

## ABSTRACT

Title of Document: RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN THE  
PROPENSITY TO NEGOTIATE

Brandon John Richburg Crosby,  
Master of Science, 2015

Directed By: Professor Michele Joy Gelfand, Department of  
Psychology

This research set out to examine the potential impact of race on the willingness to negotiate in the workplace. Drawing on previous research on gender influences on the willingness to negotiate and research on race and workplace discrimination, it was predicted that Black employees would be less willing to negotiate as compared to Whites, yet that this relationship would be moderated by a positive climate for diversity. Findings from interview data and a survey with employed participants showed that Black participants were less likely to negotiate on various topics such as promotions, bonuses and stock options. The ambiguity of these topics as well as climate for diversity were investigated further in a lab experiment designed to manipulate organizational factors that could impact one's willingness to negotiate. The manipulation for the ambiguous condition, climate for diversity nor the race of the participant impacted negotiation rates. Theoretical and practical implications are discussed.

RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN THE PROPENSITY  
TO NEGOTIATE

by

Brandon John Richburg Crosby

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Science  
2015

Advisory Committee:  
Professor Michele Gelfand, Chair  
Professor Paul Hanges  
Professor Charles Stangor

© Copyright by  
Brandon John Richburg Crosby  
2015

## Acknowledgements

This research is supported in part by the U.S. Army Research Laboratory and the U.S. Army Research Office under Grant W911NF-08-1-0144. The author would first like to thank his wife, Velyn Sheets Crosby, who has been an invaluable source of love and support. The author would also like to thank his advisor, Dr. Michele Gelfand for being an outstanding mentor who provided guidance for this project. The author would also like to thank his thesis committee members, Dr. Paul Hanges and Dr. Charles Stangor for their support and insights.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .....	ii
Table of Contents .....	iii
List of Tables .....	v
List of Figures .....	vi
Chapter 1: Introduction .....	1
Factors that Impact the Decision to Negotiate.....	5
Recognition of Opportunity.....	6
Entitlement .....	8
Social Consequences of Negotiation .....	10
Psychological Climate for Diversity.....	12
Climate for Diversity, Mentorship and Social Networks.....	13
Climate for Diversity, Status and Power.....	14
Exploring the Joint Effects of Race and Gender on PIN.....	15
Chapter 2: Pilot Study .....	16
Pilot Study Method.....	15
Participants.....	17
Procedure .....	18
Findings from the Pilot.....	18
Race and Negotiation.....	18
Race and Gender.....	20
Aggression vs. Assertiveness.....	22
Interview Implications.....	24
Chapter 3: Field Survey in Negotiation.....	25
Study Overview .....	25
Method .....	25
Participants.....	25
Procedure .....	26
Measures.....	26
Willingness to Negotiate.....	26
Determinants of the Propensity to Initiate Negotiation.....	27
Climate for Diversity.....	28
Concern with Appearing too Aggressive.....	29
Power.....	29
Demographics.....	31
Results.....	31
Differences in Negotiation.....	31
Determinants of the Propensity to Initiate Negotiation.....	33
Other Exploratory Analyses.....	35
Study 1 Discussion.....	36
Climate for Diversity.....	37
Race and P.I.N.....	38
Limitations.....	39
Chapter 4: Lab Experiment on Negotiation	

Study Overview.....	39
Experimental Design.....	40
Results.....	45
Suspicion and Manipulation Checks.....	45
Negotiation.....	46
Study 2 Discussion.....	47
Chapter 5: General Discussion.....	48
Gender and Negotiation.....	51
Future Directions.....	52
Implications.....	53
Appendices .....	55
Tables .....	76
Figures .....	79
References .....	81

## List of Tables

- Table 1. Inter-Correlations for Measures
- Table 2. Summary of Main Effects of Race
- Table 3. Summary of Main Effects of Gender

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Diagram of the proposed model

Figure 2. Model after Pilot Study



## Chapter 1: Introduction

At some point in the lives of most individuals, the opportunity to negotiate will present itself. Negotiation is involved in issues ranging from salary and car payments to even more intimate issues such as personal relationships and safe-sex practices. As a result of its ubiquitous presence in our society, negotiation has been heavily studied in many branches of psychology (Gelfand, Fulmer & Severance, 2010). Much research has been focused on the litany of factors that impact negotiation, such as the relationship between negotiators (McGinn, 2006), the medium of the negotiation (Thompson & Nadler, 2002), and the presence of external pressures like time (Carnevale, O'Connor & McCusker 1993). In addition to the processes involved with the negotiation process, research has noted that more psychosocial factors can impact negotiation, such as the emotion of the negotiator (C. Anderson & Thompson, 2004), the motivation of the negotiator (De Dreu & Van Kleef, 2004) or individual differences such as gender (Bowles, Babcock & Lai 2007; Amanatullah & Morris, 2010; Eriksson & Sandberg, 2012).

Despite the fact that negotiation is a broad, multifaceted topic, the research has historically had a narrow focus, by only targeting White Americans. There has been a serious lack of attention to the negotiating processes among racial minorities. This is of the utmost critical theoretical and practical importance, as diversity research in the past has indicated that race affects many organizational phenomena (Jackson & Joshi, 2011; Sellers et. al 2006). The practical implications for negotiation research are important, as negotiation plays a potential role in relevant social issues such as the wage differences between racial minorities and Whites

(Gasser, Flint & Tan 2000), access to greater resources in organizations (Ibarra 1995), and attaining higher positions in the workplace (Roberson & Kulik 2007).

In addition, there is a lack of attention to the barriers racial minorities face in getting to the negotiation table as well as challenges they may face when negotiating. Indeed, one study has shown that the dynamics racial minorities face might be vastly different from the ones that their White counterparts face. In Ayres & Siegelman's (1995) study of minorities and Whites negotiating at car dealerships, they found that White males were treated vastly different from the other groups. More importantly, the Black men and Black women all received much higher (i.e. more expensive) offers than White women and White men (Ayres & Sieglman, 1995). Given these findings and aforementioned pervasiveness of negotiation, the dynamics and strategies amongst interracial negotiations are in need of investigation.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the challenges racial minorities may face when initiating negotiation. Deciding to negotiate can often be the very first step towards successfully bargaining, but it is still a complicated process that could be impacted by a number of different factors. In addition to its place in theory, studying racial differences in the propensity to initiate negotiation is important from a practical standpoint. The differences in willingness to negotiate can be implicated in explaining previously mentioned social issues such as the wage gap amongst different groups of people and access to greater organizational resources. While research on the willingness to negotiate has recently focused heavily on gender differences and one's propensity to initiate negotiations (Babcock, Gelfand, Small & Stayn, 2006; Bear & Babcock, 2012; Eriksson & Sandberg, 2012; Leibbrant & List, 2014), to my

knowledge, there has been no research that examines the effects of race on the propensity to initiate negotiation (PIN).

This thesis also examines how the relationship between race and PIN is modeled within the organizational context. It is necessary to understand that negotiations do not occur in a vacuum, and accordingly, organizational factors need to be studied when examining race and PIN. In particular, this research examines race and negotiation within an organizational climate framework. Dickson, Resick and Hanges (2006) state that an organizational climate “reflects beliefs about the organization’s environment that are shared among members and to which members attach psychological meaning to help them make sense of their environment.” These organizational climates are also maintained by policies implemented by the organization itself (Schneider and Reichers, 1983).

More specifically, I examined climate for diversity, which has been defined as “employees’ shared perceptions of the policies, practices, and procedures that implicitly and explicitly communicate the extent to which fostering and maintaining diversity and eliminating discrimination is a priority in the organization” (Gelfand, Nishii, Raver, & Schneider, 2005, p. 104). An organization that has a positive CFD can empower employees and create inclusive environments for racial minorities (Nishii & Raver 2001). CFD has been used as a moderator in past literature focusing on the turnover intentions of racial minorities (McKay et al. 2007) and the number of occurrences of discrimination (Brief & Barsky 2000). While the importance of CFD has been well documented, its relationship with negotiation has not been explored. It is also important to note that the present research focuses on the *psychological*

*climate* (i.e., perceived climate for diversity), as the intent is to examine the individual perception of the organization as I will discuss at length below.

My research program was the first to examine racial minorities' experiences at the negotiation table. This research addressed several questions that are relevant to understanding race and the propensity to negotiate. These questions include: What are the factors that impact the decision to negotiate? Are these factors impacted by one's race? Does the psychological climate for diversity moderate the relationship between race and the factors that impact the decision to negotiate? From a theoretical standpoint, the current research examined a model of how the factors impacting negotiation combine to predict minorities' propensity to negotiate. The model is shown in Figure 1.

The model posits that there are several factors that dictate whether or not one will actually initiating negotiation. These factors are based on, and extend, research conducted on gender differences in propensities to initiate negotiation (Babcock et al., 2006). The researchers interviewed individuals in the workforce to try to understand which factors were relevant when participants considered initiating negotiations. The factors included *recognition of opportunity, entitlement, apprehension* and *expected social consequences*, which will be discussed at length below. Understanding the relationship between these factors and one's propensity to negotiate is posited to be important for racial minorities. As I will explain below, I theorize that racial minorities are less likely the recognize opportunity, less likely to feel empowered, and are more apprehensive about negotiating due to the social consequences. As a result, I predict that they are less likely to initiate negotiation than their White counterparts.

However, the model suggests that the psychological climate has a moderating effect on the relationship between race and the aforementioned variables that impact one's propensity to initiate negotiation, such that psychological climate for diversity attenuates differences present in the relationship between racial difference and PIN. I theorize that the psychological climate for diversity empowers racial minorities, as well as lead them to have greater equity in status which leads to greater recognition of negotiation opportunities. With this equal status, racial minorities are also theorized to feel more comfortable and less apprehensive about the social costs of negotiation. Two studies, one field and one experimental tested the theory. Below I elaborate on the model prior to discussing the methods.

#### *Factors that Impact the Decision to Negotiate*

Historically, research on negotiation has focused on how people negotiate and what factors impact negotiation outcomes (Gelfand, Fulmer and Severance 2010). However, past, research has focused on the factors that lead individuals to initiate negotiation (Magee, Galinsky & Gruenfeld, 2007; Bowles et al., 2007; Miles, 2010 Bowles, Babcock & McGinn, 2005). It is from this line of research that Babcock et al. (2006) identified four factors that impact the decision to negotiate. The researchers used the factors to illustrate the two phase process that is involved in deciding to negotiate. The first stage is the recognition the opportunity to negotiate and the belief that one is entitled to ask for the outcome they desire. The second stage involves overcoming emotional apprehension surrounding the process of negotiation and finally deciding whether or not the act of negotiating will negatively impact their social relationships. The factors will be explained in detail, and will be discussed in

relation to potential gender and racial differences. I will also explain possible mechanisms behind these gender and racial differences for each factor. While these mechanisms are not explicitly tested within my studies, I present them here as potential explanations behind these differences.

### **Recognition of opportunity**

The very first step when deciding to initiate negotiation is to identify that a situation could possibly change by asking or demanding to change the status quo. There are some occurrences where the opportunity to negotiate is clear, such as when negotiating the price of a car or negotiating starting salary. However, the opportunity to negotiate is not always so clear, and individuals may not recognize that they are in a negotiable situation

Babcock et al. propose that the concept of recognizing when negotiation is possible may be related to the “internal-external locus of control” (Rotter, 1966). According to the theory, some individuals feel as though they have the power to control factors that affect them. Research has shown that White men have greater internal locus of control than women and minorities (Strickland and Haley, 1980; Parkes, 1985; MacDonald 1971).

Besides individual differences, other factors within the organizational contexts can affect the discrepancy between racial minorities and Whites in regards to perceiving the opportunities to negotiate. Mentorship in an organization can lead an individual to recognize opportunities for advancement. Fagenson (1992) found that individuals with mentors were more likely to feel satisfied in their careers, and also found that they were more likely to recognize opportunities for career mobility and

opportunity. These participants expressed greater satisfaction in many areas, including their compensation. It is possible that mentors enabled protégé's to recognize opportunities that could help benefit their situation.

However, racial minorities face numerous barriers to obtaining high quality mentors. Dreher and Cox (1996) found that racial minorities and women were less likely than their White male counterparts to establish mentoring relationships. Also, Ensher and Murphy (1997) found that protégés were closer and had more beneficial relationships with mentors of the same race and gender. This can have large implications for minorities in organizations, where it is more difficult for individuals to find mentors that share their race (Ragins, 1997). It is entirely possible that racial minorities and women do not get the same caliber of mentorship in the workplace. Research has shown that interracial mentor-protégé relationships are not as supportive or effective as their intraracial counterparts (Ensher & Murphy 1997; Elliot & Smith 2004). This could impact the positive outcomes from mentorship, which include learning about taking advantage of opportunities in the workplace.

Along with mentorship, social networking can be important when knowing when a situation is negotiable. Social networking at organizations is of the utmost importance, and can lead to attaining higher status (Lin 1999) and better access to information (Borgatti & Cross 2003). With the superior access to information, individuals in strong social networks might be more able to predict when an issue is negotiable. This advantage might be loss on racial minorities, who might have a difficult time forming close social networks with their White counterparts (Ibarra 1995; McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook 2001). With the boundaries minorities face

to establish positive, strong social networks, they may be less likely to be well informed of negotiation opportunities.

From the basis of the theory of locus of control, social networks and mentorship, I advance two hypotheses about recognizing negotiation opportunities and initiating negotiation.

*Hypothesis 1a:* Individuals who are more likely to recognize that a situation is negotiable will be more likely to initiate negotiation.

*Hypothesis 1b:* Racial minorities and women will be less likely to recognize that a situation is negotiable, thus leading them to be less likely to initiate negotiation.

## **Entitlement**

Another factor that predicts initiating negotiation is the belief that one deserves to ask for greater resources. An individual may be well aware that a situation is present for them to negotiate for a more favorable situation or compensation, but they may feel as though they do not deserve any more benefits. Feeling entitlement in a negotiable situation involves having a positive opinion of one's position or performance, as well as recognizing that more is available. (Major & Testa, 1989)

Social comparison and performance feedback can lead to one assessing a negotiable situation and judging whether or not asking for more is appropriate (Bylsma & Major, 1992; Jost 1997; Major & Testa, 1989). This can help set guidelines for what compensation should be expected and how much bargaining power is available to the negotiator. However, feedback and comparison are not



always available in negotiation situations. It is in these more ambiguous situations where differences between certain individuals' sense of entitlement becomes apparent. For example, Bylsma & Major (1992) found that without feedback or comparison, men felt as though they deserved greater compensation than women. Leibbrandt & List (2014) also found women were more apprehensive about negotiating in an environment where compensation information was ambiguous. Referred to as the depressed- entitlement effect, it partially accounts for how much women think they deserve to earn (Bylsma & Major, 1992).

To date, there has been little work done on race and the depressed-entitlement effect, however expectations of salary has been more closely examined (Seidel, Polzer & Stewart 2000). Gasser, Flint and Tan (2000), found that White Americans expected higher starting salaries than Black Americans. In addition, it was found that Black Americans also agreed to smaller increases in salary than White Americans (Seidel, Polzer & Stewart, 2000). In addition to seemingly lower expectations of salary, minorities also suffer from less favorable job evaluations than their White counterparts (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1993; Stauffer and Buckley 2005). The combination of lower expectations and less favorable job comparisons could lead to an overall decrease in entitlement.

From the combination of the entitlement theory and literature, along with racial discrimination, I have advanced two hypotheses about this construct.

*Hypothesis 2a:* Individuals who feel more entitled about receiving compensation will be more likely to initiate negotiation.

*Hypothesis 2b:* Racial minorities and women will be less likely to feel entitled to compensation, thus leading them to be less likely to initiate negotiation.

### **Social Consequences of Negotiation**

Finally, another factor individuals consider when deciding to negotiate is the considering the social consequences for negotiating. Some consider negotiation a competitive task, and as such, do not wish to create conflict between individuals. Though negotiation can be seen as an isolated event, it could potentially have social repercussions that hinder future interactions with negotiators (O'Connor & Arnold, 2001).

The status of the parties involved is pivotal to understanding how individuals view the social consequences of negotiation. Individuals in different social statuses have different expectations that could impact what actions they find appropriate (Jackman, 1994; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). This plays an important role in negotiation because the behavior of individuals during the process could have an impact on the future interactions of the parties involved. Specifically, if negotiation behavior is seen as inappropriate, it could damage the future relationship of the parties (Morris, Larrick, & Su, 1999; O'Connor & Arnold, 2001; Tinsley, O'Connor, & Sullivan, 2002). With this knowledge in mind, people of different social statuses will be more careful not to behave in an unacceptable manner. Indeed, Bowles and Gelfand (2010) found that low status individuals would be punished more harshly for deviant behavior than their high status counterparts

Women are commonly seen and treated as individuals with low social power compared to men, and as a result, many women believe it is not their place to

negotiate because it is a process indicative of high power individuals (Small et. al 2007). Low status individuals, on the other hand, are seen as less self-serving than high status individuals and should thus aim to please others (Conway, 1996). If initiating negotiation is not a behavior that is deemed acceptable by a woman, or any other low status individual, then this could lead many to avoid this behavior for fear of repercussions. Low status individuals may also be seen as less deserving of certain privileges in a group. If a low status individual tries to demand more privileges, they may face backlash. (Anderson et al. 2006) Given the limitations that low status individuals face, it should not be too surprising that Bowles, Babcock and Lai (2007) found that women were more likely to face negative repercussions for initiating negotiations.

Racial minorities also suffer from having low status and power in the workplace (Elliott and Smith, 2004; Greenhaus, Parasuraman and Wormley, 1990). Unfortunately, racial minorities do not tend to have the same high social and organizational status as their white counterparts, which often finds them in positions with little power (DiTomaso & Parks-Yancy, 2007). With minorities, like women, occupying a lower social status than Whites, it might be possible that they'd face backlash for initiating negotiation. With the knowledge that negotiation could incur negative social consequences, minorities would be less likely to negotiate.

*Hypothesis 3a:* Individuals who feel as though initiating negotiation would result in negative social consequences will be less likely to initiate negotiation.

*Hypothesis 3b:* Racial minorities and women will be more likely to feel as though initiating negotiation would result in negative social consequences, thus leading them to be less likely to initiate negotiation.

### *Psychological Climate for Diversity*

In addition to the factors that can impact the propensity to negotiate, the proposed model asserts that the psychological climate for diversity will moderate the effect of race on the factors mentioned above. Research generally focuses on the three main tenets of CFD: formal aspects, informal aspects and the value placed on diversity (Leslie, 2004). These aspects, controlled and enforced by organizations can create a positive or negative climate for diversity. A positive climate for diversity ensures that an organization creates an environment with fair formal policies and treatment of all employees, promotes positive relationships between different racial groups, and places an emphasis on how appreciative the organization is of the diverse backgrounds of its members (Brief & Barsky 2000; Mayhew, Grunwald & Dey 2005). A negative climate for diversity, on the other hand, treats individuals differently depending on their demographic status and shuns racial and gender differences (Brief & Barsky 2000) alleviate some of the effects racial status can have on the factors that impact the decision to negotiate.

The proposed model posits that the climate for diversity can have a moderating effect on the relationship race has on the three factors that impact negotiation. It is proposed that a supportive psychological climate for diversity will allow minorities to overcome the social boundaries that could come in to play when considering the three factors.

## **Climate for Diversity, Mentorship and Social Networks**

Organizations with positive climates for diversity aim to create an inclusive environment for all individuals (Nishii & Raver 2001; Nishii, 2013). Nishii posits that a positive climate for diversity is necessary for fostering an inclusive environment for all individuals. This can include formal and informal measures that enable individuals from different backgrounds to feel an increased sense of belonging within the organization (Gonzalez & Denisi, 2009; Shore et al. 2011). As a result, it is possible that women and racial minorities would be able to better connect to the networks within an organization with a positive climate for diversity. This will allow them to reap the rewards of having strong ties, as protégés, mentors or just individuals in social networks. These rewards might include better knowledge of negotiation opportunities. On the other hand, a negative climate for diversity may make certain individuals feel ostracized in an organization. Therefore, I hypothesize that organizational climate will have a moderating effect on the relationship between race and one of the relevant factors for initiating negotiation.

*Hypothesis 4:* Psychological climate for diversity will moderate the relationship between race and recognition of negotiable situations such that minorities in positive climates for diversity will be able to better identify negotiable situations than minorities in neutral climates or negative climates for diversity.

In addition to simply informing individuals of when negotiation is permissible, effective mentors may also provide protégés with insight into social comparisons and feedback (Allen et al., 2004). As stated before, these two pieces of information are invaluable when determining the one's entitlement in a negotiable

situation (Bylsma & Major, 1992; Jost 1997; Major& Testa, 1989). In fact, Bylsma & Brenda Major (1992) found that when women were given comparative information and feedback, they were able to overcome the depressed entitlement effect and receive the same negotiation outcomes as their male counterparts. In an organization with a positive climate for diversity, effective mentors might be more likely to pass this information.

*Hypothesis 5:* Psychological climate for diversity will moderate the relationship between race and entitlement such that minorities in positive climates for diversity will feel more entitled to the resources they deserve.

### **Climate for Diversity, Status and Power**

Power and status in the workplace are dictated by a myriad of factors. For racial minorities, gaining a reputable status and accruing power may be a unique challenge. Minorities and women suffer from having a lack of status due to societal factors as well as deficiencies in beneficial social networks (Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989). In addition, Elliot and Smith (2004) found that minorities and women possessed significantly less power than their White male counterparts regardless of their position. These disheartening findings may not apply in an organization of positive climate for diversity.

Historically, research has shown that these organizations are more cognizant of issues surrounding racial discrepancies regarding race and power (Cox, 1994; Nishii & Raver, 2003). Policies and promoted behaviors within these organizations aim to provide a more level playing field for minorities and women. Within these climates, individuals should face less discrimination, and should maintain equal

power and status as other individuals. The elimination of status differences according to racial identity will attenuate the backlash that minorities could face for initiating negotiation.

*Hypothesis 6:* Psychological climate for diversity will moderate the relationship between race and social cost of initiating negotiation, such that racial minorities in positive climates for diversity will experience lower levels of backlash in comparison to minorities in negative or neutral climates for diversity.

### **Exploring the Joint Effects of Race and Gender on PIN**

Thus far I have discussed race and PIN, but I also explored the potential interaction of race and gender on PIN. In particular, it is predicted that one's race and gender have a large impact on their propensity to negotiate by having an effect on social status, entitlement and other previously described factors. However, for minority women, their race and gender may have joint effects on their status, power and propensity to negotiate. Minority women in the workplace not only have to deal with stereotypes and social expectations of their gender, but also their race (Settles, Pratt-Hyatt, & Buchanan, 2008). Past literature has asserted that due to these expectations and stereotypes, minority women face prejudice against them based on their race as well as their gender (Berdahl & Moore, 2006). Unfortunately, minority women typically experience more harassment on the job than any other group, and their race and gender seem to exacerbate the effect on the discrimination they face in the workplace (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Raver & Nishii, 2010; Foyne, Shepherd & Harrington 2013). The prejudice minority women face can have an outcome on their

workplace situation, as Black and Latina women were found to earn the least money (Browne, 1999) and have the least workplace power (Browne, Hewitt, Tigges, & Green, 2001; Maume, 1999).

At the same time, there is also inconsistencies in the literature on race and gender. Specifically, while it is true that minority women generally face more discrimination as a result of the race and gender, it is not clear whether these effects are additive or multiplicative (Browne & Misra, 2003; Weber, 2001). Additionally, as different races have different stereotypes, the social expectations of one group of women may be different than another. For example, Black women, who face a stereotype of being aggressive and demanding, may be assertive in the workplace without facing as much backlash as their White female and Black male counterparts (Livingston, Rosette & Washington, 2012). In this situation, a Black woman might face less social backlash for initiating negotiation, despite being both a racial minority and a woman. With the potential contradictory social roles and racial stereotypes minority women face in the workplace, the present research adopts an exploratory hypothesis regarding race, gender and PIN.

## Chapter 2: Pilot Study

### *Study Overview*

As stated, while an extensive literature on negotiation and gender exists, there has been little work done exploring the relationships between race and willingness to negotiate. While I have presented theories and hypotheses for the present study, these have been borne out of research surrounding gender differences in negotiation and also racial issues in the workplace at large. It's entirely possible that the racial



dynamics of other, more studied, organizational phenomena also apply to negotiation, but it's likely that negotiation has some unique aspects that should be explored further. In an attempt to get more familiar with the impact of race on negotiation, I first conducted interviews with Black Americans in the work force. These interviews served multiple purposes, namely to explore issues that arise in negotiations among Black Americans and to explore if there were any dynamics that I was neglecting in forming my theories. There may have been important aspects of the relationship between race and negotiation that have not been discussed in negotiation or diversity research up until this point.

## Method

### *Participants*

10 Black individuals in the workforce were interviewed (5 men and 5 women). The participants were contacted via the University of Maryland's office of alumni relations, Morehouse College and Spelman College's Washington D.C. alumni chapters. University of Maryland's office agreed to facilitate contact with members of the College of Behavioral and Social Science's Alumni Board of Visitors and the Alumni Chapter Board. The alumni chapters of Morehouse and Spelman aided in the recruitment by sending out information about the interviews to alumni in the area. The interviewees worked in various industries. 7 of the 10 participants worked in some sort of business capacity such as marketing, finance or accounting. Two lawyers were included as well as a research director for a small think tank. The ages ranged from 24 to 65 and included employees from varying levels of tenure and job status.

### *Procedure*

The participants were notified of the study through the College of Behavioral and Social Science as well as Morehouse's Washington D.C. alumni chapter, and were contacted via email asking them if they desired to take part of the study. Each potential interviewee emailed me expressing their interest in the study, and we coordinated a time to have an interview over the phone. Each interview was recorded. The questions utilized were designed to inquire about the participants' personal experiences with negotiation as well as questions about their experience in the workplace. These included questions such as, "When you are considering initiating a negotiation, what factors go into your decision regarding whether to do it or not?" and "Once you have begun negotiating, what is your general strategy? What personal factors (i.e. position, history with the organization, expertise, etc.) impact your negotiation strategies?" Each interview was conducted over the phone, recorded and ranged from 45 minutes to one and a half hours. The full list of questions are in Appendix A.

### Findings from the Pilot

During the course of the interviews, several trends became apparent. When over 50% of interviewees discussed the same topic, I considered it a trend. These topics were often repeated by several interviewees and were said to impact how they felt about negotiating.

*Race and Negotiation.* A common trend amongst the interviews was the assertion that race played a factor in their experiences with negotiation. 9 of the 10

interviewees indicated that race has impacted their experiences with negotiation. For example, as one participant explained:

Because of American culture, African-American culture as well as the culture of the organization... I believe we're in a culture where negotiation is shied away from. As a result, for years I didn't negotiate as much as I could have and only negotiated things that he was 100% certain were negotiable, like salary for example (Have age, gender, and occupation here and do this for all quotes).

Another participant also noted that the environment within their workplace also made it difficult to initiate negotiation:

When I negotiate, I've got to make sure that my arguments are pretty much infallible. I'm the only African-American in my department and I feel like I've got to deal with the stereotype of being less competent. This has hindered me in the past, because I've been unsure whether or not to bring my problems up. What would happen if I screwed up?

While multiple participants have stated that their race is a large factor when negotiating, other participants described situations where they felt more comfortable when considering negotiation.

I used to care more about my race and gender when I was negotiating in the past. I was definitely not as confident and assertive. I've changed over the years as I've gotten a little older and gotten more experience, but the biggest change has been the field itself. It's

become a lot more diverse, and that's changed the way business is done. I feel more comfortable and confident over time.

The participants quoted above, as well as many of the other interviewees, believed that negotiation was not stressed within the African-American culture and that this prevented them from negotiating for things unless they were absolutely certain. Other participants noted the organizational climate and a fear of being stereotyped that contributed to their unwillingness to negotiate. These experiences speak to the nature of many different issues with race and negotiation. Many of them discussed the prospect of negotiating as if it were a risky venture that could lead to a litany of negative consequences. The ones that did feel comfortable about negotiating felt as though they had a good reason to negotiate, a solid argument for their position and were in an environment where they felt respected.

*Race and Gender.* Another trend that was present in nearly all of my interviews with female participants was the issue of race and gender. The female participants tended to believe that their race had a bigger impact than their gender, but the intersection of both separated their experiences from Women of other races as well as from Black men. As one participant noted:

In my office, I don't feel like I have to deal with the same rules or concerns that the other women do because I'm a Black woman. I can be more assertive than the White women here because they either expect me to be more assertive, or they don't know what to expect.

For that reason, I can push a little harder than White women.

Another echoed these sentiments:

I definitely have trouble negotiating because I'm a Black female. I feel like I'm the bottom of the barrel sometimes around here. Almost everyone in management is male and mostly White males that don't really consider my needs and wants. They expect me to bend over backwards and to just be ok with them taking advantage of me. The few times I have actually asked for stuff, I feel like they don't really take me seriously. It can be real frustrating.

And as another notes:

Sometimes I think people in this company can be bullies. They're bullies to most people and I know that they can be difficult to try to negotiate with. But with me, I know it's partly because I'm an African-American, and I'm a woman. They look at me like, "You can't be serious, you're asking for what?" I get these looks from men and women.

This intersectionality of race and gender provided the participants with unique experiences that differ from both their male and White counterparts. This has been documented in more recent literature in the field. Specifically, while it is true that minority women generally face more discrimination as a result of the race and gender, it is not clear whether these effects are additive or multiplicative (Browne & Misra, 2003; Weber, 2001; Livingston, Rosette & Washington, 2012). Additionally, as different races have different stereotypes, the social expectations of one group of women may be different than another. For example, Black women, who face a stereotype of being aggressive and demanding, may be assertive in the workplace

without facing as much backlash as their White female and Black male counterparts (Livingston, Rosette & Washington, 2012). In this situation, a Black woman might face less social backlash for initiating negotiation, despite being both a racial minority and a woman.

*Aggression vs. Assertiveness.* The final trend that appeared often was the issue of interviewees concerned with being perceived as aggressive when they simply wished to be assertive. Several interviewees commented on this. As one participant (age, gender, occupation) explained:

In some cases I know I make people uncomfortable with my assertiveness when starting to negotiate or do other things really. People worry about me being the ‘angry black man’.

Another (age, gender, occupation) echoed this in saying:

I’m a big Black guy with a deep voice, and I worry about it all the time. Honestly, I’ve got to go in there with a big smile and make sure that the other person, especially if they’re White or another race, is as comfortable as possible. Otherwise, when you walk in the door they give you a look of uneasiness when you walk in the door and if you raise your voice. You’ve got to let them know and shake their hand and let them know ‘hey, I’m not going to hurt you’. It’s one of those things, especially down here [Louisiana], that you have to deal with your entire life. My parents always taught me that Black men make

White people uncomfortable, so you've got to let them be comfortable to disarm them.

Finally, another participant noted that:

Even when I'm not negotiating I've got to be calm and kind of low key. I'm a loud woman from a loud family but I always tone it down at work. I don't want to be that loud angry black woman. I also make sure I communicate well. If I don't, people might think I'm angry at them, or yelling at them for no reason, when really, I'm probably being energetic or even just excited (age, gender, occupation).

Both male and female interviewees echoed this sentiment frequently and their concerns about being perceived as too aggressive may impact their experience with negotiating. The stereotype of the aggressive and angry Black person has been discussed before within organizational research (Wingfield, 2007; Childs, 2005). Stereotypes surrounding aggression and anger may impede Black employees from negotiating, which is a very assertive task. If they are concerned with appearing too aggressive or angry, they may feel as though initiating negotiation would lead them to making their coworkers uncomfortable.

It should be noted that previous research on gender and negotiation has found that women have been concerned with appearing too aggressive when negotiating (Bowles, Babcock & McGinn, 2005; Bear, 2011; Gelfand & Stayn, 2013). However, the concerns of the interviewees seem to be due to a separate issue. With the previous gender research, women have indicated that they are concerned with breaking traditional gender roles and not behaving in prosocial ways. Women are

often stereotyped to appear accommodating and modest, and when their behavior does not match these expectations, they often experience harsh backlash in the workplace (Bear, 2011). This has lead women to feel as though they need to behave in a polite, prosocial manner that is in line with the established gender roles (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010).

However, the concerns of the interviewees are not related to the issue of role incongruity. Instead they explain that they are worried about confirming the stereotype of the “angry Black person”. This stereotype promotes the idea of an irrational Black person who is easily agitated and difficult to work with (Childs, 2005). Previous research on racial issues in the workforce has noted that Black employees are aware of this stereotype and many actively try to avoid it (Wingfield, 2007). Past research, as well as comments made by the interviewees describe situations where they are worried about intimidating colleagues and experiencing backlash for behaving in an inappropriate manner.

### *Interview Implications*

The results from the interviews show that race, gender and stereotypes are factors that Black employees are cognizant of in the workplace. However, the interviews also pointed out an issue that had previously not been brought up by my theories. The anxiety surrounding Black employees with appearing inappropriately aggressive or angry may have important implications in terms of initiating negotiation. To account for this, I added the construct of appearing aggressive to my model as well as my survey as another potential mediator between race and initiating negotiation. I theorized that the concern with appearing to aggressive would prevent



Black Americans from initiating negotiation. Initiating negotiation is an assertive action where one must attempt to advance one's interests. While this display of assertiveness might be seen as reasonable, Black Americans may be concerned with perceived as too aggressive. This could lead to damaged professional relationships because of their perceived aggression. Since my interviewees frequently noted the awareness of this stigma, I believe that Black Americans may be less likely to negotiate because they believe it could be seen as aggressive. The revised model can be found in Figure 2.

### **Chapter 3: Field Survey in Negotiation**

#### *Study Overview*

Study 1 employed a survey methodology to examine my hypotheses. The survey asked participants about a range of negotiable topics, PIN variables investigated in previous research (e.g., recognition of opportunity, entitlement, and concern with consequences) and a new measure of concern with appearing angry, as well as measures of psychological climate for diversity

#### Method

##### *Participants*

Participants were recruited using the panel service provided by Qualtrics. The panel recruited participants ensuring that the respondents were African-American and White individuals currently in the workforce. Each respondent received \$10 for their participation in the study. There were 324 participants total with 95 White men, 89 White women, 65 Black men and 75 Black women. All participants were between the ages of 19 and 65, with a mean age of 32.

Power analysis was conducted beforehand to see how many participants would be needed to run the necessary analyses. The results indicated that we needed 279 participants for a medium effect size. For a small effect size, 1716 participants would be needed, and for a large effect size, 112 participants would be needed. 350 participants were originally in the data, but 26 needed to be dropped. 10 were retired participants who felt as though they could not answer the questions dealing with negotiation nor the questions dealing with questions about their organization. The remaining 16 participants were removed for various issues including not properly completing the survey (e.g. every response was '1') or failing to complete over two-thirds of the survey.

### *Procedure*

Participants were recruited through Qualtrics and eligible respondents received a link where they could complete the survey. Participants were asked about their willingness to negotiate for various organizational topics. In addition, the respondents were asked to fill out questions about the different factors that impact the propensity to initiate negotiation. Finally, the participants were asked about different aspects of their organization, as well as their role within the organization. These topics included their relationship with their supervisor, the organizational climate, perceived power and organizational demographic information.

### *Measures*

#### *Willingness to Negotiate.*

As per Babcock et al (2006), I asked the participants to indicate the last time they negotiated, and when they plan to negotiate in the future. I also asked the

participants to indicate their willingness to negotiate on four topics dealing with compensation: salary, benefits, promotions and stock options. For each topic, participants were asked to “Please indicate how frequently you negotiate for the following item”. The 6 points were Daily, Weekly, Monthly, Annually, Biannually and Never.<sup>1</sup> The full list of items are found in Appendix B.

*Determinants of the Propensity to Initiate Negotiation.*

To measure the three factors that impact PIN, the present research utilized the scale used in Babcock et al. (2006). Each item presents a statement dealing with one of the factors, and participants will be able to respond with their level of agreement, ranging from 1=strongly disagree to 7=strongly agree. I conducted principle axis factor analysis using varimax rotation to investigate the presence of the different dimensions. Using the Kaiser criterion in conjunction with the Cattell Scree plot, four dimensions each with an eigenvalue greater than 1 were identified that explained 72% of the variance. These four dimensions were: recognition of opportunity, entitlement, anxiety surrounding negotiating and concern with social consequences of negotiating.

There were five items assessing recognition of opportunity including the following statements “Most things are negotiable”, “It is possible to make things better for myself by simply asking for what I want“, “Many interactions I have during the day can be opportunities to improve my situation,” “There are many things

---

<sup>1</sup> Along with the four topics listed here, I also included additional more negotiable topics such as retirement, sick days and equipment. These items were not selected based on any established theory, but mostly served as an exploratory list to note any racial or gender issue. They have since been excluded due to low base rates and have had no significant race effects. Over 90% of people indicated that they never negotiated for benefits, transfers, difficulty of task assignments, flex time, job location, parking or office space. The other items, including vacation time, autonomy, training, retirement, sick days or vacation had no race or gender effects.

available to people, if only people asked for them” and “I often see chances to improve my circumstances ( $\alpha = .825$ ).

The entitlement section features the three following statements: "I usually feel that I've earned the right to have things go my way," "I think situations should be changed to fit my desires," and "I deserve to have my interests taken care of." ( $\alpha = .698$ )

The next section asked participants to indicate their level of agreement with statements about their anxiety about the social consequences of negotiating. The anxiety dimension included the six following statements: "I feel anxious when I have to ask for something I want", "It always takes me a long time to work up the courage to ask for things I want", "I feel nervous when I am in situations in which I have to persuade others to give me things I want", "I experience a lot of stress when I think about asking for something I want", "I feel very awkward asking for things for myself" and "It always feels so unpleasant to have to ask things for myself ( $\alpha = .910$ ).

The final dimension was the concern with the social consequences of negotiating. This There were 5 items in the measure: "Asking someone for what I want crates harmful conflict", "If I ask for what I want form someone it will put stress on our relationship", "Even if I don't get it, if I ask for what I want, others will think I am selfish," "No one would think I'm selfish if I ask for something I want" and "Asking for what I want will give others reason to think I am greedy" ( $\alpha = .856$ ).

#### *Climate for Diversity*

Psychological climate for diversity was examined using the diversity perception scale developed by Mor Barak, Cherin & Berkman (1998). This scale

measures how participants feel their organization handles diversity and how they feel about diversity. Participants will be asked to indicate how much they agree with 10 statements about the diversity climate of the organization on a 6-point Likert format ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The scale includes statements such as, “Managers here have a track record of hiring and promoting employees objectively, regardless of their race, sex, religion or age”, “Management here encourages the formation of employee network support groups”, “I feel I have been treated differently here because of my race, sex, religion or age”, “Managers here make layoff decisions fairly, regardless of the employee’s ethnicity, gender, age, or social background” and “Managers here give assignments based on the skills and abilities of employees.”

Principal axis analysis was conducted to test the number of factors in the measure. Using Kaiser’s criterion in conjunction with Cattell’s scree plot, there appeared to be two factors with an eigenvalue greater than 1 that explained 65% of the variance. However, all items loaded on one factor except one: “Management here encourages the formation of employee network support groups”. This item was double loaded on both of the indicated factors. I therefore solved for a one factor solution and the scale showed to be internally consistent ( $\alpha = .810$ ).

#### *Concern with Appearing too Aggressive.*

After observing that participants from the interviews had concern with appearing too aggressive, I added a measure to address this issue. Participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement, ranging from 1=strongly disagree to 7=strongly agree on 11 statements such as, “If I appear even the slightest bit

aggravated, other exaggerate how aggravated I am” and “If I assert myself, I have to be careful about not seeming angry.”

Principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation was conducted to investigate the number of factors present in this measure. Kaiser’s criterion was used along with Cattell’s scree plot. Results revealed that there were two factors with an eigenvalue greater than 1 that explained 82% of the variance. However, each of the three items that loaded onto the second factor were double loaded. These items were subsequently removed, leaving 8 items on the final measure. This scale was internally consistent ( $\alpha = .793$ ). The full list of items are in Appendix D.

#### *Power*

The measure utilized to measure perceived power was developed by Anderson, John, & Keltner (2012). The 8-item measure includes statements such as “I think I have a great deal of power,” and “My ideas and opinions are often ignored” (reverse coded). These statements were measured on a scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). These items were all preceded by the phrase “In my organization...”

I conducted a principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation to investigate the number of factors in the measure. Using the Kaiser criterion and Cattell’s scree plot, results showed that there was only one driving factor with an eigenvalue greater than 1 that explained 68% of the variance. The measure was also acceptably reliable ( $\alpha = .679$ ).

#### *Demographics*

Participants were asked to answer several demographic questions for the purposes of this study. These questions included race, gender, age and annual income. Participants also had to indicate the industry they work in. They chose from one of 20 options including aerospace, consulting, nursing and wholesale retailers. For the purposes of analysis, similar professions were combined into one of 5 categories: health, retail, business services, and education and STEM fields.

## Results

*Control Variables* One industry was correlated with a few negotiation variables of interest. Retail services was correlated with training, promotions and vacation time ( $r = .116, p = .036$ ;  $r = .118, p = .037$ ;  $r = -.127, p = .02$ ). It was also correlated with recognition of opportunity ( $r = -.130, p = .019$ ). Age was also correlated with negotiation for salary and retirement ( $r = .150, p = .007$ ;  $r = .232, p = .000$ ). It was not correlated with any of the other measures. In the results that follow I control for industry and age.

### *Differences in Negotiation*

*Salary.* Differences in the level of comfort with negotiation was analyzed using two-way analysis of covariance with the participants' race (Black or White) and the participants' gender (Male or Female). The first topic analyzed was salary. The results indicated that the Black participants ( $M = 5.34, SD = 1.04$ ) were just as likely to negotiate for salary as the White participants ( $M = 5.33, SD = 1.10$ ),  $F(1, 324) = .005, p = .946$ . However, there was a main effect on gender where men ( $M = 5.20, SD = 1.18$ ) were more likely to negotiate than women ( $M = 5.48, SD = .942$ ),

$F(1,324)= 5.453, p=.020$ . The interaction was not significant, ( $F(1,324)= 1.733, p=.189$ ).

*Bonuses.* Unlike salary, results indicate that Black participants ( $M=2.45, SD=1.87$ ) were less likely to negotiate for bonuses than their White counterparts ( $M=2.01, SD = 1.75$ ),  $F(1, 321)=5.352, p=.021$ . Women ( $M=2.01, SD=1.73$ ) were also more likely to negotiate than men ( $M=2.40, SD=1.889$ ),  $F(1,321)=4.78, p=.030$ . The interaction was non-significant  $F(1,321)=1.75, p=.187$ .

*Stock Options.* Black participants ( $M=1.82, SD=1.59$ ) were less likely to negotiate for stock options than their White counterparts ( $M=1.35, SD=1.08$ )  $F(1,318)=10.05, p=.002$ . There was no difference between men ( $M=1.59, SD=1.36$ ) and women ( $M=1.52, SD=1.34$ )  $F(1,318)=.363, p=.547$ . In addition, the interaction was non-significant  $F(1,318)= .315, p=.575$ .

*Promotions.* White participants ( $M=5.57, SD=.729$ ) were more likely to negotiate for promotions than Black participants ( $M=5.73, SD=.651$ ),  $F(1, 311)= 4.072, p=.044$ . There was no difference in men ( $M=5.60, SD=.756$ ) and women ( $M=5.71, SD=.628$ ),  $F(1,311)= .977, p=.324$ . The interaction was also non-significant  $F(1,311) = 1.153, p=.284$ .

*Recent and Future Negotiations.* Participants indicated when they last negotiated and when they planned to negotiate next. Both variables were significantly positively skewed, so both were log transformed before analysis. The race of the participants did not have impact on the last time then negotiated ( $B=25.150, p=.125$ ), nor when they plan on negotiating again ( $B=-6.710, p=.079$ ). However, the latter results were trending towards significance and showed that



White participants indicated that they would negotiate sooner ( $M = 22.23$  weeks) than Black participants ( $M = 36.13$  weeks).

*Determinants of the Propensity to Initiate Negotiation*

*Recognition of Opportunity.* Like the negotiation measures, these measures were analyzed using two-way analysis of covariance with race and gender as the independent variables. The complete correlation table of each of these measures, including negotiation outcomes, is available in Table 1. Recognition of the opportunity was first analyzed, and the results indicated that Black participants ( $M=5.29$ ,  $SD=1.01$ ) felt as though they recognized just as many negotiation opportunities as our White participants ( $M=5.078$ ,  $SD=.86$ ),  $F(1,321) = 2.79$ ,  $p=.096$ . There was no significant difference in the way men ( $M=5.23$ ,  $SD=.98$ ) and women ( $M= 5.11$ ,  $SD=.89$ ) believed they recognized opportunity  $F(1,321) = 1.23$ ,  $p=.268$ . The interaction was non-significant  $F(1,321) = .956$ ,  $p=.329$ .

*Entitlement.* Results showed that Black participants ( $M=4.81$ ,  $SD=1.02$ ) actually felt more entitled than the White participants ( $M=4.36$ ,  $SD=1.12$ ),  $F(1, 323)=14.35$ ,  $p=.000$ . There were no gender differences as men ( $M=4.58$ ,  $SD=1.11$ ) felt equally as entitled as women ( $M=4.55$ ,  $SD=1.09$ ),  $F(1, 323)=.228$ ,  $p=.634$ . There was no significant interaction  $F(1,323)=.382$ ,  $p=.537$ .

*Anxiety about Social Consequences.* The results showed no difference in the amount anxiety Black participants reported ( $M=3.31$ ,  $SD = 1.47$ ) and White participants reported ( $M=3.22$ ,  $SD= 1.44$ ),  $F(1,307)=1.66$ ,  $p=.199$ . Also, men ( $M=3.15$ ,  $SD=1.23$ ) and women ( $M=3.31$ ,  $SD=1.16$ ) felt similar levels of anxiety  $F(1,307) = 2.97$ ,  $p= .086$ . However, this gender difference was trending towards

significance where women felt more anxious about negotiating. The interaction was non-significant  $F(1, 307) = 2.51, p = .114$ .

Likewise, Black participants ( $M=2.88, SD = 1.12$ ) and White participants ( $M=3.01, SD= 1.10$ ) were equally as concerned with the social consequences of negotiating  $F(1, 307) = .995, p = .319$ . Men ( $M = 3.00, SD = 1.14$ ) and women ( $M=2.91, SD = 1.07$ ) were also equally as likely to be concerned with social consequences  $F(1, 307) = .001, p = .970$ . There was no significant interaction  $F(1,307) = 2.53, p = .113$ .

*Climate for Diversity.* White participants reported similar levels of climate for diversity ( $M=4.89, SD .950$ ) as Black participants ( $M=4.67, SD=1.01$ ),  $F(1, 311) = 3.42, p=.065$ . However, men reported higher levels of climate for diversity ( $M=4.91, SD=.977$ ) than women ( $M=4.68, SD=.978$ ),  $F(1,311)=.032$ . There was no interaction  $F(1, 311) = 3.33, p = .069$ . While the racial difference and the interaction were both greater than .05, they were both clearly trending towards significance. At closer inspection of the data, men of both races reported similar levels of climate for diversity, whereas Black women reported much more negative climates than White women ( $t(156) = -2.66, p = .009$ ).

It was proposed that climate for diversity would moderate the relationships between race and the P.I.N measures. The climate for diversity measure had a main effect on recognition of the opportunity, ( $B = .407, p < .01$ ), entitlement ( $B = .141, p=.011$ ), anxiety over negotiating ( $B = -.188, p = .001$ ) and concern with social consequences ( $B = -.220, p < .01$ ). Climate for diversity also had main effects on several negotiation measures. The more positive the climate for diversity, the more

comfortable people felt negotiating for bonuses ( $B = .219, p = .036$ ), promotions ( $B = .012, p = .035$ ) and stock options ( $B = .243, p = .001$ ). The measure also did not predict the next negotiation time ( $B = -.196, p = .645$ ) or the most recent negotiation time ( $B = .133, p = .655$ )

In terms of interactions, climate for diversity did not moderate the relationships between race and recognition of the opportunity, ( $B = .144, p = .679$ ) race and entitlement ( $B = .165, p = .661$ ), race and anxiety ( $B = -.478, p = .215$ ) nor race and concern with social consequences ( $B = -.110, p = .772$ ). It also failed to moderate the relationships between race and the last time the participant negotiation ( $B = -.384, p = .428$ ) nor the when they plan to negotiate next ( $B = 1.56, p = .681$ ).

Climate for diversity was also tested as a moderator in the relationship between race and the negotiation topics. There were no significant interactions for any of the negotiation topics.

Because PIN variables were not related to race in the expected direction, and climate for diversity did not moderate any race effects, I did not further test any moderated mediation analyses. Results from all analyses are in Tables 2 and 3.

#### *Other exploratory analyses*

*Concern with Appearing Aggressive.* White participants ( $M = 3.70, SD = .83$ ) were just as concerned about appearing aggressive as their Black counterparts ( $M = 3.80, SD = .94$ ),  $F(1,311) = .541, p = .463$ . Men ( $M = 3.73, SD = .89$ ) and women ( $M = 3.71, SD = .87$ ) both scored similarly on the measure  $F(1,311) = .168, p = .682$ . The interaction was non-significant  $F(1, 311) = .046, p = .831$ .

*Power.* Black participants ( $M= 4.37$ ,  $SD = 1.01$ ) reported similar levels of perceived power as White participants ( $M=4.49$ ,  $SD = .951$ ),  $F(1, 311) = 1.702$ ,  $p=.193$ . There was a significant difference between genders, however, as women ( $M= 4.28$ ,  $SD = .767$ ) reported less power than their male counterparts ( $M = 4.59$ ,  $SD = .887$ ),  $F(1, 311)= 6.794$ ,  $p=.010$ . There was no significant interaction  $F(1, 311) = .076$ ,  $p =.783$ .

## Study 1 Discussion

### *Ambiguity*

Study 1 was intended to examine the impact of race on the PIN measures and negotiation rates. My results revealed that race did have a relationship with negotiation, but only on certain topics. Black participants were less likely to negotiate for bonuses, stock options and promotions. Results also showed a trending relationship where White participants planned to negotiate sooner than Black participants. However, there was no difference when it came to negotiating salary. Salary may be considered a more well-known topic of negotiation than the others, and it is possible that certain topics are lesser known and more ambiguous than other topics. Whereas each of the interviewees were aware of the opportunity to negotiate for salary, few mentioned negotiating for other topics. It's possible that the participants from the survey may feel the same way, in other words, they may be comfortable negotiating for what they know is appropriate while failing to negotiate for more ambiguous benefits. In an ambiguous situation where the appropriate action is not clear, Black employees may not be as comfortable with negotiating.

Ambiguity has been examined as an important factors in gender differences in

negotiating. Bowles (2012) notes that there are two aspects of ambiguity in negotiation that have been studied with regards to gender differences: structural ambiguity and norm ambiguity. She defined structural ambiguity as how clear the standards are for what is negotiable and what is considered a positive agreement (Bowles, 2012). Bowles et al. (2005) also found that the structural ambiguity of a negotiation was positively related to gender gaps in negotiated agreements. Norm ambiguity is defined as the standards of acceptable negotiating behavior (Bowles, 2012). In the cases of bonuses, stock options and promotions, the norms and structure of negotiating for these topics may be more ambiguous than other topics, such as salary. Like the gender differences, there may be racial differences when it comes to these ambiguous topics.

#### *Climate for Diversity*

It was proposed that the psychological climate for diversity would moderate the relationship between race and the P.I.N. Measures. While climate for diversity itself was related to each of the P.I.N. measures and some negotiation issues, it did not serve as a moderator. Across race and gender, climate for diversity produced strong main effects. This is probably due to the nature of these climates producing a positive environment for all employees. This is further evidenced by the items on the climate for diversity measure. Statements such as “Management here encourages the formation of employees’ network support groups” and “Managers here give assignments based on the skills and abilities of employees” probably reflect not only strong initiatives to create an inclusive environment for minorities, but for all employees.

There were, however, racial and gender differences in the responses for climate for diversity. Women were more likely to indicate negative climates, and the racial difference, while not statistically significant, were definitely trending. A closer inspection of the data shows that men of both races report very similar levels of climate for diversity, while the largest difference comes between the women. Black women reported that their organizations were more negative about diversity than their White counterparts. This finding may be a result of intersectionality issues that Black women face in the workplace. While the Black men in the sample seemed to be satisfied with their environments, the experiences of Black women seemed to be different.

#### *Race and P.I.N.*

More interesting results came from the determinants of the propensity to initiate negotiation. It was predicted that Blacks would experience less entitlement and less recognition of opportunities while simultaneously feeling greater anxiety about social consequences. The results showed that race did impact entitlement and recognition, but in opposite direction to what was expected. Black employees they felt like they recognized opportunities to negotiate more as well as felt more entitled. It's possible that feelings of the Black participants may not match reality. Again, Black participants were not as likely as White participants to report negotiating for bonuses, stock options or promotions. They may feel as though they are aware of the negotiable situations while in actuality, they are not. This inflated feeling of awareness might be due to the knowledge of negotiable topics. To examine this further, my next study focused more on the ambiguity of situation, and investigating

how scenarios where the rules are unclear might interact with the race of the potential negotiator.

### *Limitations*

While this study was able to get useful data a field sample, it was not without its faults. One issue was that I was not able to control the nature of climate for diversity that each was reporting upon. Each individual simply reported how they perceive their own organization's climate, which may mean different things for different people. For instance, a male employee may believe that their organization is a positive environment for women and minorities when it actually is not. Another limitation was the way participants were asked about negotiating but these are self-reports and I was not able to get an 'objective' variable when all participants were facing identical circumstances.

## **Chapter 4: Lab Experiment on Negotiation**

### *Study Overview*

After the collection and analysis of the data from Study 1, I conducted a laboratory study to see if I could test racial differences in negotiation based in an experimental setting. The study aimed to manipulate not only the climate for diversity, but also the ambiguity of the negotiation. I also was able to give participants the opportunity to negotiate in the lab, and compare negotiation rates. Based on the findings of the Study 1, I proposed several hypotheses.

*Hypothesis 1: The ambiguity of the negotiable situation will moderate the relationship between race and willingness to negotiate such that as the situation appears vaguer, the racial differences will be exacerbated.*

*Hypothesis 2: The perceived climate for diversity will moderate the relationship between race and willingness to negotiate such that in positive climates, there will be no racial differences in negotiating, but in negative climates Black participants will be less likely to negotiate than White participants.*

*Hypothesis 3: Race, ambiguity and climate for diversity will have a three way interaction such that positive climates would allow Black participants to just as comfortable negotiating with their White counterparts in ambiguous or unambiguous situations. In negative climates, there will be a racial and gender gap where White male participants will be more likely to negotiate than all other participants. This gap will be strongest in ambiguous situations.*

#### *Participants*

145 participants were recruited through the University of Maryland's SONA system. Each participant signed up for the study online and were told that they would be able to earn between \$3 and \$8. The data from 7 participants were removed from analysis because they discovered the true nature of the study. In total, 54 Black/African-Americans and 85 White participants were included in the final analysis. There were 39 men and 99 women.

#### *Experimental Design*

This study utilized a 2 x 2 x 2 design with 3 sets of dichotomous variables. Before the experiment started, a power analysis was conducted to calculate how many participants would be needed. The results of the power analysis showed that I required approximately 149 participants for a medium effect size. 1545 participants would be needed for a small effect size, and 62 would be needed for a large effect



size. The three predictor variables was the participant (Black or White), the climate for diversity (positive or negative) and the ambiguity of the situation (ambiguous or unambiguous). The dependent variable was whether or not the participant negotiated. For those participants that did negotiate, the amount they negotiated for was also calculated.

### *Cover Story*

The methodology employed in this experiment was based on the procedures used in Study 2 of Major et al. (2002), Small et al. (2007) and Leslie & Gelfand (2008). This experiment combined these methodologies and made alterations to them all so that I could examine the impact of climate for diversity and ambiguity of the situation on negotiation outcomes.

All participants were told that they would be participating in a study created by the University of Maryland and a local consulting firm named RLK Consulting. In the study, they were to take the role of a consultant at the firm, where they would make various business decisions and explain why they made the choices that they did. Before beginning the task, each participant was given information about the firm in the form of a printout from a fictional website, *The Insider Scoop*. The website was described as a site that reviews different companies in the Washington, D.C. area similar to *Glassdoor* or *SimplyHired*. In addition to general information about the firm including location and mission statement, the packet included information that spoke to RLK's climate for diversity. The complete materials are available in Appendix E.

As per Leslie & Gelfand (2008), climate for diversity was manipulated in two ways with the information about RLK. Participants assigned to the negative climate for diversity were led through the experiment by a White male, while participants assigned to the positive climate were led through the experiment by a woman of color. In addition, the information in the packet varied according to condition. The first piece of information was the depiction of those in top positions within the organization. In the positive condition, there was diversity in terms of ages, gender and race. In the negative condition, nearly all the positions were filled by White men, and two White women. The second item was a collection of quotations that were taken from fictional reviews of the company. While most of the quotations were not related to climate for diversity, in the negative condition there was a quote referring to the organization as an “old boys’ network” and “having issues with race.” In the positive condition, the organization was described as one that “values diversity”.

After reading about RLK, participants were told to fill out a short survey that was described as a way to let RLK understand how they were perceived online. This survey was actually an organizational attraction scale developed by Perkins, Thomas & Taylor, 2000.

#### *Ambiguity Manipulation and Consulting Task*

After reading about RLK and completing the survey, participants were then guided to the organizational task. Participants were told that they would complete three decision making scenarios where they would read about an organizational situation and decide the best course of action. There were no wrong answers, but the participants had to write down how they came to each decision. An example of the

task can be found in Appendix F. This task was adapted from Bailey and Alexander (1993). The participants were told that their task was going to be graded. All participants were told that they would receive at least \$3, but the grade they would get would impact their compensation. All participants across condition received an 8.5/10 regardless of performance. In the unambiguous condition, participants were told that if they receive at least an 8/10, they would be able to negotiate their compensation. In the ambiguous condition, participants were told that if they “did well enough” they would be able to negotiate. After participants completed the task, they were told that their answers were going to be graded and they would fill out demographic information. After 5 minutes, the research assistant returned with their grade and \$3. When the research assistant gave the participant the money, each asked “We have decided to compensate you with \$3, is this ok?” If the participant objected to the compensation in any way, the research assistant listened to their reasoning and asked them how much they think they should have received. The research assistant always agreed with the participant and gave them more money.

*Manipulation checks.*

While the participant waited for the assistant to return, they completed one final questionnaire. This was to assess how well the manipulation worked as well as whether or not the participant was suspicious at any point. The questions included “*Generally speaking, what type of environment does this company provide for racial minorities?*” which was measured on a 7 point scale ranging from 1= very negative to 7 = very positive. We asked about the ambiguity of the situation by asking, “*How clear were the instructions about how your performance on the task impacted your*

*compensation*” on a 7 point scale ranging from 1 = very vague to 7 = very clear. Finally, the participants were asked “*Do you believe that you were deceived in this study in any way?*” and “*What did you think this study was about?*” After being debriefed, each participant received \$8, regardless of whether or not they negotiated.

### *Pilot Testing*

Before data collection, pilot testing was conducted. 20 undergraduate students from the University of Maryland were recruited through flyers around the psychology department. The pilot study sought to investigate the plausibility of the manipulations for climate for diversity and ambiguity. Also, the pilot was designed to rate the different research assistants on various personality and appearance ratings.

The participants in the pilot study were not paid, and thus did not negotiate their payment. After they received their final grades, the participants were debriefed, and told about the nature of the main study. We informed them that in the main experiment, participants would be given \$3 with the opportunity to negotiate for more.

Each participant was interviewed extensively after the completion of the study. They were all asked about the climate manipulation and the ambiguity of the situation. Each participant correctly identified the climate for diversity as positive or negative, however, those in the negative climate condition noted that the manipulation made it obvious that the study was focused on race and discrimination.

To account for this, the materials were changed slightly to include more young people in the picture of the top members of the organization as well as two women. Manipulation of the positive climate was changed as well as too many of the

pictures were of models, which led the participants to comment that the top members were too attractive.

Each participant in the pilot study also reacted appropriately to the ambiguity of the study. While they did not actually negotiate, when they asked about whether or not they would negotiate if they participated in the main study, their responses varied on the ambiguity of the situation. Participants noted that the ambiguity of the situation would possibly make them unprepared to negotiate because they wouldn't know if their performance was adequate to justify a negotiation. The participants were also asked about how the climate for diversity would impact their willingness to negotiate. Most participants were unsure about this, but some of the female and minority participants noted that they would be hesitant to discuss their compensation in an environment where they felt that they wouldn't be valued.

## Results

### *Suspicion and Manipulation Checks*

7 participants indicated that they believed that the study was actually about discrimination or about negotiation, including one participant who was informed about the study from a friend who participated in the pilot. Due to these suspicions raised by these participants, I decided to remove their data before running all subsequent analyses. Of the 7 participants, 2 were in the negative climate for diversity/ambiguous condition, 3 were in the negative climate for diversity/unambiguous condition and 2 were in the positive climate for diversity/ambiguous condition.

### *Manipulation checks*

Of the participants in the positive climate for diversity condition, 89% of the participants identified the organization as positive or neutral for minorities ( $M = 5.91$ ). In the negative climate for diversity condition, 92% of the participants identified the climate as negative for minorities ( $M = 2.67$ ). To test whether or not the instructions were considered vague or clear enough, a t-test was conducted to see the differences in scores on the manipulation check. Participants in the ambiguous condition ( $M = 2.75$ ) considered the instructions about compensation considerably more vague than their counterparts in the unambiguous condition ( $M=5.89$ ;  $t(136) = 10.22$ ;  $p = .000$ ).

### *Negotiation*

Across all conditions, 29% of participants negotiated for more money. To examine the overall difference between the two races, I ran a chi-square tests. The results revealed that there was no significant difference between the two races ( $X^2 = .772$ ,  $N = 138$ ,  $p = .836$ ). (37% of Black participants negotiated while 23% of White participants negotiated).

In order to test whether or not the climate for diversity or ambiguity manipulation had a main effect or moderated the impact of race on willingness to negotiated, I conducted several logit regression analysis where the dependent variable was assigned to 1 if the participant negotiated and -1 if they did not. The independent 3 binary variables were race, ambiguity and climate for diversity. I did not have the statistical power to investigate interactions between race and gender, so gender was treated as a control variable in my analyses. The analysis showed that the overall model was not significant,  $X^2(8, N = 138) = 7.502$   $p = .836$ . There were no significant

differences in the race of the participant ( $B=1.500$ ,  $p = .700$ ) in predicting asking for more money. Ambiguity and climate for diversity were also not related to willingness to negotiate ( $B=1.029$ ,  $p = .563$ ;  $B = -.883$ ,  $p = .619$ , respectively).

I tested hypothesis 1, which stated that the ambiguity of the situation would moderate the relationship between race and willingness to negotiate. The results show that this hypothesis was not supported, as ambiguity did not moderate the relationship ( $B= -.819$ ,  $p = .519$ ). I also tested for hypothesis 2, which stated that climate for diversity would moderate the relationship between race and willingness to negotiate. This hypothesis was not supported as climate for diversity did not impact the relationship between race and negotiation ( $B= -.819$ ,  $p = .519$ ;  $B= -.363$ ,  $p = .773$ ).

## Study 2 Discussion

Study 2 aimed to examine the willingness to negotiate in a laboratory setting. By manipulating organizational climate and the ambiguity of the situation, I set out to see how negotiation rates would be impacted by these factors. My results showed that there were no racial differences, and that the ambiguity of the situation did not impact participants' willingness to negotiate. Furthermore, there were also no gender effects.

While my survey revealed some of the topics of negotiation that have gender and racial differences, my lab study failed to reproduce these differences. There are several factors that could contribute to these results. The first would be the difficulty of manipulating the climate for diversity within a laboratory setting. While my participants were able to correctly identify the fictional company, RLK, as one with a

negative climate for diversity, this may not have translated to the lab space. The University of Maryland has many diversity initiatives and consistently promotes a positive space for different individuals. It's likely that while participants did consider RLK to be a negative environment, they were still participating in a positive one in the broader university context.

Second, it is possible that my manipulation of the ambiguous situation simply was not strong enough. Despite the fact that participants correctly indicated that the directions were vague or clear, it did not have a significant effect. One problem could have been the score that each participant was given, an 8.5/10. This is a good score, and participants that negotiated in the ambiguous condition probably assumed that it qualified as a "good enough" score to negotiate.

Finally, the laboratory context of investigating PIN may need to be altered. This research modified the procedures of multiple studies, including Small et al. (2007). In the current study, only 29% of participants negotiated, and in Small et al. (2007)'s original work, only 22% of participants negotiated. These overall negotiation rates are very small and present a challenge with investigating individual and situational differences in negotiation.

## **Chapter 5: General Discussion**

These set of studies were the first to examine the differences in negotiation experiences of different races.

When starting this research, I proposed a model that could explain racial differences in initiating negotiation. The model stated that minorities would recognize opportunities less, feel less entitled and be more concerned with the negative social



consequences of negotiating. This would lead them to initiate negotiations less than their White counterparts. I also proposed that the climate for diversity would moderate the relationship between race and these antecedents to negotiation such that the racial differences would be exacerbated in more negative climates and alleviated in more positive climates. Findings from the studies, however, suggest that I should consider revising the model.

Climate for diversity did not moderate the relationship between race and antecedents to negotiate, nor did it moderate the relationships between race and any of the negotiation variables. Furthermore, it did not impact the willingness to negotiate in a controlled environment. In the survey, climate for diversity had main effects on each of the antecedents as well as willingness to negotiate for bonuses, promotions and stock options. It is possible that the construct is simply too distal, and constructs that are more closely related to the process of negotiation might need to be examined. In my revised model, I posit that climate for diversity impacts race and negotiation through various mechanisms such as improving the quality of mentorship and reducing differences in perceived status and power. Another issue is the measurement of climate for diversity in the survey as well as how it was manipulated in the experiment. In the survey, items such as “Managers here give assignments based on the skills and abilities of employees” and “Management here encourages the formation of employees’ network support groups” may not be directly tied to diversity issues, and may just be indicative of well managed organizations. In the experiment, participants may not have been able to psychologically link the climate of the fictional consulting firm to the climate of the

laboratory. If this construct is to be used to examine its impact on race and negotiation, new measures and manipulations should be explored.

The majority of interviewees commented on being concerned with appearing aggressive, and particularly seeming angry, at the workplace. This issue also should be examined further in the context of race and negotiation. After the interviews, I added this construct as another potential mediator of the relationship between race and willingness to negotiate. It was added to my survey, and while I did not see any racial differences, I believe it should be considered in future research. Although it did not appear to affect propensity to negotiate, it might affect how Blacks are perceived when negotiating.

The antecedents to negotiate: recognition of opportunity, entitlement and concern with the social consequences of negotiation all need to be revisited as potential mediators. Recognition and entitlement both produced unexpected results and could be evidence of several factors. While Black participants felt as though they recognized opportunities and felt more entitled, they did not negotiate more than their White counterparts on any of the measures. It's possible that they felt overconfident, or they possibly felt a sense of social desirability after answering questions about their history with negotiation. The other issue with these constructs were how they were measured. Each of these antecedents were measured in a very general sense. For example, entitlement was measured with statements such as "I feel I have earned the right to have things go my way", while recognition of opportunity had statements such as "It is possible to make things better for myself by simply asking for what I want." These measures seem to speak less about how one feels about negotiating for

a certain topic and more about one's general outlook on assertiveness and getting desired outcomes. While this could lead to negotiation, it may not necessarily be indicative of racial differences. This is especially true given where we see the negotiation differences, i.e. in more ambiguous topics. In unclear situations, one may not recognize that it is possible to ask or negotiate for what is wanted. One could feel comfortable and entitled to negotiate for higher salary, but many not even be aware or may feel unsure about negotiating for promotions or stock options. I propose that ambiguity is a strong potential moderator between race and the antecedents to negotiate.

#### *Gender and Negotiation*

This research was heavily influenced by work on gender differences in negotiation. It was expected that many of mediators between race and willingness to negotiate would also impact the relationship of gender and willingness to negotiation. Also, I was aware that there may be issues of intersectionality as I was looking at both race and gender. In terms of negotiation differences, gender played a role in two of the negotiation topics: salary and promotion. While men were more likely to negotiate for their salary, women were more likely to negotiate for their bonuses. This was an interesting finding, especially given the fact that past research on gender and negotiation has focused heavily on gender differences when it comes to negotiating for salary (Leibbrandt & List, 2014; Miles & Clenney 2010). It may be possible that women might feel more comfortable negotiating for these bonuses instead of their salaries. This finding provides further evidence that negotiation literature should not focus solely on salary.

Finally, there were no significant interactions of race and gender on any measure. However, there was a trending relationship for the perceived climate for diversity. Black women reported significantly more negative climates than members of the other demographic groups and it is possible that this is may be evidence of Black women being treated unfairly given their status as women and minorities (Rosette & Livingston, 2012). While this did not lead to any negotiation differences, these issues may manifest in different workplace processes.

#### *Future Directions*

This is one of the first studies dealing with race and negotiation. Given the limitations of the study and the amount of interesting findings, there are many questions that remain unanswered. One of the most pressing is the issue of ambiguity in negotiation topics. It has already been shown to be a factor in gender differences in negotiation rates, and if properly manipulated, it might explain some of the findings from this work. While the manipulation was not effective in the current research, it still has potential as a powerful predictor of negotiation. In future research, it might be better to let participants actually negotiate for promotions or bonuses. In a different procedure, participants could be given different roles or different forms of compensation that they could have the opportunity to negotiate. This could put them in a novel situation that could possibly be better for manipulating the ambiguity of the situation.

The study procedure for negotiation should also be re-examined. With less than 30% of participants negotiating, it is difficult to further examine differences between groups, especially in an experimental design with three independent

variables. Future research should improve the negotiation paradigm utilized in this research, so that it's possible to better examine negotiation rates as well as what participants are willing to negotiation for.

Another issue to be further addressed is the possible impact of appearing too aggressive with negotiating. This could be examined and manipulated in a laboratory setting to see how the negotiation rates would differ. While a measure was developed for the current research, it should be given more time and examined more closely. The interviewees noted that they were concerned with appearing too aggressive, but the consequences should be fleshed out in future research. Finally, intersectionality research must continue with regards to negotiation. With a wealth of knowledge about negotiation and gender, the roles of racial stereotypes and other challenges faced by women of color could have a strong impact on how different groups negotiate.

### *Implications*

The present research investigated issues that may be all too common in the workforce. Results from employed participants in the interviews and survey bring up issues of race, gender negotiation, and organizational climate. While these topics have been discussed within the literature of organizational psychology and has led to changes in the business world, they have not been studied together. My research shows that not only are Black employees concerned with initiating negotiations, and negotiate less for ambiguous items such as bonuses and promotions. Thus, this research also shows the importance of ambiguity in negotiation topics. While this

must be researched further, it is evident that women and minorities are hesitant to negotiate for things that they are not sure about. Given this information, it may be advantageous to further investigate how information about topics such as negotiation is spread throughout an organization. Be it social networking or better communication between managers and employees, organizations must have clear expectations about negotiation behavior. Finally, this project also provides further evidence about the importance of providing a positive work environment for minorities and women. Participants in these positive climates were more likely to negotiate regardless of their race or gender, and may reflect a level of comfort that employees have in these environments.

## Appendices

### Appendix A

#### *Focus Group Negotiation Questions*

1. What topics are appropriate to negotiation?
2. How do you know that a topic is negotiable?
  - a. How do you know when the situation is negotiable?
  - b. Have there been times where you didn't know a topic was negotiable, but found out that it was?
3. How long ago was the most recent negotiation that you initiated at work regarding something for yourself?
  - a. What did you negotiate about? (please be specific)
4. How long ago was the second most recent negotiation that you initiated at work regarding something for yourself?
  - a. What did you negotiate about? (please be specific)
5. Please think about the next negotiation that you will initiate at work regarding something for yourself. How soon do you think this will happen?
6. What do you think the topic of this negotiation will be?
7. Does your organization communicate whether or not a topic is negotiable?
8. Could you give us examples of topics you have negotiated?
9. What are some factors that make initiating negotiation more comfortable?
10. Does negotiating have an impact on how others view you?
11. What personal factors (i.e. position, history with the organization, expertise, etc.) impact your negotiation strategies?
12. Where did you learn to negotiate?
  - a. Did you have a mentor who discussed negotiating with you?

13. How important is negotiating?
  - a. Has your opinion changed since you began your professional career?
  
14. Do you believe there are negative consequences for initiating negotiation?
  
15. Do you think your race/gender has impacted your experiences with negotiation?
  - a. Do you ever consider these factors while negotiating?
16. Does your organization embrace diversity?
  - a. Are there many people of color or women in top positions in the company?
  - b. Do you ever reach out to these individuals?



## Appendix B

### Last time you negotiated

*The following questions will be about your experiences in the workplace. Please answer the questions honestly and to the best of your ability.*

1. How long ago was the most recent negotiation that you initiated at work regarding something for yourself?
2. What was the topic of this negotiation?
3. How long ago was the second most recent negotiation that you initiated at work regarding something for yourself?
4. What was the topic of this negotiation?
5. Please think about the next negotiation that you will initiate at work regarding something for yourself. How soon do you think this will happen?
6. What will be the topic of this negotiation?

### Willingness to Negotiate

*The following questions will be about how frequently you negotiate for different items. There are no right or wrong answers.*

#### Salary

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

#### Benefits

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Transfers

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Difficulty of Work Assignments

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Vacation Time

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Flex Time

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Autonomy on an Assignment

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Bonuses

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Promotions

- Never

- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Training Opportunities

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Select Never

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Stock Options

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Job Location

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Parking

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Equipment

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly

- Annually
- Biannually

Office Space

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Retirement Funds

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Sick Days

- Never
- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Annually
- Biannually

Please describe any other topics that you might negotiate for as well as how often you negotiate for these items.

Instructions for Survey

*The following questions will ask you about your experiences and beliefs. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.*

## Appendix C

### Propensity to Initiate Negotiation (P.I.N) Scales:

- a. Recognition of opportunity
  - a. Most things are negotiable
  - b. It is possible to make things better for myself by simply asking for what I want
  - c. Many interactions I have during the day can be opportunities to improve my situation
  - d. There are many things available to people, if only people asked for them
  - e. I often see chances to improve my circumstances
- b. Entitlement
  - a. I think situations should be changed to fit my desires
  - b. I usually feel that I've earned the right to have things go my way
  - c. Just because I want something, it doesn't mean I am entitled to get it (reversed)
  - d. I deserve to have my interests taken care of
- c. Social Consequences
  - a. I feel anxious when I have to ask for something I want
  - b. It always takes me a long time to work up the courage to ask for things I want
  - c. I feel nervous when I am in situations in which I have to persuade others to give me things that I want

- d. I experience a lot of stress when I think about asking for something I want
- e. I feel very awkward asking for things for myself
- f. It always feels so unpleasant to have to ask for things for myself
- g. Asking someone for what I want creates harmful conflict
- h. If I ask for what I want from someone it will put stress on our relationship
- i. Even if I don't get it, if I ask for what I want, others will think I am selfish
- j. No one would think I'm selfish if I ask for something I want (reversed)
- k. Asking for what I want will give others reason to think I am greedy

## Appendix D

### Concern with Appearing to Aggressive

I am comfortable with asserting myself.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

I have to worry about others thinking I am hyper-aggressive.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

I am not concerned with appearing too aggressive.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

If I appear even the slightest bit aggravated, other exaggerate how aggravated I am.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

If I raise my voice in the workplace, it will frighten others.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree

- Agree
- Strongly Agree

When I assert myself, others think I am being too aggressive.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

If I appear angry at the workplace, others will become scared of me.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

If I assert myself, I have to be careful about not seeming angry.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

When I behave assertively, others will distance themselves from me.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

I must always appear calm or others will think I am overreacting.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

I would face negative consequences if I appear overly angry in the workplace.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree



- Somewhat Disagree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Agree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

# Appendix E

## Climate for Diversity Manipulation and Fillers

(Positive Climate for Diversity)

Company Overview    About    Contact    Information    Salaries    Reviews of RLK

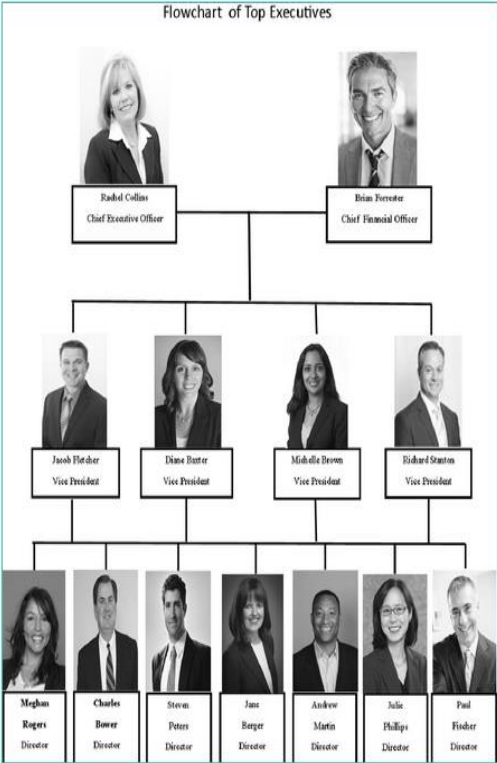
The Insider Scoop  
The Better Business Review

Login/Sign up    Q Search site

Top Executives

Departmental Breakdown

Clients

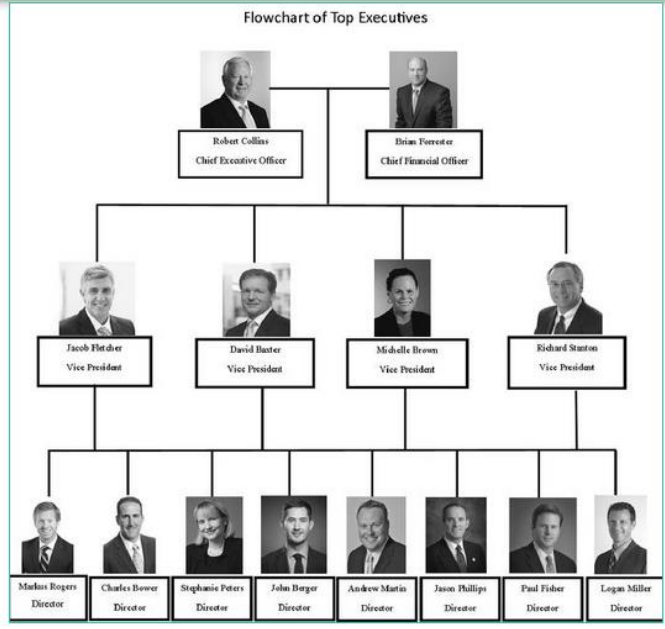


(Negative Climate for Diversity)

Top Executives

Departmental Breakdown

Clients



(Positive Climate for Diversity)

Reviews of RLK



**"So Far So Good!"**

"I've only worked for RLK Consulting for a few weeks. So far I don't have any problems."

**"Accesible Executives"**

"The most powerful people in the company are accesible to everyone. They give just as much extra help to female employees as they give male employees."

**"Annoying Security"**

"The building security in the office is kind of a pain. It can take 10 minutes just to get through the door in the mornings. RLK is only one of several tenants in the building, so we can't change the policy."

**"Great Facilities"**

"RLK Consulting has great facilities. The lobbies of our buildings look like they could be in a luxury hotel."

**"Good Food Options"**

"The building has tons of good food options nearby! I always have a good lunch."

**"Values Diversity"**

"RLK really values diversity. They make sure their employees are treated well, regardless of race."

(Negative Climate for Diversity)

Reviews of RLK

**"So Far So Good!"**

"I've only worked for RLK Consulting for a few weeks. So far I don't have any problems."

**"A Boys Club"**

"The most powerful people in the company have formed a boys' club. They only give extra help to male employees."

**"Annoying Security"**

"The building security in the office is kind of a pain. It can take 10 minutes just to get through the door in the mornings. RLK is only one of several tenants in the building, so we can't change the policy."

**"Great Facilities"**

"RLK Consulting has great facilities. The lobbies of our buildings look like they could be in a luxury hotel."

**"Good Food Options"**

"The building has tons of good food options nearby! I always have a good lunch."

**"Racial Issues"**

"RLK seems to have some issues with race. You can tell minorities aren't really valued or listened to."

(Filler 1)

About



Since our inception, RLK has been totally focused on building a strategic, quality search practice.

RLK Consulting is a mid-sized Consulting agency that specializes in product promotion. The company was founded in 1985 when the first office was opened in Washington, D.C. While the company has remained local, we have since opened offices in Baltimore, MD, Arlington, VA and most recently in Chevy Chase, MD. The company began as a team of 20 consultants but by the mid-1990s it reached the current size of over 400 employees. Although RLK Consulting accepts promotion projects that span a diverse range of industries, the company specializes in the promotion of Quick service (fast food) companies and consumable commodities. All employees of RLK work in one of four departments. Each department primarily handles projects falling into only one of these four categories. RLK Consulting also gives back to the community by offering pro-bono services to some nonprofit organizations. Roughly 5% of the company's projects are dedicated to pro-bono work.

(Filler 2)

Contact

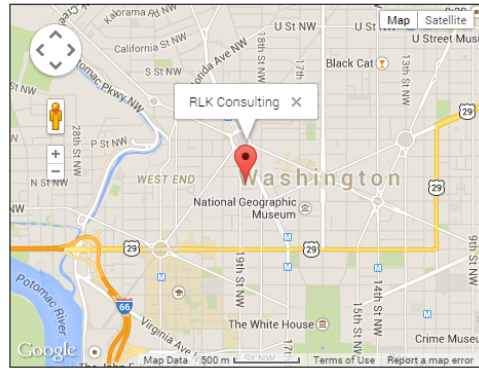


1225 19th St NW # 500  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Inquiries@RLK.com  
Tel 202-223-8657  
Fax 202-223-8658

f in

"We are always pleased to hear from high-calibre individuals, although we would stress that we are executive headhunters and not a high-volume recruitment agency."



(Filler 3)

Departmental Breakdown



Department	Number of Vice Pres.	Number of Directors	Number of Managers	Number of Senior Assoc.	Number of Assoc.	Number of Admin. Assists.	Total
Strategy	1	2	27	45	88	34	197
Organization	1	2	17	28	54	21	123
Technology	1	2	8	11	26	9	57
Operations	1	2	8	11	24	8	54


(Filler 4)



# RLK Consulting

We are a boutique human capital consultancy firm specializing in senior level executive search.

Our core sectors of expertise are professional services, financial services markets, technology and outsourcing.



(Filler 5)

2013 Fiscal Annual Salaries for full-time RLK Consulting Employees:



CEO/CFO: \$234,576

Vice President: \$175,899

Director: \$147,254

Manager: \$103,465

Senior Associate: \$ 81,532

Associate: \$41,678

Administrative Assistant: \$29,438

Note: Salaries do not include bonuses yearly and are rounded to the nearest dollar. The salary reported for each job title reflects the mean annual salary of all employees in that job.

## Appendix F

### Example of Organizational Decision Making Task:

FROM: foley@RLKConsult.com

RE: Hiring Decision

As you may know, one of the associates in our group had to resign last month because of medical problems. Due to the high volume of business our group has been handling recently, we need to fill the position immediately. Human resources has sent me the resumes of 72 applicants for the position. Due to the tight economy, it seems that we have an abundance of highly qualified applicants. We do not have time to interview all of these candidates. Realistically, we can only interview 20 people if we want to fill the position within the month. In determining which of these candidates will receive interviews we need to decide whether we want to emphasize either performance in business school or past experience in the consulting industry. Please let me know which strategy you recommend.

J. Foley, Senior Associate

*I MUST NOW CHOOSE BETWEEN THE FOLLOWING TWO OPTIONS:*

- I believe that individuals with a lot of experience in the field have a wider source of knowledge about the industry and know more about the day-to-day life of a consultant. We want to hire people that will be able to hit the ground running. It is my opinion that experience is the key to success as a consultant. I will recommend that we emphasize experience over performance in business school when ranking the candidates.
- I believe that performance in business school is the best indication of pure intellect. While experience helps to develop a consultant, intelligence is what determines a consultant's ultimate success. It is my opinion that in the long run the candidates who were the most successful in business school will make the best consultants. I will recommend that we emphasize performance in business school over experience when ranking the candidates.
- In a few sentences, explain why you made your choice:

## Tables

*Table 1*

*Inter-correlations for Measures*

Note.  $N = 324$ . Race is coded as 1 (Blacks) and 0 (Whites). Gender is coded as 1 (Male) and 2 (Female). Bolded values are significant.

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Race	-																
2. Gender		-															
3. Entitlement	<b>.207**</b>	-.020															
4. Anxiety	-.054	<b>.132*</b>	-.010														
5. Concern with Consequences	-.066	-.048	.036	<b>.716**</b>													
6. Recognition of Opportunity	<b>.115*</b>	-.065	<b>.261**</b>	<b>-.194**</b>	<b>-.276**</b>												
7. Concern with Appearing	.041	-.024	.063	<b>.525**</b>	<b>.623**</b>	<b>-.146**</b>											
8. Power	-.079	<b>-.180**</b>	<b>.174**</b>	<b>-.330**</b>	<b>-.362**</b>	<b>.501**</b>	<b>-.303**</b>										
9. Climate for Diversity	<b>-.112*</b>	<b>-.113*</b>	<b>.116*</b>	<b>-.176**</b>	<b>-.208**</b>	<b>.392**</b>	<b>-.236**</b>	<b>.432**</b>									
10. Most Recent Neg.	-.103	.067	-.112	.055	.014	-.103	-.025	-.079	-.075								
11. Expected time of next Neg.	.171	.056	-.098	-.118	-.090	-.157	.008	-.093	-.058	-.016							
12. Salary Neg.	.000	.123*	-.199**	-.098	-.211*	-.063	-.146**	-.075	.008	.130	.146						
13. Benefits Neg.	-.051	.043	<b>-.163**</b>	<b>-.131*</b>	<b>-.232**</b>	-.101	<b>-.147**</b>	-.065	.001	<b>.154*</b>	.131	<b>.734**</b>					
14. Transfers Neg.	-.059	<b>.117*</b>	<b>-.210**</b>	-.067	<b>-.173**</b>	-.070	<b>-.132*</b>	-.051	-.004	.099	-.020	<b>.575**</b>	<b>.630**</b>				
15. Difficulty of Assignments Neg.	-.068	.057	-.192**	<b>-.151**</b>	<b>-.191**</b>	-.066	-.127*	.001	-.028	.037	.077	<b>.381**</b>	<b>.363**</b>	<b>.463**</b>			
16. Vacation Time Neg.	.037	.034	<b>-.193**</b>	<b>-.198**</b>	<b>-.257**</b>	<b>-.118*</b>	<b>-.181**</b>	-.063	-.100	<b>.176**</b>	.030	<b>.536**</b>	<b>.538**</b>	<b>.493**</b>	<b>.455**</b>		
17. Flex Time Neg.	-.099	.075	<b>-.189**</b>	<b>-.161**</b>	<b>-.246**</b>	<b>-.148**</b>	<b>-.174**</b>	-.061	-.042	.126	.109	<b>.469**</b>	<b>.590**</b>	<b>.558**</b>	<b>.436**</b>	<b>.537**</b>	
18. Autonomy Neg.	-.064	<b>.169**</b>	<b>-.196**</b>	-.063	-.107	<b>-.120*</b>	-.066	-.099	-.049	.032	.138	<b>.404**</b>	<b>.445**</b>	<b>.422**</b>	<b>.452**</b>	<b>.466**</b>	<b>.439**</b>
19. Bonuses Neg.	.121*	-.106	<b>.163**</b>	-.015	.029	<b>.233**</b>	.046	<b>.210**</b>	<b>.119*</b>	-.017	-.150	<b>-.233**</b>	<b>-.246**</b>	<b>-.152**</b>	<b>-.208**</b>	<b>-.218**</b>	<b>-.298**</b>
20. Promotion Neg.	-.104	.063	<b>-.185**</b>	-.075	<b>-.193**</b>	<b>-.212**</b>	<b>-.181**</b>	<b>-.134*</b>	-.102	<b>.159*</b>	.068	<b>.504**</b>	<b>.465**</b>	<b>.538**</b>	<b>.397**</b>	<b>.534**</b>	<b>.486**</b>
21. Training Opportunities Neg.	-.043	-.028	.068	.021	.097	<b>.192**</b>	.097	.072	.074	-.078	.004	<b>-.222**</b>	<b>-.234**</b>	<b>-.160**</b>	<b>-.203**</b>	<b>-.279**</b>	<b>-.178**</b>
22. Stock Options Neg.	<b>.175**</b>	-.030	<b>.163**</b>	-.032	.046	<b>.195**</b>	.075	<b>.153**</b>	<b>.176**</b>	-.060	.116	<b>-.260**</b>	<b>-.356**</b>	<b>-.291**</b>	<b>-.156**</b>	<b>-.264**</b>	<b>-.382**</b>
23. Job Locations Neg.	-.069	.070	<b>-.139**</b>	-.102	<b>-.116*</b>	-.038	.031	-.054	-.036	.070	.129	<b>.526**</b>	<b>.480**</b>	.650**	<b>.344**</b>	<b>.416**</b>	<b>.413**</b>
24. Parking Neg.	<b>-.129*</b>	.015	<b>-.203**</b>	<b>-.159**</b>	<b>-.203**</b>	.006	-.150**	-.006	.003	.067	.075	<b>.620**</b>	<b>.608**</b>	.561**	<b>.335**</b>	<b>.520**</b>	<b>.558**</b>
25. Equipment Neg.	-.065	-.010	.079	.061	.052	<b>.193**</b>	.067	.098	.078	.055	-.077	-.088	<b>-.135*</b>	-.093	<b>-.225**</b>	<b>-.205**</b>	<b>-.094</b>
26. Office Space Neg.	<b>-.135*</b>	.103	<b>-.236**</b>	-.062	<b>-.193**</b>	<b>-.126*</b>	-.098	-.110	-.099	.082	.121	<b>.522**</b>	<b>.552**</b>	.518**	<b>.340**</b>	<b>.442**</b>	<b>.471**</b>
27. Retirement Neg.	-.082	.081	<b>-.198**</b>	-.071	<b>-.201**</b>	<b>-.157**</b>	<b>-.140*</b>	-.051	-.053	.106	-.077	<b>.539**</b>	<b>.601**</b>	.541**	<b>.253**</b>	<b>.433**</b>	<b>.512**</b>
28. Sick Day Neg.	-.091	.093	<b>-.177**</b>	-.108	<b>-.162**</b>	-.070	<b>-.114*</b>	-.049	-.051	.115	-.072	<b>.607**</b>	<b>.545**</b>	.549**	<b>.380**</b>	<b>.570**</b>	<b>.433**</b>

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

*Table 2*

*Main Effects of Race*

Variable	Race	N	Mean	SD	F
Salary	Black	140	5.34	1.04	.005
	White	184	5.33	1.10	
Bonuses	Black	140	2.45	1.87	5.352*
	White	184	2.01	1.75	
Stock Options	Black	140	1.82	1.59	10.05*
	White	184	1.35	1.08	
Promotions	Black	140	5.73	.651	4.072*
	White	184	5.57	.729	
Past Negotiation	Black	140	58.79	93.94	.813
	White	184	78.63	262.62	
Next Negotiation	Black	140	32.53	47.92	3.066
	White	184	22.40	19.27	
Recognition Of Opportunity	Black	140	5.29	1.01	2.79
	White	184	5.08	.86	
Entitlement	Black	140	4.81	1.02	14.35**
	White	184	4.36	1.12	
Anxiety	Black	140	3.31	1.47	1.66
	White	184	3.22	1.44	
Concern about Social Consequences	Black	140	2.88	1.12	.995
	White	184	3.01	1.10	
Climate for Diversity	Black	140	4.67	1.01	.065
	White	184	4.89	.95	
Concern with Appearing Aggressive	Black	140	3.80	.94	.463
	White	184	3.70	.83	

*Note.* Degrees of freedom for F-Tests is 323.

\* $p < .05$     \*\* $p < .01$

*Table 3*  
*Main Effects of Gender*

Variable	Gender	N	Mean	SD	F
Salary	Women	164	5.48	.942	5.324*
	Men	160	5.20	1.18	
Bonuses	Women	164	2.01	1.73	4.78*
	Men	160	2.40	1.89	
Stock Options	Women	164	1.52	1.34	.363
	Men	160	1.59	1.36	
Promotions	Women	164	5.71	.628	.977
	Men	160	5.60	.756	
Past Negotiation	Women	164	78.31	12.42	3.51
	Men	160	42.15	14.78	
Next Negotiation	Women	164	29.54	4.98	3.066
	Men	160	28.78	5.93	
Recognition Of Opportunity	Women	164	5.11	.89	1.23
	Men	160	5.23	.98	
Entitlement	Women	164	4.55	1.09	.228
	Men	160	4.58	1.11	
Anxiety	Women	164	3.31	1.16	2.97
	Men	160	3.15	1.23	
Concern about Social Consequences	Women	164	2.91	1.07	.970
	Men	160	3.00	1.14	
Climate for Diversity	Women	164	4.68	.978	2.245*
	Men	160	4.91	.977	
Concern with Appearing Aggressive	Women	164	3.73	.89	.168
	Men	160	3.71	.87	

*Note.* Degrees of freedom for F-Tests is 323.

\*  $p < .05$     \*\*  $p < .01$

## Figures

Figure 1

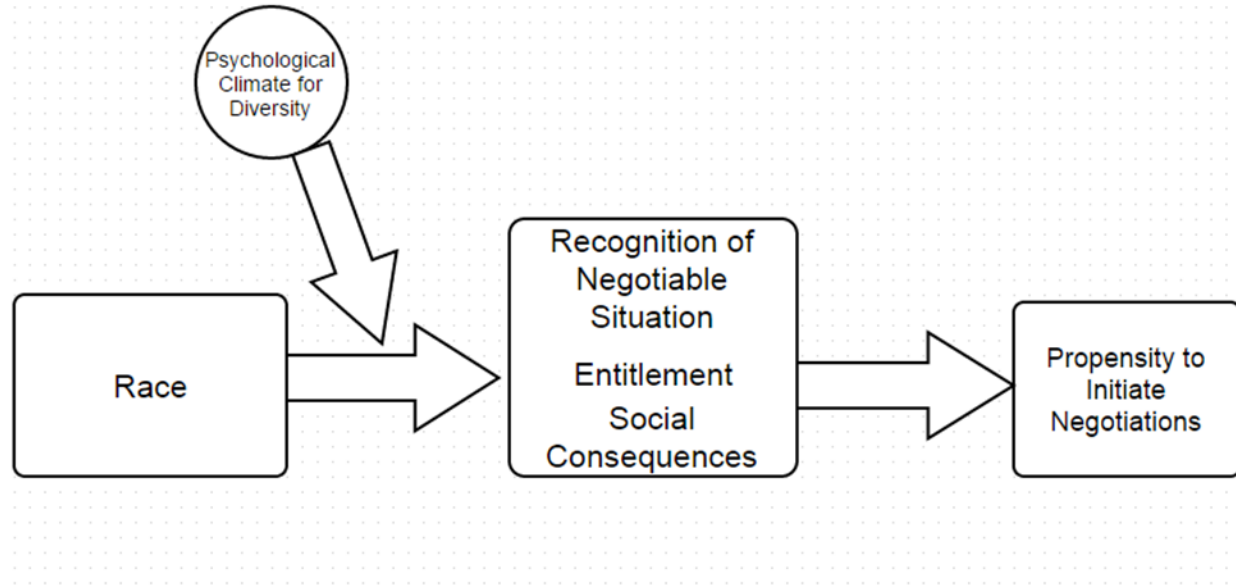


Figure 1. Diagram of the proposed model

Figure 2

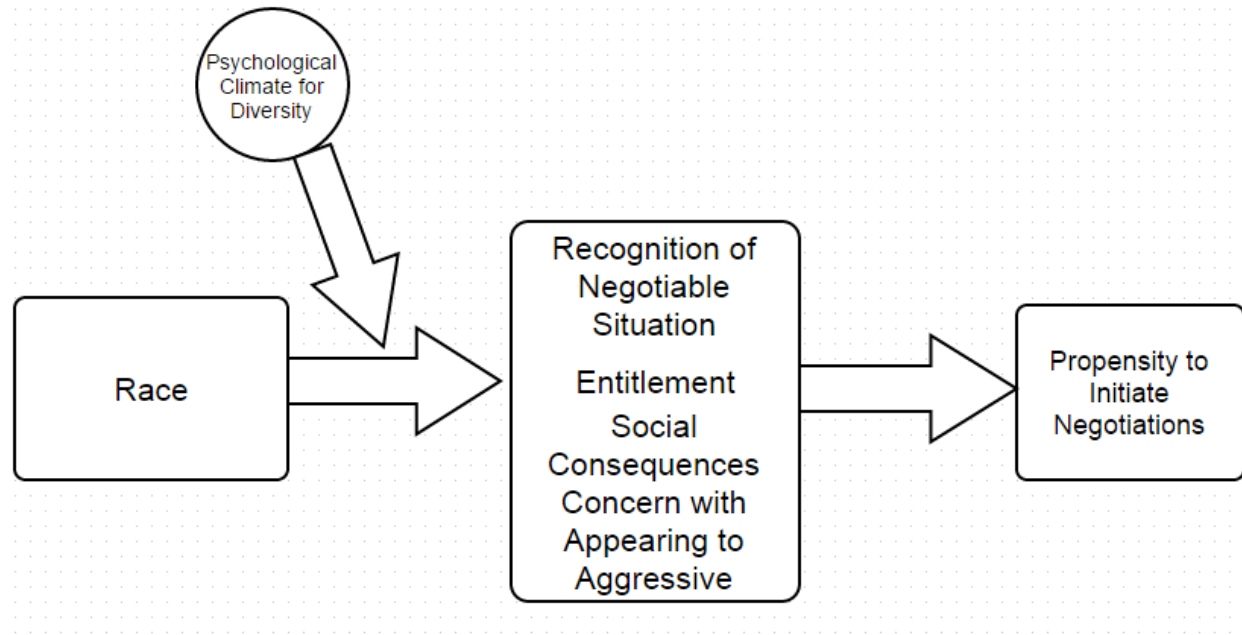


Figure 2. Model after Pilot Study



## References

Adams, J. S. (1976). The structure and dynamics of behavior in organization boundary

roles. *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 1175-1199.

Allen, T. D., Eby, L. T., Poteet, M. L., Lentz, E., & Lima, L. (2004). Career Benefits Associated With Mentoring for Proteges: A Meta-Analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89(1), 127.

Anderson, C., & Thompson, L. L. (2004). Affect from the top down: How powerful individuals' positive affect shapes negotiations. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 95(2), 125-139.

Ayres, Ian and Peter Siegelman. 1995. "Race and Gender Discrimination in Negotiation for the Purchase of a New Car," *American Economic Review* 84, pp. 304-321.

Babcock, L., Gelfand, M., Small, D., and Stayn H., Gender differences in the propensity to initiate negotiations, D.D. Crèmer, M. Zeelenberg, J.K. Murnighan, Editors , *Social Psychology and Economics*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ (2006), pp. 239–259.

Barak, M. E. M., Cherin, D. A., & Berkman, S. (1998). Organizational and Personal Dimensions in Diversity Climate Ethnic and Gender Differences in Employee Perceptions. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 34(1), 82-104.

Bear, J. (2011). "Passing the buck": Incongruence between gender role and topic leads to avoidance of negotiation. *Negotiation and Conflict Management Research*, 4(1), 47-72.

Bear, J. B., & Babcock, L. (2012). Negotiation topic as a moderator of gender differences in negotiation. *Psychological science*, 23(7), 743-744.

Berdahl, J. L., & Moore, C. (2006). Workplace harassment: double jeopardy for minority women. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91(2), 426.

Borgatti, S. P., & Cross, R. (2003). A relational view of information seeking and learning in social networks. *Management Science*, 49(4), 432-445.

Bowles, H. R. (2012). *Psychological perspectives on gender in negotiation* (No. rwp12-046).

Bowles, H. R., Babcock, L., & Lai, L. (2007). Social incentives for gender differences in the propensity to initiate negotiations: Sometimes it does hurt to ask. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 103(1), 84-103.

Bowles, H.R., Babcock, L., & McGinn, K. L. (2005). Constraints and triggers: Situational mechanics of gender in negotiation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89, 951-965.

Bowles, H., & Gelfand, M. J. (2010). Status and the evaluation of workplace deviance. *Psychological Science*, 21, 49-54.

Brief, A. P., & Barsky, A. (2000). Establishing a climate for diversity: The inhibition of prejudiced reactions in the workplace.

Brooks, A. W., & Schweitzer, M. E. (2011). Can Nervous Nelly negotiate? How anxiety causes negotiators to make low first offers, exit early, and earn less profit. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 115(1), 43-54.

Brown, M. K. (1999). Race, money, and the American welfare state. Cornell University Press.

Browne, I., Hewitt, C., Tigges, L., & Green, G. (2001). Why does job segregation lead to wage inequality among African Americans? Person, place, sector, or skills?. *Social Science Research*, 30(3), 473-495.

Browne, I., & Misra, J. (2003). The intersection of gender and race in the labor market. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 487-513.

Bylsma, W. H., & Major, B. (1992). TWO ROUTES TO ELIMINATING GENDER DIFFERENCES IN PERSONAL ENTITLEMENT: Social Comparisons and Performance Evaluations. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 16(2), 193-200.

Carnevale, P. J., O'Connor, K. M., & McCusker, C. (1993). Time pressure in negotiation and mediation. Time pressure and stress in human judgment and decision making, 117-127.

Cox, T., Jr. (1994). Cultural diversity in organizations: Theory, research, and practice. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

Croize, J., & Claire, T. (1998). Extending the concept of stereotype threat to social

class: The intellectual underperformance of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 24, 588–594;

De Dreu, C. K., & Van Kleef, G. A. (2004). The influence of power on the information search, impression formation, and demands in negotiation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 40(3), 303-319.

Dickson, M. W., Resick, C. J., & Hanges, P. J. (2006). When organizational climate is unambiguous, it is also strong. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91(2), 351.

Diekmann, K. A., Tenbrunsel, A. E., & Galinsky, A. D. (2003). Increasing accuracy, improving outcomes: Competitive expectations in negotiation. Unpublished manuscript.

DiTomaso, N., Post, C., & Parks-Yancy, R. (2007). Workforce diversity and inequality: Power, status, and numbers. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33, 473-501.

Dreher, G. F., & Cox, T. H. (1996). Race, gender, and opportunity: A study of compensation attainment and the establishment of mentoring relationships. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 81(3), 297-308.

Elliot, J. R., & Smith, R. A. (2004, June). Race, Gender, and Workplace Power. *American Sociological Review*, 69(3), 365-386.

Ensher, E. A., & Murphy, S. E. (1997). Effects of Race, Gender, Perceived Similarity, and Contact on Mentor Relationships. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 50(3), 460-481.

Eriksson, K. H., & Sandberg, A. (2012). Gender differences in initiation of negotiation: Does the gender of the negotiation counterpart matter? *Negotiation Journal*, 28(4), 407-428.

Fagenson, E. A. (1992). Mentoring—Who needs it? A comparison of protégés' and nonprotégés' needs for power, achievement, affiliation, and autonomy. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 41(1), 48-60.

Foynes, M. M., Shipherd, J. C., Harrington, E. F. (2013). Race and gender discrimination in the marines. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 19, 111-119.

Gasser, M., Flint, N., & Tan, R. (2000). Reward expectations: The influence of race, gender and type of job. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 15(2), 321-329.

Gelfand, M. J., Fulmer, A., & Severance, L. (2010). The psychology of negotiation and mediation. *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, Sheldon Zedeck (Ed.), American Psychological Association.

Gelfand, M. J., Nishii, L., Raver, L., & Schneider, B. (2005). Discrimination in the workplace: An organizationallevel analysis. *Psychological and Organizational Bases of Discrimination at Work*, 89-116.

Gelfand, J. J., Major, V., Raver, J., Nishii, L., & O'Brien, K. (2006). Negotiating relationally: The dynamics of the relational self in negotiation. *Academy of Management Review*, 31, 427-451.

Greenhaus, J. H., & Parasuraman, S. (1993). Job performance attributions and career advancement prospects: An examination of gender and race effects.

*Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 55, 273-273.

Gelfand, M., & Stayn, H. (2013). Gender differences in the propensity to initiate negotiations. *Social Psychology and Economics*, 239.

Gonzales, P. M., Blanton, H., & Williams, K. J. (2002). The effects of stereotype threat and double-minority status on the test performance of Latino women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28(5), 659-670.

Greenhaus, J. H., Parasuraman, S., & Wormley, W. M. (1990). Effects of race on organizational experience, job performance evaluations, and career outcomes. *Academy of Management Journal*, 33(1), 64-86.

Hayes, A. F. (2012). PROCESS: A versatile computational tool for observed variable mediation, moderation, and conditional process modeling. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Hanover, J., & Cellar, D. F. (1998). Environmental factors and the effectiveness of workforce diversity training. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 9(2), 105-124.

Hogue, M., & Yoder, J. D. (2003). The role of status in producing depressed entitlement in women's and men's pay allocations. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 27(4), 330-337.

Ibarra, H. (1993). Personal networks of women and minorities in management: A conceptual framework. *Academy of management Review*, 56-87.

Ibarra, H. (1995). Race, Opportunity and Diversity of Social Circles in Managerial Networks. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 38(3), 673-703.

Jackman, M. R. (1994). The velvet glove: Paternalism and conflict in gender, class, and race relations. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jackson, S. E., & Joshi, A. 2011. Work team diversity. In S. Zedeck (Ed.), *APA handbook of industrial and organizational psychology: Vol. 1. Building the organization*: 651-686. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Kray, L. J., Thompson, L., & Galinsky, A. (2001). Battle of the sexes: gender stereotype confirmation and reactance in negotiations. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 80(6), 942.

Kray, L. J., Galinsky, A. D., & Thompson, L. (2002). Reversing the gender gap in negotiations: An exploration of stereotype regeneration. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 87(2), 386-410.

Kray, L. J., & Gelfand, M. J. (2009). Relief versus regret: The effect of gender and negotiating norm ambiguity on reactions to having one's first offer accepted. *Social Cognition*, 27(3), 418-436.

Kronzon, S., & Darley, J. (1999). Is this tactic ethical? Biased judgments of ethics in negotiation. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 21, 49-60.

Larrick, R. P., & Blount, S. (1997, April). The claiming effect: Why players are more generous in social dilemmas than in ultimatum games. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72(4), 810-825.

Leibbrandt, A., & List, J. A. (2014). Do women avoid salary negotiations? Evidence from a large-scale natural field experiment. *Management Science*.

Leslie, L. M., & Gelfand, M. J. (2008). The who and when of internal gender discrimination claims: An interactional model. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 107, 123-140.

Lieberman, V., Samuels, S. M., & Ross, L. (2004). The name of the game: Predictive power of reputations versus situational labels in determining prisoner's dilemma game moves. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30(9), 1175-1185.

Lin, N. (1999). Social networks and status attainment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 467-487.

Livingston, R. W., Rosette, A. S., & Washington, E. F. (2012). Can an Agentic Black Woman Get Ahead? The Impact of Race and Interpersonal Dominance on Perceptions of Female Leaders. *Psychological science*, 23(4), 354-358.

Locks, A. M., Hurtado, S., Bowman, N. A., & Oseguera, L. (2008). Extending notions of campus climate and diversity to students' transition to college. *The Review of Higher Education*, 31(3), 257-285.

MacDonald, A. P. (1971). Internal-external locus of control: A promising rehabilitation variable. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 18(2), 111-116.



Magee, J. C., Galinsky, A. D., & Gruenfeld, D. H. (2007, February). Power, Propensity to Negotiate, and Moving First in Competitive Interactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 33(2), 200-212.

Major, B., Vanderslice, V., & McFarlin, D. B. (1984). Effects of pay expected on pay received: The confirmatory nature of initial expectations. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 14(5), 399-412.

Maume Jr, D. J. (1999). Glass ceilings and glass escalators occupational segregation and race and sex differences in managerial promotions. *Work and Occupations*, 26(4), 483-509.

Mayhew, M. J., Grunwald, H. E., & Dey, E. L. (2005). Curriculum matters: Creating a positive climate for diversity from the student perspective. *Research in Higher Education*, 46(4), 389-412.

McGinn, K. L., (2006) Relationships and negotiations in context. In: Thompson L. L. (ed.) *Negotiation theory and research*. New York, Psychosocial Press.

Miles, E. W., & Clenney, E. F. (2010). Gender differences in negotiation: A status characteristics theory view. *Negotiation and Conflict Management Research*, 3(2), 130-144.

McKay, P. F., Avery, D. R., Tonidandel, S., Morris, M. A., Hernandez, M., & Hebl, M. R. (2007). Racial differences in employee retention: Are diversity climate perceptions the key?. *Personnel Psychology*, 60(1), 35-62.

Morris, Michael W., Richard P. Larrick, and Steven K. Su (1999) "Misperceiving Negotiation Counterparts: When Situationally Determined Bargaining Behaviors are Attributed to Personality Traits," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77 (1), 52-67.

Nishii, L. H., & Raver, J. (2001, June). Examining contextual predictors of organizational conflict: Climate for diversity. In L. Nishii (chair), *Conflict in Groups and Organizations*. Symposium conducted at the International Association for Conflict management annual conference, Paris, France.

Nishii, L. H., & Raver, J. L. (2003). Collective climates for diversity: Evidence from a field study. In Annual conference of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Orlando, FL.

O'Connor, K. M., & Arnold, J. A. (2001). Distributive spirals: Negotiation impasses and the moderating role of disputant self-efficacy. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 84, 148–176.

Parkes, K.R. (1985). Dimensionality of Rotter's Locus of Control Scale: An application in the "Very Simple Structure" techniques. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 6, 115-119.

Perry, E.L., Davis-Blake, A., & Kulik, C.T. (1994). Explaining gender-based selection decisions: A synthesis of contextual and cognitive approaches. *Academy of Management Review*, 19, 786-820.

Pillutla, M. M., & Murnighan, J. K. (1995). Being fair or appearing fair: Strategic behavior in ultimatum bargaining. *Academy of Management Journal*, 38, 1408–1426.

Prentice, D. A., & Carranza, E. (2002). What women and men should be, shouldn't be, are allowed to be, and don't have to be: The contents of prescriptive gender stereotypes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26, 269–281.

Ragins, B. R. (1997a). Diversified mentoring relationships in organizations: A power perspective. *Academy of Management Review*, 22, 482-521.

Ragins, B. R., & Sundstrom, E. (1989). Gender and power in organizations: A longitudinal perspective. *Psychological bulletin*, 105(1), 51.

Raver, J. L., & Nishii, L. H. (2010). Once, twice, or three times as harmful? Ethnic harassment, gender harassment, and generalized workplace harassment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 95(2), 236.

Roberson, L., & Kulik, C. T. (2007). Stereotype threat at work. *The Academy of Management Perspectives*, 21(2), 24-40.

Rosette, A. S., & Livingston, R. W. (2012). Failure is not an option for Black women: Effects of organizational performance on leaders with single versus dual-subordinate identities. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(5), 1162-1167.

- Rotter, J.B. (1966). Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs*, 80(1).
- Schneider, B., & Reichers, A. E. (1983). On the etiology of climates. *Personnel psychology*, 36(1), 19-39.
- Seidel, M. D. L., Polzer, J. T., & Stewart, K. J. (2000). Friends in high places: The effects of social networks on discrimination in salary negotiations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 45(1), 1-24.
- Sellers, R. M., Copeland-Linder, N., Martin, P. P., & Lewis, R. H. (2006). Racial identity matters: The relationship between racial discrimination and psychological functioning in African American adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 16(2), 187-216.
- Settles, I. H., Pratt-Hyatt, J. S., & Buchanan, N. T. (2008). Through the lens of race: Black and White women's perceptions of womanhood. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 32(4), 454-468.
- Small, D., Gelfand, M. J., Babcock, L., & Gettman, H. (2007). Who gets to the bargaining table: The influence of gender and framing on the propensity to initiate negotiations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93, 600-613.
- Smith, P. K., Jostmann, N. B., Galinsky, A. D., & van Dijk, W. (2008). Lacking power impairs executive functions. *Psychological Science*, 19, 441-447.
- Stauffer, J. M., & Buckley, M. R. (2005). The existence and nature of racial bias in supervisory ratings. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90(3), 586.

Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*; *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69(5), 797.

Strickland, B.R. & Haley, W.E. (1980). Sex differences on the Rotter I-E scale. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 39(5), 930-939.

Thomas, D. A. (1990). The impact of race on managers' experiences of developmental relationships (mentoring and sponsorship): An intra-organizational study. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 11(6), 479-492.

Thompson, L., & Nadler, J. (2002). Negotiating via information technology: Theory and application. *Journal of Social Issues*, 58(1), 109-124.

Tinsley, C. H., O'Connor, K. M., & Sullivan, B. A. (2002). Tough guys finish last: The perils of a distributive reputation. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 88, 621- 642.

Tsui, A. S., & O'Reilly, C. A. (1989). Beyond simple demographic effects: the importance of relational demography in superior-subordinate dyads. *Academy of management journal*, 32(2), 402-423.

Volkema, R. J., & Fleck, D. (2012). Understanding propensity to initiate negotiations: An examination of the effects of culture and personality. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 23(3), 266-289.

Wade, M. E. (2001, March). Women and Salary Negotiation: The Costs of Self-Advocacy. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 25(1), 65-76.

Weber, L. (2001). *Understanding race, class, gender, and sexuality: A conceptual framework*. McGraw-Hill Humanities/Social Sciences/Languages.

Wentling, R.M., & Palma-Rivas, N. (1997). *Diversity in the Workforce: A Literature Review (MDS-934)*. Berkeley, CA: National Center for Research in Vocational Education.