actuelle. Les

sociologues font remarquer qu'il est extrêmement important de tenir compte de ce que nous dicte notre constitution qui cite : « Les hommes et les femmes sont égaux ». Dans cette optique, nous serions dans de meilleures conditions afin d'évoluer en tant que société si nous nous rappelions que, dans un premier temps, nous sommes tous humains et dans un second temps, tous des citoyens. Toujours selon cette perspective, il serait également propice pour la société d'arrêter de considérer les hommes et les femmes comme différents les uns des autres, et à la place, percevoir chaque personne en tant qu'individu.

Le Docteur Katherine Richardson, auteur de « The gender paradox », suggère que la société serait meilleure si les gens reconnaissaient que les hommes et les femmes sont bien plus similaires, qu'ils ne sont différents. Reconnaître cette similarité, permettrait de générer un sentiment d'harmonie et d'unité parmi les hommes et les femmes. Selon Richardson, « la chose la plus frappante entre les hommes et les femmes est ô combien ils se ressemblent. Il y a simplement tellement de points communs entre ces deux groupes. La chose la plus importante est de faire attention aux caractéristiques qui font qu'une personne est unique plutôt que de se concentrer sur son genre. »

« La notion de sexe opposé est réellement un artéfact historique, » disait le professeur de sociologie de l'université de Columbia, Michael Klein, en accord avec le point de vue de Richardson. En effet, il cite : « Les genres sont plus semblables qu'ils ne sont différents ». Klein fait remarquer que ces similarités pourraient avoir une raison biologique ou bien avoir été façonnées à travers nos cultures. En réalité, selon Klein, savoir d'où viennent les similarités n'est pas réellement important. Il dit également que « Prétendre que la façon d'aborder les tâches de la vie est fondamentalement différente en fonction que l'on soit un homme ou une femme, serait contre-productif vis-à-vis de la société ».

Klein pense que les hommes et les femmes seraient plus satisfaits dans leur vie et interagiraient de manière plus coopérative s'ils adoptaient l'idée suivante : la façon dont les problèmes et situations sont abordés est la même quel que soit le genre. Ainsi, toujours selon Klein, comprendre et porter son attention sur les différences individuelles plutôt que sur les différences de groupe, contribuerait, non seulement à plus de coopération et de créativité, mais aiderait aussi les hommes et les femmes à entretenir de meilleures relations interpersonnelles. Somme toute, les sociologues nous encouragent à entrevoir les choses de manière plus large et d'apprécier le fait que nous soyons vraiment les mêmes.

Un article de Michelle Pelletier, publié le 11/08/2018 pour la revue Cerveau & Psycho

Veillez donner 3 arguments en faveur de cette perspective (vous pouvez utiliser le verso si besoin) :

.....
.....
.....
.....

B. Role instructions used in Study 2, Chapter 4

1. Feminine experimental condition

Instruction de rôle pour la négociation

Le nouvel an approche et cette année, vous avez décidé de le fêter avec d'autres étudiants à Louvain-la-Neuve. Pour que cette fête soit un franc succès vous vous êtes porté(e) volontaire, avec un(e) autre étudiant(e), pour vous occuper de la **décoration** de la salle et des tables du diner.

Il y a 3 sujets spécifiques qui nécessitent votre attention : l'arrangement floral, les nappes de table, le modèle d'assiette. Pour chaque sujet, vous avez, de commun accord, listé 8 options possibles.

Lors d'une précédente réunion, vous avez déjà remarqué que votre co-organisateur a une vue complètement différente de la vôtre sur ce à quoi devrait ressembler la décoration. Vous avez donc rendez-vous aujourd'hui pour vous mettre d'accord sur l'option qui sera choisie et qui sera la plus susceptible de plaire aux autres convives.

Pour ce faire, vous disposez d'un tableau de propositions, dit *tableau des points* car chaque proposition est associée à une valeur en termes de points. **Votre objectif est d'obtenir l'arrangement qui vous rapportera le plus de points possibles**, sachant que votre adversaire possède un tableau des points différent du vôtre et qu'il a le même but que vous, obtenir le plus de points possibles. Attention, **si vous ne parvenez pas à obtenir d'accord** avec l'autre étudiant(e) à la fin de la négociation, votre performance sera comptabilisée comme nulle (équivalente à **0 point**). L'étudiant qui aura le plus de points à l'issue de la négociation se verra offrir une récompense.

Arrangement floral	Points	Nappes de table	Points	Assiettes	Points
Roses multicolores	1	Encoton	1	En porcelaine	1
Tulipes	2	En lin	2	En carton	2
Orchidées blanches	3	En papier quadrillé	3	En plastique	3
Lavandes	4	En papier ligné	4	En céramique blanche	4
Muguets	5	En papier plein	5	En céramique rouge	5
Tournesols	6	En plastique	6	En céramique bleue	6
Roses Rouges	7	En dentelle	7	En bois	7
Violettes	8	En soie	8	En verre	8

2. Masculine experimental condition

Instruction de rôle pour la négociation

Le nouvel an approche et cette année, vous avez décidé de le fêter avec d'autres étudiants à Louvain-la-Neuve. Pour que cette fête soit un franc succès vous vous êtes porté(e) volontaire, avec un(e) autre étudiant(e), pour vous occuper des boissons alcoolisées pour la soirée.

Il y a 3 sujets spécifiques qui nécessitent votre attention : les spiritueux, la bière, les vins. Pour chaque sujet, vous avez en commun accord, listé 8 options possibles.

Lors d'une précédente réunion, vous avez déjà remarqué que votre co-organisateur a une vue complètement différente de la vôtre concernant les choix de boissons. Vous avez donc rendez-vous aujourd'hui pour vous mettre d'accord sur l'option qui sera choisie et qui sera la plus susceptible de plaire aux autres convives.

Pour ce faire, vous disposez d'un tableau de propositions, dit tableau des points car chaque proposition est associée à une valeur en termes de points. Votre objectif est d'obtenir la sélection qui vous rapportera le plus de points possibles, sachant que votre adversaire possède un tableau des points différent du votre et qu'il a le même but que vous, obtenir le plus de points possibles. Attention, si vous ne parvenez pas à obtenir d'accord avec l'autre étudiant(e) à la fin de la négociation, votre performance sera comptabilisée comme nulle (équivalente à 0 point). L'étudiant qui aura le plus de points à l'issue de la négociation se verra offrir une récompense.

Spiritueux	Points	Bières	Points	Vins	Points
Brandy	1	Chimay	1	Cabernet Sauvignon	1
Whisky	2	Orval	2	Merlot	2
Martini	3	Leffe	3	Pinot Noir	3
Gin	4	Maredsous	4	Malbec	4
Vermouth	5	Kasteel	5	Rosé pamplemousse	5
Rhum	6	Pêche Mel Bush	6	Blanc de bourgogne	6
Vodka	7	Desperados	7	Muscat d'alsace	7
Tequila	8	Westmalle	8	Porto	8

C. Instrument used to measure dependent variables in Study 2, Chapter 4 (feminine experimental condition)

Il est très important de fixer ses objectifs et aspirations de base avant d'entrer en négociation. Pour chacune de ces catégories indiquez combien de points vous espérez obtenir (entre 1 et 8).

Fleurs :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nappes :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Assiettes :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Il est également pertinent de réfléchir à la première proposition que vous comptez faire à votre partenaire (indiquez le score correspondant à l'option que vous proposerez en premier).

Fleurs :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nappes :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Assiettes :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Finalement il faut également se préparer à avoir une limite, indiquez à partir de quel score vous refuserez d'accepter la proposition de votre partenaire.

Fleurs :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nappes :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Assiettes :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

- *In the masculine experimental condition, the feminine topics were replaced by biere, wine and liquoros drinks choices. All other aspects remained unchanged.*

Appendix 6: Vignettes and role instructions used in Study 3, Chapter 4 (master's thesis Romane Dekyvere, 2019)

I. ARTICLE « GENDER AWARENESS »

Revue francophone internationale de
psychologie sociale. Vol. 42, p. 112-113

8 février 2018



Gender Awareness

La science préconise la sensibilisation au genre

*« Le plus important est de
prêter attention à ces
différences - en
reconnaissant que ces
différences créent un
sentiment d'harmonie et de
complémentarité pour
chaque groupe »*

Dr. Richardson

Les sociologues, psychologues, économistes et politiques s'accordent à dire que les questions de genre constituent l'une des principales préoccupations des spécialistes des sciences sociales.

Il est extrêmement important de tenir compte de nos différences plutôt que de les nier. Selon cette perspective, nous serions mieux placés pour progresser en tant que société si nous acceptons le fait que les deux sexes donnent des perspectives différentes, offrant une richesse en termes de points de vue, styles d'interaction et stratégies de résolution de problèmes. Chaque genre peut contribuer à la société de manière unique. Reconnaître cette diversité contribuerait à créer un sentiment d'harmonie et de complémentarité entre hommes et femmes. Chacun des sexes a ses propres talents, ainsi que ses propres problèmes, et en reconnaissant ces forces et ces faiblesses, nous validons l'identité de chaque sexe.

*« Comprendre les hommes
et les femmes pour aborder
les tâches de la vie de
différentes manières est
productif pour la société »*

Klein

Dr. Katherine Richardson, auteur du livre *Le paradoxe du genre*, suggère que la société européenne moderne se porterait mieux si les gens reconnaissaient que les femmes et les hommes ont leurs propres forces, faiblesses, expériences et problèmes. Reconnaître cette diversité contribuerait à créer un sens d'unité entre les hommes et les femmes. « C'est vraiment ce que j'ai voulu montrer en écrivant ce livre. Ce qui est frappant chez les hommes et les femmes, c'est leur différence. Il y a une grande variété entre les genres. Le plus important est de prêter attention à ces différences, en reconnaissant que ces différences créent un sentiment d'harmonie et de complémentarité pour chaque groupe ».

« La notion de *sexe opposé* a une part de vérité », déclare Michael Klein, professeur de sociologie à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, qui partage l'opinion de Richardson. "Les sexes sont plus différents les uns des autres." Klein souligne que ces différences pourraient être dues à la constitution biologique ou être apprises et socialisées à travers notre culture, mais qu'au fond, selon lui, leur origine n'a pas d'importance. « Comprendre les hommes et les femmes pour aborder les tâches de la vie de différentes manières est productif pour la société », dit Klein. Klein pense que les hommes et les femmes auraient plus de succès, seraient plus satisfaits de leur vie et interagiraient davantage si les gens acceptaient l'idée que les sexes abordent souvent les situations et les problèmes différemment. Selon Klein, comprendre et utiliser les points forts uniques des hommes et des femmes contribuerait non seulement à un lieu de travail plus coopératif et plus efficace, mais aiderait également les relations interpersonnelles entre eux. Ainsi, les spécialistes des sciences sociales nous encouragent à voir la situation dans son ensemble et à comprendre que, fondamentalement, nous sommes tous différents.

I. ARTICLE « GENDER BLINDNESS »

Revue francophone internationale de
psychologie sociale. Vol. 42, p. 112-113

8 février 2018



Gender Blindness

La science préconise le détachement au genre

*« La chose la plus
importante est de prêter
attention aux
caractéristiques qui font
d'une personne un individu
unique plutôt que de se
concentrer sur son sexe »*

Dr. Richardson

Les sociologues, psychologues, économistes et politiques s'accordent à dire que les questions de genre constituent l'une des principales préoccupations des spécialistes des sciences sociales.

Les scientifiques notent qu'il est extrêmement important de tenir compte des ressemblances entre hommes et femmes, et de se souvenir que, fondamentalement, tous les hommes et toutes les femmes sont égaux. Selon cette perspective, nous serions mieux placés pour progresser en tant que société si nous nous souvenons que nous sommes tous, d'abord et avant tout, des êtres humains. En effet, nous serions dans une meilleure position pour progresser en tant que société si nous arrêtons de penser que les hommes et les femmes sont différents les uns des autres et si nous considérons plutôt chaque personne comme un individu.

Katherine Richardson, auteur du livre *Le paradoxe du genre*, estime que la société européenne moderne se porterait mieux si

*« Les hommes et les femmes
qui font semblant d'aborder
les tâches de la vie de
manières fondamentalement
différentes sont contre-
productifs pour la société »*

Klein

les citoyens reconnaissent que les femmes et les hommes sont beaucoup plus semblables les uns des autres que différents. Reconnaître cette similitude aiderait à créer un sentiment d'harmonie et d'unité parmi les hommes et les femmes. « C'est vraiment ce que j'ai voulu montrer en écrivant ce livre. Ce qui est frappant chez les hommes et les femmes, c'est leur similitude. Il y a simplement tellement de chevauchement entre les deux groupes. Le plus important est de prêter attention aux caractéristiques qui font d'une personne un individu unique plutôt que de se concentrer sur son sexe ».

« La notion de *sexe opposé* n'est en réalité qu'un artifice historique », explique Michael Klein, professeur de sociologie à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, qui partage l'opinion de Richardson. « Les personnes, hommes ou femmes, se ressemblent plus qu'elles ne diffèrent les unes des autres. » Klein souligne que ces similitudes peuvent être dues à la composition biologique en grande partie identique à celle de tous les humains, ou être façonnées par notre culture, mais qu'au fond, selon lui, leur origine n'a pas d'importance. « Les hommes et les femmes qui font semblant d'aborder les tâches de la vie de manières fondamentalement différentes sont contre-productifs pour la société », déclare Klein.

Klein pense que les hommes et les femmes auraient plus de succès, seraient plus satisfaits de leur vie et interagiraient davantage si les gens acceptaient l'idée que les sexes abordent généralement les situations et les problèmes de la même manière. Selon Klein, comprendre et se concentrer sur les différences individuelles, et non sur les différences de groupe, contribuerait non seulement à un lieu de travail plus coopératif et créatif, mais pourrait également aider les personnes qui entretiennent des relations interpersonnelles entre hommes et femmes. Ainsi, les spécialistes des sciences sociales nous encouragent à voir la situation dans son ensemble et à comprendre que, fondamentalement, nous sommes tous identiques.

Role instructions – Study 3, Chapter 4

a. Feminine experimental condition

Contexte

Cette année, le bureau des étudiants (BDE) de la faculté de psychologie prépare une grande fête estudiantine pour célébrer la fin des examens. Cette soirée sera organisée entièrement par les étudiants membres du BDE autour du thème de l'arrivée du printemps. La fête aura lieu à l'Aula Magna le week-end suivant la fin de la session d'examens de janvier. Au programme : apéro de 18h à 20h, dîner de 20h à 23h et soirée dansante de 23h à 3h du matin.

Dans cette simulation, vous êtes membre du BDE en psychologie et vous vous êtes porté(e) volontaire, avec un(e) autre étudiant(e), pour vous occuper de la décoration de la salle et des tables du dîner. Lors d'une précédente réunion, vous vous êtes déjà mis d'accord pour ajouter des décorations aux murs et plafond de la salle dansante et mettre des nappes et un bouquet de fleurs sur les tables du dîner. Aujourd'hui, vous avez rendez-vous afin de trouver un accord concernant le type de décoration à mettre sur les murs et au plafond, les motifs des nappes du dîner et les fleurs composant le bouquet.

Pour ce faire, vous disposez d'un tableau de propositions, dit tableau des points car chaque proposition en termes de motifs des nappes, de fleurs et de décorations aux murs et au plafond est associée à une valeur en termes de points. Votre objectif est d'obtenir l'arrangement qui vous rapportera le plus de points possibles. Attention, si vous ne parvenez pas à obtenir d'accord avec l'autre étudiant(e) à la fin de la négociation, votre performance sera comptabilisé comme nulle (équivalente à 0 points).

Tableau de points

Motifs des nappes	Points	Fleurs sur les tables	Points	Type de décoration accrochée aux murs et au plafond	Points
Uni	1	Marguerites	1	Ballons	1
À rayures	2	Tulipes	2	Guirlandes de papiers	2
À carreaux	3	Jonquilles	3	Guirlandes de fleurs	3
À pois	4	Coquelicots	4	Guirlandes lumineuses	4
Fleuris	5	Roses	5	Lanternes	5
Geometriques	6	Lilas	6	Tentures	6
Pailletes	7	Violettes	7	Rideaux de perles	7
Denteles	8	Orchidees	8	Ombrelles	8

b. Masculine experimental condition

Contexte

Cette année, le bureau des étudiants (BDE) de la faculté de psychologie prépare une grande fête estudiantine pour célébrer la fin des examens. Cette soirée sera organisée entièrement par les étudiants membres du BDE autour du thème de l'arrivée du printemps. La fête aura lieu à l'Aula Magna le week-end suivant la fin de la session d'examens de janvier. Au programme : apéro de 18h à 20h, dîner de 20h à 23h et soirée dansante de 23h à 3h du matin.

Dans cette simulation, vous êtes membre du BDE de psychologie et vous vous êtes porté(e) volontaire, avec un(e) autre étudiant(e), pour vous occuper des boissons alcoolisées de la soirée, comprenant surtout de la bière. Lors d'une précédente réunion, vous aviez décidé, avec l'aval des autres membres du BDE, de fabriquer votre propre bière pour l'événement, à l'aide d'un kit de fabrication artisanale. La prochaine étape est de déterminer le type de bière que vous allez fabriquer, pour pouvoir commencer à acheter les bons ingrédients.

Aujourd'hui, vous vous retrouvez donc pour vous mettre d'accord sur le goût principal, la couleur et le pourcentage d'alcool que vous souhaitez obtenir pour votre bière.

Pour ce faire, vous disposez d'un tableau de propositions, dit **tableau des points** car chaque proposition en termes de goût, de couleur et de pourcentage d'alcool est associée à une valeur en termes de points. Votre objectif est d'obtenir l'arrangement qui vous rapportera le plus de points possibles. Attention, si vous ne parvenez pas à obtenir d'accord avec l'autre étudiant(e) à la fin de la négociation, votre performance sera comptabilisée comme nulle (équivalente à 0 points).

Tableau de points

Gout	Couleur	% d'alcool	Gout	Couleur	% d'alcool
Note principale à retrouver en bouche	Points	Couleur approximative	Note principale à retrouver en bouche	Points	Couleur approximative
Florale	1	Blanche	Florale	1	Blanche
Herbacée	2	Blonde – jaune clair	Herbacée	2	Blonde – jaune clair
Fruitée	3	Blonde – jaune doré	Fruitée	3	Blonde – jaune doré
Epicée	4	Ambrée - orange	Epicée	4	Ambrée - orange
Sucrée	5	Rouge	Sucrée	5	Rouge
De caramel	6	Brune – couleur acajou	De caramel	6	Brune – couleur acajou
De noisette	7	Brune – couleur noix	De noisette	7	Brune – couleur noix