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## 14. How culture and race shape gender dynamics in negotiation

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*This chapter is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Katherine W. Phillips,  
a beloved mentor and champion of diversity.*

Mrs C., a woman of Latina descent, lived in an area with very conservative and individualistic cultural norms and a rigid racial hierarchy. Following high school, she took a job at a local hospital. After two decades of diligent work and on-the-job training, she was put in charge of maintaining some vital and complicated equipment, for which she was paid an excellent wage. After a few years, however, the hospital was sold to a new company that instituted new salary guidelines. Mrs C. was told that she would need to re-apply for her job and, because she did not have a college degree, could expect to be paid only a third of her previous hourly wage – only a few cents above the minimum wage. Mrs C. did not want to lose her income altogether, so she accepted the terms without negotiating and continued working for less pay. Thousands of miles away, Ms S. was a woman of Asian descent who lived in an area with more collectivist cultural norms and high racial diversity. She was taking a course on negotiations and found herself in practice sessions facing off against her other classmates, which included men and women from many different countries. She enjoyed the experience tremendously and was regularly one of the most assertive negotiators in the class. By the end of the semester, she was voted by her classmates as the negotiator they would be the most nervous to have to face – a fact which surprised and pleased her. Both Mrs C. and Ms S. were female and both were members of racial minority groups in their respective regions, yet their outcomes in terms of negotiation were very different. In this chapter, we propose that a more comprehensive framework is needed for the study of gender differences in negotiations, and that in order to understand the fuller picture, it is necessary to identify the contextual factors that moderate how gender affects negotiation outcomes. Here we focus on two such factors: race and culture.

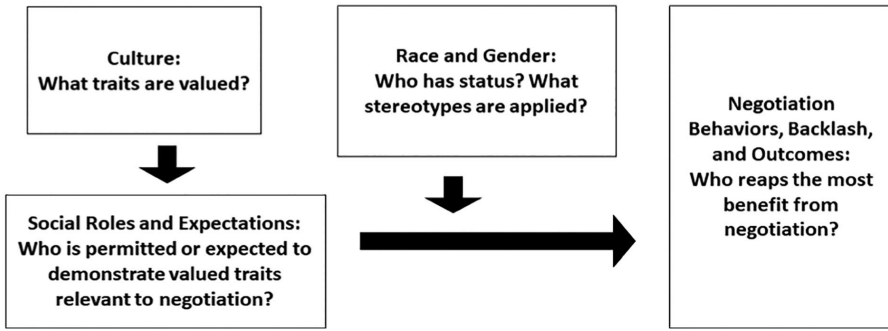
Effective negotiation is important, if not always sufficient, in mitigating the disparate compensation and advancement of women. Research on gender and negotiations both currently and historically is rooted in a desire to explain and rectify the ever-persistent gender wage gap (e.g., United States: 18.2 percent, Canada: 16.9 percent, European Union: 16.2 percent, with Germany: 21.5 percent and the United Kingdom: 21.0 percent among the highest; Catalyst, 2018a) and gender inequities in the workplace (e.g., lack of women in senior leadership globally, Catalyst, 2018b). The other chapters in this volume articulate a breadth of areas of negotiation research where gender is an important variable for consideration. They have approached the

study from both sides of the bargaining table and beyond. These chapters point to both the depth and breadth of current research on gender and negotiations with still further directions to continue to pursue. Without question, these are important findings for the study of gender and negotiations but yet there is a broader context that has been largely neglected and requires attention.

Most studies exploring the effect of gender on negotiations focus on gender as a social category independent from other social categorizations, and have aimed at investigating and formulating interventions for all women, irrespective of race or culture (Kulik and Olekalns, 2012; Sandberg, 2013; Stevens et al., 1993). Further, much of the extant research draws on White North American samples (for exceptions see Al Dabbagh et al., 2016; Shan et al., 2016). The result is that the stereotypes and expectations being enforced in a given context default to those relevant to primarily White Americans. As such, most documented effects do not account for intersectional complexities of other social categories, namely race and culture. To fill this gap, the aim of the present chapter is to offer a novel framework for investigating the impact of race, culture and gender on how people request and claim economic value for themselves. Bringing together research on social identity, intersectionality, gender roles and cultural values, we illustrate why gender roles that place women at a negotiation disadvantage compared to men may not be universally applied to all women or all men.

In this chapter, we try to take a global view of the forces affecting negotiation behaviors to demonstrate how the gender dynamics within negotiations vary greatly when other social categories are taken into consideration. In doing so, we situate the bulk of previous research in a predominantly White American context, which has been found to be unique in several regards compared to much of the rest of the world (Henrich et al., 2010). We reassess some of these findings with both a broader lens toward social categories and a more nuanced lens of how the specific social categories of race and culture interact with gender, to highlight the importance of taking intersectionality into account to best understand the intricate dynamics at play for women at the bargaining table. While there is a growing body of research exploring the independent effects of culture and race in negotiation contexts, there remains a dearth of research exploring the intersectionality of gender, race and culture. We argue that it is critical to study these forces in tandem because of the unique mosaic of constraints (and opportunities) painted when intersectionality is taken into account.

In the following pages, we begin by highlighting the salient definitions of gender, race and culture as they relate to our topic. We also present a series of studies examining gender differences in negotiation behavior among collectivistic cultures such as China and individualistic cultures such as Israel, Canada and the United States. We then review recent research in American settings on the interaction of race and gender among White, Asian and Black participants on the negotiator's comfort in engaging in assertive behavior. Based on this recent empirical work examining interaction of (1) culture and gender and (2) race and gender, we propose the following theoretical framework combining all three factors to assess their impact on negotiation process and outcome (see Figure 14.1). We refer to this framework to generate propositions



*Figure 14.1 Theoretical framework and proposition when combining gender, race and culture*

on the impact of these factors in negotiation and conflict. Finally, we will revisit this model to discuss a more holistic framework of these factors and their importance in gender and negotiation research.

## DEFINING GENDER, RACE AND CULTURE

Every person belongs to multiple social identities, demographic categories, or other groupings that others may use to categorize them (according to social identity theory; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). These include the visible markers of race, sex and age, as well as more subtle ones like national culture, religion, sexual orientation and socio-economic status. These social categories overlap with each other to affect one's movement through the world – in terms of experiences of marginalization, privilege, status, and social roles and expectations (Babbitt, 2013; Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1989; Warner and Shields, 2013). To focus on one of these without consideration for the influence of the other categories may lead to a limited understanding of the complexity of social phenomena.

Although the history of research on gender and negotiations yielded equivocal results (see review, Kray and Thompson, 2005), especially from early trait-based approaches (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; Rubin and Brown, 1975), more recent research conceptualizes gender as a multifaceted social category and as such has proved more fruitful in understanding the dynamics of the social influence of gender on negotiation behaviors, processes and outcomes (see review, Kennedy and Kray, 2015). Conceptualizing gender in this way, as a fluid and socially constructed category rather than a fixed and rigid set of characteristics tied to biological sex, creates opportunities to explore more richly the social constraints (and less often, liberties) rooted in both descriptive and injunctive stereotypes tied to gender (Prentice and Carranza, 2002). This approach creates more fruitful research opportunities for stud-

ying how contexts heighten or suppress gender differences both in terms of presence and magnitude of effects.

Race, like gender, is often a visible category and one of the first ways in which people categorize others upon meeting them (Ito and Urland, 2003). Also like gender, conceptions of race are multifaceted and socially constructed: what is meant by reference to the term “race” can include a combination of many components including skin color, physical attributes, region of ancestry, diet, values, access to educational and employment opportunities, and institutional power relationships (Sen and Wasow, 2016). The visible aspects of race such as skin color or facial features serve as a cue to the opportunities and stereotypes an individual may encounter in a given society. For our purposes, we are most focused on the element of a racial identity that reflects a social group’s position in a racial status hierarchy and the stereotypes attributed to the racial group (Rudman et al., 2012a). Race and racial identity thus shape psychological experiences and social perceptions, and these factors influence negotiation experiences (e.g., Hernandez et al., 2018).

Culture reflects the shared norms, beliefs and values of people in a social group (Markus, 2008). Culture shapes how people perceive negotiations, determining which strategies and behaviors are appropriate for the particular cultural context. Culture, although not a visible marker in the same way as gender and race, influences how we define and understand gender norms, it directs the way we think about gender differences, and it designates the restrictions placed on men and women’s behavior; likewise it has implications for the ways in which racial minorities are perceived and treated.

We can think of culture as a larger networked behavioral pattern and values, while race and gender, both visible diversity characteristics, are used as cues to individuals’ standings in terms of status, power, social roles and expectations of behavior. All three of these factors – culture, race and gender – interact to shape conceptions of socially acceptable behaviors in negotiations. For instance, recent research has demonstrated that gender norms are not universal, and that societal expectations of men as agentic and women as communal are more pronounced in individualistic compared to collectivistic cultures (Cuddy et al., 2015; Shan et al., 2016). This is evident in negotiation behavior and outcomes. On a similar note, when enacting assertive behavior, salience of race and gender triggers expected backlash from the job candidate, as well as actual backlash from the recruiter (Rudman, 1998; Bowles et al., 2007).

## GENDER STEREOTYPES VARY BY CULTURE

Previous research attributes gender differences in negotiation outcomes to differences in the overall level of assertiveness and competitiveness found in men’s and women’s negotiation behavior (Walters et al., 1998). For example, when negotiating, men have been found to be more likely than women to set higher goals (Bowles et al., 2005), initiate negotiations (Bowles et al., 2007; Small et al., 2007), make

aggressive first offers (Barron, 2003; Galinsky and Mussweiler, 2001) and follow-up with aggressive subsequent offers. Because aggressive and competitive negotiation behavior is typically associated with superior negotiation performance in terms of claiming a larger amount of resources (Bowles et al., 2007; Elfenbein et al., 2009; Van Poucke and Buelens, 2002; Zetik and Stuhlmacher, 2002), the negotiation behaviors conducted by men are more likely to lead to favorable economic outcomes (Stuhlmacher and Walters, 1999).

To explain why men and women negotiate differently, considerable attention has been placed on the role of social conditioning through the dissemination of gender stereotypes (see Bowles, 2013; Kray and Thompson, 2005 for review). Gender is a social category that individuals use to make inferences about how to behave and how to interpret others' behavior (Heilman, 2012). These inferences and expectations create gender stereotypes, broad generalizations applied to understand the social category of gender. Gender stereotypes impact negotiation behavior by providing mental schemas of how those who identify with a particular gender would and should behave before (Kaman and Hartel, 1994) and during (Bowles et al., 2005) the negotiation. These prescriptions about how men and women should (and should not) behave at the bargaining table influence not only how individuals negotiate, with women hedging their assertive behavior to avoid social penalties (Amanatullah and Morris, 2010) but also how negotiation counterparts behave toward their opponents, such as differential treatment towards men and women throughout the negotiation process (Rudman and Phelan, 2008) and engaging in social backlash after the negotiation in response to incongruous expectations and behavior (Amanatullah and Tinsley, 2013).

Most previous literature on gender in negotiations that emphasizes the role of social conditioning follows an assumption that men are stereotyped as agentic and women are stereotyped as communal (Eagly, 2013). Accordingly, they claim that because negotiation performance rewards aggressive and competitive behaviors that are congruent with an agentic stereotype and punishes passive and accommodating behaviors associated with a communal stereotype, female gender stereotypes should accordingly place female negotiators at a disadvantage (Kray and Thompson, 2005; Miles, 2010). Empirical research in the West has supported this claim through the use of priming. For example, the implicit priming of an agentic male stereotype and a communal female stereotype has been demonstrated to make men set higher performance expectations and ask for higher first offers than women, which, in turn, has resulted in men outperforming women even more (Kray et al., 2001).

However, recent research suggests that the underlying assumption that men are stereotyped as agentic and women are stereotyped as communal is contingent on the cultural values and practices of the society. For example, in collectivistic societies (e.g., China, Korea), men are more likely to be stereotyped as communal and women as agentic, which represents the opposite of the pattern found in individualistic cultures (Cuddy et al., 2015). Accordingly, in some collectivistic societies (i.e., China), relationship-oriented negotiating behaviors are also more likely to be categorized as masculine, and aggressive negotiating behaviors are more likely to be categorized as feminine, which is in stark contrast to those found in the West (Shan et al., 2016).

These results are based on the premise that male stereotypes are more closely aligned than female stereotypes with each society's core cultural values and practices. For example, whereas individualistic cultural values promote an agentic male stereotype and a communal female stereotype, collectivistic cultural values promote a communal male stereotype and an agentic female stereotype (Cuddy et al., 2015). Societies therefore vary in how they stereotype men and women because they have different expectations about how the most dominant gender in the society should behave. We argue that there are three overarching principles that dictate how cultural values and practices influence the behavioral expectations reinforced by gender stereotypes within cultural context.

The first principle, as described in the negotiation process model (Brett, 2014), is that cultural values and practices guide negotiation behavior throughout the negotiation process. For example, members of individualistic cultures are more likely to choose negotiating strategies that reflect a concern for their own interests (e.g., seeking outcomes that satisfy their own needs), whereas members of collectivistic cultures prefer negotiation strategies that express a concern for the outcomes of others (e.g., accommodating in order to ensure others are happy; Brett and Okumura, 1998; Holt and DeVore, 2005; Pearson and Stephan, 1998). Cultural values and practices provide scripts that instruct negotiators on how to approach the negotiation, how to act during the negotiation, and how to respond to others' actions. Because cultural values and practices vary, the scripts that negotiators turn to throughout the negotiation will depend on the cultural values and practices of the given society. Based on this principle, we propose that culture defines the expectations that are imposed on negotiators.

The second principle, however, is that the scripts that guide negotiation behavior will be different for men and women, reflecting gender stereotypes that encourage men and women to behave differently. Cultural norms and values will dictate what is expected as the appropriate or correct behavior for the dominant category, which, in terms of gender, is most often men, but in doing so also defines the permissions and proscriptions created for the nondominant group, here, women. The nondominant group will be expected not to usurp behaviors reserved for the dominant group, which in non-Western societies may actually be financially advantageous to female negotiators. For example, in China, female negotiators have been found to be more likely than male negotiators to have a more ambitious target (Chen and Chen, 2012), initiate negotiations (Dai, 2005), choose aggressive and assertive negotiation strategies (Dai, 2005), and to be more persistent (Wang, 2000). In Peru, female negotiators are also more likely than men to make aggressive offers (Castillo et al., 2013). The gender differences found in China and Peru are likely to reflect the societies' values and practices, which expect men to behave less aggressively than women. In these cases, the culture prescribes relational orientation for the dominant group, men, and as such the non-dominant group, women, are permitted to use more assertive negotiation styles than would be allowed in more individualistic cultures.

Based on this principle, we propose that in collectivistic societies valuing collective harmony and concern for others, we should expect men to engage in less

competitive and assertive behavior in negotiations than women (in cases where men are the dominant group). Instead, men are likely to be more relational and accommodating and women are able to engage in more assertive negotiation styles. In contrast, given that individualistic cultures value individual goals and concern for the self, we should expect men to engage in more competitive and assertive behavior in negotiations than women when men are the dominant group. Instead, women are likely to be relational and accommodating. These cases consider patriarchal societies; but to carry the proposition further we should also consider matriarchal societies, where women, as opposed to men, have been traditionally considered to possess higher status with more access to resources. If women are the dominant group in a culture that prized aggression, they would also enact more assertive negotiation behaviors, whereas the men in those societies would be more focused on maintaining positive relations; if women were the dominant group in a collectivistic culture these roles would be reversed; and in the case of a culture boasting perfect equality between men and women, both genders would be able to negotiate in accordance with that culture's highest values.

Finally, the third principle is that despite cultural differences in how men and women negotiate, the immediate economic impact of negotiating behavior on negotiation outcomes is consistent across societies. Previous empirical research has found that some negotiating behaviors are more likely to lead to greater economic outcomes for individual negotiators in both distributive and integrative negotiations. For example, setting ambitious goals is likely to lead to better monetary negotiation outcomes compared to setting lower goals (Van Poucke and Buelens, 2002; Zetik and Stuhlmacher, 2002). Direct and explicit forms of communication such as making statements about one's preferences, asking questions, and providing arguments in support of the negotiator's position are also more likely to enhance both value claiming and value creating outcomes in negotiations compared to indirect and subtle forms of communication (Elfenbein et al., 2009). More aggressive first offers often lead to better individual negotiation outcomes (Ma, 2007). On the other hand, accommodating and making concessions in order to improve relationships may lead negotiators to be exploited by their counterparts, resulting in poor distributive and integrative performance (Amanatullah et al., 2008; Liu et al., 2005). These outcomes are likely to occur regardless of the cultural values of the society. However, even these findings are still inherently rooted in Western cultural values. The fact that more assertive, less communal negotiation behaviors are positively related to economic negotiation outcomes necessarily attributes inherent value to monetary outcomes over relational ones. There is a dearth of research valuing relational outcomes above monetary outcomes; most often they are perceived as an added benefit rather than a goal in and of themselves. Though there may be some universal negotiation behaviors that lead to quantitatively larger outcomes, as well as to qualitatively stronger relationships, the valence of said outcomes will vary by culture. We expect that a systematic review of negotiation literature focusing on the types of outcomes measured would confirm an imbalance such that important relational outcomes are understudied. If more emphasis were placed on the duration of a relationship as an

important outcome of negotiation, that might undermine gender stereotypes about negotiation. We propose that insofar as culture dictates appropriate negotiation behavior for the dominant majority, it also defines what outcomes of negotiation are more desired within a cultural context: economic versus relational.

In sum, based on these three principles and our propositions that follow each, men should economically outperform women in negotiations only when the behaviors that reflect the core values and practices of the society are congruent with the behaviors that contribute to claiming a larger portion of the pie in negotiations. In societies where the core cultural values and practices encourage behaviors that lead to larger financial outcomes, men will more likely outperform women. However, in societies where the core cultural values and practices encourage behaviors that do not conduce to distributive gains, men will be less likely to outperform women, monetarily. Meta-analytic data from Shan et al. (2019) supports this prediction. Drawing on data from published, conference, dissertation and unpublished papers that report gender differences in economic negotiation performance in English, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Spanish, French, Portuguese and German, they located 185 analyzable studies based on 30 national cultures and examined the moderating role of the cultural dimensions developed by Hofstede and Minkov (2010), the GLOBE cultural practices (House et al., 2004), and Schwartz's cultural value orientations (Schwartz, 2006). They found that the likelihood of men outperforming women in negotiations was positively associated with the negotiator's national culture in the dimensions of Hofstede's individualism and GLOBE's assertiveness practices, but was negatively predicted by GLOBE's ingroup collectivism practices, Schwartz's harmony and embeddedness orientation. Specifically, men were found to outperform women in negotiations only in societies that are high in individualism (e.g., US), low in ingroup collectivism practices (e.g., Netherlands), or high in assertiveness practices (e.g., Germany). In highly collectivistic cultures (e.g., China), or cultures with high ingroup collectivism practice (e.g., Turkey), or low assertiveness practice (e.g., India), women outperformed men in negotiations.

To answer the "why" question behind the meta-analysis research, Shan et al. (2016) conducted two studies to examine how people in the United States and China categorize specific negotiation goals and behaviors as masculine or feminine in different negotiation contexts. They found that while American participants categorized competitive goals and behaviors as masculine and cooperative ones as feminine across business-to-consumer and business-to-business negotiation contexts, Chinese participants' patterns depended on the negotiation context. In business-to-consumer contexts, Chinese participants categorized competitive goals and behaviors as feminine and cooperative ones as masculine. In business-to-business contexts, they made further distinctions, categorizing competitive goals and behaviors that are socially inappropriate as feminine but competitive ones that are socially appropriate, as well as cooperative goals and behaviors, as masculine. Based on these findings, they caution that for both male and female negotiators and those negotiating with them, an oversimplified view of being masculine and feminine without considering culture and context may lead to inappropriate stereotyping (Shan et al., 2016).



## CONSIDERING RACE AS WELL AS GENDER

As implied above, gender's role in negotiations is not due to inherent biological differences, but rather due to the way that gender serves as a proxy for status. High status groups in society are permitted and expected to engage in behaviors that are considered high-value in that culture. Similarly, race is another diffuse status characteristic that affects how values and expectations are enforced (Berger and Fişek, 2006; Berger et al., 1986). Furthermore, racial categories can also be associated with certain stereotypes, dependent on historical context, that influence perceptions and expectations.

In this section we will explore two ways that race may interact with gender to affect negotiation outcomes. First, we will examine the application of racial stereotypes that might exacerbate or counteract the gender-based stereotypes and social roles that contribute to gender disparities in negotiation behaviors and outcomes. Because much of the work on racial stereotypes has been carried out within a North American context, we focus on racial groups within the United States to provide a sense of the broad range of stereotypical attributions found in just one society. The attributions to racial, ethnic, caste and language groups within highly diverse countries such as India or Papua New Guinea (Fearon, 2003) no doubt would be conducive to a much more nuanced understanding of these topics, but comprehensive data are not yet available. Second, we will explore what we know about the status hierarchy attributed to race, and its interaction with the simultaneously-held status attributes of gender. Both racial stereotypes and the role of status in the racial hierarchy affect the behaviors of negotiators (when individuals choose to initiate negotiations, and how assertive they are) and the response of evaluators in negotiations (how assertive negotiators are treated), which together shape outcomes in negotiations.

### **Race as a Signifier of Stereotypes and Social Roles**

Human behavior, including behavior in negotiation settings, is shaped by social norms and roles. According to role congruity theory, individuals who behave in conformity with the expectations and prescriptive stereotypes ascribed to them will be treated more positively than those who deviate (Bowles et al., 2007; Eagly and Karau, 2002; Eagly and Wood, 1991). As noted above, in a North American context, women's gender roles can be described as friendly, accepting and passive, but not assertive, decisive or independent – these latter attributes are more associated with male social roles (Bem, 1981; Deaux and Lewis, 1984; Prentice and Carranza, 2002; Williams and Best, 1982). Therefore, when women fail to behave passively in negotiations and instead ask for higher salaries, they are likely to encounter backlash for their role-incongruent behavior (Bowles et al., 2007; Mazei et al., 2015; Rudman et al., 2012b).

Race is also associated with particular stereotypes and expectations. For example, both prescriptive and descriptive stereotypes dictate that in American culture, Asian Americans are not permitted to behave as assertively as White Americans (Berdahl

and Min, 2012, but see Shek, 2006 for historical and cultural variance). Berdahl and Min (2012) found that Asian Americans who engaged in dominant behaviors were disliked more than Asian Americans who did not display dominant behaviors, and more than White Americans; they were also more likely to experience racial harassment as a form of backlash.

For African Americans, assertiveness is a common descriptive stereotype (Eberhardt et al., 2004; Niemann et al., 1994) – though not necessarily a prescriptive stereotype. African Americans risk being seen as overly aggressive and may encounter unique penalties when they negotiate or otherwise show assertiveness (Ayres and Siegelman, 1995; Hall and Livingston, 2012; Livingston and Pearce, 2009). For example, African American job candidates are expected to negotiate less assertively than White American candidates, and those who do negotiate are met with resistance, smaller concessions, and lower starting salaries than their White American counterparts (Hernandez et al., 2018).

When race-based descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes are considered in tandem with expectancies about gender roles, the criteria for race-dependent backlash change. For some racial and gender category combinations, the stereotypes associated with race amplify the stereotypes associated with gender, whereas for other racial groups, the expectancy for behaviors associated with gender roles (e.g., men should be assertive) may contradict racial expectancies (e.g., Asians should be submissive). Ghavami and Peplau (2012) analyzed lists of stereotypes generated in free-response format by participants for several different racial and gender combinations salient in the US context, and found that, among the top 15 traits used for each group, assertiveness was used to describe Black women and White men, whereas submissiveness was ascribed to White women and Asian women. Black men were described as “dangerous” and “violent”, underscoring the risk that assertive behavior may be interpreted particularly negatively for this group. Asian men, in accordance with the findings of Berdahl and Min (2012) noted above, were described as “quiet” and “shy”. A more recent stereotype-listing study focused on women was conducted by Rosette and colleagues (2016) and showed that Black women were stereotyped as being assertive (“angry”, “strong” and “dominant”) more often than White women or Asian women. In comparison, White women were considered communal more often than Asian or Black women. Asian women were described as unassertive (“mild-tempered”) but “competent” more often than White or Black women (Rosette et al., 2016).

### **Race as a Signifier of Status**

Another approach to understanding differences in negotiation outcomes is the role of backlash in response to threats to the existing status hierarchy. The status-incongruity hypothesis suggests that backlash to assertive negotiators is a way to preserve the status differences between groups (Rudman et al., 2012a; 2012b) – to keep certain groups of people “in their place”. Within an individualistic culture, assertive behavior is prescribed for those who are higher on the status hierarchy and proscribed for

those whose status is low. Women who show too much assertiveness (as well as men who fail to behave assertively) are penalized (e.g., Moss-Racusin et al., 2010). Yet racial categories also are associated with status differences. Asian Americans are often referred to as the “model minority” (Cheryan and Bodenhausen, 2000; Lin et al., 2005; Wong and Halgin, 2006), situating them higher in the racial hierarchy than Latinx or Black Americans, but still lower than White non-Latinx Americans (Berger et al., 1986; Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Ridgeway, 2001). As a result, Asian Americans who try to negotiate for higher salaries might experience more backlash than White Americans, but Black or Latinx Americans who negotiate assertively might receive even more backlash than Asian Americans because the status incongruity would be greater.

Phelan and Rudman (2010) found that Asian American participants were penalized when they performed well in tasks associated with White or Black American racial stereotypes, but not Asian American racial stereotypes. Conversely, White American participants were not penalized for stereotype violations, but rather for doing well in tasks with low-status implications. It may be that those who are high status (especially White American men) may find themselves penalized for not negotiating assertively, whereas members of racial minorities may receive backlash for not conforming to their specific group’s stereotypes (Rudman et al., 2012a). Insofar as status differences apply to both gender and race distinctions, certain race–gender combinations may be seen as higher status than others, and therefore better able to negotiate assertively without backlash.

### **Intersections of Race and Gender**

To further understand the complexity, we must also address how these racial and gender identities are seen to intersect with each other. As noted above, sometimes stereotypes about a person’s race contradict the stereotypes about their gender, whereas sometimes they are in agreement, and sometimes the stereotypes for a race–gender combination are unique compared to those attributed to a person’s racial group or gender group alone. Furthermore, sometimes the stereotypes related to a person’s racial–gender pairing are in conflict with their status in society.

When assessing the intersecting effects of race and gender, different patterns emerge. It is possible to find an additive effect, called double jeopardy (Beale, 1970) such as when racial minority women receive more racial, sexual and overall harassment in workplaces than do racial minority men or than White women (Berdahl and Moore, 2006). Alternatively, those who are minorities on multiple dimensions may be essentially excluded from being considered as representative of each of their categories, called “intersectional invisibility” (Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach, 2008); this can sometimes lead to increased marginalization and exclusion (Crenshaw, 1989), but it can sometimes be a buffer, such as when Black women are not penalized for agentic leadership behavior as much as White women or Black men are (Livingston et al., 2012). These and other patterns of potential outcomes resulting from the intersections of identities are explored more fully elsewhere (Hall et al., 2019).

### **Effects on Behavior in Negotiations**

How do the expectancies about race and gender outlined above affect negotiation behaviors? We (Toosi et al., 2019) had students engage in a hypothetical job negotiation and generate phrasings of how they would request a higher salary; the students then rated their own phrasings for assertiveness. We found that White women tended to rate their own salary requests as less assertive than White men; however, the same gender disparity was not apparent among Asian men and women. Similarly, White women reported less confidence in the likelihood that their request would actually help them to get a higher salary than did White men, but Asian women did not report less confidence than Asian men (or than White men, for that matter).

In a follow-up study, we examined the actual amounts that Asian American and White American adults requested in a hypothetical salary negotiation. We also collected data from a smaller sample of African Americans. Again, Asian American women did not differ from Asian American men in their first offer amounts. There were gender differences between White men and women, however, consistent with previous research (Mazei et al., 2015) and this gender gap was also present and in some cases exacerbated for our African American sample. We also found that concerns about negotiation backlash mediated the effects of race and gender on first offers: White men reported being able to ask for significantly higher amounts before anticipating backlash than the other groups, which in turn allowed them to ask for more in their first offers (Toosi et al., 2019). Our full pattern of results demonstrated both double jeopardy and intersectional invisibility, depending on the racial minority group. This hints at the potential role of relative social status, cultural norms and social expectations in conjunction with intersections of race and gender to shaping negotiations.

### **Responses to Assertiveness in Negotiators**

Gender differences in propensity to initiate negotiations and confidence in the outcomes of negotiations seem to be largely due to the backlash women receive as a result of violating prescribed gender roles (Bowles et al., 2007). When women do negotiate for higher salaries, they are more likely to experience backlash in the form of penalties on salary amounts, promotions or professional relationships (Bowles and Babcock, 2013; Bowles et al., 2007; Rudman, 1998; Rudman and Glick, 1999, 2001; Tinsley et al., 2009). Similarly, as noted above, Asian Americans who behave assertively are susceptible to racial harassment (Berdahl and Min, 2012), and Black Americans who negotiate for higher salaries are financially penalized (Hernandez et al., 2018). It remains an open question as to how racial minority women might be treated compared to men when they negotiate assertively. Given that male stereotypes are more closely aligned than female stereotypes with each society's core cultural values and practices, this suggests certain patterns associated with expectations and backlash. In individualistic cultures, men of the majority racial group are likely to experience societal backlash when engaging in incon-

gruent cultural values and norms, that is, focusing more on relationship-building than value-claiming or creating, whereas it may be seen as more acceptable for lower-status minority group members and women to exhibit such relational negotiation approaches. Conversely, we propose that in collectivistic cultures promoting relational harmony, men of the racial majority group are likely to experience societal backlash when engaging in incongruent cultural values and norms, that is, behaving assertively in negotiations. Comparatively, those of successively lower-status minority groups as well as women may be more able to engage in competitive negotiation without incurring backlash.

The form and amount of backlash experienced by negotiators based on their race and gender may also be determined by the level of bias held by their evaluator and by organizational level factors such as climate for diversity.

### **Individual-level evaluator bias**

Certain ideologies support the existence of group-based inequalities, such as system justification theory (Jost et al., 2004) and social dominance orientation (Pratto et al., 1994). Jost and Banaji (1994) defined system justification as the “psychological process by which existing social arrangements are legitimized, even at the expense of personal and group interest” (p. 2). In other words, people – whether they are members of low- or high-status groups – attempt to justify the social hierarchy observed within their society and may make choices to support and reify those status distinctions. Similarly, social dominance orientation (Sidanius et al., 1994) is the preference for hierarchical group relations and group-based dominance. Both of these ideologies are associated with increased preference for high-status groups, discrimination toward low-status groups, and opposition to actions that would upset the status hierarchy (e.g., Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 2000). We would therefore expect that individuals who hold these types of beliefs might believe that women and minorities should be relegated to relatively lower social status in the form of less income and lower-status positions than those of White men (Hernandez et al., 2018; Ho et al., 2015; McFarland, 2010), and respond more negatively when interacting with a low-status individual negotiating assertively for a high-status position in a company.

### **Organizational climate for diversity**

How much value does an organization place on diversity, via formal or informal means? These aspects, controlled and enforced by organizations, can create a positive or negative climate for diversity, which in turn can shape responses to race and gender in negotiations. A positive climate for diversity indicates that an organization creates an environment with fair formal policies and treatment of all employees, promotes positive relationships between various racial groups, and places an emphasis on how appreciative the organization is of the diverse backgrounds of its members (Brief and Barsky, 2000; Mayhew et al., 2005). A negative climate for diversity, on the other hand, signals that individuals are being treated differently depending on their demographic background (Brief and Barsky, 2000). A positive climate

for diversity could alleviate some of the barriers experienced by racial minorities and women when considering the factors that impact the decision to negotiate, and equally importantly, may reduce the likelihood of backlash towards racial minorities and women for their approach to negotiation.

## COMBINING RACE AND CULTURE WITH GENDER: MOVING FORWARD

Based on our review of how culture, race and gender influence societal values, social roles, and expectations related to negotiation behavior for high and low status groups, we see some interesting patterns that may help us identify boundary conditions of existing findings in the domain of gender and negotiation (Rubin and Brown, 1975). As modeled in Figure 14.1, we note that historically men have been attributed higher status than women in most societies (Lorber and Farrell, 1991). Even in many egalitarian societies that are striving for gender equality, there is a strong subconscious assumption that men have higher status than women (Lorber and Farrell, 1991). As we also noted, in diverse societies, the racial majority group is considered to possess higher status and power. Furthermore, prior historical events have given rise to status and hierarchical tags assigned to various racial groups and categories. As an example, Black American people historically have been treated as inferior to their White counterparts, and have borne the brunt of interpersonal and institutionalized discrimination (Ayres and Siegelman, 1995; Rudman et al., 2012a). Like gender, race has become a signifier of status, which in turn generates expectations of how one should behave and how others respond to those behaviors.

Yet in some cases, most notably the pattern of results found among Asian American women in the United States, who were able to negotiate assertively unlike their African American female counterparts, it is also suggested that the interactions of race and gender with culture are prone to more complexity than apparent at first glance. Why one group was able to be intersectionally invisible while the other experienced a form of double jeopardy raises new questions. The difference may have been driven by the higher relative status of Asians than Black people in the American racial hierarchy, the perceived “cultural foreignness” of Asian Americans compared to African Americans (Zou and Cheryan, 2017), or the particular effect of prescriptive rather than descriptive stereotypes applied to each group and their historical associations. Additional research should investigate these and related questions.

Race and gender are not the only characteristics which are used to impute status to individuals. Other dimensions, such as socioeconomic status, language or dialect, caste, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, and so on, are associated with their own status hierarchies. For example, Al Dabbagh and colleagues (2016) found in their study of negotiations in the Arab Gulf that a group of local men, when negotiating in a context in which they were high status (local employment) were not penalized for assertiveness, but when negotiating in a domain in which they were low status (global employment) were penalized for requesting higher compensation. To the extent that

an identity is linked with status in a particular setting, it places constraints on what is considered permissible negotiation behavior.

Low-status individuals are punished for behaving in ways that are reserved for high-status individuals. If low status people negotiate assertively in an individualistic society, they are likely to receive backlash. But were they to use exactly the same negotiation styles in a collectivist society, one in which relational approaches are held in higher esteem, they might be enabled and encouraged to do so. This presents the somewhat paradoxical possibility that low-status expatriates from individualistic countries might be able to take advantage of these alternating sets of values to engage in assertive negotiation in collectivistic settings; whereas high-status expatriates from the same countries might be censured for their negotiation styles when traveling, if they or their partners did not adjust for the cultural differences.

Another aspect of this framework that we have not discussed but that may be very relevant is the concept of tightness versus looseness of culture (Gelfand et al., 2011). Cultures with tight social norms have a low tolerance of deviant behavior, and as such will be more likely to enforce these gendered social norms than cultures with loose social norms which are more permissive of deviant behavior. A related possibility is that as racial diversity and integration increases in a given society, to the point where there is no single dominant group, this will also loosen norms about what type of behavior is appropriate for whom. If the status hierarchy were to flatten, then gender disparities in negotiation outcomes might decrease.

## CONCLUSION

While prior gender and negotiation research shed light on an important facet of gender roles and norms, that is, role congruency behavior and potential backlash, prior literature has not placed much emphasis on the role of race and culture intersecting with such social expectations on gender roles and norms. In this chapter we reviewed recent work on culture, race, and gender in negotiation processes and approaches. Based on this review we noticed several interesting patterns that can help us understand gender and negotiation.

First, cultural norms and values prescribe appropriate gender norms and negotiation behavior, such that in individualistic societies, men are encouraged to be more agentic and assertive than women. In contrast, in collectivistic societies, there is higher emphasis on relational and communal behavior. Second, both race and gender signal status as well as social expectations within societies. These cues may predict (1) the extent to which individuals will engage in competitive versus cooperative behavior in negotiations, and (2) whether such behaviors are accepted or penalized by observers. Third, in most societies which are patriarchal, men are expected to embody cultural values and norms, more so than women.

It is important to consider these patterns when predicting gender differences in negotiation approach and behavior. Based on our review, it is completely expected and even acceptable for women to behave competitively and focus on their own inter-

ests in negotiation contexts. However, this depends on the geographical region and culture of the racial majority. On a similar note, in some instances, men are expected to engage in what has been labeled feminine behavior in a negotiation context, and the employment of agentic and assertive behavior is looked down upon. For future directions it is important for researchers to study the historical underpinnings of societies and cultures more closely to better understand the status and power attached to men versus women and its role in the development of gender roles and norms. It is important to test these ideas to paint a clearer picture of gender-based normative negotiation behavior and contextual factors contributing to such approaches.

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